Complex research of the data of numismatic, epigraphic, ethnographic and toponymic-linguistic materials in addition to the information of medieval textual sources allowed us to conclude, that the high ancestor of the Sāmānids Sāmān-Khudāt was the Turkic of origin and as his ancestor Bahrām Chūbīn belonged to the Iranized Oghuz tribes of Khurāsān (Balkh). From another line his origin was connected with the Ashīna clan, the ruling dynasty of the Great Turkic Qaghanate. The second homeland of Sāmān- Khudāt was Farghāna valley, where Bahrām Chūbīn settled in the last period of his life. Sāmān- Khudāt was descendant of Bahrām Chūbīn from his marriage with the Turkic princess – the daughter of the Turkic ruler of Bukhārā and Supreme Turkic Qaghan El- Tigīn (Parmūda, Nilī-Khān), the son of El Arslān (Shīr-i Kishwar, Sāwa-Shāh) and grandson of Tardu Qaghan (Qarā Chūrīn).



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The work is devoted to research of the little-known parties of history of the Sāmānids dynasty ruled in the end of III – IV/IX – X centuries as governors of Khurāsān and Mā warā' an-nahr in structure of the 'Abbāsid Calīphate. In particular, such questions as origin of the Samanids, administration and ruling system, a legal status, external relations of the Sāmānids and literature of the people in Central Asia during epoch of the Sāmānids are considered. The work is based on little-known data of the medieval textual sources written in 'Arabic, Persian and Turkic, and also on the new readings and interpretations of already known texts with attraction of materials of the historical onomastics, linguistics, terminology, archeology, anthropology, numismatics, epygraphics and ethnology.

The book will be of interest for scientific researchers – historians, orientalists and ethnologs, and also for all who is interested in medieval history of Central Asia.

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PREFACE

In a medieval history of Central Asia, as it is known, the special place belongs to the Sāmānids dynasty, which numerous representatives during the III – IV/IX – X centuries ruled in Bukhārā both other cities and areas of Khurāsān and Mā warā' an-nahr [Frye 1993: 136 – 161; Bosworth 1971: 145 – 147; Negmatov 1977]. There are a lot of historical data on the reign of the Sāmānids in textual sources, as on political, economical situation, and cultural life of that period. However the origin of this dynasty remains till now uncertain [Frye 1993: 136]. Many researchers consider that dynasty of the Sāmānids of the Persian origin [Bosworth 1995: 1025; Belenitsky 1999: 19 – 24; Browne 1997: 207, 352; Lane-Poole 1899: 107] and originated from the Sāsānids dynasty [al-Ziriklī I: 290; Gafurov 1958: 51 – 55; Gafurov 1957: 2 – 3]. It is reflected in works of other researchers [Perry 2003: 118; Manz 2003: 80; Golden 1992: 192] and almost in all encyclopaedic editions [Samanids 1948: 40; Samanids 1956: 916 – 917; Samaniden 1996 XIX: 75; Samanides 1964: SAL; Buchner 1997: 140; Daniel 1988: 371]. Some researchers called them a dynasty of local [Sourdel 1996: 728] or the Türk-Irānian (Afghānī) origin [Louis 1984: 41]. Therefore definition of a true and real origin of the Sāmānids dynasty is one of the most actual problems both for the historical science of Uzbekistan, as of the world historical and oriental studies.

Information about the Sāmānids could be found almost in all of the 'Arabian and Persian textual sources on the history of Central Asia of the pre-Mongol period[1]. There are a lot of valuable data about the Sāmānids in geographical and biographical works of IV – VI/X – XII centuries[2] and other textual sources[3]. There is inmation about existence of a special work devoted to the history of the Sāmānids dynasty – "Ta'rīkh Āl-i Sāmān"

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[1] For example, in such historical works as "Ta'rīkh-i Bukhārā" by al-Narshakhī, "Ta'rīkh Murūdj al-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Djawhar" by al-Mas'ūdī, "Tadjārib al-Umam" by Ibn Miskawayh, "Zayn al-Akhbār" by Gardīzī, "Ta'rīkh al-Yamīnī" by al-'Utbī, "Chahār Maqāla" by Nizāmī 'Arūdī Samarqandī, "al-Kāmil fī-l-Ta'rīkh" by Ibn al-Athīr, "Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūd" by Abū-l-Fadl Bayhaqī, "Ta'rīkh al-Rusul wa-l-Mulūk" by al-Tabarī and its continuations (*dhayl*), the Persian translation and additions of al-Bal'amī to the work of al-Tabarī, "Lubb al-Albāb" by 'Awfī, etc.

[2] These are the works of the 'Arabian geographers of IV/X century: "Kitāb al-Buldān" by Ibn al-Faqīh, "Kitāb al-Kharādj" by Qudāma ibn Dja'far, "Masālik al-Mamālik" by al-Istakhrī, "Sūrat al-Ard" by Ibn Hawqal, "Ahsan al-Taqāsīm ilā Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm" by al-Muqaddasī, and also "Hudūd al-'Ālam", "al-Ansāb" by Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī, "al-Qand fī Dhikr 'Ulamā' Samarqand" by Abū Hafs al-Nasafī, "Mu'djam al-Buldān" by Yāqūt al-Hamawī, "al-Lubāb fī Tadhhīb al-Ansāb" by Ibn al-Athīr, etc.

[3] For example, "al-Āthār al-Bāqiya 'ani-l-Qurūn al-Khāliya" by Abū Rayhān al-Bīrūnī, "Fadā'il-i Balkh" by al-Balkhī, "Siyāsat-Nāma" by Nizām al-Mulk, "Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir wa-l-Tuhaf " by Ibn al-Zubayr, etc.

(History of the House of Sāmān) which did not remain till present day [Bayhaqī: 175; Hāfiz-i Tanish I: 222]. Some important data about the Sāmānids can be found in some sources of the post-Mongol period. Many of them have a great value, because they were borrowed from more earlier textual sources, which have not remained[4]. In the work on a general history "Rawdat al-Safā'" by Mīrkh^{w}ānd (IX/XV c.) there is special section devoted to the history of the Sāmānids [Mīrkh^{w}ānd]. Valuable information about the Sāmānids dynasty gives also their rich numismatics which is being a documental source gives a lot of supplements and corrections of the data of textual sources.

The ancestor of the dynasty Sāmān-Khudāt has appeared on a political arena for the first time in the first quarter of the II/VIII century when he has arrived from Balkh to Marw to the 'Arabian governor of Khurāsān Asad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī (or al-Qushayrī)[5] and asked him to help against his enemies in Balkh. His enemies could be the Turgash tribes living in vicinities of Balkh [Daniel 1988: 371 – 372]. Having received from him the required help and having redeemed his position, Sāmān-Khudāt has accepted Islām with his assistance and named his son Asad in his honour. Later together with his son he took part in the revolt of Abū Muslim in Khurāsān [al-Ziriklī I: 290; Frye 1993: 136]. Subsequently his son Asad served at the court of al-Ma'mūn[6] during his stay in Marw as governor of Khurāsān. Together with him in the court of al-Ma'mūn served also descendants of pre-Islāmic kings of Sughd – al-Ikhshīdh al-Sughdī and Shabīb ibn Bukhār-Khudād al-Balkhī [al-Djāhiz: 75]. The grandsons of Sāmān-Khudāt, the sons of Asad – Nūh, Ahmad, Yahyā and Ilyās took a part in suppression of the revolt of Rāfi' ibn al-Layth (190 – 195/806 – 810) in Central Asia [Narshakhī: 69] and have persuaded him to surrender to the authorities. For these merits al-Ma'mūn before his departure from Marw to Baghdād has ordered to appoint them as governors. So, in 204/819-20 they have been appointed as deputies in some cities of Mā warā' an-nahr: Nūh in Samarqand, Ahmad in Farghāna, Yahyā in al-Shāsh and Ustrūshana, and Ilyās in Harāt under the Tāhirids, the governors of Khurāsān [Negmatov 1977: 18]. Ilyās ibn Asad was outstanding military commander, played an important role in the army of

[4] From such sources, for example "Bahr al-Asrār fī Manāqib al-Akhyār" by Mahmūd ibn Walī, "Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda" by Hamd Allāh Qazwīnī, "Habīb al-Siyar" by Kh^{w}āndamīr, "Mir'āt al-Adwār wa Marhāt al-Aghyār" by al-Lārī, "Abd Allāh-Nāma" by Hāfiz-i Tanish, "Oghuz-Nāma" by Rashīd al-Dīn, Waqf (Nasab)-Nāma of Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad al-Sāmānī, "al-Nudjūm al-Zāhira" by Ibn Taghrī-Bardī, etc.

[5] Abū Mundhir Asad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī – governor of Djurdjān in 98/716-17, and then of Khurāsān in 106 – 109/724 – 728 and 117/735; died in 120/737-38.

[6] al-Ma'mūn – the son of Hārūn al-Rashīd, in 182 – 198/798 – 812 the governor of Khurāsān with residence in Marw, and in 198 – 218/813 – 833 – the Calīph with residence in Baghdād.

the Tāhirids and in 212/827-28 has been appointed as a deputy of Alexandria in Egypt [Bartold 1963a: 267; Bartold 1963a: 223].

In textual sources is mentioned one more son of Sāmān-Khudāt – Ishāq ibn Sāmān, who was in the service of Zuhayr ibn al-Musayyab al-Dabī[7], the military commander of al-Ma'mūn, and has been appointed by him as a deputy of Sīstān before *Shawwāl* of 193 AH/July of 809 AD [Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān: 180, 495]. In other medieval sources his name is not mentioned. Possibly, he took a part in the suppression of revolt of the Khāridjits in Sīstān led by Hamza al-Khāridjī (179 – 195/795 – 811) and has been killed. In medieval sources also is mentioned certain Salama ibn Sāmān al-Bukhārī, and by his name was called a site in medieval Baghdād. There was a mosque al-Bukhāriyya (i.e. of the Bukhārians) with a green minaret [al-Jakūbī: 247; Tskitishvili 1986: 80].

The patrimonial name of the Sāmānids dynasty connected with a name or a title of their ancestor Sāmān-Khudāt, who was the founder and the owner of the settlement named Sāmān (سامان) located, according to sources, in the region of Balkh [Hamzae Ispahanensis: 237; Narshakhī: 132], or Samarqand [al-Moqaddasī: 337 – 338; Jacut III: 13] or Tirmidh [Semenov 1955: 3 – 11].



[7] Zuhayr ibn al-Musayyab al-Dabī – the son of al-Musayyab ibn Zuhayr, who in 130/747-48 was military commander of Qahtaba ibn Shabīb, one of the colleagues of Abū Muslim, and in 163/779-80 he was the governor of Khurāsān.

Chapter One
SĀMĀN-KHUDĀT

The Sāsānids and the Türks

There are various data in textual sources on the question of the origin of Sāmān-Khudāt. According to some information [Macoudī II: 5; al-Moqaddasī: 337 – 338; Jacut III: 13], he was a descendant of the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Bahrām V Gūr (reigned in 420 – 438 AD)[8] or Khusraw I Anūshīrwān (reigned in 531 – 579 AD) [al-Zirikli I: 290]. However the majority of sources erects his family tree to Bahrām Chūbīn (VI century AD) [Hudūd al-'Ālam: 102; al-Istakhrī: 143, 292; Ibn Haukal: 468; Narshakhī: 133; Mīrkh^{w}ānd: 113; Gafurova 1992: 63], who was a military commander of the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Hurmazd[9] IV (reigned in 579 – 590 AD) and was firstly the Marzbān of Armīniya and Ādharbaydjān [al-Dīnawarī: 81][10], and then of Rey and Khurāsān [Macoudī: 213]. There is also information that Bahrām Chūbīn was a Turkic origin and originated from the Oghuz Türks, who were in the service of the Sāsānids [Gumilev 1967: 162; Rizo 1955: 152].

It is known, that Bahrām Chūbīn was pretended to be a descendant of the Arshakids from the noble Parthian family Mihrān[11] from Rey [al-Masūdī: 102, 155; Firdousī 1952: 282], and had the second name Mihrbandak [Shahbazi 1989: 519], i.e. "the slave of Mihr" (in the Armenian sources – Mihrevandak [Ter-Mkrtichan 1979: 58]). Bahrām Chūbīn was a son of Bahrām Gushnāsp [Shahbazi 1989: 520] Djushanās [Bīrūnī 1957: 52], Djushnās [al-Dīnawarī: 81], Djashnās [Ibn Haukal: 472], or Hasīs, the son of Kūzak [Gardīzī: 62]), who was the Marzbān of Ādharbaydjān during the reign of Khusraw I

[8] Bahrām Djūr – the name accepted in the Islāmic tradition for the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Varahran V Gūr (reigned in 420 – 438 AD). The Middle Persian (Pahlavi) name Varahran originated from a name of the Avestian god of victory Varathragna. In the Middle Ages the name of Bahrām was widespread among the Türks too [Shāmī: 54, 70].

[9] In medieval sources this name is resulted in the form of Hurmuz or Hurmuzd; in the scientific literature it is accepted in form Hormizd or Hormuzd. As this name occurs on behalf of Ahura Mazda, the Supreme deity of the Zoroastrian pantheon, in our opinion, it should be read in form of Hurmazd.

[10] Nizām al-Mulk named Bahrām Chūbīn as "*wazīr*" of the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Khusraw II Parwīz (reigned in 590 – 628 AD) [Siyāsat-Nāma: 75].

[11] In the ancient Parthia except the Arshakids were 7 other noble families – Karen Pahlav (in Nihāwand), Suren Pahlav (in Sīstān), Ispahpat Pahlav (in Gurgān), Spandiyat, Mihrān (in Rey), Zīk and some others, who saved their high position during the Sāsānid's reign too [Simokatta: 93; Diakonov 1961: 195, 283].

Anūshīrwān (reigned in 531 – 579 AD). According to other data, he was a descendent of Bahrām IV Kirmān-Shāh [Tarīkh-i-Guzīda: 120].

According to the Byzantine sources, Varam, the son of Bargusn (i.e. Bahrām Chūbīn) was originated from Razaken (Rey), from house of Mirram (Mihrān) of the Arshakids family. In the beginning of his career he has been taken on the detachment of royal body-guards of Shāhān-Shāh, later he commanded a group of horse cavalry, and took part in military campaigns of Khusraw I Anūshīrwān to Babylon and Armenia. He became famous because of his feats of arms at a war. Then he was appointed as a general commander of the Persian army and has been honored by a high title "*Darigbedum* of the king's table" [Simokatta: 93 – 94].

The origin of the Arshakids is connected with the nomad tribes of Central Asia which belonged to a circle of the Scythians [DA: 90; Bartold 1971: 422], and were known in antique sources under the general name *Dahae* (i.e. the Dahs) [Pigulevskaya 1958: 28]. The *Dahae* tribes were mentioned also in the ancient Persian inscriptions as one of tribes of the the *Saka* confederation, which was inhabited in lower bassin of Syr-Darya, and have moved on the south, to borders of Parthia in the III century BC [Vaynberg 1999: 207, 261]. With the *Dahae* tribes had been connected the Chirik-Rabat material culture on Jana-Darya in the Eastern Aral region [Mambetullaev 2004: 100 – 101]. The territory of their initial inhabiting corresponds to the land of the *Saka Tigrahauda*, i.e. "the Saks with sharp headdresses", mentioned among the people subject to the Persians which lived in the area of Aral Lake and are identified with the Massagets of the ancient Greek authors [Piankov 1968: 16].

Having come to power in Parthia, the Arshakids have not lost ties with nomadic steppe, but in opposite, actively supported them by the conclusion of political marriages and the unions, moreover, some from the Arshakids underlined their origin from the nomadic environment [Olbrycht 2003: 98]. On the coins of the Arshakids more often is represented the sitting person in a suit of the nomad, a bow holding in the right outstretched arm [Lapshin 1999: 80, 86]. The bow type has close similarity with the Hunns bows which was the best bows of the end of the 1st thousand BC[12]. At the reign of the Arshakids an army basis of the Parthians made groups of hired nomads of Central Asia [Nikonorov 2005: 142].

The Sāsānids just as the Parthians widely used military forces of the neighbor "Barbarian" tribes. Use of military potential of nomads at the same time provided the constant control over them [Wright 2005: 15 – 31]. There is some information about the

[12] Such type of bows it is also accepted to name "the Hunn-Parthian bow" [Kradin 2000: 10].

Türks, who took part in the military campaigns of the Ahemenids against their enemies[13]. In the IV century AD the Sāsānids used the Khionits in war against Byzantium. In 502 AD the Shāhān-Shāh Kawād united with the Hephtalites troops has undertaken again a campaign against Byzantium, and in 503 AD the Hephtalites were at war in the Caucasus region against the Hunns. In 527 – 532 AD the Sāsānids used the Sawīr tribes in war with Byzantium. Khusraw I Anūshīrwān widely practised also settlements of the warlike tribes on the borders of the empire for creating constant barriers to aggressive nomads [Kolesnikov 1981: 53; Diakonov 1961: 312]. So, according to al-Mas'ūdī, he has duilt the city of Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband), and also a wall in length of 40 *farsakhs* against infidels and has lodged nearby of each gate the tribes of the Khazars, Alans, various clans of the Türks and tribes al-Sarīr (it is probable, Sawīr) for that they protected it from aggressive nomads [Macoudī II: 2]. Sawīr of Sabīr tribes (*Savirai*) are mentioned in the geographical work of Cl.Ptolemaeus [Petrov 2004: 84]. Michael the Syrian (XII c. AD) blamed fatal practice of the Persian kings of involve Turkic groups as mercenaries, because they after going back to home raised their compatriots by stories about riches of cities of the Near East and provoked bloody invasions of nomads [Mokrynin 2004: 69]. The 'Arabian writer al-Djāhiz wrote that the Türk in the country battles not for the sake of religion, not for the sake of the king and not for getting the *al-kharādj*, not for the sake of breeding unity or for possession the woman, not for protection of the native land and the house, and not for money, but only for extracting of war trophies [al-Djāhiz: 82]. According to Ibn Hawqal, some part of the tribe of Badjnaq (بجنق) Türks in ancient times have come off their country and have left it to al-Andalus (الاندلس), then they came to al-Bardha'a (البرذعة), i.e. Parthia [Ibn Haukal: 15]. In this informarion it is possible to see an echo of the real events took place in the ancient time, namely, during a formation epoch of the Parthian kingdom founded by nomadic tribes in the end of the III century BC.

Deputies of the boundary regions which majority was made by representatives of not Īrānian people (Khionits, Hephtalites, Khazars, Türks, Armenians, Georgians, etc.) carried the high Īrānian title Marzbān that means "the defender of border", and entered

[13] Ancient Türks, who had rich traditions in the art of war, served as fired laboure in the armies of different countries. According to the Armenian sources, the Turkic troops made a part of the army of the Ahemenid king Kir [Ter-Mkrtichyan 1985: 66]; according to the Hebrew document from the ancient city Yet in Egypt the military campaign of the Ahemenids to Egypt, which took place in the V century BC, was headed by the Kh^{w}ārizmian Türk named Dragmān, the son of Kharchīn [Meyer 1912: 28; Togan 1981: 416, n. 124].

into circle of higher military estate at the court of the Sāsānids [Kolesnikov 1981: 49, 54, 55]. One of the most closed people among confidants of Khusraw I Anūshīrwān was the Hephtalite named Katulf [Trever 1950: 141]. At the court yard of Anūshīrwān there were representatives of different kings: Türks, Chineses and Khazars [at-Tabarī II: 899]. The Türks are represented on the bullas with prints of the seals of III – beginning of the IV centuries AD from the settlement Djiga-Tepa in the region of Balkh belonged to the higher officials of the Sāsānids state [Kruglikov 1984: 141 – 151]. On some of the Sāsānids seals of the V – VII centuries AD are represented typically Turkic faces and characteristic accessories of the Türks[14], and also plots in so-called "animal style", completely not characteristic for the Īrānians, but popular among the Türks[15]. In the IV/X century as the descendants of the Hephtalites (al-Haytal) considered the Türks of the tribe Khalach and Kandjīna in Tukhāristān [al-Khowarezmī: 119].

There are no doubts that as the Kushans, the Khionits and the Kidarits so the Hephtalites and the Türks were related people lived in Central Asia and adjacent territories. In Avesta the enemies of the religion of Zaratushtra (Zoroastr) are named the Khionits which have appeared only in the IV century AD. Obviously, in the text of Avesta originally there was other ethnographic name. The Irānian epos has gone in this respect further away and in the VI century AD has replaced the Khionits with the Türks. According to another version concerning to the end of the V century AD or the beginning of VI century AD, instead of the Türks are still named the Khionits [Bartold 1971: 390 – 392].

It is known that Khusraw I Anūshīrwān was married the Turkic princess named Kayen [Ter-Mkrtichian 1979: 57], a daughter of the Turkic Qaghan [at-Tabarī I: 899]. This marriage has been concluded as a result of sending of the several Persian embassies to the Türks in 554 AD [Mokrynin 2004: 72]. The name of this Qaghan is transferred in medieval sources as Kūkem Khāqān [Ibnu'l-Balkhī: 24, 94, 98] which was identified with the first Qaghan of the western part of the Turkic Qaghanate, Istamī-Qaghan Dizavul, which in 568 AD sent an embassy to the Byzantium. The same Qaghan is mentioned in "Oghuz-Nāma" by Rashīd al-Dīn as Kūkem Yawkūy [Rashīd al-Dīn 1987:

[14] For example, a portrait with the Mongoloid features and a headdress in the form of horns of a bull [Frye 1971: pl. XV, fig. 81].

[15] Images of a she-wolf feeding two human babies, a horseman, an elephant, a lion, a horse, a camel, a bull, a deer, a wild boar, a goat, an eagle, a pheasant, a crane and other animals and birds [Frye 1971: pl. XXXIX, XLVI – LIV; Bivar 1968a: 69 – 101; 1968b: pl. XV, XX – XXIV; Gignoux 1982: 87 – 117; Gyselen 1995: 39, 43].

94], in the works of Abū-l-Ghāzī – Kūkem Bakūy [Kononov 1958: 69] and al-Tabarī – Sindjībū (Sīr Yabghū) [Togan 1981: 112]. The name of this Qaghan which is transferred in the Byzantian sources in the form of Dizavul is reconstructed as *Sil-Zabul*, i.e. Sīr Yabghū [Zuev 2002: 189].

Khusraw I Anüshīrwān unlike his predecessors, has refused ideas of religionism dominated in the orthodox Zoroastrianism, and pursued a policy of toleration concerning the Christians[16], followers of Mazdak and other religious groups. Mother of Khusraw I Anūshīrwān was a daughter of some *dihqān* which married Shāhān-Shāh Kubād during his campaign to Turkistān [Bayhaqī: 896]. From this data follows that Khusraw I Anūshīrwān in his half was not Īrānian and, probably, had Turkic blood that was his main difference from his predecessors on the Sāsānids throne. The same, probably, speaks also his marriage with the Turkic princess.

Khusraw I Anūshīrwān was known for his educational activity and has worked hard for development of a secular science and culture[17]. For all this he has been nicknamed "Anūshīrwān the Fair" and "the Immortal Soul"[18]. It is known that in his reign the sacred book of ancient Türks "Oghuz-Nāma" which author were certain Ulugh-Khān Atā Bitikchī and some other Turkic transmitters has been translated to the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) language[19]. This book belonged to Buzurg-Mihr Bakhtagān, the *wazīr* of Khusraw I Anūshīrwān [Korogly 1976: 38].

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[16] Anūshīrwān tested contempt for the Christians because his son Anūshak-Zād from his Christian wife has accepted belief of his mother and has rised a revolt against him. However, despite this, Anūshīrwān did not show to the Christians of the hostile relation and has given all of them necessary conditions [Browne 1997: 136, 168, 181].

[17] In 532 AD he has invited to his court from the Byzantium the Neo-Platonist philosophers who were engaged in translations from Greek and Syrian languages on the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) philosophical and scientific compositions, and also he was the founder (circa 550 AD) of the University first in Īrān in Djundīshāpūr (Khūzistān) in which were teached the philosophy and medicine. These traditions have been continued later at the time of the 'Abbāsids by formation of the Islamic Academy of Sciences (*Bayt al-Hikma*) in Baghdād [Browne 1997: 167, 305, 419].

[18] The prorank of Anūshīrwān in the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) is meant "an Immortal Soul» (*anushak-ruban*) [Browne 1997: 107, 135].

[19] This data is resulted in the composition "Durar at-Tidjan wa Tawārīkh Ghurar al-Zaman" ("Pearls and Dates of the Glorified People») by Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh ibn Ay-Bek al-Dawādarī (VIII/XIV c.) which writes that in 211/826-27 the Syrian-Nestorian scholar Djibrīl ibn Bakhtīshū who served at the court of five 'Abbāsid Calīphs from Hārūn al-Rashīd (reigned in 170 – 193/786 – 809) to al-Mutawakkil (reigned in 232 – 247/847 – 861) [Ibn al-Nadīm II: 969], has translated this book on the 'Arabian language, and

Successor of Anūshīrwān on the Sāsānids throne prince Hurmazd IV was in half the Türk, for what he has been nicknamed "Turkzāda", i.e. the descendant of the Türks. Having continued a policy of his father, he conducted ruthless struggle against the Irānian nobility and priests, carried out a peace policy concerning the Christians and leant on the broad masses [Pigulevskaya 1946: 84 – 85], which considerable part made the Hephtalites, the Türks and other not Īrānian people[20]. To him is attributed the statement: "As a throne cannot stay only on forward legs, so a state cannot lean only on the Zoroastrians" [at-Tabarī I: 990]. In the board of Hurmazd IV were minted silver *drachmas* with an accurate image of a cross nearby to the Zoroastrian symbols. Then, these coins were issued not only in the cities of the eastern part of the Sasanids empire, such as Abarshahr, Gurgān, Marwrūd and Rakhwad (al-Rukhhādj), but also in the mints of Stakhr, Bīshapūr, Darabgerd and Ardashīr-Kh^{w}ārra – basic cities of Persia, a cradle of the Sāsānids statehood. There are known also *drachmas* of Varahran VI (Bahrām Chūbīn) with image of a cross, minted in 591 AD in Abarshahr, Harāt and Marw [Kolesnikov 2005: 114 – 115].

So, wedding of the Turkic princess with the Shāhān-Shāh was mutually advantageous political step. The Sāsānids have been interested in it to have an ally against the Hephtalites, and the Türks – to influence on the policy of the Sāsānids. There is an opinion that exactly to this Supreme Turkic Qaghan, which entered to the relationship with the Sāsānids, ascends a family tree of the Sāmānids dynasty [Togan 1972: 112] which in separate sources is erected also to Khusraw I Anūshīrwān [al-Ziriklī I: 290].

In the beginning of the III/IX century was known an 'Arabian speaking poet Ishāq ibn al-Hasan al-Khurramī (died in 200/815-16), native of Sughd. In his verses he asserted that his father Sāsān, and Khusraw ibn Hurmazd (i.e. Khusraw II Parwīz) and Khāqān are his cousins [Browne 1997: 267]. According to some information, Khusraw Abarwīz (Khusraw II Parwīz) also has taken in marriage with the Khātūn (خاتون), the daughter of the Turkic Qaghan from whom was born the successor of a throne Shāhān-Shāh Shīrūye [al-Djāhiz: 100 – 101].

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that he personally saw the 'Arabian version of "Oghuz-Nāma" translated by Djibrīl ibn Bakhtīshū [Köprülü 1976: 25 – 26, 249 – 251; Dede Korkut I: 35 – 37].

[20] During the reign of the Shāhān-Shāh Hurmazd IV Turkzāda executed 13 thousands persons from among the Irānian aristocracy [Bel'ami II: 248].

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Thus, at least 4 of the Īrānian Shāhān-Shāhs (Khusraw I Anūshīrwān, Hurmazd IV Turkzāda, Khusraw II Parwīz and Shīrūye) had family relations with the Turkic Qaghans. In the history of Irān were known only two ruled queens. One of them, Būrān (-Dokht), was a daughter of Khusraw II Parwīz (590 – 627 AD) from Maryam, the daughter of the Byzantian emperor of Mauritius, and she ruled only one year and 4 months (630 – 631 AD). The second, Azarme (-Dokht), ruled of all some months [Bayani 1973: 50]. Erection on a throne and board of these two queens contradicted traditions of the Sāsānids Irān and, most likely, has been connected with the state traditions of the Türks at which women occupied high position in a society, and the queens (Khātūn) took active part in government affairs [Kamoliddin 2005: 16 – 24].

According to al-Narshakhī, in due time one of the descendants of Khusraw I Anūshīrwān named Shāpūr has located in Sughd whom, having squabbled with his father, had ran from him to Bukhārā. The governor of Bukhārā, the Bukhār-Khudāt, has met him well and has taken away to him a land possession. Shāpūr has spent there a channel which subsequently began to be called Shāpūrkām (i.e. channel of Shāpūr) and has based on its coast some settlements, including the settlement Wardāna which was on border with Turkistān. Then all these possessions were transferred in the inheritance to his descendants Wardān-Khudāts [Narshakhī 23, 34 – 35].

There is data that in board of Khusraw I Anūshīrwān during certain period of time[21] took place close relations of Irān with the Türks. So, Ibn Khordadhbeh results a legend according to which, he has built the cities of Balandjar and Samandar in the territory of the Khazar Qaghanate [Ibn Khordadhbeh: 123][22]. Inhabitants of these cities, possibly, were the Türks-Balandjars and Khazars [Romashov 2000: 219 – 338]. To Bahrām Chūbīn also is attributed foundation of some cities in the country of the Türks. So, according to the legend, he has based the city of Sarīr al-Dhahab (the Gold Throne) which was a capital city of the Turkic Qaghan. It was in the Khazar steppe to the north of Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband) and during an epoch of the Late Middle Ages it was known as Sarāy Bātū [Mahmūd ibn Walī: 41]. In the IV/X century is mentioned the area named al-Sarīr which was located in 4 days of travelling from Bāb al-Abwāb (i.e. Darband) which inhabitants were the Christians. According to the legend, the king of this city Filān-Shāh was a Christian from descendants of Bahrām Gūr. When the last Persian

[21] During the period before the deterioration of relations which were taking place after unsuccessful embassy of the Türks led by the Sogdian Maniakh to the court yard of Khusraw I Anūshīrwān.

[22] According to the legend, a name of Balandjar carried one of sons of Yāfath ibn Nūh (Bibl. Iaphet) [Ibn al-Fakīh: 289].

king Yazdigird III ran away from the ‘Arabs to the Türks, he has given a gold throne, treasury and property to one of descendants of Bahrām Gūr for that he has gone to this country [Macoudī II: 41]. According to other data, this person was descendant of Bahrām Chūbīn [al-Istakhrī: 223; Grigoriev, Frolov 2001: 260, 280].

In the board of the Calīph al-Wāthiq (ruled in 227 – 232/842 – 847) the governor of al-Sarīr is called as the king of the Alans, carried a title Tarkhān [Demidchik 1977: 120]. To Bahrām Chūbīn is attributed also foundation of the city named Sarwast (سروست) in the country of the Türks [Mustawfī-i Qazwīnī: 121]. In the country of the Kīmāks is mentioned the settlement Dīh-i Chūb [Hudūd al-‘Ālam: 100]. This data allows assume that Bahrām Chūbīn after his flight from Irān was resided at the Türks for a long time before he has been killed.

However, this should be happened not later the beginning of the VII century AD because when in 611 AD came to power Djīk (Zīk, Shīkh)-Qaghan, has gained in the union with the Hephtalites a big victory over the Sāsānids and has confirmed the power in all east part of Irān up to Rey and Isfahān[23], Bahrām Chūbīn is not mentioned any more. Though subsequently the Türks have taken away their armies back to Amu Darya, they continued to play an important role in the subsequent history of the Sāsānids Empire[24]. So, according to the Chinese sources, murder of Khusraw II Parwīz (Ko-su-ho) and erection on a throne of his son Shīrūye (Se-li) has been planned by Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan [Chavannes 1903: 171]. After that the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāhs became to be controlled by the Turkic Qaghans [Togan 1981: 73 – 74]. In 629 AD after Shīrūye and his son Ardashīr on the Sāsānids throne has been erected Khusraw Kharkhān (Kharmāz), the son of Arslān, the son of Bāyunchūr who was one of the descendants of the Sāsānids lived in the country of the Türks [Ibnu’l-Balkhī: 24, 109].

According to the legend, Khusraw I Anūshīrwān has based also a city in Farghāna, has moved there people from each house and named that place Har Khāna (*az har khāna*), i.e. “from each house” [Ibn Khordadhbeh: 30]. The same legend is fixed in the

[23] In the Forughī collection of the Sāsānids seals (Irān) there are two seals, on which by the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) and Turkic Runic letters had been fixed name of this Qaghan, and also a medallion with his image in a profile and Middle Persian (Pahlavi) legend with his name. It is supposed that the seal has been let out for administration of the won territories, and a medal – for memory of his victory [Harmatta, Litvinsky 1996: 369].

[24] In our opinion, it should be considered that the beginning of this planned and purposeful process was a board of Khusraw I Anūshīrwān which married the daughter of the Turkic Qaghan.

full version of the work of Ibn al-Faqīh[25] and in later sources [Mahmūd ibn Walī: 64; Bakrān: 51; al-Bakūwī: 96]. According to al-Mas'ūdī, the city which has founded Khusraw I Anūshīrwān in Farghāna, was called Qubā (قبا) [Macoudī IV: 507; VIII: 701].

Stability of this legend in people's tradition can speak that in board of Khusraw I Anūshīrwān could be really based a colony of Persians in Farghāna and some part of the Irānian population is moved there. This assumption proves to be true the information of al-Tabarī according to which, Khusraw I Anūushīrwān, having concluded an alliance with the Türks, has made a campaign against the Hephtalites[26] and has reached Farghāna where has he left his army [at-Tabarī I: 899]. The last period of Bahrām Chūbīn's life after his flight to the Türks also has been connected with Farghāna [Gumilev 1960: 229 – 230].

The last Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Yazdigird III (reigned in 632 – 651 AD), running from the 'Arabs to the Türks, had a residence in Farghāna [IK: 1b; at-Tabarī I: 2689, 2692]. In the composition of al-Tabarī it is noticed that in 29/649-50 the Calīph 'Uthmān (ruled in 23 – 35/644 – 656) has sent to Khurāsān 'Umar ('Umayr) ibn 'Uthmān ibn Sa'd who was forwarded through the Djayhūn river and has arrived to Farghāna [at-Tabarī I: 2829]. Abū 'Alī Bal'amī in his addition to the "History" of al-Tabarī carries this event to 31/651-52. It is supposed that this first prospecting campaign of the 'Arabs had the purpose to spend there searches of Yazdigird III [Djalilova 1991: 7]. In the beginning of the II/VIII century are mentioned the Persians (*al-'Adjam*)[27] which lived in Farghāna and the country of the Türks [IK: 167a]. From circle of the Persian immigrants, apparently, was the native and descendant of the Sāsānids Khusraw Kharkhān (Kharmāz), the son of Arslān, the son of Bāyunchūr who lived in the country of the Türks, and in 8/629-30 by support of the Türks has been set on the Sāsānids throne after Shīrūye and his son Ardashīr [Ibnu'l-Balkhī: 24, 109]. The echo of these events has remained in the people's legends, according to which, after the 'Arabs have gained Persia (*al-'Adjam*), the Persians ran from them and have resided in Farghāna [Shāh Hakīm: 17]. One of descendants of Yazdigird III, *dihqān* Kamkār, lived in vicinities of Marw [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 44]. The celebrated Muslim lawyer (*al-faqīh*), the

[25] It is resulted in the composition of Zakariyā Qazwīnī who is referred to Ibn al-Faqīh [Demidchik 1977: 122].

[26] This event took place in 554 AD [Trever 1950: 129].

[27] In the work of al-Tabarī in this place: "one non-'Arab (*al-'Adjam*) from inhabitants of Khurāsān has told..." [at-Tabarī II: 1300].

founder of the *al-Hanafiyya* law school (*al-madhhab*) Abū Hanīfa al-Nu'mān ibn Thābit ibn Kamkār ibn Yazdidjird ibn Shahriyār (died in 150/767) was his descendant in the 4th generation [al-Karshī: 63].

Qutaiba ibn Muslim during his gain of Mā warā' an-nahr was at war with the son of Yazdigird III named Fīrūz [al-Masūdī: 101]. He has captured his daughter Shāh-Farind and has sent her to al-Hadjdjādj ibn Yūsuf and that to the Calīph al-Walīd, from which she has given birth to al-Yazīd [at-Tabarī II: 1247]. With her there was a casket in which there was a book written in the Persian language [Ibn al-Fakīh: 209]. In the Chinese sources is mentioned the grandson of Yazdigird III named Nerse (Ni-huan-shi) which in 58/677-78 had a residence at court yard of the Chinese emperor, and then has headed the anti-'Arabian revolt in Tukhāristān [al-Tabarī 1988: 17, n. 16]. In 110/728-29 the son of Yazdigird III named Khusraw took part in the battle at Kamardja on the party the Turkic Qaghan [at-Tabarī II: 1518]. In the chronicle of 720 AD it is informed on arrival to Japan in the second half of the VII century AD of the people of Tukhāristān which were a notable origin and bore the Irānian names. It is supposed that they were descendants of Yazdigird III [Gikio 1979: 55 – 63]. The founder of the Ghaznawids dynasty Sabuk-Tigīn originated from the Qarluqs of the city of Barskhān, located near the Isyq-Kūl Lake, near to the city of Atbāsh erected his family tree to Yazdigird III [Bosworth 1962: 220; Bosworth 1963: 39 – 40].

Proceeding from the data set forth above, it is possible to assume that Farghāna was the native land of the Turkic Qaghan with whom the Sāsānids have entered family relationship.

The Turkic ruler of Bukhārā El Arslān (Shīr-i Kishwar, Sāwa-Shāh) was a relative of the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Hurmazd IV Turkzāda on a parent line [Bel'amī II: 248]. When Bahrām Chūbīn in 589 AD has taken prisoner his son El-Tigīn (Parmūda, Nili-Khān) in Baykand and has sent him to Hurmazd IV, the last has accorded him magnificent welcome and after conclusion of peace has released with honour [Bel'amī II: 265; Firdousī VI: 656 – 657]. According to other data, El-Tigīn (Parmūda) has not been taken prisoner, but he has voluntary gone himself to the Shāhān-Shāh Hurmazd IV for negotiations [Gumilev 1969: 132]. From this data follows that Shīr-i Kishwar (Sāwa-Shāh) was the nephew of Istamī-Qaghan's daughter which married the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Khusraw I Anūshīrwān.

In the IV/X century in Nishāpūr lived a transmitter of the al-Hadīth Abū Mansūr Muhammad ibn 'Alī ibn Ahmad ibn Dayzil al-Djallāb al-Fārisī al-Dayzilī (died in 345/956-57), which had a *nisba* concerned to his ancestor named Dayzil. According to

Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Hākim al-Hāfiz al-Naysābūrī from which book transfered al-Sam‘ānī, his clan had very ancient origin, but he always preferred a solitude and avoided people. Earlier he lived in Baghdād and then has moved to Nishāpūr [al-Sam‘ānī V: 399]. The name of this ancestor is probable should be read as Dīzabul (دیزبل) instead of Dayzīl (دیزیل), because such name is not present either among the ‘Arabs, or the Persians. In that case it is possible to assume that he was one of descendants of the first Qaghan of the Western Turkic Qaghanate which is mentioned in the Byzantian sources with a name Dizavul. Among the Türks it was accepted to give to children names of their distant ancestors, especially, if they were known persons. Name of this Qaghan, which sent in 568 AD an embassy to Byzantium, was reconstructed as Sīr Yabghū (from *Sil-Zabul*) [Zuev 2002: 189]. One of his descendants, namely hereditary son of Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan, also used a name Sīr Yabghū.

In III/IX century in Baghdād lived certain Khāqān (died in 234/848-49), who was a descendant of the pre-Islāmic kings of Farghāna [al-Jakūbī: 258, 266; al-Sūlī: 104]. His sons and the grandsons, who have accepted Islām, were the high-ranking officials, big military leaders, deputies, *wazīrs* and the most closed people to the ‘Abbāsid Calīphs[28]. To his clan were concerned such known persons as al-Fath ibn Khāqān (died in 248/862-63), Yahyā ibn Khāqān (died in 240/854-55) Baghlawur ibn Khāqān, Takīn ibn Khāqān, Abū-l-‘Abbās Ahmad ibn Khāqān al-Farghānī, etc. [al-Sūlī: 63, 104, 117, 127; Ibn Miskawaih: 68, 69, 174, 420, 421, 424, 561; Ibn al-Nadīm I: 116; al-Masūdī: 362, 379]. From Balkh originated the al-Hadīth transmitter Muhammad ibn Khāqān al-Barūqānī al-Balkhī [al-Sam‘ānī II: 176]. In the III/IX century are mentioned also certain persons named Khāqān al-Khādim al-Turkī, Khāqān ‘Atrudj [al-Jakūbī: 258; al-Masūdī: 190, 191], Khāqān ibn Ahmad and Khāqān al-Aflahī [Ibn Miskawaih: 115, 225, 244], who were served at the court of the Calīphs in Baghdād. Masrūr al-Farghānī was the body-guard and close friend of the Calīph Hārūn al-Rashīd [al-Isfahānī: 419]. The Farghānian was also Azkū-Tigīn ibn Asā-Tigīn, a military leader of the Calīph al-Muwaffaq [Ibn al-Fakih 1968: 59]. To one of kings (*malik*) of Farghāna erected his family tree al-Hadīth transmitter ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muhammad ibn Farankadīk Hādjib ibn Malik ibn Arkīn al-Turkī al-Farghānī (died in 306/918-19) [Jacut IV: 931]. Tughdj ibn Djaf ibn Djaf ibn Yil-Takīn ibn Fawrān ibn Fūrī ibn Khāqān al-Farghānī and his son Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Tughdj al-Farghānī [Ibn Miskawaih V: 508, 553, 577; Ibn Khallikān I: 41 – 44], which were founders of a dynasty of the Ikhshīdids, ruled in the

[28] His descendants concerned to him with a *nisba* al-Khāqānī [al-Sam‘ānī V: 22].

IV/X century in Egypt and Syria [EI IV: 418; Bosworth 1971: 76], considered themselves as descendants of the Ikhshīdhs, pre-Islāmic kings of Farghāna [al-Masūdī: 194, 371; EI III: 1060]. It is possible to assume that they were descendants of that Qaghan El-Tigīn at the court of whom Bahrām Chūbīn has spent his last days[29]. In a family tree of some representatives of the Ikhshīdids dynasty among ancestors is called certain Bīghdjūr al-Ikhshīd [Ibn al-Nadīm I: 173, 174, 235; al-Ziriklī I: 165]. In 268/881-82 on the post of the deputy of al-Basra in al-'Irāq has been appointed certain Qaysar, a descendant of Arkhūz, the Ikhshīd of Farghāna [at-Tabarī III: 2016]. According to other sources, during an epoch of the 'Arabian gains the Ikhshīd of Farghāna used a Turkic name Suwār-Takīn [al-Khowarezmī: 119; Ibn al-Nadīm I: 280]. His descendant, possibly, was Wasīf ibn Suwār-Takīn al-Khādim al-Biktamīrī, who lived in Baghdād [Ibn Miskawaih: 48, 56, 64, 116, 119, 125, 162, 270]. In the composition of al-Tabarī are mentioned the pre-Islāmic kings of Farghāna al-Tār or Alatār, Balāz and Djūr [at-Tabarī II: 1440]. In the Middle Ages the name of "Khāqān" was carried the big channel flowing in the south of the city Andīdjān [Bābūr-Nāma: 121, 122], and one of the city gates of Andīdjān [Bābūr-Nāma: 77, 121].

Bahrām Chūbīn

After the well-known victory of Bahrām Chūbīn over the armies of the Hephtalites and the Türks in 588 AD[30] the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Hurmazd IV presented him Balkh and all of Khurāsān[31]. After a murder of Chol-Khāqān[32] his son Yil (El)-Tigīn[33] took

[29] Besides, in textual sources are mentioned some more Qaghans of that time: Manūsh-Khāqān, Fayrūz-Khāqān, Khaylūb-Khāqān, etc. [Ibn Khordadhbeh: 40 – 41].

[30] As a result of this war the Turkic Qaghanate has lost the power and has broken up to two Qaghanates – the East and the Western [Harmatta, Litvinsky 1996: 368 – 369].

[31] According to the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) sources, Spandiyāt, the son of Vishtāsp, has built in Pahl (Balkh) sparkling capital Nawāzak and has based in it wonder-working fire of Vahrām [Markwart 1931: 10].

[32] This Qaghan has been identified with El Arslān, the son of Tardū-Qaghan (in 576 – 587 AD – Qaghan of the Western Türks; in 587 – 603 AD – Qaghan of the East Türks) and grandson of Istamī-Qaghan (reigned in 562 – 576 AD). In the history of al-Narshakhī he is mentioned under a name Shīr-i Kishwar [Frye 1954: 108, n. 28]; in the Chinese sources – Yang-Su T'ele (Tigīn), in the 'Arabian sources – Shāba or Shiyāba [Ibn Khordadhbeh: 40], and in the Persian sources – Sāwa-Shāh or Sāwkh [Gumilev 1967: 115, 132]. Asilan Dagan (Arslān Tarkhān) of the Chinese sources also is identified with him [Chavannes 1903: 149; Zuev 2002: 200].

cover in the fortress of Paykand[34]. Bahrām Chūbīn lay siege to the fortress and forced him to surrender at discretion, and captured a great booty. However only its part he has sent to Hurmazd IV and the rest of it he has appropriated for himself. This has caused anger of the Shāhān-Shāh, and he has displaced him from his post [Macoudī II: 213 – 214; al-Dīnawarī: 84 – 85]. According to other data, after a victory over the Türks in Baykand Bahrām Chūbīn has been directed to the Caucasus where he was at war against the Byzantian armies. In this war Bahrām Chūbīn has suffered defeat and then he has been displaced from his post [Simokatta: 77 – 80][35]. However he has refused to obey to Hurmazd IV and has excited against him revolt in 590 AD in Balkh [Harmatta, Litvinsky 1996: 368 – 369]. Having concluded an alliance with the Türks, he took military divisions of the Turkic volunteers under this command, and has moved with an incorporated army to Ktesifon, the capital of the Sāsānids[36]. He had been supported also by the most part of the local population [Guseynov 1960: 35]. Meanwhile the local nobility has deposed Hurmazd IV and has enthroned his son Khusraw II Parwīz. In the summer of 590 AD Bahrām Chūbīn has entered with his armies to Ktesifon and has proclaimed himself as Shāhān-Shāh. Before that he was crowned near to Tirmidh. He declared the Sāsānids usurpers of the legitimate authority which by right belonged to the Parthian Arshakids, and himself – as the lawful successor of their power [Shahbazi 1989: 521]. Khusraw II Parwīz ran from the capital and escaped to Byzantium to the

[33] Yil-Tigīn or Īl-Tīgīn, i.e. El-Tigīn. In the Chinese sources he is mentioned under a name Nili-(Khān), and in the Persian sources – Parmūda or Narmūd [Togan 1981: 72]. With him is connected construction of a Buddhist temple in Kashmir and penetration of the Buddhism into Bukhārā region [Stavisky 1960: 115]. The name Parmūda is an Īrānian calque of the Turkic name Sāwa Buyuruq [Gumilev 1967: 132].

[34] According to Firdawsī, this fortress was called Āwāza [Firdousi 1952: 68].

[35] However about this battle of Bahrām Chūbīn with the Byzantines it is known only from the data of the Byzantian sources, and also from the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) sources which Firdawsī used. Other 'Arabian and Persian authors of the Middle Ages know nothing about defeat of Bahrām Chūbin from the Byzantines [Diakonov 1961: 315, 413, n. 195]. It is supposed that here mean the military operations, which Persians conducted on Caucasus against the Khazars, supported by the Byzantines [Pigulevskaya 1946: 81), and a commander which was at war with them was not Bahrām Chūbīn, who at that time was still in Khurāsān and had been engaged by a war with the Türks, but another commander named Bahrām, the son of Siyāwush [al-Dīnawarī: 86; Ibnu'l-Balkhī: 102; Gumilev 1960: 228 – 229].

[36] The quantity of the Türks in the army of Bahrām Chūbīn was numerous enough since the sources specify that together with him "has gone a set of the brave and aggressive people of the East, and Khusraw II Parwīz has personally killed three Turkic military leaders who were on the service of Bahrām Chūbīn [Gumilev 1960: 237 – 239]. Among prisoners of this war there was a set of the Türks which Khusraw has sent to the emperor Mauritius as victorious gifts. On a forehead of these captives has been cut out the Christian cross which they "have received from their mothers" [Simokatta: 130 – 131].

emperor Mauritius. Having usurped the Supreme power of the Sāsānids, Bahrām Chūbīn ruled more than one year also and even had a time for minting of some coins with his image[37]. In 591 AD incorporated army of the Sāsānids supported by the Armenian, the Georgian and Byzantine troops, have defeted army of Bahrām Chūbīn near the river Baliarat in Armenia, and have captured many Türks who had on a forehead a cross sign [Simokatta: 131]. After that Bahrām has been forced to escape to the East – to the land of the Türks and settled in Farghāna [Gumilev 1960: 229 – 230]. He became a friend and an adviser of the Turkic Qaghan Parmūda (El-Tigīn) [Mustawfī-i Qazwīnī: 121][38], having married his daughter[39]. However after some time he has been murdered by the hired killer who had been sent by Khusraw II Parwīz [Chavannes: 242 – 245; Gumilev 1967: 131 – 132; Usanova 1995: 29].

There is an opinion that in all of this history it is a question not about Supreme the Turkic Qaghan, and about the Hephtalite ruler of Balkh who had a Bactrian title *šawa* ("king"), and his son who had a title *pariowk* (*parmowk*), the descendants of whom were the holders of the Naw-Bahār temple the Barmakids[40]. In that case, Sāwa-Shāh and Chol-Khāqān as well as Parmūda and El-Tigīn, should be the different persons who were at war together against the Sāsānids. El-Tigīn is mentioned also in the Armenian sources of the VII century AD [Gukasian 1971: 250]. If to consider that after defeat of the Hephtalites and the Türks in 590 AD the great part of Tukhāristān has been occupied by the armies of the Sāsānids, Bahrām Chūbīn could escape from the pursuit of them only outside of that country, most likely, to the north[41], i.e. to "the Khāqān of Chīn" Parmūda (El-Tigīn), who was a relative of the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Hurmazd IV Turkzāda on a parent line [Bel'amī II: 248, 265; Firdousī VI: 656 – 657; Firdousī 1952:

[37] There are known *drachma* and *dīnārs* with his image and with inscription Var(a)hran [Göbl 1971: 80; pl. 12, No. 203 – 204; Nöldeke 1879: 282].

[38] By data of al-Dīnawarī, the Turkic Qaghan has done to him an honour, has built for him and for his people a city and a palace. When Bahrām Chūbīn in a fair duel has killed the Qaghan's brother, which was his ill-wisher, the qaghan has even more ennobled him [al-Dīnawarī: 98 – 102].

[39] He has rescued the Qaghan's daughter from a wild animal (dragon-lion), which attacked on her when she left on walk, then the Qaghan has given him his daughter and a kingdom [Macoudī II: 223 – 224; Firdousī 1952: 302; Mustawfī-i Qazwīnī: 120 – 121].

[40] The word *pariowk* (*parmowk*) which is transferred in the Armenian sources in form *barmuka*, and in the 'Arabian sources – Barmūda, is made from a Buddhist title Pramukha [Harmatta, Litvinsky 1996: 371; Frye 1956: 122].

[41] According to Firdawsī in case if Sāwa-Shāh will not accept him under his protection, Bahrām Chūbīn planned to go for the south, to Hindustān [Firdousī 1952: 295].

291 – 294] because his father Shīr-i Kishwar (Sāwa-Shāh) was the nephew of Istami-Qaghan's daughter which married the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Khusraw I Anūshīrwān.

New family relations of Bahrām Chūbīn, most likely, have been connected with Farghāna where later had a residence his descendants who considered themselves as "the holders of royal blood" [Kamaliddinov 1996: 116 – 117] and were pretended to the Supreme power in the Sāsānids Īrān[42].

Some additions to this data have made numismatical sources. There are known silver *drachmas* with abbreviation SML (Samarqand) minted in the second year of board of Hurmazd IV (i.e. in 580 – 581 AD) and from the third till the fifth years of board of Khusraw II (i.e. in 592 – 594 AD). On the *drachma* of Hurmazd IV dated by the sixth year of his board (i.e. 584 – 585 AD), are designated the full name of the area of Chāch (*čač*). Only during board of Hurmazd IV (in 581, 584, 586 – 588 AD) were minted drachmas on a mint of Khulm (XLM) located to the east from Balkh [Kolesnikov 2005: 114]. This data allows assume that military expansion of Bahrām Chūbīn's army against the Türks was more extensive, than it was supposed earlier, and covered not only the areas of Balkh and Bukhārā, but also more remote areas of the Turkic Qaghanate, including Samarqand and Chāch.

These are in brief all of the data about the life and activity of Bahrām Chūbīn containing in the Byzantian, Armenian, Middle Persian (Pahlavi), 'Arab-Muslim and other sources.

It was supposed that the second name of Bahrām Chūbīn – "Chūbīn" or "Chūbīna"[43] in Middle Persian (Pahlavi) of the time of later Sāsānids had a meaning of "a raven" (or "a crow") [Wolf 1953: 301][44], and it was nickname of Bahrām on a court slang of time of Shāhān-Shāh Hurmazd IV (reigned in 576 – 590 AD) [Firdousī VI: 654 – 655]. In the geographical treatise of the second half of the VIII century AD, which was translated to the Tibetan, among the Turkic tribes and people inhabited at that time in Central Asia, is mentioned a tribe named Gar-rga-pur, lived on the neighbourhood with the tribes Yan Ti (the Kushans) and He-bdal (the Hephtalites) [Gumilev 1967: 162; Abdurasul Ogli 1997: 72]. Apparently, in this text it is a question of the people inhabited Tukhāristān which

[42] It should be noticed that medieval sultāns of Shīrwān also considered themselves as descendants of Bahrām Chūbīn [Nawā'ī: 204].

[43] This name is mentioned in sources in various forms: Chobīn, Chopīn, Chūpīn, Djūbīn, Shūbīn, etc. In some late sources meets also a form "Chūba" [Azimov 1999: 26, 158, 160].

[44] In the New Persian the word *chūbīn* (چوبین) means "wooden", and the word *chūbīne* (چوبینه) means "a crane" [PRS I: 480]; for "raven" in the New Persian is used the word *kūlāgh* or *zāghan* [RPS: 91].

was at that time a part of the Western Turkic Qaghanate. There is an opinion that ethnonym Gar-rga pur consists of two words: Turkic *gar-rga* ("raven")[45] and Persian *pūr* ("son")[46], the first of which is a calque of the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) word *chūbīn* ("raven"). It was the name of the descendents of Bahrām Chūbīn, who were inhabited in Balkh, given them by the Türks [Gumilev 1967: 162]. In the sources of antique time among the people lived in the east of the Caucasus, along with the Albans and the Caspians are mentioned the Gargars. In the territory of Ādharbaydjān till now have remained hydronym Karkar and toponym Kharkhar [Aliev 1974: 178]. In one of the Sogdian documents from the Mugh mountain (beginning of the VIII century AD) is mentioned the Turkic governor named Chūbīn Chūr Bilga (reading of V.A.Livshitz) who within 15 years was the governor of the city of Panch (Pandjikent) and of the mountain area of Kasht (or Bakht) [Smirnova 1963: 11]. This document confirms the fact of distribution of the name Chūbīn among the Türks of Central Asia during an epoch of the Early Middle Ages.

The raven or a crow is a central character in the mythologies of the people of Siberia and Indians of the North America where it appears as super ancestor, the cultural hero and the mighty *shaman* [Melitinsky 1991: 245]. For the ancient Türks the Raven was a symbol of a rising Sun which along with the morning blue Sky personified the Supreme deity of Tangri. Image of the Red Raven in form of an eagle who has spread wings is placed on a tiara of the pre-Islāmic Turkic prince Kül-Tigīn [Zuev 2002: 24, 226]. In the Kirghiz epos something in common with it has the image of a bird of Kara-Kush which are coming to the rescue people. In the Irānian epos this bird carries the name of Semurgh [Korogly 1983: 53]. In the Middle Ages among the Türks has been extended the name of Qarā-Qūsh [Ibn al-Athīr XI: 169]. On Av of the Qarā-Khānids coins are put images of a pigeon, a cock, a bird with a baby bird, birds with a flower etc. [Kochnev 1993: 14]. According to the Chinese sources, patrimonial totem of the ancient Turkic tribes U-shi, i.e. Usun, which called also the Hunns, was a raven [Zuev 1960: 11 – 13]. In the art of the people of Central Asia there was widespread an image of a bird of prey (an eagle, a horned owl, etc.) Embodied in gold or bronze which connected the symbolical image of the sun or incarnation of the Farn [Vorobieva 1988: 41 – 42]. The image of an eagle has been closely connected with mythology of the Shamanism of the

[45] In the Old Turkic the word *karga* meant "a raven", "a crow" [DTS: 426]. In the present Turkic languages are used forms *kurgun* (a raven) and *karga* (a crow) [RTS: 103].

[46] According to some information, the word *pūr* had originated from Farghāna, where the Chinese emperor was called as "the son of the sky", *baghpūr* or *faghfūr* [Bartold 1963ϭ: 215].

people of Siberia according to which kind spirits of the sky have sent the king of eagles (two headed eagle) on the earth that it has helped to people. The eagle has gone down on the earth and has incorporated with the woman sleeping under a tree. As a result of this union the first *shaman* was born. Under an eagle is born the spiritual beginning of the person for which the eagle is a bird of the Sun. The theme of an eagle and the nomad was popular in the Kushans art. The Arshakids eagle also concerned this pantheon though represented in a bit different tradition [Mustanmidi 1972: 81, 83]. In the Middle Ages among the Türks have been extended names connected with birds such as Ak-Kush (White Bird), Kara-Kush (Black Bird), Ala-Kush (Motley Bird), Boz-Kush (Grey Bird), Tun-Kush (Night Bird), Lachin (Falcon), Sunkur (Falcon), Sunkurcha (a bird similar to a falcon), Ak-Sunkur (White Falcon), Kara-Sunkur (Black Falcon), Togan (Predatory Bird), etc. [Tardjumān: 60 – 62].

In the mythological tradition of the people of Near East, North Africa, Europe and India the raven is the demonic character and personifies the misfortune and the evil omen [Melitinsky 1991: 245]. In the Sāsānids Irān the image of a raven more often was used for a designation of hostile strangers[47].

It should be considered that the name, which appears a raven, could be given to such person as Bahrām Chūbīn[48] only among the people, in whose imagination this bird had been appeared as a positive hero[49]. After that when Asad ibn ‘Abd Allāh has restored in 107/725-26 the city of Balkh, its inhabitants which majority made the Hephtalites and the Türks [al-Idrīsī IV: 483; Gibb 1923: 8 – 9], have nicknamed him “a Crow” (*al-Zāgh*) [IK: 210b]. The image of the ravens can be met on the Sāsānids seals [Frye 1971: pl. 46, fig. 139; pl. 47, fig. 143], which, as well as some others [Frye 1971: pl. 39, fig. 77, 78,

[47] In one story the ‘Arabian prince complained to Kusraw I Anūshīrwān that “his land was grasped by ravens”; the last has asked: “What ravens – from Abissinia or from India?”, on what the ‘Arab has answered: “the Abissinian” [Browne 1997: 179].

[48] The image of Bahrām Chūbīn remained in memory of people as the national hero and during the Sāsānids time about him has been composed the historical novel “Bahrām Choben-Namak” (“the Book about Bahrām Chūbīn”) in the Middle Persian (Pahlavi), and subsequently it layed down in a basis of legends about Bahrām Chūbīn, which had been fixed in the works of medieval ‘Arabian and Persian authors [Browne 1997: 108; Diakonov 1961: 20, 316].

[49] Such known hero as Bahrām Chūbīn, about feats of which there were known people’s legends, could not be named by this name in an environment in which the raven personified the demonic being foretelling misfortune and evil omen. About a process of transformation of an image of Bahrām Chūbīn in a figure of the hero of the national epos see: Czegdely 1958: 21 – 43.

78a; pl. 47, fig. 79, 81; pl. 52, fig. 198, 199], belonged to persons obviously of the not Īrānian origin.

It is possible to assume also that the nickname of Bahrām Chūbīn could reflect his patrimonial accessory to an above mentioned tribe Kar-rga (Karga). There is a data that one of the ancestors of Bahrām Chūbīn used a name Chūbīn ibn Mīlād. He was from a clan of Anūsh[50] known as al-Rām [Macoudī II: 213]. Hence, the name "Chūbīn" could be a patrimonial name of Bahrām Chūbīn which was the Persian calque of its Turkic original Karga". The same Chūbīn ibn Mīlād who was ancestor of Bahrām Chūbīn in the 19th generation, in other sources is mentioned under a name Karkīn [Usanova 1995: 27], Kargīn ibn Mīlād [Gardīzī: 62] or Gargīn ibn Mīlād [Mustawfī-i Qazwīnī I: 94, 120]. Gargīn, the son of Mīlād, had mentioned in "Shāh-Nāma" by Firdawsī among the knights and military leaders of ancient Īrānian king Kay-Kāwus [Firdousi I: 353, 355, 390, 399, 403, 413, 419, 442, 448, 450], and is characterised as martial, brave, tried and tested in battles, fearless and proud hero [Firdousi III: 29, 82, 114, 117, 198, 214, 360, 436], although he perpetrated a treachery and betrayed his companion in arms to Afrāsiyāb [Bertels 1960: 225 – 226]. His father, Mīlād, also was one of the Īrānian heroes and athletes, and the head of the country during a campaign of the Īrānian king Kay-Kāwus from Balkh to Māzandarān [Firdousi I: 360; III: 114, 117, 404]. In the region of Hamadān is mentioned the settlement named Mīlād-djird [Mustawfī of Qazwīn: 72]. In the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) inscriptions written on the Sāsānids seals, was mentioned Gargarayān, the city in al-'Irāq [Gyselen 2002: 153].

Among ancestors of the mythological Qaghan of the Türks Afrāsiyāb in his family tree is mentioned Karkīn who was a son of Yāfath ibn Nūh (Bibl. Iaphet) [al-Karshī: 101]. In the other family tree of the same Afrāsiyāb instead of the name Karkīn is resulted the name Türk as a son of Yāfath ibn Nūh [al-Karshī: 63].

Among medieval nomadic Turkman-Oghuz tribes is mentioned the tribe (*el*) named Karkīn [Kononov 1958: 68, 72]. Name of Karkīn (Qarqīn) carried one of the legendary ancestors of the Oghuz Türks who, according to their family tree, was the fourth son of the Yuldūz-Khān, the third son of Oghuz-Khān [Rashīd al-Dīn 1946 I: (1): 88 – 89;

[50] According to the legend, the name of Anūsh was carried one of the first people on the earth, son Shīth and grandson of Ādam [al-Dīnawarī: 3]. Khusraw I Anūshīrwān has been nicknamed Anūshak-Ruban that in the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) means "the Immortal Soul". His son from his Christian wife has been named Anūsh-Zād, i.e. descendant of Anūsh [Browne 1997: 107, 135, 181, 168]. The same name was carried Anūsh-Tigīn Gharchā'ī, the ancestor of the Khʷārazm-Shāhs dynasty (circa 470 – 490/1077 – 1097) [Buniyatov 1986: 223].

Rashīd al-Dīn 1987: 65 – 66], and also another Oghuz ruler Karkīn Konak-Alp [Kononov 1958: 78]. According to the legend, the name of Karkīn meant "satisfying hunger of the people" or "hospitable", and its Ongon, i.e. a sacred bird[51] was the hawk or a water (river) golden eagle (*sū barkutī*)[52]. According to the Persian explanatory dictionaries, a name Chūbīnak (چوبینک) also means "the water bird" (*murgh-i ābī*) or "a river bird" (*murgh-i daryāī*) [Rizo 1955: 150]. It is very probable that such coincidence of values of these names (Karkīn and Chūbīnak) is not accidental, and it is quite possible that the second of them is a calque of the first.

This Ongon can be compared with an image of the Burkut-Bābā in which have intertwined lines ancient of the agricultural and the Shamanist deities. According to mythological imagination of the Turkic people, Burkut-Bābā "owner" of a rain and sobriquets a cloud by a lash, paternal there is a thunder and a lightning previous a rain [MN I: 195]. This bird which was connected with water or a rain and was Ongon of a Turkic tribe could be also a crane, which lives in bogs and the reservoirs adjoining on agricultural areas [Brem 1992 II: 205]. In oral tradition the word *chūbīne* (چوبینه) has a sense of "crane" [PRS I: 480]. Among the Turkman people still recently was in custom to sacrifice in droughty years of a kid to the patron of a rain of Burkut-Ata who was identified by them with an image of "the owner of a rain" – Dede Korkut[53].

Name of a Turkic clan or tribe named Karga has remained also in historical and present toponymy of Central Asia. So, in the Middle Ages in Khurāsān is mentioned the settlement Kargali-Ilik [Kononov 1958: 77]. Among the Turkic clans which later became a part of the Uzbeks, Kara-Kalpaks, Kirghiz, Bashkir and other Turkic people, are mentioned such clans as Kargīn [Sultanov 1977: 167], Kargar [Aliev 1975: 178], Karga [Karmysheva 1976: 97, 213, 216], and Kargalī which names have remained in the toponymy of the Farghāna valley, Kh^{w}ārazm, valleys of Zarafshan and Kashka-Darya[54],

[51] According to the Shamanist mythology of the Türk-Mongolian people, an Ongon personified spirits of died ancestors of the Totemic (a wolf, a bear, a horse, etc.) and antropomorph origins [MN II: 255 – 256]. Many patrimonial names of the people of Siberia and Indians of America go back to the Totems (a wolf, a bear, an eagle, a snake, etc.) [Nikonov 1970: 17].

[52] According to Rashīd al-Dīn, the Ongon of all four sons of the Yuldūz-Khān there was a bird named *Tawshandjil*, i.e. a hawk [Rashīd al-Dīn 1987: 66], and according to Abū-l-Ghāzī – the white falcon, a buzzard, a raven and a golden eagle [Kononov 1958: 53].

[53] The tomb of Burkut-Ata was located on east suburb of Ashgabad and served in the past as a worship place [Zhirmunsky 1962: 169 – 170].

[54] Karga – *qīshlāqs* (settlement) in the Kagan *tūmān* (small district) of the *wilāyat* (area) of Bukhārā, in the Uzbekistan *tūmān* of the *wilāyat* of Farghāna; Kok-Karga and Kargali – *qīshlāqs* in the Narpay *tūmān*

and also in Ādharbaydjān, the Volga region, Southern Siberia, Mongolia and other place habitats of the Turkic speaking people [Karataev 2003: 99 – 100].

Proceeding from the data set forth above, I believe that ancestors of Bahrām Chūbīn had originated from one of the Turkic tribes of Central Asia, which Ongon there was a bird – a raven, a river golden eagle or a crane[55]. In the ancient time this tribe could be entered into a circle of tribal association of the Parthians, and then along with the Khionits, Kidarits, Hephtalites and Türks, was in the service of the early Sāsānids and later representatives of this dynasty.

Genealogy of Sāmān-Khudāt

Bahrām Chūbīn had 3 sons: Nawshard, Mihrān and Shāpūr. Sāmān-Khudāt was his descendant in the line of his elder son, Nawshard[56]. According to the family tree of Sāmān-Khudāt which is resulted in medieval sources, he was the descendant of Bahrām Chūbīn in the fourth or fifth generation. However names of his ancestors in various sources are resulted differently:

Sāmān ibn Djubā or Djabbā (جبا) ibn Niyār ibn Nawshard ibn Tamghāth ibn Bahrām Chūbīn [al-Sam'ānī VII: 12];

Sāmān-Khudā ibn Djubā (Djabā, Djutā, Khutā) ibn Tamghāth ibn Nawshard ibn Bahrām Chūbīn [Jacut III: 13; Dictionnaire: 297];

Sāmān ibn Djīmathyān (جيمثيان) ibn Nawshard ibn Samtaghān ibn Bahrām al-Malik [al-Nasafī 6284: 64a];

Sāmān-Khudāt ibn Djathīmān (جثيمان) ibn Taghmāth ibn Nawshard ibn Bahrām Chūbīn [al-Bīrūnī: 39; Bīrūnī 1957: 52];

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of the *wilāyat* of Samarqand, Ala-Karga – a *qīshlāq* in the Yakka-Bagh *tūmān* of the *wilāyat* of Kashka-Darya, Kargalar – *qīshlāqs* in Gurlan and Hazār-Asp *tūmāns* of the *wilāyat* of Kh^{w}ārazm, Karga-Tepa – a *qīshlāq* in the Khatirchi *tūmān* of the wilāyat of Samarqand, Karga-Owul – a *qīshlāq* in the Bulungur *tūmān* of the *wilāyat* of Samarqand, etc. [Koraev 1978: 168; Okhunov 1994: 70 – 71].

[55] In due course Ongons of tribes could be changed that has sometimes been connected with change of a political situation (occurrence in new confederation, power change, etc.). Besides, the Turkic word *kargha* could be used in wider value, not only a raven or a crow, but also some other birds of black colour [Clauson 1972: 653].

[56] It is known also that he had a brother named Mardān-Sīna, a sister named Gordiya and one more sister which name is not known [EIran III: 520].

Sāmān-Khudā ibn Djīthmān (جیثمان) ibn Taghmāth ibn Nawshard ibn Bahrām Shūbīn[57] [Ibn Haukal: 472];

Sāmān ibn Hamītān (حمیتان) ibn Nawsh ibn Tamghāsp ibn Shawl[58] ibn Bahrām Chūbīn [Gardīzī: 62];

Sāmān ibn Djuthmān (جثمان) ibn Tamghāth ibn Nawshard ibn Bahrām Chūbīn [Ibn al-Athīr VII: 110];

Sāmān-Khudāt ibn Djuthmān (جثمان) ibn Taghmāth ibn Nawsard ibn Bahrām Chūbīn [Mustawfī-i Qazwīnī: 379];

Sāmān-Khudāt ibn Hamītā (حمیتا) ibn Nawsh ibn Ta'māsf ibn Shadal ibn Bahrām Shūbīn [al-Karshi: 98];

Sāmān ibn Khudāt (خداة) ibn Taghān (طغان) ibn Bahrām ibn Bahrām Chūbīn [Usanova 1995: 26];

Sāmān ibn Sāsān (ساسان) ibn Bahrām Chūbīn [Tabaristanensis I: 11];

Sāmān ibn Djothmān ibn Toghmāth ibn Noshrad ibn Bahrām Chūbīn [EIran III: 520][59].

Some of these names in the genealogy of Sāmān-Khudāt, in particular Tamghāth (Tamghāsp, Tagmhāth, Tamghārth, Tamghāt, Samtagān), might be identified with a name of a title Tamgāch (طمغاج), which had a Turkic origin [Togan 1964: 61]. From other names of the Sāmān-Khudāt's ancestors, which are resulted in his family tree, Shāwl (شاول), Taghān (طغان) and Djabbā (جبا) can be compared with names or titles of Sūl (Sawl), Tughān (Toghān) and Djabghū (Yabghū), widespread among ancient and medieval Türks.

Other names in genealogical tree of Sāmān-Khudāt can be etimoligised on the basis of the Irānian languages. However, it is known that name of a person is not always connected with his ethnic origin, but much more often, with his religious or cultural belonging [Nikonov 1974: 88 – 90]. For example, names of the 'Arabs-Christians absolutely differ from names of the 'Arabs-Muslims. 'Arab-Islāmic names, in turn, widespread in all Islāmic countries. As it is known, among ancient Türks many of world religions have been extended. Before the 'Arabian conquest among the Türks of Central

[57] In other place this name is written as Djūbīn (جوبین) [Ibn Haukal: 468].

[58] For this name is supposed also reading of Shādil [Mukhtarov 1999: 285].

[59] In the later sources there is also a bit different genealogy: Bahrām Chūba – Sāmān – Siyāwush – Hāmān – Asad etc. [Azimov 1999: 26, 158, 160]. Here, apparently, took place, an error of the copyist or the composer which in genealogy has changed places of the names of Sāmān (سامان) and Hāmān (هامان), and has passed between them two link.

Asia and Khurāsān professing the Zoroastrianism, were widespread Irānian names and titles [at-Tabarī I: 167 – 168; Nikitin 1986: 82 – 88; Sims-Wiliams 1997: 8 – 9], and later among the Türks professing the Buddhism (Uighūrs, Altaians, Tuvinians, etc.), a Judaism (Khazars, Karaims) and the Christianity (Armenian-Oipchaqs, Gagauzes, Polovetz-Qīpchāqs, Nestorian Türks, etc.), except actually Turkic, often there were used names of the Buddhist, Judaic [Mikhaylov 1999: 78 – 79] and a Syrian-Christian origin [Nikitin 1984: 124 – 125; Baskakov 1981: 21 – 26; Djumagulov 1971]**.** Besides, many Turkic governors, military leaders and other historical persons are mentioned in medieval sources frequently with names or nick-names which they were used the ‘Arabs and Persians (for example, Afrāsiyāb, Shīr-i Kishwar, Parmūda, Abū Muzāhim, Fīrūz-Khāqān, etc.). Besides, the Türks had a custom to give names to their children on the birthplace in foreign land. For example, Sultān Sandjar (Sindjar) has accepted his name from the name of the city Sindjār in Syria where he was born [al-Sam‘ānī VII: 159]. Hence, it is impossible to say about an accessory of any historical person to the Irānian ethnic environment only on the basis that he used a name of the Irānian origin. For example, the names of the Kimmerian leaders were the Irānian. However, this does not yet tell that they were the Irānian origin, as well as the whole Kimmerian people. It is known that rulers of the non-Irānian Mitany and Khurrit people also used Indo-Irānian names [Chlenova 1971: 331].

The name of Nūshard or Nawshard (var. Nūsh or Nawsh)[60] in the family tree of Sāmān-Khudāt originated from the name of mythical person Anūsh ibn Shīth ibn Ādam [al-Ja‘kūbī I: 6]. It can be compared with a name of the ancestor of the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāhs Anūsh-Tigīnids dynasty Nūsh (Anūsh)-Tigīn Gharchā’ī originated from the Oghuz clan of Bekdilī [Toshov 2004: 15], the name of the Saljūqids military leader Nūsh-Tigīn [Ibn al-Zubayr: 86], and also with the name of the city Nūshdjān (Nawshdjān), located in the region of the Isyq-Kūl Lake, near to Atbāsh in the country of the Tughuz-Ghuz Türks [Ibn al-Fakīh: 328; Ibn Khordadhbeh: 30; Kodama: 209]. In the III/IX century among the Turkic governors of Central Asia is mentioned Qaghan named Manūsh (Anūsh)-Khāqān [Ibn Khordadhbeh: 40]. The name Nūsh used also one of the rulers of the Qarā-Khānids dynasty [Kochnev 1993: 10]. On Rv of the coins minted in Utrār (Otrār) in the Lower basin of Syr-Darya with the image of a lion there is a Runic inscription-monogram which is read as *n+ush* [Smirnova 1981: 56]. On a site of ancient settlement Yer-Kurgan in the Kashka-Darya valley is found the impress of a seal put on an inside

[60] The name *nwš* (*nawš*) can be the Irānian loan in Turkic language and means “drink”, “wine” [Nosirov 1994: 70].

of a bowl of the V – VI centuries AD, containing the Sogdian inscription which is read as Anūsh (‘*nwš*) and represents a part of a personal name [Isamiddinov 1978: 216; Iskhakov 1983: 43]. Among the Sogdian Ikhshīdhs is mentioned certain Mastich from a clan of Unash (*m’stč ‘wnš MLK*), ruled in the beginning of the VIII century AD [Akhunbabaev 1986: 85]. The name of Unash (‘*wnš*), fixed also in an inscription on the wall paintings of a palace hall in the Afrasiab ruins, was a patrimonial name of the Ikhshīdhs dynasty in Samarqand [Livshits 1973: 23 – 25], which were a Turkic origin [Kamoliddin 2003: 63 – 68]. Probably, the name Unash is one of variants of a name Anūsh.

The name Bahrām also was spread among the Türks in medieval period, in particular, some rulers of the Ghaznawids, Saldjūqids and Qarā-Khānids dynasties used it [Bosworth 1971: 162, 237; Kochnev 2000: 252]. Proceeding from the data set forth above, it is possible with sufficient basis to assume that the higher ancestor of the Sāmānids Sāmān-Khudāt as well as Bahrām Chūbīn had a Turkic origin. Anyway, at the present stage of researches we should adhere to position that origin of the Sāmānids is not known [Frye 1993: 136], and for decision of this question it is necessary to attract more wide range of sources [Treadwell 1999: 88 - 89].

By the data of al-Istakhrī, the Sāmānids were Persians (*al-Furs*) and in the Islāmic world there were not other kings who had so deep roots in reign (*al-mulk*), which they transferred in the inheritance still since the times of the non-‘Arabs (*al-‘Adjam*) [al-Istakhrī: 293]. In the description of the al-Fārs region al-Istakhrī stated that the Sāmānids were the Persian kings who ruled outside of the al-Fārs region. They were descendants of Bahrām, and Bahrām was from the notable people of Ardashīr-Kh^{w}ārra and lived in al-Rayy [al-Istakhrī: 143]. From this data, likely, follows that the Sāmānids in origin were the Persians. However there are insignificant, but very important additions in the text of Ibn Hawqal, which allow for understanding more precisely sense of the words of al-Istakhrī. According to his data, the Sāmānids were originated from notable Persians (*al-Furs*), because they were descendants of Bahrām Chūbīn ibn Bahrām Djushnās [Ibn Haukal: 472]. From this data follows that in Islāmic tradition of the IV/X century the Sāmānids considered as “the Persians” only because they were descendants of Bahrām Chūbīn who was known to medieval historians as “the Persian” commander[61]. Besides, this data does not prove to be true by other medieval sources.

[61] More details about this see further text below.

In the texts of Ibn Hawqal and al-Istakhrī also there can be valuable indication that in the Islāmic countries there were no other kings who had so deep roots in reign (*al-mulk*) as the Sāmānids who descended the power still since the times of the non-'Arabs (*al-'Adjam*), i.e. since pre-Islāmic times. In this information, probably, mean the kings of the Arshakids dynasty to which has been erected the genealogical tree of Bahrām Chūbīn [Gardīzī: 62][62]. However, in the text it is question of a continuity of inheritance of the imperial power since the times of the non-'Arabs. In our opinion, pre-Islāmic ancestors of the Sāmānids, who transferred the imperial power by right of succession, could not be kings of the al-Fārs region. Firstly, Bahrām Chūbīn who was considered as ancestor of the Sāmānids was not a king, but he was the military commander of the Sāsānids and the usurper of their power for a short time. Secondly, pre-Islāmic ancestors of the Sāmānids – descendants of Bahrām Chūbīn had a residence not in al-Fārs region, but in Farghāna, Balkh, Bukhārā and Chāch. Hence, "the kings descending the power since the times of the non-'Arabs", most likely, were the Supreme Turkic Qaghans with whom Bahrām Chūbīn had a family relationship, and his descendants from the marriage with the Turkic princess were ancestors of the Sāmānids.

The opinion on the Turkic origin of the Sāmānids was already expressed by a number of previous researchers, for example, in the end of XIX century AD by the Russian scholar A.G.Tumansky [Tumansky 1896: XIV]. Sayyid Hasan Taqīzāda considered that the name of one of ancestors of Sāmān-Khudāt, mentioned in textual sources (Tamghāth, Tamghāsp, Tamghārth, etc.), probably, Turkic origin and reflects a Turkic name Tamghāch/Tabghāch [Togan 1972: 112]. R.Frye also assumed that the Sāmānids could be a Turkic origin because Balkh, whence they come, has been inhabited in overwhelming majority by the Türks [Frye 1993: 136]. According to A.Z.Validi Togan, ancestors of Sāmān-Khudāt belonged not to a dynasty of the Qarluq Djabghū of Tukhāristān, but they were descendants of the Supreme Turkic Qaghan mentioned in sources as Kūkem-Khān[63], who ruled the Oghuz branch of the Türks from

[62] In the genealogical tree of Sāmān-Khidāt in total mentioned 36 generations of legendary ancestors of Bahrām Chūbīn.

[63] Name of this Qaghan Rashīd al-Dīn mentioned as Kūkem Yawkūy, Abū-l-Ghāzī – Kūkem Bakūy, Ibn al-Balkhī - Qāqim Khāqān, and al-Tabarī – Sīr Yabghū, all of which are identified with Istamī-Yabghū Dizavul. His daughter was wife of the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Khusraw I Anūshīrwān and mother of the

his name [Togan 1981: 112]. Founders of a dynasty of the Turkic Yabghū, who ruled in Tukhāristān with breaks about 200 years, occurred from the Turkic clan of Ashīna, the founders of the First Turkic Qaghanate.

According to Yahyā al-Khashshāb and ‘Alī al-Sabī, the Sāmānids have family relations with the Ghaznawids and as well as they, had purely Turkic origin, and before occurrence of the Sāmānids on historical arena it was known in Irān nothing about their clan [al-Sabī 1965: 129]. The same opinion adhered M.S.Günaltay [Günaltay 1938: 76 – 77], N.Togan [Togan 1964: 61 – 64] and R.M.Shukürova [Rashīd al-Dīn 1987: 115, n. 241]. E.Browne has resulted verses of some ‘Arabian poets who derided local governors of Mā warā’ an-nahr and Khurāsān, i.e. the Sāmānids, accusing them of illegal giving a notable pre-Islāmic origin[64].

A.Metz considered that the Sāmānids had no relation neither to Persians, nor to Sāsānids and gave out themselves for them to look lawful governors of the areas of Irān which were controled by them [Metz 1966: 27]. E.Daniel also expressed doubt in reliability of Sāmān-Khudāt’s genealogy and considered that he has been thought up to protect herself from encroachments on the power [Daniel 1988: 371]. The policy of the Irānization, spent by the Sāmānids, could be connected also with their resistance to centrifugal aspirations of rebellious governors of some areas (Chaghāniyān, Tukhāristān, Khurāsān, Kh^{w}ārazm, etc.) and to claims of the Turkic military leaders [Meisami 2002: 368].

When the Sāmānids have started to put forward the genealogical claims it is not known. The information on origin of the Sāmānids from Bahrām Chūbīn has appeared for the first time in the composition of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad al-Fārisī al-Istakhrī, which between 318 – 321/930 – 933 has processed the geographical composition of Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, written circa 309/921-22, i.e. right after that when the lands of the Saffārids have been attached to the territory of Ismā‘īl ibn Ahmad al-

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Shāhān-Shāh Hurmazd IV [at-Tabarī I: 899; Ibnu’l-Balkhī: 24, 94, 98; Rashīd al-Dīn 1987: 94; Kononov 1958: 69].

[64] The ‘Arabian poets in their verses have wrote: “They (i.e. non-‘Arabs) have already forgotten as broke stones in stone quarries of al-Halanī, and as carried cargoes in skirts of the dresses. Now, when they became rich began to shout impudently: “We are notable people, sons of *dihqāns*”. If somebody doubted in this and asked the most impudent and vulgar of them, he with arrogance will answer: “I am a son of Bahrām Chūbīn” and will add: “Khusraw has left for me his riches and has made me the successor”. “Who will dare to oppose me?” [Browne 1997: 265 – 267].

Sāmānī[65]. In earlier sources, for example, in the history of al-Tabarī, which finished to events of 303/915-16, such relation is not fixed[66]. It is quite probable that the same al-Istakhrī, who himself was the Persian, has attributed to the Sāmānids the Persian origin as he is the unique author who named the Sāmānids "Persians" (*al-Furs*) [al-Istakhrī: 143, 292][67].

The 'Arabian geographer Ibn Hawqal who has met with al-Istakhrī, reproached him with discrepancy of an information transfer, then under his request himself undertook processing of the work of Abū Zayd al-Balkhī. Really, at comparison of works of these two authors shows it is possible to be convinced that in some places the data of al-Istakhrī contradict the data of Ibn Hawqal, and so to the data of Ibn al-Balkhī, because Ibn Hawqal, having control over both works – Ibn al-Balkhī and al-Istakhrī, had opportunity to compare them. So, speaking about the city of Ūsh (Osh), al-Istakhrī writes that its fortress was adjoined mountain, on which there is «an observant sentry post against the Türks» [al-Istakhrī: 333]. In the text of Ibn Hawqal there is a small, but essential distinction, in a root changing sense and value of this information. He writes that the fortress of Ūsh (Osh) was adjoined mountain on which there was «an observation post of the Türks, from which they guarded their cattle and grazing herds» [Ibn Haukal: 513]. The same sense contains the text of al-Idrīsī too [al-Idrīsī IV: 508].

Claims for inheritance of the power of pre-Islāmic kings were put forward also by other kings and local governors of the Islāmic period. For the first time such claims have been put forward by the Umayyads. One of the last Umayyad Calīphs, Yazīd III ibn al-Walīd (ruled in 126/743-44), who was born from the daughter of the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Shīrūye, spoke: "I am a descendant of the Persian emperor, Marwān was my ancestors, and also the emperor of Byzantium[68] and the Turkic Qaghan"[69] [al-Djāhiz: 101; Bosworth 1973: 53]. When he wished to brag of the bravery and military art, he has mentioned only the Qaghan [al-Djāhiz: 101].

The Tāhirids though were descendants of the pre-Islāmic Irānian nobility, were strongly 'Arabised and tried to erect their family tree to the 'Arabian tribe al-Khuzā'a, the client (*mawlā*) of which was their ancestor Tāhir ibn al-Husayn. Early Sāmānids

[65] The first occupation of Khurāsān by the Sāmānids took place in 298/910-11, and the second – in 300/912-13 [Bosworth 1971: 148].

[66] For more details about this see also: al-Bīrūnī: 45 – 46; Minorsky 1956: 176 – 179; Meisami 2000: 357.

[67] Ibn Hawqal named them only descendants of Bahrām Chūbīn [Ibn Haukal: 468].

[68] Shīrūye was married Maryam, the daughter of Mauritius, the emperor of Byzantium.

[69] Shīrūye was descendant of Khusraw I Anūshīrwān from his marriage with daughter of Istamī-Qaghan.

have adopted many parties of the Tāhirids and, imitating them, tried to present themselves descendants of the pre-Islāmic Irānian nobility and consecutive adherents of the Sunnits law school [Bosworth 1973: 54, 56]. In the IV/X century the Irānian Saffārids erected their family tree to the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Khusraw II Parwīz, and the Buwayhids – to the Shāhān-Shāh Bahrām V Gūr [Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān: 203]. The *amīr* 'Adud al-Dawla even has visited ancient ruins of Persepolis, the capital of the Ahemenids, and stored with himself a subject found there with Middle Persian (Pahlavī) inscription. The governors of Khuttalān also erected their family tree to Bahrām V Gūr [Bosworth 1973: 57, 59].

Abū Mansūr Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Tūsī, who was the Sāmānids governor of Khurāsān, has erected his family tree to Khusraw II Parwīz. The founder of the Ghaznawids dynasty Sabuk-Tigīn, who originated from the Qarluq tribe of Barskhān, located in the region of the Isyq-Kūl Lake, erected his family tree to the family of the last Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Yazdigird III, who ostensibly resided in this city after his flight from the 'Arabs to Turkistān [Bosworth 1962: 220; Bosworth 1963: 39 – 40]. These claims have been connected with the pro-Irānian policy of the early Ghaznawids which they spent at the period of their struggle against the Turkic Qarā-Khānids [Bosworth 1968: 40].

In the letter which has come to him in 418/1027-28 from "the king of al-Sīn" (ملك الصين), he is called «the Governor of Khurāsān, Mahmūd Qarā-Khān» [Bosworth 1962: 220]. The Qarā-Khānid Khāqāns who originated from the same Qarluq tribe, as it is known, in contrary to the Sāmānids and their successors the Ghaznawids, erected their family tree to Afrāsiyāb, the mythological king of the Türks, who also was one of the main characters of "Shāh-Nāma" – a legendary history of Irān and Tūrān. The Saldjūqids as well as the Qarā-Khānids, unlike the Ghaznawids, were natives of the free Türks. Therefore they considered themselves of imperial blood, and erected their family tree to Afrāsiyāb [Bosworth 1973: 61 – 62].

All these claims for related communications with pre-Islāmic kings have been actually caused by aspiration of governors to prove legality of the board in those territories which they owned. Therefore the Buwayhids, Sāmānids and Ghaznawids owning the lands of Khurāsān and Irān, gave out themselves as descendants of the Sāsānids, and the Qarā-Khānids owning the lands of Turkistān, – as descendants of Afrāsiyāb. Actually the Ghaznawids and Qarā-Khānids occurred from the same Qarluq tribe, which have divided between themselves the lands of another Turkic dynasty of the Oghuz origin, i.e. the Sāmānids. For the same reason the Sāmānids, and then other

Turkic dynasties patronised development of the New Persian literature, which begun at the court of the Irānian Saffārids[70], and have opened a way to the New Persian language (*Dārī*), which was formed at the court of the Sāsānids and carried out a role of *lingua franca* for the whole Eastern part of the Irānian world [Frye 1975: 99].

When the Sāmānids in 298/910-11 have inflicted defeat to the Saffārids and have captured Khurāsān, their authority soon became unpopular among local population, and the internal opposition opposed occupational armies. The culmination of it was revolt of the local patriotic forces which had in the head of a 10-year-old member of the Saffārids family, the great-grandson of 'Amr ibn al-Layth. As a result of this revolt in 299/911-12 the Sāmānids governor has been deposed and the young Saffārid prince has been proclaimed as *amīr* of Khurāsān. Actually the power has grasped one of military leaders, Muhammad ibn Hurmuz who has torn communications both with the Saffārids, and with the Sāmānids, and recognised as his suzerain only the Calīph of Baghdād[71].

A Persian poet of VIII/XIV century in his poem for comparison of cruelty of one of modern to him governors results characteristic definitions of some historical persons with which those remained in memory of the people for perfect evil deeds. For example, an *arrogance* of the Pharaon, a *violence* of Shaddād, a *arrogance* of Nimrod, a *bloodthirstiness* of Zakhkhāk, a *distemper* of Pīrān, an *insidiousness* of Garsīwaz, an *anger* of Kāwus, a *scandalousness* of Tūs, a *murder* of Nawuhodonosor, a *debauchery* and *immorality* of a tribe Lota, *politheism* and *dissipation* of relatives of Khūd, a *villainy* of tribes of Ād and Samūd, etc. Along with others he mentioned also "*deceit* of Sāmān" [Barnābādī: 150].

This information allows to assume that ancestor of the Sāmānids remained in the people's memory as the person who has become famous for a falsity which he used during all of his political activity. It is known that in the middle of the II/VIII century when Sāmān-Khudāt for the first time has appeared on a political arena of the 'Arabian Calīphate, there was a large revolt of the local population in Mā warā' an-nahr [Belenitsky 1973: 155], then Abū Muslim has destroyed the local nobility of Sughd and Bukhārā [at-Tabarī III: 79 – 80], which majority were local rulers and *dihqāns* of Mā warā' an-nahr. So it had been prevented attempts of local rulers to involve China in struggle against the 'Arabian conquerors [Karev 2000: 209 – 210], and a recognition of

[70] There are known names of several Persian poets who served at the court of Rāfi' ibn al-Layth [Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān: 211].

[71] He has issued a *dirham*, on which are mentioned only his name and a name of the Calīph al-Muqtadir. Issue of this coin was a sign of their disobedience to the Sāmānids [Bosworth, Rispling 1993: 215 – 217].

a victory of the Muslims over the Chinese army at Talās [Bolshakov 1980: 132 – 136]. The same time dates liquidation of monetary mint of all local dynasties (the unique attribute of their nominal power) and a definitive victory of Islām and the 'Arabian language in Mā warā' an-nahr [Karev 2000: 205 – 218]. Abū Muslim has become famous for his bloodthirstiness, and he was considered one of four Muslim commanders, each of which has killed more than one million people [al-Tha'ālibī: 72]. Proceeding from the above mentioned data, it is possible to assume that Sāmān-Khudāt has taken advantage of political situation in Mā warā' an-nahr which has developed in the middle of II/VIII century when the majority of local dynasties of Sughd and Bukhārā had been liquidated, and their property was confiscated, and declared himself the descendant of pre-Islāmic kings of Mā warā' an-nahr[72]. Probably, Sāmān-Khudāt, having accepted Islām, participated in suppression of this revolt just as later his grandsons Nūh, Ahmad, Yahyā and Ilyās, the sons of Asad, took part in suppression of the revolt under direction of Rāfi ' ibn al-Layth.

Sāmān-Khudāt

For the successful decision of a question on true origin of Sāmān-Khudāt it is necessary ro make the correct etymology of his name. The name of Sāmān-Khudāt connected with the name of a settlement Sāmān (سامان) which he has built in the region of Balkh or Tirmidh. Concerning etymology of this name there are various opinions. In the legend about origin of the Sāmānids the word *sāmān* is etymologised as "accomplishment" [Semenov 1955: 4]. In the Persian the word *sāmān* (سامان) means "order", "co-ordination", "well-being", "riches" [PRS II: 13]. In the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) *saman* means "border", "region" [Anthologie: 424; Dencard: 160, 164; Dadastan i Denig: 244, 281]. It is mentioned also personal name Sam (an) [Dencard: 24, 160; Dadastan i Denig: 107] or people of Saman (Thamanaois), inhabitants of district Harahvatiš [Herzfeld 1947 II: 708]. According to some information, the Irānian dynasty of the Buwayhids also originated from certain Sāmān (سامان) which was descendant of Bahrām Gūr from the Sāsānids dynasty [Bīrūnī 1957: 51]. However these arguments are not convincing enough do not correspond to the rules of the toponym formation and need additional arguments.

[72] The family tree of the Sāmānids which has been erected to Bahrām Chūbīn has appeared in textual sources, since the middle of the IV/X century, after capture of the lands of the Saffārids by the Sāmānids.

Origin of the name Sāmān connected also with the Chigil word *saman* that means "straw" [MK I: 392; Kašgarli: 348]. According to the archaeological data, in territory of Bactria-Tukhāristān, especially in the region of Tirmidh and Balkh, straw was widely used in building since the most ancient times [Masson 1971: 9; Askarov 1977: 116 – 117]. It used also as forage for cattle as fuel and as forth, and the nomadic Türks were the main suppliers of straw (*saman*) in cities of Central Asia. It is not excluded that family of Sāmān traded a straw, delivered it or was engaged in its sale [Hidoyatov 2004: 23]. Among the Türks of Central Asia till recent times has been extended nickname Samanchī[73]. Such name had one of local rulers (*Beks*) of Balkh of the Tīmūrīds time Tangrī Berdī Sāmānchī [Bābūr-Nāma: 57b, 175b]. In the Parkhār district of the Kūlāb area in the upper basin of Amu Darya there is a settlement (*qishlaq*) Samanchi [Kamaliddinov 1996: 188]. However, in our opinion, the etymology of name Sāmān in the sense *saman* – "straw", most likely, also does not represent the facts. In medieval Turkic dictionaries the word *sāmānī* (سامانى) has also a meaning "asking a handout", "beggar" [Ibnü-Mühenna: 104].

Origin of the name Sāmān some people tried to connect with a word *šaman* (*shaman*) [Günaltay 1938: 77]. Though the Shamanism is one of components of spiritual culture of ancient Türks, the word *shaman* in the Turkic environment is alien. The word *šmn* (*šaman*) is fixed in the Sogdian texts in the sense "priest", "shaman" [Gharib 1995: 224]. In Turkic languages for concept the *shaman* used a word *qam* [DTS: 413; King's Dictionary: 306], *xam* [Borovkov 1963: 346] or *kam* [Ibnü-Mühenna: 36; Radlov II: 476, 491], and also *adanliγ* – «doing a spell» [Radlov I: 463]. The origin of the word *qam/γam/sam/šam* (*an*), which meets as a part of many place-names, was connected also with ancient Turkic ethnonym [Haciyeva 2008: 126 – 127]. Among the Ural-Altay people of Central Asia, Ural Mountains and Siberia there is ethnonym Saman/Shaman/Samay/Samar which origin contacted with southern regions, whence it has been brought to their environment in a deep antiquity of the Altay linguistic community [Vasilevich 1965: 139 – 145]. The Burhanists of Altay informed about "people in white clothes", who came to Altay and were calling people to trust in uniform god [Zuev 2002: 186]. Hence, it is necessary to search for sources of this word in the south – in Central Asia, Irān or India.

In interpretation of the Persian poet of V/XI century the word *shaman* designated «idolaters of Hindustān» (بتپرست هندستان) [Djumaev 2002: 70 – 71]. According to al-

[73] From this word, for example, is formed the surname of the known Kirghiz folklorist T.Samanchin (1909 – 1979). In Turkey even today it is possible to meet a surname Samanchi-Oglu.

Kh^{w}ārazmī, the Shamanists were attendants of idols (اصنام) [al-Khowarezmī: 175]. In the medieval Persian explanatory dictionaries the word *shaman* is explained as "idolater" (بتپرست) [Baevsky 1984: 221]. Abū Rayhān al-Bīrūnī mentioned in Central Asia a religious community al-Shamaniyya (الشمنية) which followers were idolaters, but tested strong hatred to the Brahmans [Bīrūnī 1963: 66 – 67]. The inhabitants of Khurāsān named the Buddhists al-Shamaniyīn (الشمنيين) or Shamanān (شمنان) (pl. of *shaman*) [al-Bīrūnī: 206; Bīrūnī 1957: 204]. Ibn al-Nadīm named the Buddhists al-Samaniyya (السمنية) [Ibn al-Nadīm: 345; Flügel 1862: 76, 105, 385]. In the Middle Ages in India is mentioned the city Sāmān (سامان) [Ghiyath al-Din: 186].

In the Indian mythology *šamana* means "governor", one of names of the god Yima, and in the Buddhist tradition *šramana* means "the one who makes efforts", that is the second link in the Buddhist hierarchy. From the same word, probably, originated also the word *shaman* [Louis 1977 VIII: 41, 344]. This term occurs from the Prakrit (Sanskrit) word *šamana* (*šramana*) and means followers of the Buddhism [Golden 1998: 231; Shipova 1976: 410]. In the ancient time and the Middle Ages there were close cultural interrelations between the Türks and the Hindus, and a contact zone was Northern India. These communications have found the reflexion in their mythology and beliefs, in particular, in thw Shamanism and the Buddhism [Rashīd al-Dīn 1987: 18 – 19].

In the Zoroastrian religious literature the name Saman is mentioned along with names of such demons and persons, as Akatash, Akoman, Arastay, Waran, Nanhais, Sabuk, Taurech, Hyon and Zarech [Anthologie: 395, 414, 430; Dencard: 24, 160; Dadastan i Denig: 107]. In eyes of the Zoroastrians as "demons" could be represented the Buddhist gods and priests, and some of these names could be compared with the Turkic words and ethnonyms: Avar, Kuman, Tay, Tash, Tur and Khyon. The Middle Persian (Pahlavi) word *sahman* is made from the Sanskrit word meaning "paying attention, care" [Dehkhoda VIII: 11769].

Thereupon in this connection is of interest the data about ancestors of Sāmān-Khudāt, who were descendants of Bahrām Chūbīn from his marriage with the daughter of the Turkic Qaghan, having a residence in Bukhārā. It is known that in VI century AD the Bukhārā oasis was possession of Yang Soukh-Tigīn (El Arslān, Shīr-i Kishwar, Sāwa-Shāh), the son of the Supreme Turkic ruler Tardū-Qaghan, which was a relative of the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Hurmazd IV Turkzāda on a parent line [Bel'amī II: 248; 265; Firdousī VI: 656 – 657; Bichurin I: 279]. He ruled there 20 years with residence in Baykand and has built the *shahristān* ('Arab. *al-madīna*) of Bukhārā, and also founded

some settlements in the oasis of Bukhārā, such as Mamāstīn, Saqmatīn, Samtīn and Farab [Narshakhī: 17].

In the Middle Ages in the region of Nasaf is mentioned the settlement Nawqad Sāwa (نوقد ساوه) [al-Nasafī 6284: 59V; al-Sam'ānī: 571R], name of which could be connected with personal name Sawa (ساوه). The Turkic governor of Bukhārā El Arslān (Shīr-i Kishwar) in the 'Arabian sources is called as Shāba (شابة) [Ibn Khordàdhbeh: 40], and in the Persian sources – Sāwa-Shāh (ساوه شاه) [Firdousī VI: 656 – 658; Gumilev 1967: 115, 132]. The word *sāwa* or *shāwa* (*šāwa*) is a Bactrian title which means "a king" [Frye 1956: 122; Harmatta, Litvinsky 1996: 371]. From this data follows that Shīr-i Kishwar has founded settlements not only in the region of Bukhārā, but also in the region of Nakhshab ('Arab. Nasaf) located in the Southern Sughd.

To the South-East from Farabr, on a height of Qiz-ÓQir have remained the rests of the watchtower known as Ding of Arslān-Khān. According to the archaeological data, this is the most ancient of the remained constructions in the district of Farabr [Masson 1966: 167]. If to consider that Farabr has been founded by El Arslān (Shīr-i Kishwar) [Narshakhī: 17] it is possible to assume that this tower might be constructed in the end of VI – the beginning of VII centuries AD by his son El-Tigīn (Parmūda) [Kamaliddinov 1996: 85].

His son El-Tigīn (Parmūda, Nili-Khān)[74], who ruled in Baykand till 603 AD [Gumilev 1967: 132], also has founded some settlements, such as Iskidjkath, Shargh, Farakhshā and Rāmtīn (Rāmīthan). He was married to the Chinese princess who has brought with herself from China a temple of idols and it was established in Rāmtīn (Rāmīthan) [Narshakhī: 17]. Rāmtīn (Rāmīthan) was more ancient than Bukhārā and before the residence of the local king was there, and after building of Bukhārā have moved there. In some books Rāmtīn (Rāmīthan) is called also "Bukhārā" [Narshakhī: 23].

From these informations follows that El-Tigīn (Parmūda) was the adherent of the Buddhism[75] and namely with him was connected penetration of the Buddhism into Bukhārā [Stavisky 1960: 115]. The second name of El-Tigīn – Parmūda is made from a Buddhist title *Pramukha* [Harmatta, Litvinsky 1996: 371]. In 588 AD El-Tigīn has been

[74] The name Il (Yil, El) can be a variant of a name of Ilig (Elig) which was carried one of the first Turkic Qaghans [Rybatzki 2000: 207].

[75] Otherwise it would be difficult to explain a marriage of the Zoroastrian from Bukhārā with the representative of other belief from China. "The Chinese princess" actually, probably, was not from China, but from the East Turkistān for which the Muslim authors also used the term the al-Sīn (الصين).

appointed as a governor of Tukhāristān and Gandhara just included in structure of the Turkic Qaghanate [Chavannes 1903: 157]. The Chinese traveller U-Kun who traveled circa 759 – 764 AD saw in Kashmir and Gandhara among Buddhist relics some temples founded in VI – VII centuries AD by the Turkic governors and members of their families. These building were standing there about a century. In Kashmir there was "a temple of Khātūn", founded by the Türks, and temple Ve-li T'e-le, i.e. Ve-li-Tigīn or El-Tigīn who was the son of the king of Türks. In Gandhara there was temple Tigīn-Cha which has founded Khātūn, "the wife of the king of Türks" [Chavannes 1903: 198, 242 – 245; Litvinsky, Zeymal 1971: 120]. In XI century AD in northern and east parts of Kashmir there lived the Türks professing the Buddhism [Bīrūnī 1963: 202 – 203]. It was supposed that El-Tigīn was the founder of the Naw-Bahār temple and monastery in Balkh [Harmatta, Litvinsky 1996: 371]. The admirer of the Buddhism was also Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan which about 630 AD has friendly met Süan Tszan and listened to his sermon [Beal 1990: 42 – 44]. His son Sir Yabghū-Qaghan (Sy Ye-khu Kehan), according to Süan Tszan, in 632 or 633 AD tried to grasp the Buddhist monastery of Naw-Bahār in Balkh, but in the sleep to him was seen the goddess Vaišravana deva, the keeper of this temple, and he has repented before monks of the act [Ekrem 2003: 149].

According to al-Kh^{w}ārazmī, the word *al-buhār* (البهار) means «the house of idols» Indians [al-Khowarezmī: 34]. According to Djuwaynī, the word *buxār* (بخار) "in the language of the Mughs" meant "place of meeting of sciences» (مجمع العلوم), and «in the language of the idolaters», the Uighūr and the Chinese, was used for a designation of their temples where idols were stored. [Bartold 1963: 214]. Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī noticed that Bukhārā is named by such name, because there was a temple of idolaters in this city [MK III: 164].

El-Tigīn (Parmūda, Nili-Khān) which was married to the Chinese princess, has built a Buddhist temple in Rāmīthan where there was his summer residence. It is known that circa 590 AD the Chinese princess from the house of Chjow preparing antigovernmental plot against the emperor from a dynasty of Suy tried to get a support of the Türks and made an alliance with Nili-Khān (El-Tigīn, Parmūda), the Turkic governor of Bukhārā [Bichurin I: 240; Gumilev 1967: 136]. Signing of the marriage contract, arrival of the Chinese princess to Bukhārā and building of a Buddhist temple in Rāmīthan, apparently, also concerned this time.

The Chinese princess Sian-Shī has given birth to him the son named of Daman (or Taman). Soon after that Nili-Khān has died, and she has married his younger brother Po-Shī T'ele (Tigin). Circa 600 AD Po-Shī together with Sian-Shī has left from Bukhārā to

the Chinese court yard and has been stopped there as a hostage. Sian-Shī has not returned to Bukhārā and remained in China for the rest of her life. After death of Nili-Khān his son Daman (Taman) from Sian-Shī has been erected to a throne with a title Nigü Chulo-Khān. In 614 AD Chulo-Khān married the Chinese princess Sin-I, and was on a military service at the Chinese emperor. In 618 AD he was killed in the war with the East Türks [Bichurin I: 279 – 283].

The name Bukhārā firstly could be applied on this temple in Rāmīthan, and then to be transferred on all area and on its new capital. According to medieval sources, Bahrām Chūbīn after the flight from Irān married daughter of El-Tigīn (Parmūda). As a result of this marriage there was formed a family which descendant was Sāmān-Khudāt. In the VI – VII centuries AD in the Bukhārā oasis were in use copper coins of the Chinese type with 4-coal *tamgha*, which reproduces ancient Chinese sign of the 4 roads, and an inscription *βγy γ'γ'n pny* – «the lord Qaghan's money» [Smirnova 1981: 59]. Probably, these coins have been minted by the Turkic governor of Bukhārā El Arslān (Sāwa-Shāh, Shīr-i Kishwar) or his son El-Tigīn (Parmūda, Nili-Khān).

The Buddhism in Bukhārā, possibly, had no wide circulation [Mkrtychev 2002: 179 – 185]. The Chinese pilgrim Süan Tszan, which circa 630 AD passed through the land of Pu-kho (Bukhārā), has not noted presence here any Buddhist relics or followers of the Buddhism [Beal 1990: 45]. It is considered that the population of the most part of early medieval Sughd professed so-called "Mazdaism", i.e. a version of the Zoroastrianism. But there were also in Bukhārā other religious communities, including the Buddhists, as the Buddhism was widespread almost in all areas surrounding the Sughd (Marw, Farghāna, Yetisū, Tukhāristān, etc.), since the Kushan time [Lunina, Usmanova 1990: 65 – 67].

The Sogdian letters from a Buddhist temple in Dun-Huan in the East Turkistān testify that in IV century AD the Sogdians professed the Buddhism and Manichaeism [Benveniste 1946; Henning: 601; Lapierre 1998: 4]. In the Sogdian inscriptions of Ladak (III – VIII centuries AD) located on a way from Central Asia to Tibet, is fixed a name which is translated as «the Servant of the Buddha», and is the Sogdian calque of the Indian name Buddha-Dasa [Sims-Wiliams 1995: 61 – 67]. According to the Chinese sources of the VII century AD, inhabitants of Kan (Samarqand) worshipped to the Buddha and made a sacrifice to the sky. In the end of the VII century AD was known the Buddhist pilgrim Sanghavarma, the native of Kan [Litvinsky, Zeymal 1971: 123]. The Chinese pilgrim Süan Tszan circa 630 AD has noted existence in Sa-mo-kien (Samarqand) of two Buddhist temples, which were in a desolation condition [Beal 1990:

45]. In the Sogdian document B-7, dated beginning of the VIII century AD, mentioned the Buddhist monk to whom has been offered the sum of 1,5 *drachma* [SDGM II: 165 – 167]. One of city quarters of medieval Samarqand was called Ushtābdīza (اشتابديزه) [al-Nasafī 1991: 118; al-Nasafī 6284: 23R; al-Sam'ānī I: 265], in which name it is possible to see a Sanskrit word *stuppa* (*ushtāb*) [Kamoliddin 2003: 123 – 124]. In the region of Samarqand it is mentioned a *rustāq* named Sandjarfaghn (سنجرفغن) [al-Istakhrī: 320; Ibn Haukal: 496, 498; al-Moqaddasī: 266, 279], in which name (*sandjar*) it is possible to see a Sanskrit word *sangharama* (a Buddhist temple). It was supposed that Samarqand's *namāzgāh* ('Arab. *al-musallā*), i.e. the country mosque for the celebratory prayers, located in district to the West from the Afrasiab ruins, has been constructed on a place of a Buddhist temple (*bahār*) on which name was called the western gate of Samarqand – Naw-Bahār (باب النوبهار), which was located in the southern end of the western city wall [Viatkin 1926: 12, 18]. According to some information, the cathedral mosque of Samarqand of the pre-Mongol time located to the west from the citadel also has been built on a place of the temple of idolaters [Kandiya: 150].

Name of the area of Ustrūshana (استروشنه) or Sutrūshana (ستروشنه), probably, originated from a Sanskrit word *suturšan*, designating one of Buddhist deities [Gritsina 2000: 38]. In one manuscript of the Buddhist contents written by the Uighūr letters, is mentioned the city Sutrasan which name is formed from a Sanskrit word *sudaršana* [DTS: 515]. On pre-Islāmic coins of Ustrūshana often there is an image of an elephant, the Buddhist symbol of a wisdom, and the name of the governor of Ustrūshana – Satachari (*stcry*) goes back to the Sanskrit Sadacharya that means "teacher" [Smirnova 1971: 59 – 64]. In a valley of Sanzar (in present Djizak region) there was discovered a cult building of the I – III centuries AD; in it there were large bronze statues of the Buddha round which there were bronze figures of sitting lions [Albaum 1955: 57 – 60; Litvinsky 1975: 191 – 198]. About existence of the the Buddhist temple which functioned during V – VII centuries AD, it is told in an inscription made 15 years later after its destruction [Lapierre 1998: 9]. At excavation of a citadel ruins in the Afrasiab site has been found the bronze figurine of the Bothisatva, which represented a part of a bronze altar of the Chinese manufacture of an epoch of Vey. In early medieval layers of Pandjikent has been found out the terracotta form for a print of images with a sitting figure of the Buddha [Mkrtychev 2002: 180 – 181]. In Pandjikent has been found the nimbus of a vessel (*hum*) with a Sogdian inscription "sutra" (V.A.Livshits's reading) scribbled on it after roasting; possibly, this vessel served as a place for storage of Buddhist manuscripts [Belenitsky, Marshak, Raspopova 1986: 320 – 321]. Image of the

Buddha is represented also in wall paintings of Pandjikent of the first quarter of VIII century AD. In one of rooms of the object XXV over a door arch has been placed a small figure of the Buddha with gesture *Abhyaramudra* [Marshak, Raspopova 1988: 142 – 143]. When Qutayba ibn Muslim has won Baykand, he has found in one of its temples a silver idol who has been estimated 4 thousands *dirhams* [Frye 1954: 45; Narshakhī: 45]. On a place of a mosque Mākh (ماخ) in Bukhārā still in IV/X century two times in a year people traded the idols [Frye 1954: 21; Narshakhī: 26][76]. In the *waqf* document of the descendants of Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad al-Sāmānī is mentioned the channel Djūy-i But (جوي بت), i.e. "the Channel of the Idol", flowing in a vicinity of Bukhārā [Chehovich 1950: 261]. On a site of ancient settlement Sariq-Tepa in Yakka-Bagh area (Kashka-Darya region) are found one clay and one terracotta tiles with the image of the Buddha [Lunina 1989: 57 – 60; Lunina, Usmanova 1990: 65 – 67]. Turkic Qaghan, heading a coalition of inhabitants of Sughd, Chāch and Farghāna in his reference to the 'Arabs has informed that they worship to an idol [at-Tabarī II: 1537]. In the VI/XII century in Nasaf is mentioned the whole family with a *nisba* al-Rāhibī (الراهبي), formed from the 'Arabian word *rāhib* (راهب), which means "a monk" [al-Sam'ānī VI: 59].

All of this data has very great value for definition of a true origin of the Sāmānids. From this data follows that Sāmān-Khudāt, probably, was not the Zoroastrian as informed medieval sources [Gardizi: 62][77], but he was the Buddhist that will be co-ordinated by that during pre-Islāmic time in Balkh from where occurred Sāmān-Khudāt, dominated the Buddhism [Barthold 1945: 48].

Balkh

On the eve of the 'Arabian gain Balkh was a large city centre and capital of Tukhāristān, which great part of the population were the Türks [Frye, Sayili 1945: 313; Frye 1993: 136]. The city of Balkh is called capital of the country of Türks (*Dār Mamlakat al-Atrak*) in which had a residence their king [al-Idrīsī IV: 483]. The 'Arabs always looked at Balkh, ancient religious capital of the Kushans Empire and a site of a Buddhist monastery Naw-Bahār, as on the "capital of the Türks" with whom they have a

[76] Certainly, these idols not might not be object of worship only of Buddhists because in Central Asia idol worsipping was also one of attributes of the Manichaeism.

[77] This information is co-ordinated with the data about an origin of Sāmān-Khudāt from descendants of the Sāsānids commander Bahrām Chūbīn who, being a citizen of the empire of the Sasanids where the Zoroastrianism was the official religion, most likely, also practised this religion.

contact for the first time before the death of the Calīph ‘Umar, in 21/641-42 when they pursued Shāhān-Shāh Yazdigird III after the battle at Nihāwand [Gibb 1923: 8 – 9, 15]. In III – IV/IX – X centuries in the region of Balkh were lived the Türks of the tribes Khaladj and al-Ghuz [Frye, Sayili 1945: 313].

On the settlement Djiga-Tepa in the region of Balkh were found 32 bullas with prints of the seals dated III – beginning of IV centuries AD, which belonged to the higher officials of the Sāsānids Empire, such as the magician, the military leader, *martpat* (adviser of king) and manager of financial affairs of the palace. On the seals are represented portraits of owners, animal and symbolical signs, and also patrimonial *tamghas* and inscriptions by the Middle Persian (Pahlavi), Bactrian, Kharoshti and Sogdian letters. Some persons represented on these seals, have features, a hairdress and an ornament, characteristic for the Türks. For example, the big almond-shaped eyes with the swelled up a little eyelids, a large direct nose, chubby lips, the hair which are hardly twisted by ringlets and going down behind to shoulders, hardly braided plaits, small moustaches and a sharp small beard, and also one earring in the right ear in the form of a suspension bracket from three balls. From headdresses the helmet with fields, on which three pointed ledges is allocated. Such caps were characteristic for Turkic tribes. Patrimonial *tamghas*, represented on some bullas, have direct analogies with *tamghas* of the ancient Türks. The Sogdian inscriptions put on some prints specify in connection with Sughd [Kruglikova 1984: 141 – 151]. On one of bullas is represented a lioness feeding of two cubs – a favourite plot of the Oghuz mythology, according to which Oghuz-Khān has been raised by a lioness [Korogly 1976: 98]. The similar plot is in the mythology of the Altay Türks according to which, their ancestor named Ashina has been raised by a she-wolf.

The Hephtalite and Turkic governors of Balkh minted the coins on the sample of the Sāsānids coins, on which has been fixed their dynastic title Yabghū – *yabγu bahlikano*, i.e. “Yabghū of Balkh» or “Yabghū the Bactrian» [Göbl 1967: 141, 182; Walker 1941: 14; Nikitin 1986: 82, 87]. In the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) sources of VII century AD the governor of Balkh is called Yabbu-Kagan [Markwart 1931: 10]. On the medallion which has been minted in 625 AD by Tardū-Shad, the governor of Tukhāristān and Gandhara, Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan is called *jeb MLK’n MLK*, i.e. “*yeb* (Yabghū) Shāhān-Shāh” or “*yeb* King of Kings” [Harmatta, Litvinsky 1996: 370]. During period of the ‘Arabian gains in Balkh had a residence the governor named Nīzak-Tarkhān [AA: 1b]. In the last century the region of Balkh was considered as the centre of the Afghānī Turkistān that

has found reflexion in modern cartography, in which areas of Balkh and Tukhāristān are designated by the name Turkistān [Gray 1977: 8].

In Balkh for the first time has been recognised the doctrine of Zaratushtra (Zoroastr), the founder of the Zoroastrianism, and the initial stage of his activity was connected with this city [Bartold 1971: 469; Pyankov 1968: 55 – 68]. According to the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) sources, Spandiyat, the son of Vishtasp, has constructed in Pahl (Balkh) sparkling capital Nawāzak and has based there wonder-working fire of Vahrām [Markwart 1931: 10]. Abū Rayhān al-Bīrūnī also writes that Isfandiyār, the son of Gushtāsp, has extended the doctrine of Zoroastr to the East both on the West and in all countries from China to Rome he erected fire temples [Bīrūnī 1963: 66 – 67].

Thus, the inhabitants of Balkh, as well as of the all Bactria, originally worshipped to fire, that proves to be true also by the archaeological data. On a site of ancient settlement Djar-Kutan (middle of the II millennium BC), located in 60 km to the North-West from Tirmidh, it is dug out proto-Zoroastrian temple of fire devoted to a cult of the Sun. Altars for burning a fire have been found also in some other synchronous monuments of ancient Bactria [Askarov, Shirinov 1993: 128 – 132].

However after disintegration of the Ahemenids power Balkh was more closely connected with India and in the Kushans period became one of the main centres of the Buddhism, making cultural impact also on the east areas of the Sāsānids Empire[78]. According to recent researches, the Buddhism has been extended not only in the east, but also in the western part of the Sāsānids state where the Buddhist missionaries got as through Khurāsān, as by sea rout [Compareti 2007]. In Avesta three times is mentioned the word Buiti, in which it is possible to see the Indian Buddha, and Balkh is called with an epithet “Drafsa” (“with lifted banners”) that is connected with Buddhism because in the Naw-Bahār temple of Balkh was set of huge banners [Litvinsky 1975: 191]. In the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) sources the Buddha is mentioned in the form of “But” [Bailey 1930: 279].

Possibly, during an epoch of the Early Middle Ages in Balkh was observed merge of two various cultures – the Buddhist and the Zoroastrian[79]. Here were equally esteemed

[78] So, in Sīstān have been opened ruins of a Buddhists monastery of the Kushans time [Bartold 1971: 44, 432], and in Marw – two Buddhist mortars and a huge statue of the Buddha, had been built in II – III centuries AD and functioned up to the VI – VII centuries AD [Koshelenko 1984: 137 – 140].

[79] In the Bactrian document from Tukhāristān dated 525 of the Bactrian era (757 AD), are mentioned nearby a *vihara* (a Buddhists monastery) and a Zoroastrian temple, and also such terms as “cemetery”

as Buddha, as Ahura Mazda [Bartold 1971: 470]. On the Kushan-Sāsānid coins of Tukhāristān (IV century AD) are presented images of both Buddhist gods Shiva and Mithra, and Ahura Mazda [Lukonin 1967: 26]. Despite a policy of prosecution of differently confessed people, in particular the Buddhism and the Brahmanism, spent by the Sāsānids, some monuments of the Sāsānids time fixed honouring of the Buddha in the east areas of Irān in IV century AD [Lukonin 1969: 43].

In the region of Balkh, near to Baghlān, was dug out the temple (Surkh-Kotal), which has been founded by the Kushans king Kanishka (I – II centuries AD) who was the first accepted the Buddhism in Bactria-Tukhāristān. In the temple of Kanishka was dug out an altar which testifies that people here worshipped to fire [Schlumberger: 13]. Altars have been found also in the Buddhist cult constructions of Bactria-Tukhāristān from what follows that fire cult could be adapted by the Kushans for the Buddhist ritual [Stavisky 1977: 196]. In the Buddhist cult centre Kara-Tepa (I – II centuries AD) in Tirmidh are found subject paintings with images «Fiery Buddha» (Buddha-Zoroastr), i.e. Buddha in a frame of tongues of flame which in later period were widely spread in Tukhāristān and Central Asia [Stavisky 1987: 105; Stavisky 1983: 82]. On the coins of the Kushan kings Kanishka and Khuvishka there is an image of a male god with 4 hands named Farro that means “fire” [Trever 1958: 142]. Images of altars are available also in the Buddhist paintings of the East Turkistān. Burning of a fire at certain ceremonies was characteristic for many religions, therefore occurrence of altars in Buddhist paintings it is no wonder [Shkoda 1985: 87].

Therefore in medieval sources are resulted rather inconsistent data on character of a cult in a temple of Naw-Bahār. According to some sources, the temple has been devoted to a fire cult [Bīrūnī 1963: 66 – 67; al-Balkhī: 20, 37; Le Strange 1905: 421], according to another sources – it was a Buddhists monastery [Ibn al-Fakīh: 323 – 324], and the third – residence of the Sāsānid kings [Hudūd al-‘Ālam: 108].

In our opinion, the Naw-Bahār temple at different stages of history was a place of worship of various religious communities [Bartold 1971: 469 – 472; Kamaliddinov 1996: 303 – 307], including followers of the Zoroastrianism and Mazdaism. However the Zoroastrianism and the Mazdaism never has been recognised in Balkh as official religion. Here during an epoch of the early Middle Ages and before that always dominated the Buddhism [Bartold 1971: 469; Stavisky 1977: 179] that was proved by the certificate of the Chinese pilgrim Süan Tszan (630 AD) which named the main

(*dahma*) and “to burn” (the Indian ceremony) that testifies to a variety of beliefs and religious practice in this region before arrival of Islām [Sims-Williams 1997: 9].

temple of Balkh the "New Sangharama" (Nava Sangharama), marked presence in it of a statue of the Buddha and goddess P'i-sha-men (Vai šravana deva) [Beal 1990: 49; Ekrem 2003: 149 – 150][80]. This data proves to be true by the 'Arabian authors who notice that the temple has been intended for worship idols ('*ibādat al-awthān*) and presence in it of highly lifted banners [Ibn al-Fakīh: 322, 323][81], and by data of other sources [Hudūd al-'Ālam: 108], and also archaeological researches [Mizuno 1968: 93 – 96, 109 – 112; Mizuno 1962]. In the work of al -Fakhrī, devoted to various religions, are mentioned idolaters (عبدة الاصنام) which worshipped to idols (وثن), to bulls and cows, and also worshippers to the Moon (عبدة القمر), recognising the Moon one of the greatest angels, the organizer of all the beyond world. They represented the Moon in quality of the spouse of the Sun and worshipped to an idol like a Bull [al-Fakhrī: 42 – 43].

According to some information, in the Naw-Bahār temple came to worship both the Türks and the Persians [Hafiz-i Tanish II: 137]. In the temple there were idols brought here from India, Sind and various areas of Tukhāristān. Each spring for 6-days celebration of the Nawrūz holyday in Balkh there came numerous pilgrims from all Tukhāristān, and also from Turkistān, India, Irān and Shām (شام), i.e. Syria. Celebratory ceremonies in vicinities of the Naw-Bahār temple continued during 7 days [Ahmedov 1982: 17].

In the Naw-Bahār temple dominated not only Buddhist canons. First, here annually came pilgrims not only from India, Sind, Tukhāristān and Turkistān where the Buddhism has been extended, but also from Irān and Shām, i.e. Syria (or Byzantium) where the Buddhism centres has never been. Secondly, celebratory ceremonies in the temple were spent in the spring during time of Nawrūz – a sacred holiday of the Zoroastrians. On the other hand, pilgrims from Irān and Byzantium could not be Zoroastrians, because in this temple have been put the idols brought from India, Sind and various areas of Tukhāristān that contradicts to canons of the Zoroastrianism and Christianity.

Thereupon the data of some sources are of interest according to which, the local kings (*Mulūk al-Tawā'if*) of Balkh were not the Zoroastrians, but they practised religion of the Sabīes and esteemed the Sun, the Moon, fire and seven stars [al-Ja'kūbī I: 179], and the Naw-Bahār temple has been devoted to a Moon cult [Macoudī V: 6 – 7], It is

[80] In the Persian this word has been downloaded in form *sandjar* or *sandjaristān*, and other Sanskrit word *vihara*, meaning «a Buddhist monastery», in form *bahār* [Bartold 1971: 214].

[81] According to Avesta, Balkh had an epithet «Drafsa» ("with lifted banners") that has been connected with the Buddhism as in the Naw-Nahār temple was set of huge banners [Litvinsky 1975: 191].

known that in the ‘Arabian sources used the term “Sabīes”, mainly, for the Hanīfs and pagans of Harrān [Bartold 1966: 469 – 486], and also for the followers of the Manichaeism. The dogma of the Sabīes has been based on ancient religion of the Khaldeys, who worshipped to heavenly bodies [Hamzae Isfahanensis: 4 – 5; al-Khowarezmī: 175]. The particular interest represents the information of the historian of religions al-Shahristānī which writes that “before Vishtasp the kings of Balkh adhered to religion of the Sabīes. They worshipped to stars and especially esteemed both main stars”, i.e. the Sun and the Moon [al-Shahrastānī: 431]. According to al-Bīrūnī, the term “Khaldeys” used for the Kayanids which have come to al-‘Irāq from Balkh. The Kayanids esteemed both stars, and also all other stars and elements, and considered them sacred till that time, when appeared Zaratushtra after the lapse of 30 years of the Vishtasp’s reign [Bīrūnī 1957: 103, 201]. From this data follows that before occurrence of the Zoroastrianism the people of Balkh worshipped to heavenly bodies. During the subsequent periods this most ancient cult adapted to new the religions – the Zoroastrianism, the Buddhism and the Manichaeism.

According to the Chinese sources, the Manichaeians worshipped to 7 stars – the Sun, the Moon and five planets which, according to their dogma, lead 7 days of week [Belenitsky 1954: 51]. Names of the 7 days of a week in the Sogdian calendar have been devoted to the Avestan deities which have become later the names of heavenly bodies – the Sun, the Moon, planets and «lunar stations» [SDGM I: 46]. It is necessary to note that in the Naw-Bahār temple celebrating ceremonies proceeded within 7 days.

According to al-Mas‘ūdī, temples of the Sabīes were the various form in what they saw symbols and secret which they hide. To them concerned the World order temple, the temple of Necessity and the Soul temple – their buildings are of the round form. A temple of Saturn – sixpointed, a temple of Yupiter – triangular, a temple of Mars – rectangular, the Sun temple – square, a temple of Venus – in the form of a triangle in a square, a temple of Merkury – in the form of a triangle in the extended rectangle, the Moon temple – octagonal [Belenitsky 1954: 65]. In the VIII century AD in capital of Farghāna there was the house of Kāwusān constructed by the king Kāwus. It was the surprising construction devoted to the Sun (Mekury). It was destroyed by the Calīph al-Mu‘tasim (ruled in 218 – 227/833 – 842) [al-Shahrastānī: 431]. In Bukhārā during pre-Islāmic time there was a temple of fire named Mākh (ماخ), i.e. the Moon [Narshakhī: 26 – 27]. The columns on which was constracted the palace of the governor in the Rīgistān square in Bukhārā, have been placed in the form of constellation of the Big Dipper [Narshakhī: 29]. The early Sabīes were the worshippers to the Sun (عبدة الشمس) and 5

times a day made prayers to the Sun in a kind of two handed idol as to the animated heavenly angel possessing human attributes radiating a light [al-Fakhrī: 42].

During an epoch of the early Middle Ages in the Naw-Bahār temple people worshipped not only to Buddha, but mainly to god of the Moon (Ay Tängrī) or to god of the Sun and the Moon (Kün Ay Tängrī), i.e. to the Supreme deity of the Manichaeians – Mānī or Mānī-Buddha [VT 1992: 526; Zuev 2002: 194, 197], personifying the Buddha, Zoroastr and Jesus Crist, the Supreme apostles of three world religions – the Buddhism, the Zoroastrianism and the Christianity. Therefore to this temple came for worshipping representatives of the Manichaean communities scattered in the different countries from Byzantium to China.

The Manichaean teaching which has arisen in III century AD in Babylon, soon became popular in Irān because of what it has been subjected severe persecution from the side of the orthodox Zoroastrianism. These persecutions have led to mass moving of the followers of Mānī to the countries to the north and the northeast from Irān. In VI – VIII centuries AD the Manichaeism was widespread in Tukhāristān, Sughd, Yetisū and East Turkistān. The basic centres of the Manichaeans were Balkh, Bukhārā, Samarqand, Tarāz and Turfān. The Manichaeism professed not only settled and city inhabitants, but also the majority of nomadic Turkic tribes. It was the state religion of the Turkic, Uighūr, Qarluq, Kirghīz and Kīmāk Qaghanates [Kyzlasov 2004: 12 – 16]. According to al-Bīrūnī, in the countries of Islām there was almost no region where would not be the Manichaeans. But their community which members called the Sabīes, existed only in Samarqand. Outside of the Islām world the belief of Mānī and his doctrine professed the majority of the east Türks, inhabitants of China, Tibet and a part of India [Bīrūnī 1957: 211 – 213]. According to Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī, the Chigil tribes and all of the nomadic Türks inhabited from the river of Djayhūn to Chīn were the Manichaeans [MK I: 374], i.e. from Amu Darya to the Great Wall of China. Such wide circulation of the Manichaeism among the Türks speaks that this dogma well got on with rituals of the Shamanism [Zuev 2002: 182]. In the "Shāh-Nāma" of Firdawsī Mānī is mentioned as "the prophet, which arrived from the land of Chīn", i.e. from Turkistān. It is known that Mānī in his youth many years travelled in the countries of Central Asia and India where he studied various religions. In the East was generated his religious system which has incorporated most essential of all other religions [VIR: 153].

During some centuries (III – VIII centuries AD) strong Manichaean community existed also in Balkh or near to it. In the VI century AD one of the magic Parthian-Manichaean texts reflecting close contacts of the Manichaeans and the Buddhists has

been written in Balkh [Stavisky 1977: 178; Litvinsky 1971: 115]. From medieval sources it is known that in VII – VIII centuries AD the role of the Manichaeans in Tukhāristān, in particular in Chaghāniyān, was very considerable. The Buddhism and Manichaeism in the Central Asia co-existed throughout long time and influence of the Buddhism on the east branch of this religion was so strong, that Mānī in the Manichaean texts was called as the Buddha or god of the Moon (Ay Tangrī) Mānī-Buddha [VT: 526; Zuev 2002: 194]. According to Ibn al-Nadīm, the first who besides the Sāmānids (*al-samaniyya*), i.e. the Buddhists, has moved from Tukhāristān to Mā warā' an-nahr belonged to the Manichaeans [Flügel 1862: 76, 105, 385].

Restoration of many Buddhist temples of the Kushans period in Tukhāristān and building of new temples in VI – VII centuries AD was connected with activity of the Türks [Kamaliddinov 1996: 195 – 196, 204 – 205]. The Buddhist monastery Adjina-Tepa constructed in the middle of the VII century AD in 40 km to the north from a site of ancient settlement Kafir-Kala in the Wakhsh valley [Litvinsky, Zeymal 1971], the Buddhist complex of Ushtur-Mullo located near a site of ancient settlement Tepa-i Shah [Zeymal 1987: 73 – 74] and the Buddhist temple on a site of ancient settlement Kala-i Kafirnigan in Qubādiyān concerned to them [Litvinsky 1981: 131 – 133]. According to the data of the Chinese traveller Huey Chao, who traveled approximately in 726 AD, at that time half of the population of Khuttalān was made the Türks. The governor of Khuttalān also was the Türk. The king, the nobility and the simple people of Khuttalān esteemed the doctrine of the Buddha of the Hinayana school. There were many Buddhist monasteries and monks there [Bernshtam 1952: 190; Litvinsky, Soloviev 1985: 120]. The foundation and functioning of the Buddhist temple (VI – VIII centuries AD) on a site of ancient settlement Qubā in Farghāna valley connected with the Türks. A big statue of the Buddha with Turkic features was dug out in the main hall of this temple [Bulatova-Levina 1961: 241 – 245]. On one of the earliest of so-called "Türk-Sogdian" coins of Farghāna, is represented the dead-pan face of a deity or a priest of a characteristic Buddhist iconography [Smirnova 1981: 24].

Many data specifies that Balkh was the native land of Bahrām Chūbīn. Life of Mīlād (میلاد), the ancestor of Bahrām Chūbīn, who was one of the Irānian heroes and commanders has been connected with this city [Firdousi I: 360; III: 114, 117, 404]. In the Tibetan document of VIII century AD are mentioned descendants of Bahrām Chūbīn who lived in Balkh [Gumilev 1967: 162]. In the Middle Ages some settlements located in the region of Balkh have been connected with a name of Bahrām Chūbīn. So, in VI/XII century in the area of Balkh is mentioned the settlement Chūbīnābād (جوبیناباد)

[al-Sam'ānī III: 348], and in the area of Gūzgānān on a way from Andkhūdh to Fāryāb is mentioned resting station Djūbīn (جوبين), i.e. Chūbīn [al-Moqaddasī: 347]. It is possible to assume that these settlements, or one of them, were a family property of Bahrām Chūbīn.

In textual sources there is no exact data concerning a religious accessory of Bahrām Chūbīn. It is possible to assume that the higher ancestor of Sāmān-Khudāt, Bahrām Chūbīn, was the Buddhist. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain his marriage on the daughter of the Turkic Qaghan El-Tigīn (Parmūda) which, as it is known, was the ardent Buddhist and the founder of several Buddhist monasteries. At least, some data specifies that Bahrām Chūbīn was not a supporter of the orthodox Zoroastrianism though he was belonged to the higher military estate of the Sāsānids Empire. In the second year of board Varahran VI (i.e. Bahrām Chūbīn), i.e. in 591 AD, in Abarshahr, Harāt and Marw minted silver *drachmas* with the accurate image of a cross near the Zoroastrian symbols [Kolesnikov 2005: 114 – 115]. This data can specify that Bahrām Chūbīn concerned with liking to Christians that contradicted canons of the orthodox Zoroastrianism. However, in our opinion, on these coins is represented, most likely, not a Christian, but a Manichaean cross [Zuev 2002: 208, fig. 2]. This data allows assume that Bahrām Chūbīn professed the Manichaeism which combined the elements of the Zoroastrianism and Christianity.

Thereupon are of interest the family relations of Bahrām Chūbīn with the Turkic Qaghan, having a residence in Bukhārā [al-Dīnawarī: 98 – 102; Macoudī II: 223 – 224; Gumilev 1960: 229 – 230]. It is known that Bahrām Chūbīn in the end of his life has entered to a family relations with the Turkic Qaghan named Parmūda (El-Tigīn, Nili-Khān), who was the son of the Turkic governor of Bukhārā El Arslān (Sāwa-Shāh, Shīr-i Kishwar) and the grandson of Tardū-Qaghan (Qarā Chūrīn Türk) [Bel'amī II: 248; 265; Firdousi VI: 656 – 657; Bichurin I: 279]. It is considered that El-Tigīn (Parmūda) was the adherent of the Buddhism, the founder of several Buddhist monasteries in Tukhāristān and Gandhara [Chavannes 1903: 198, 242 – 245; Litvinsky, Zeymal 1971: 120], and with him connected penetration of the Buddhism into Bukhārā [Stavisky 1960: 115]. The second name of El-Tigīn – Parmūda is made from a Buddhist title *Pramukha* [Harmatta, Litvinsky 1996: 371]. However the second name of his father El Arslān – Sāwa-Shāh (Shāwa, Shāba) [al-Dīnawarī: 98 – 102; Macoudī II: 223 – 224; Firdousī VI: 656 – 657] specifies that he was the Manichaean. It is supposed that the name Sāwa (Shāwa, Shāba) is the Bactrian title *šawa*, meaning "king" [Frye 1956: 122; Harmatta, Litvinsky 1996: 371]. According to other opinion, this name originated from the Middle

Persian (Pahlavi) word *syava* – "black" or the Sogdian *š'w* – "black") [Zuev 2002: 195]. Among the Manichaean Türks of the Yetisū region has been extended the legend about the Turkic king named Shū (شو) (from the Sogdian *š'w* – "black") [MK III: 419; I: 117]. In the Turkic Manichaeism the rank *qara* – "black" meant the spiritual duty which owner led education and training in the Manichaean school [Zuev 2002: 201]. The second name of Sāwa-Shāh – Shīr-i Kishwar (Lion of the Country) [Narshakhī: 16, 17] or El Arslān (Lion of the People) [Gumilev 1967: 464] also specifies that he was the Manichaean. Image of a lion (Pers. *shīr*, Turk. *arslān*) and his symbols took a special place in the Turkic Manichaeism whereas in the Zoroastrianism and the Buddhism they are almost not used [Zuev 2002: 188, 192 – 193, 203]. On the coins minted by the Turkic governors of the areas located in lower basin of Syr-Darya, from Otrār to Chāch, often there is an image of the lion, which was a symbol of a deity – the patron of a city or people, i.e. object of religious honouring. Image of a lion was widely used in different aspects from Bukhārā to Yetisū and East Turkistān [Smirnova 1981: 51, 52, 56 – 58]. The second name of Tardū-Qaghan, which was father of El Arslān (Sāwa-Shāh, Shīr-i Kishwar) and grandfather of El-Tigīn (Parmūda, Nili-Khān), was Qarā Chūrīn Türk [Narshakhī: 16]. The name-title Qarā Chūr (*qara-čor*) also is widely known from the Manichaean texts of the East Turkistān [Zuev 2002: 200 – 201].

In the numismatical collection of the library Bibliotheque National in Paris is stored the medallion which has been minted about 625 AD in Qunduz by Tardū-Shād, the son of the Supreme Turkic ruler Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan and the founder of a dynasty of the Turkic Yabghū of Tukhāristān and Gandhara, on the occasion of a definitive victory over the Hephtalites and joining of their lands to the Turkic Qaghanate. An iconography of the medallion, as well as of some coins of the Turkic Yabghū of Tukhāristān, finds out, on the one hand, imitation to *drachmas* of the Shāhān-Shāh Hurmazd IV, and on the other hand, – to the Indian religious tradition [Harmatta 1982: 168]. On Av of this medallion is represented also the portrait of the governor to the right, on the right and to the left of which there are Middle Persian (Pahlavi) inscriptions *jeb MLK''n MLK'*, i.e. "*yeb* King of Kings", and *GDH 'pzwt* – "the Victory, increase (territories)". It is supposed that on this medallion is represented Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan. On Rv of the medallion of Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan are represented an altar and two priests, and also the god Shiva with hair in the form of a flame [Harmatta, Litvinsky 1996: 370]. It our opinion, such combination of symbols of the Zoroastrianism and the Buddhism could take place only in the framework of the Manichaean ideology. Hence, the both Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan, and his son Tardū-Shād, most likely, professed the Manichaeism.

Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan was the admirer of the Buddhism, and circa 630 AD he has friendly met the Buddhist piligrim Süan Tszan and listened to his sermon [Beal 1990: 42 – 44]. In the Tibetan documents there is information that Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan several times has visited Tibet (in 694, 699, 700 AD) and he was married the daughter of the king of Tibet [Dotson: 2009]. At the same time Süan Tszan also notices that the Türks worshipped to a fire, therefore usually they did not used wooden beds, because the tree contains element of a fire [Tugusheva 1991: 6]. In 591 AD the incorporated armies of the Armenians, the Georgians, the Byzantines and the Persians, which have inflicted defeat to the armies of Bahrām Chūbīn, and have captured many Türks who had on a forehead a cross sign [Simokatta: 131]. In our opinion, it was not the Christian, but the Manichaean cross. Such variety of beliefs of the Türks in the period of the Turkic Qaghanate, in our opinion, specifies that they were the Manichaeans.

All this data specifies that the Supreme rulers of the Western Turkic Qaghanate were the Manichaeans. If will be considered that Bahrām Chūbīn was originated from Balkh and married daughter of El-Tigīn (Parmūda, Nili-Khān) it is possible to assume that he, most likely, was a Manichaean. Hence, their descendants including Sāmān-Khudāt also were the Manichaeans.

Pre-Islāmic Cults in Central Asia

In pre-Islāmic time the Manichaeism was widespread both among nomadic Turkic tribes and among settled and city population of Central Asia – the Sogdians and the Türks. The Manichaeans equally esteemed cultural wealth of all three world religions – the Buddhism, the Zoroastrianism and the Christianity. Having got to the new environment of the Sogdians and the Türks, the Manichaeism has incorporated also features of local beliefs – a fertility cult, a cult of ancestors, a cult of Siyāwush, etc. [Belenitsky 1954: 42, 68, 70, 79, 80]. The factor of sinkretism of different beliefs inside of one religious system, unlike fanaticism of the orthodox Zoroastrians, was the main and principal cause of a tolerance of the Sogdians and especially the Türks[82].

Thereupon of interest is information of the ‘Arabian geographers, which allows define religion of the population of Mā warā’ an-nahr before acceptance of Islām. So, according to al-Istakhrī and Ibn Hawqal, «at the time of Persians the border of the country Irānshahr (ایرانشهر) or the al-Fārs (الفارس) were limited and known. With

[82] For more details about the pre-Islāmic religions in Central Asia see: Kamoliddin 2008: 13 – 21.

acceptance of Islām, there have been grasped new lands which were belonged to the neighbouring countries al-Sīn, al-Rūm and al-Hind, and they were attached to Irānshahr. In particular, Mā warā' an-nahr has been grasped in the country of al-Sīn". Further he noticed that "the country of al-Sīn (الصين) included all countries of the Türks, a part of al-Tubbat (Tibet) and all of people who practised religion of idolaters" [al-Istakhrī: 4; Ibn Haukal: 9]. From this data follows that, first, before the 'Arabian conquest the land of Mā warā' an-nahr was considered as one of the countries of the Türks and belonged to al-Sīn, and secondly, its inhabitants practised the same religion that the Türks and the Tibetans. In the memorable Old Turkic inscription of Ton Yukuk the governor of Sughd is called *Tinsi Oyly* that means "son of the Son of the Heaven", i.e. the son of the Chinese emperor [Kliashtorny 1960: 133 – 135].

Initial religion of the all Türks was the Tangrism, which was one of the most ancient religions of the world. Subsequently among the Türks of Central Asia were extended the Buddhism, the Zoroastrianism and the Christianity. But during an epoch of the early Middle Ages among them has been widely extended the Manichaeism.

According to Tamīm ibn Bahr, some of the urban Türks in the Tughuz-Ghuz country were fige worshippers from the religion of the Zoroastrians (*'abadat al-nīrān 'alā madhhab al-Madjūs* عبدة النيران على مذهب المجوس), and some were the al-Zindiqs (الزندق pl. *al-Zanādiqa* الزنادقة), i.e. the Manichaeans. Among inhabitants of the capital of the Tughuz-Ghuz country the most part made the al-Zindiqs [Minorsky 1947: 279]. According to Gardīzī, the Khāqān of the Tughuz-Ghuz country himself was the *al-Dīnawarī* (الدينوري), i.e. the Manichaean, but in his country there were the Christians, the Dualists and the Buddhists. Near gate of his palace every day gathered 300 or 400 of the *al-Dīnawarī* people, which first with a loud voice read compositions of Mānī, then entered into his palace, welcomed him and came back [Bartold 1973: 52 – 53].

Same various were believes of other people in Central Asia – the Sogdians, the Bactrians and the Kh^{w}ārazmians. For example, the Sogdians and the Türks practised the same religion, had the common temples and practised an identical funeral ceremony.

According to the Chinese sources, inhabitants of Kan (Samarqand) worshipped to heavenly god and extremely esteemed him [Bichurin II: 296]. According to "Bey-Shi" and "Suy-Shu", in all of the lands lying to the east from the Western (i.e. Caspian) sea the people worshipped to "the Spirit of Desi" which has been presented in an image of the gold idol to 15 foots in volume, with proportional height. This idol stood in a temple in the North-East from the capital of Tzao (Ishtīkhan), behind the city named Yuy-Di. In the temple of "the Spirit of Desi" people came to worship from neighbouring

settlements. Every day it was sacrificed by 5 camels, 10 horses and 10 rams. The number of endowings sometimes reached some thousands, and people could not eat all [Bichurin II: 275, 287, 313]. The diet of sacrifices shows that among visitors there were many Türks as during an epoch of the Early Middle Ages the horse-flesh was used for eating, mainly, only by the Türks.

The cult of "the Spirit of Desi" is identified with a cult of a star Tishtriya (Sirius) which personified a deity of the rain waters brought by clouds from outside of the Caspian Sea [Negmatov 1957: 81]. It proves to be true by the information of Huey Chao (circa 726 AD) according to which, inhabitants of Kan (Samarqand) and other cities of the country Su-li (Sughd) worshipped to heavenly god of fire and made a sacrifice to the sky [Bernshtam 1952: 193; Litvinsky, Zeymal 1971: 123]. In the work of al-Fakhrī, devoted to various religions, along with the worshippers of the Sun and Moon are mentioned the worshippers to the planets Saturn, Venus and Sirius [al-Fakhrī: 43].

In the Chinese sources it is informed that in residence of the governor of Kan (Samarqand) there is a building in the middle of which is put the seat (throne). In the 6th day of the first Moon on it put a gold urn with ashes of the burnt bones of the late parents of the king, then people passed round a throne, scattering odorous colour fruits. In a city there is also a temple of ancestors in which make a sacrifice in the 6th day of the Moon [Bichurin II: 98]. During an epoch of the Early Middle Ages cremation of bones of died people, as it is known, widely practised at the Türks.

In the state of Kan (Samarqand) was a temple in which, it was stored the Turkic code and at the case of punishment of definition, this code used for solving decision [Bichurin II: 281]. In the Sogdian documents this temple is mentioned as "a place of statutes" [SDGM II: 38]. From this information it is possible to conclude that in VIII century AD the statute basing on which were consisted marriage documents, was Turkic. In "Suy-Shu" about Sughd it is said that "marriage and funeral ceremonies are identical with the Tou-kue", i.e. the Turkic [Bichurin II: 281].

According to some sources, in pre-Islāmic time all of the Mā warā' an-nahr was a part of the country of al-Sīn (الصين), and Samarqand was its chief city. After Islām the inhabitants of al-Sīn which were the Manichaeans, moved to the centre of their country, and in Samarqand there were traces of their stay, namely manufacturing of a good paper of fine quality [Marvazi: 6]. Under "inhabitants of the country of al-Sīn» in this text means not the Chineses, but the Türks professing the Manichaeism [al-Tabarī 1988: 11 – 16]. Abū Rayhān al-Bīrūnī directly indicated that "the country of al-Sīn included except actually al-Sīn (i.e. Kāshghar), also Tibet, Khutan, the countries behind the river of

Balkh and the Türks in the neighbourhood with them" [Bīrūnī 1966: 155]. The present Chinese name of the East Turkistān, *Sin Chiang*, as the 'Arabian (*bilād al-Sīn*) contains the ancient name of the country "Sin" [Map of the North Western Frontier of India].

Name of the area of Ustrūshana (استروشنه) or Sutrūshana (ستروشنه), probably, originated from the Sanskrit word *suturšan*, designating one of the Buddhist deities [Gritsina 2000: 38]. In one manuscript of the Buddhist maintenance written by the Uighūr letter, is mentioned the city Sutrasan which name is formed from a Sanskrit word *sudaršana* [DTS: 515]. Names of governors on coins of Ustrūshana etymologised on the basis of a Sanskrit that allows consider that they were the Buddhists. So, the name of Satachari (*stcry*) goes back to the Sanskrit Sadacharya that means "teacher" [Smirnova 1981: 32 – 35].

Among the ruins of the city of Qubā (قبا) in Farghāna has been dug out has been dug out the Buddhist temple functioned in VII – VIII centuries AD. In the main hall of this temple had been found a huge statue of the Buddha with Turkic features [Bulatova-Levina 1961: 241].

In the 'Arabian sources the Manichaeans are called al-Sabī (السبي), al-Dīnawar (الدينور) or al-Zindiq (الزندق), as well as the followers of al-Muqanna' [Bīrūnī 1957: 211 – 212; Bartold 1973: 52, 53; Minorsky 1947: 279]. Members of the Manichaean community named also "Nagoshak" [Hudūd al-'Ālam: 113]. It has been connected by that about 600 AD the Manichaeans were cleaved to two parties – the western and the eastern. Western Manichaeans which centre was Babylon accused the east Manichaeans, which centre was Samarqand that they were in connection with the authorities and carried out their orders [Flügel 1862: 66]. Really, name of the Sogdian noble Maniakh which have headed in 568 AD the embassy of the Türks to Constantinople goes back to the Middle Persian designation of Mānī – Mani Xayos (God Mār Mānī) [Zuev 2002: 189]. In 719 AD to the Chinese court has arrived the ambassador of T'ou-ho-lo (Tukhāristān) from the king of Che-khan-na (Chaghāniyān) named Ti-Chjo which was called as "the Great Mo-Chjo", he was very wise person and was perfectly understanding an astronomy [Chavannes 1903: 156 – 157; Shefer 1981: 581]. The king of Chaghāniyān Ti-Chjo which name is reconstructed as Te-ša, is identified with the king of Chaghāniyān named Tish al-A'war (the Curve) which is mentioned in the work of al-Tabarī in connection with the events of 86/705 [at-Tabarī II: 1180]. It was supposed that the same king was also the Supreme Yabghū of Tukhāristān. The name of this king is made from a word *tiš* – so in the Bactrian language was called the star Sirius. The name of Mo-Chjo is the Chinese transfer of the Sogdian word *mōčak* (*mwčk*) –

"teacher", a holy order of the Manichaean church [Belenitsky 1954: 45; Litvinsky, Zeymal 1971: 121].

In the countries of Islām the Manichaeans only in exceptional cases could profess openly their belief [Bartold 1963a: 218]. During the reign of the Calīph al-Muqtadir (ruled in 295 – 320/908 – 932) from al-'Irāq to Samarqand ran from prosecutions 500 of the Manichaeans. In Samarqand there was unique in Central Asia openly functioning Manichaean community which had their own monastery (*khānaqāh*) [Hudūd al-'Ālam: 113]. When the Sāmānids tried to take away it from the Manichaeans, the king of al-Sīn, i.e. the Khān of the Tughuz-Ghuz has interceded for them and has threatened them to answer with prosecution of the Muslims living in his country [Ibn al-Nadīm II: 803 – 805]. Therefore Samarqand was in IV/X century unique city in Central Asia where the Manichaeism was not exposed to prosecution and the Manichaean monastery functioned openly [Bartold 1963a: 219, 244 – 245]. It is represented that among the members of this small Manichaean community of Samarqand could be also natives of the Tughuz-Ghuz country. The Chinese pilgrim Chan Chun (XIII century AD) named Sün Sygan (Samarqand) the best city of Hoy-He, i.e. the Uighūrs Turkistān [Si Yu Tszi: 230]. According to the medieval Georgian sources, the Uighūr area was stretched till Samarqand [Mikhalev 1961: 58].

Süan Tszan specified in extreme large number of "sanctuaries of gods", belonged to the followers of the heresy "*Tinap*" that is the Chinese transfer of the term "*Dīnawar*" (دینور) – a general name of the Manichaeans of Central Asia and all east areas [Belenitsky 1954: 44].

Distinctive colour of the Manichaeans was white colour, therefore they carried white clothes. It is supposed that "people in white clothes", who rised against the 'Arabs under leadership of al-Muqanna', were the Manichaeans. A bit later in China has flashed the national movement which was called as a revolt of the people «dressed in white». A supervising role in it played the Manichaeans [Belenitsky 1954: 47]. The descendant of the pre-Islāmic kings of Ustrūshana al-Afshīn Haydhar ibn Kāwus named belief of his ancestors *al-Dīn al-Abyad* (الدين الابيض), i.e. «the white religion» [at-Tabarī III: 1311 – 1312; Ibn al-Athīr VI: 351 – 352, 358 – 359] that as well as movement of al-Muqanna' and "people in white clothes", is considered as the Manichaeism [Herzfeld 1948: 138; Frye 1954: 147, n. 264]. The Burhanists of Altay have informed about "people in white clothes", i.e. the Manichaeans, who came to Altay and called people to trust in uniform god [Zuev 2002: 186].

Idolatry was one of the main features of the Manichaeism. The followers of Mānī considered humanoid idols as an embodiment and symbols of divine stars – the Sun and the Moon, last stations on a way to Light-Paradise [Bīrūnī 1963: 479]. Idolatry was the first form of religion in Sughd, in particular, in Bukhārā, which was mentioned in textual sources. According to some information, the cathedral mosque of Samarqand of the pre-Mongol time, located to the West from a citadel, has been constructed on a place of a temple of idolaters [Kandiya: 150]. In the contract of ‘Arabian military leader Qutayba ibn Muslim with inhabitants of Samarqand there was a point on presenting to the ‘Arabs of the «houses of idols and fire» [al-Beladsorī: 424]. When Qutayba has won Samarqand, to him have brought the idols caused by the peace treaty. He has removed from them all of the precious ornaments, has collected them in a huge heap and has set fire. Among that from them remains, have found 50 thousands *mithqāls* of gold and silver nails [at-Tabarī II: 1246]. In the settlement Tawāwīs (طواويس) in the region of Bukhārā where Qutayba has settled down, there were “a temple of fire” and “a temple of the goddess” [at-Tabarī II: 1230]. The idols which worshipped the Sogdians, were anthropomorphous and had shape of a man [Zuev 2002: 195]. So, according to al-Narshakhī, inhabitants of Bukhārā were idolaters (*but parast būdand*). During pre-Islāmic time in Bukhārā there was a market called Bāzār-i Mākh (بازار ماخ) on which twice a year sold idols. They used a great demand among inhabitants of Bukhārā. This market has been founded by Mākh, the king of Bukhārā (the Sogdian *m’χ* – “moon”), which personally was present during fair and sat there on his throne for encouragement of trade with idols [Narshakhī: 26 – 27].

Idols stood also in the temples of Paykand, Warakhshā, Samarqand, Ustrūshana, Pandjikent and other cities. When Qutayba ibn Muslim has won Paykand, he has found in one of its temples of idolaters (*but-khāna*) a silver idol which has been estimated in 400 *dirhams* [Narshakhī: 45]. The king of Khuttalān al-Djīsh (al-Hanash) ibn Sabl ran from the ‘Arabs to al-Sīn, and his brother and others *dihqāns* with the numerous idols were in Farghāna. In 121/738-39 Nasr ibn Sayyār has returned them therefrom to Ustrūshana and has put idols in a temple [at-Tabarī II: 1694]. In Ustrūshana even a lot of time after establishment of Islām proceeded honouring of idols in the special sanctuaries [at-Tabarī III: 1309]. In the capital of Ustrūshana there was a temple of idols which after the ‘Arabian conquest has been transformed into a mosque. By order of al-Afshīn Haydhar the *al-imām* and *al-mu’adhdhin* who threw out idols from this temple, both have been punished by one thousand blows by a whip. On the trial which was held in Baghdād al-Afshīn, which had been accused on renunciation of Islām, has explained his

act that between him and kings of Sughd was concluded agreement on which both parties were obliged to give to the population a freedom of worship [at-Tabarī III: 1310 – 1312; Smirnova 1969: 70 – 72]. This information specifies in affinity, if not identity of beliefs of the inhabitants of Sughd, Ustrūshana and Khuttalān. Gold idols were among the other jewelry grasped by the ‘Arabian military leader al-Djahm ibn Zahr during his gain of mountain area al-Buttam [al-Beladsorī: 425]. In the work of al-Fakhrī devoted to various religions it is said that idolaters (عبدة الاصنام) worshipped to idols (وثن), to bulls and cows. The first idolaters were people of the tribe of Nūh (Bibl. Noah) [al-Fakhrī: 43]. According to the ethnographic data, in gorge of Fan-Darya in upper courses of Zarafshan in district Sardawan once there was a temple of idols (*but-khāna*), and in one of abrupt rocks over the settlement Takfon there is a cave in which were prayed idolaters (*but-parast*) [Negmatov 1957: 74].

According to the data of al-Nasafī, during pre-Islāmic times on place of a cathedral mosque of Samarqand there was a temple of idols to which worshipped inhabitants of the city. The main idol was established on a tower in whom the talisman has been enclosed. The pilgrims from the remote cities also came to worship to this idol. Everyone who else has from afar seen him, bit the dust, and left, without turning around a back to that idol, came back heels forward until the idol did not disappear from the sight. When the ‘Arabs have occypied Samarqand in the reign of the Calīph ‘Uthmān, they have broken and have turned those idols headfirst, and the temple was turned into a cathedral mosque [Kandiya: 250].

Pre-Islāmic ancestors of the Qarā-Khānids also worshipped to idols. Djamāl al-Qarshī noticed that Ughuldjaq Qadr-Khān who was an uncle of Satuq Bughrā-Khān, has built a temple of idols and a small reservoir [al-Karshī: 103].

Idols have been found among funeral stock in barrows of nomads and in house sanctuaries in Farghāna [Brykina 1987: 52 – 58; Brykina 1971: 447 – 449]. The burual stone sculptures (*balbals*) of the ancient Türks, and also the sculptures representing ancestors also were idols. The burial ground of Bit-Tepa (VII – VIII centuries AD) in a valley of Surkhan-Darya belonged to the alien population, which practised a ceremony of a burial place with lying dead body, probably, professing the Manichaeism [Rtveladze 1986: 208]. The clay head of an idol is found in one of crypts of this burial ground with schematically planned features. On a site of ancient settlement of Ak-Tepa (VI – VII centuries AD) near to Djar-Kurgan has been found one more big head of an idol with the spherical face and sticked lock of hair [Rtveladze 1989: 68 – 69]. On a site of ancient settlement of Ak-Tepa in the Otrār oasis located in 10 km to the east from the

settlement Chayan, is found the small idol (15 sm), executed of alebaster and clay [Baypakov, Podushkin 1989: 78 – 79].

In the Afrasiab ruins is found a coin of the Turkic ruler of Chāch holding in a hand a cross that allows assume that he professed the Christianity [Rtveladze, Tashkhodjaev 1973: 232 – 234]. The image of an equipotential cross is represented also on the coins of pre-Islāmic rulers of Bukhārā, Kh^{w}ārazm, Ustrūshana, Pandjikent, Otrār and other cities of Central Asia [Musakaeva 1994: 43]. In our opinion, hardly all of these signs can be considered as the Christian symbols because the Christianity had no so wide circulation in Central Asia. Besides, the Christianity had no status of official religion that would allow using of an image of the Christian symbols on the coins.

On a site of ancient sity of Old Tirmidh has been discovered the building of IV – VI/X – XII centuries with a wall painting in which has been represented the square rounded by a framework, with a cross in the middle in which centre is placed the circle. This symbol has been regarded as the Christian, and the dug out building – as the Christian church [Albaum 1994: 34]. On a flask of III – V/IX – XI centuries which is stored in the fund of the Museum of history of Uzbekistan is represented the cross which has been built in a rhombus, and in the middle of a cross is represented the multipetal socket which has been built in a circle. This symbol also is regarded as the Christian [Musakaeva 1994: 48]. However precisely the same symbols (the cross which has been built in a square or a rhombus with circle and the socket in the middle) are represented in the Buddhism, where the geometrical figures built in each other (a square, a circle, a triangle, a rhombus, the socket, a cross, a hexagram, a pentagram, etc.) represent versions of a Buddhist mandala. Hence, both these images can be considered as one of the Buddhist or the Manichaean symbols.

The last representative of the dynasty of Afshīns of Ustrūshana al-Afshīn Haydhar was the idolater. However in his palace in a quarter al-Matīra in Samarra (near Baghdād) besides the idols decorated with jewels, gold threads and pearl ornaments on ears, has been found also the sacred “Book of the Mughs” (i.e. fire worshippers) Zaravah decorated with gold, jewels and silk (*dībādj*). In the second palace of al-Afshīn located in the quarter al-Wazīriyya also was found the idol. It idolised also his personality and allowed the people in Ustrūshana to address to himself as to «the god of gods» [at-Tabarī III: 1310 – 1312, 318; Ibn al-Athīr VI: 366, 369; Smirnova 1969: 70 – 72]. Among an ornament of a carved tree in the palace of kings of Ustrūshana of VI – VII centuries AD on a site of ancient sity Kala-i Kahkaha II in Shahristan there is a motive with the image of 4-pointed palmettes and crosses with equal sides [Negmatov,

Khmelnitsky 1966: Tab. IV, VIIIa, IXb]. Here has been found the ceramic vessel with the image of floating fishes [Negmatov, Khmelnitsky 1966: Tab. XVIII, fig. 16] that is one of the main symbols of the Buddhism. The image of cross is represented also on the coins of pre-Islāmic kings of Ustrūshana that was explained as political action from the side of the Buddhist Afshīns dependent to the Christian Türks [Ivanitsky 1994: 65 – 66]. However on some coins of Ustrūshana the portrait of the king is accompanied by the image of an elephant and a Christian cross [Smirnova 1971: 59 – 61]. The image of an elephant is a Buddhist emblem of wisdom, but here the elephant is combined with a Christian cross. Such combination could be only in framework of the Manichaean religion in which were equally esteemed as the Buddhist, so the Zoroastian and the Christian religious values. Hence, the image of crosses on the coins of pre-Islāmic rulers of Central Asia, most likely, should be considered as symbols of the Manichaeism which, really, had a wide circulation as among the Sogdians, so among the Bactrians and especially the Türks.

Monumental wall paintings and also painting on a textile, on metal and in the form of paginal illustrations in books was one more obligatory and distinctive attribute of the Manichaeism. Mānī himself during many centuries was considered as the outstanding painter who has begun this tradition, not peculiar to other religions [Zuev 2002: 184, 192]. In "Shāh-Nāma" by Firdawsī Mānī is described as "the prophet of art and the painter to which was not equal". The Most known his composition named "Ardjang", which was devoted to his cosmologic doctrine, has been decorated by numerous fine miniatures [VIR: 153]. According to a legend, he has learnt this art in youth during his stay in the East – Central Asia and India. The temple iconography and cult images in any display were absolutely alien to the Zoroastrianism. Presence of rich wall subject painting in a temple of Pandjikent has allowed to some researchers to come to conclusion that this temple could be belonged to the Manichaeans [Belenitsky 1954: 47 – 48, 64, 66 – 68, 81]. Rich painting decorated also walls of the cult buildings – a temple Dilberdjin (IV – V centuries AD) in Tukhāristān, a Buddhist monastery of Adjina-Tepa (VI – VIII centuries AD) in Wakhsh; a palace of the governors in Toprak-Kala (III century AD) in Kh^{w}ārazm, a palace of the Ikhshīds in the Afrasiab ruins (VI – VIII centuries AD) in Samarqand, a palace of the Bukhār-Khudāts in Warakhshā (VI – VIII centuries AD), a palace of the Afshīns in Ustrūshana (VI – VIII centuries AD) in Shahristan, a palace of governors on a site of ancient settlement of Kafir-Kala (VI – VIII centuries AD) in Wakhsh, and also walls of locks, houses of rich townspeople and other secular buildings – Balalyk-Tepa (V – VI centuries AD), Tavka (VII – VIII centuries

AD), Kala-i Kafirnigan (VI – VII centuries AD), etc. [Rahmonov 2001: 122]. In a decor and architecture of medieval Khuttalān prevailed images of a lion [Guliamova 1987: 127 – 134] which was one of the main symbols of the Manichaeism [Zuev 2002: 188, 192 – 193, 203].

Magnificent monuments of highly artistic painting have remained also on surfaces of various subjects from metal and ceramics – silver bowls, dishes, jugs, mugs and ossuariums made in Central Asia in VI – VIII centuries AD [Pugachenkova, Rempel 1965: ill. 120 – 134].

Earlier was already expressed the opinion that the temple of Pandjikent, possibly, belonged to the Manichaeans [Belenitsky 1954: 47 – 48, 60, 63, 66 – 68, 81]. Though subsequently the author of this opinion has refused the point of view, the available data allows for making a conclusion that he was right. In painting of a temple of Pandjikent of the first quarter of the VIII century AD is represented image of the 4-armed goddess with the big radiant wreath round a head. It was supposed that this figure personified a deity of water elements – the river Zarafshan. Four arms of this goddess have also analogies in an astral cult of the Sabīes [Belenitsky 1973: 45, tab. 1 and 2; Belenitsky 1954: 34, 35, 69, 70]. In Pandjikent is opened the image of a female deity with symbols of the Sun and the Moon in hands. In painting and a sculpture of Pandjikent have been represented also symbolical embodiments of heavenly bodies – all planets of solar system known at that time. Figured embodiments of deities of the Sun and the Moon were the main characters of wall paintings of Pandjikent. The image of the female figure sitting on a back of a lion is treated as an embodiment of a planet Venus [Belenitsky 1973: 43, 44, 56].

One more plot represented in the wall paintings of Pandjikent represents a scene of mourning of the dead man. It is supposed that here is represented the funeral ceremony which consisted in Turkic custom of burning of a corpse died [Belenitsky 1954: 32, 74, 75, 81, 82; Belenitsky 1973: 45]. In this scene could be embodied the moment of burial of the notable Türk, probably, king of Pandjikent Chakyn Chur Bilga who ruled within 15 years before coming to power in 708 AD of Devashtich. In the Chinese chronicle “Suy-Shu” it is said that marriage and funeral ceremonies of the inhabitants of Suli (Sughd) are identical with those which at the T’u-kue (i.e. the Türks) [Bichurin II: 281]. In the state of Kan (Samarqand) was a temple in which was stored the Turkic code and at punishment definition, people took it and solved decision [Bichurin II: 281]. In the Sogdian documents this temple is mentioned as “place of statutes” [SDGM II: 38]. From

this data it is possible to conclude that the statute, on which in VIII century AD have been written marriage documents, was Turkic.

With a cult of ancestors of ancient Türks connected a scene of sacrifice at a throne with altars [Belenitsky 1973: 44 – 45]. This plot has close analogy to a ceremony practised in the possession of Shi (Tashkent), described in the Chinese sources ("Bey-Shi", "Suy-Shu"): «In the 6th day of the first Moon and in the 15th day of the seventh Moon on this throne put a gold urn with ashes of the burnt bones of the late parents of the king. Then people pass round a throne, scattering odorous flowers and different fruits. The king with notables delivers sacrificial» [Bichurin II: 282].

In the wall paintings of Pandjikent there is also an image of an elephant [Belenitsky 1973: Tab. 5], and in one of premises of object XXV over a door arch has been placed the small figure of the Buddha with a gesture *Abhyaramudra* [Marshak, Raspopova 1988: 142 – 143]. In a decor of the walls prevails the vegetative ornament with the grapevine image, there is a relief image of a helicoid galaxy [Belenitsky 1973: Tab. 59 – 65, 69]. In two premises of a temple of Pandjikent there is an image of a figure of a deity at the moment of dance, the body is painted in dark blue colour. This character is identified with an image of Shiva from the Induist pantheon of iconography [Belenitsky 1973: 46].

On a site of ancient sity of Pandjikent has been found the Syrian inscription of the Christian maintenance [Paykova 1981: 46 – 47]. On the facades of buildings and in wall paintings of a temple of Pandjikent there is also an image of the cross with equal sides which has been cut out on round terracotta disks. In the paintings of Pandjikent is remarkable the image of the loopholes executed in the form of a cross with the extended bottom branch and triangular endings of the top ends [Belenitsky 1973: fig. 133; tab. 3 – 10]. This cross has a strong likeness with the cross image on the coins of Ustrūshana [Ivanitsky 1994: 66 – 67]. Thus, in the same temple were used scens and symbols of different religions and cults – honouring of heavenly bodies, a cult of ancestors, a cult of a deity of water elements, a cult of Siyāwush, and also the Zoroastrianism, the Buddhism and Christianity that could take place only in the framework of the Manichaean religious-philosophic sistem.

During an epoch of the early Middle Ages in Central Asia there was widespread a ceremony of a burial place of the cleared bones in so-called *astādāns*, i.e. small clay boxes – *ossuariums* with covers, which can be carried to the Zoroastrianism [Obelchenko 1959: 94 – 108]. However, in our opinion, naming this ceremony of a burial place as "the Zoroastrian" is, at least, premature. Earlier already was expressed

opinion that the Zoroastrianism could not occupy in Central Asia in any measure a dominaiting position [Belenitsky 1954: 52, 53]. The newest researches show that the Zosoatrianism was not a world religion and has not been extended out the limits of Irān, but its ideas and ceremonies have rendered a great influence on other world religions, especially on the Manichaeism [Sundermann 2008: 155 – 166]. Therefore, many ceremonies and cultural wealth of the ancient people of Central Asia which it is considered to be the Zoroastrian, could be only borrowed fom the Zoroastrianism, and actually belonged to absolutely other religion. The temple in Pandjikent had not anything common with the Zoroastrianism. If the basic care of builders of temples of fire has been directed on blockage of access of a sun light to the central premise where there was an altar with fire, the temples of Pandjikent have been calculated on the maximum access of solar beams. The ceremonialism presented here also is absolutely not compatible with the Zoroastrianism. The Zoroastrian ceremonies were not accompanied by music and dancing. The scene of sacrifice of fruits also has not anything common with the Zoroastrianism. Meanwhile, the both ceremonies have direct analogies in the Manichaeism and Sabīsm [Belenitsky 1954: 32, 74, 75, 81, 82]. Comparison of monuments of monumental painting and a sculpture of Central Asia of an epoch of the Early Middle Ages shows that their genesis had not anymething common with art of the Sāsānids Irān, and has been closely connected with art of Gandhara and India [Belenitsky 1973: 54, 55, 56].

In the necropolis of ancient Tarāz (Djambul) are found out burial places in terracotta ossuariums (VII – IX centuries AD). On a face sheet there are two sticked figures of men reminding the Syrian-Nestorian and Buddhist iconography of the Yetisū region and East Turkistān [Rempel 1957: 102 – 110]. Such combination of elements of the Christianity and the Buddhism in the funeral ceremony connected with the Zoroastrianism could be only in the framework of the Manichaean religious-philosophic sistem, in which cultural wealth of these three world religions was equally esteemed.

Materials from the necropolis of VI – VII centuries AD in Toy-Tepa (region of Tashkent) testify that for the Tashkent oasis the most widespread form of the *ossuariums* was oval. Images on them are connected with the solar symbolics. Honouring of the Sun was inherent among the ancient population of Chāch. The solar cult has been closely connected with a cult of ancestors. The burial place of the *ossuariums* directly in the earth without *nauses* contradicts to the canons of the Zoroastrianism [Minasiantz 2002: 168 – 172]. At the same time the solar symbolics was inherent for the Manichaeism.

In the east necropolis of the settlement Munchak-Tepa in Ustrūshana which is dated I – II centuries AD, has been found a fragment of a clay *osuuarium* with the image of a mask of the deity reminding an image of the Indian *Vairapani*. The stylisation of eyebrows treated in the form of vegetative motives is effective. The wall field of the *ossuarium* below a mask is decorated by the bunch image [Negmatov 1957: 77].

In "the History of Bukhārā" by al-Narshakhī is said that in «celebratory night which was ancient custom, have made the big fire from which the spark has flown away and, has got on a roof of a palace of the king» [Narshakhī: 31]. This information can be connected with the Zoroastrianism [Kisliakov 1954: 60; Negmatov 1957: 76 – 77]. However, though the ceremony of kindling of fires also goes back to the fire worshipping, it could be a part of ritual of other religion in which this ceremony has been borrowed or entered into a circle of kept local pre-Zoroastrian beliefs. The last researches showed that the Zoroastrianism was not world religion and has not been extended out of the limits of Irān, but its ideas and ceremonies have rendered a great influence on other world religions, especially on the Manichaeism [Sundermann 2008: 155 – 166]. Therefore many ceremonies and cultural wealth of the ancient people of Central Asia which it is considered to be the Zoroastrian, could be only borrowed from the Zoroastrianism, and actually belonged to other religion. Thereupon the information of al-Fakhrī is of interest, according to which the Moon worshippers (عبدة القمر), making a ceremony of worship an idol, kindled fire on the roofs of houses in a new Moon of the each month, uplifted prayers to the Moon, played musical instruments and danced before an idol [al-Fakhrī: 42]. Worship the Moon and idols specifies that here, most likely, is a question of a ceremony connected with the Manichaeism.

All this data testifies that the Manichaeism was widespread in Central Asia and many monuments of the past which earlier it was considered to be the Zoroastrian, the Christian or the Buddhist, actually belonged to the Manichaeans[83].

[83] To such category it is possible to belong, for example, a Buddhist temple in Qubā in Farghāna valley, where has been found a cross [Raimkulov, Ivanov 2000: 160 – 161]. The Manichaeans, most likely, should be considered also inhabitants of Kan (Samarqand) who worshipped to the Buddha and made a sacrifice to the sky [Litvinsky, Zeymal 1971: 123]. The Manichaeans were also inhabitants of Bukhārā, who worshipped to fire and idols in the temple of Mākh devoted to a cult of the Moon [Narshakhī: 26 – 27].

The Sāmānids and the Türks from their retinue kept a memory about the Buddist-Manichaean past of their ancestors and with a sympathy and liking regarded as to the Buddhism, as to the Zoroastrianism. The area of military parades (*lashkargāh*) of the Ghaznawids, located in the suburb of Ghazna, was called Shāh-Bahār (شاه بهار), i.e. "King's monastery" [Bosworth 1966: 85]. Presence as a part of this name of a word *bahār* (monastery) allows to suppose that in this plase still in the end of the IV/X – the beginning of V/XI century there were ruins of a Buddhist monastery which was called "imperial" (*Shāh*) and, probably, was founded by pre-Islāmic king of Ghazna. In the court treasury of the Ghaznawids till the VI/XII century was stored a manuscript of the main composition of Mānī named "Ardjang", which was devoted to his cosmologic doctrine [VIR: 154].

On Rv of the copper *fals* minted on behalf of Nūh ibn Asad (ruled in 274 – 279/887 – 893) by a regional governor presumably in Farghāna, is represented a circle which has been built in a square rhombus which in turn is built in a circle of the bigger size. In the field in a circle badly remained outlines of either a 6-petal socket, or a 6-final star [www.zeno.ru: #48398]. The image of the squares built in each other and circles with the socket in the middle is one of the main versions of a Buddhist mandala – symbol of the Universe.

Silver *dirhams* issued by the Sāmānids circa 300 – 351/912 – 962 in the region of Kābul and Ghazna contain the image of a bull and the horseman (Av), and also the Indian inscriptions with the *Kharoshti* letters (Rv), which were read as "for the sake of the (god) Sri Khudavayaka". Other type of these coins contains the image of a bull, the god Sri Khudavayaka (Av) and a horseman (Rv) [Mitchiner 1977: 132].

In the museum of the Institute of Archeology of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan located in Samarqand is stored a copper *fals* minted in 359/969-70 in Farghāna on behalf of the Sāmānid *amīr* Mansūr ibn Nūh and his son Ahmad ibn al-Mansūr by local governor Qilīch al-Hādjib Ahmad ibn 'Alī [KI II: 102]. On the Av of this *fals* is represented the image of a classical Buddhist mandala (the 8-petal socket entered in a circle, then in a square and one more circle), being the Sun and Space symbol accepted in the northern schools of the Buddhism, such as the Mahayana and Vadjrayana (Tantrism), widespread in the Middle Ages in China, Tibet, Central Asia and East Turkistān [Toporov 1991: 101; Mandala: 767]. A classical mandala (the Sanskrit *mandala*) with the 8-petal socket in the middle was also a symbol of the

Buddha, and its occurrence is fixed in VIII – IX centuries AD, i.e. time of formation of the Buddhist school of Tantrism [Arapov 2002: 12 – 16]. According to the ancient Turkic texts from East Turkistān, the *mandal* (or *mandala*) was considered as a magic vicious circle, a figure [DTS: 336]. On Av of the copper *fals* minted in 367/977-78 in Farghāna on behalf of the *amīr* Nūh ibn Mansūr is represented a mandala in which the 8-petal socket is replaced by a 6-final star (hexagram) [www.zeno.ru: #42536]. There are known also some more types of the copper *falses*, which were minted in 359/969-70 in Farghāna on behalf of the *amīr* Mansūr ibn Nūh. On Av of them is represented a mandala – the circle which has been built in a square, but the 8-petal socket in the middle is replaced by the ‘Arabian inscription [www.zeno.ru: #25061, #42257, #43703, #44088]. The same mandala is represented on the copper *fals* minted in 374/984-85 in Farwān on behalf of the *amīr* Nūh ibn Mansūr [www.zeno.ru: #40659].

Image of the similar mandala and some other versions of it (3, 4, 6 and 8-petal sockets, month in a square, etc.) it is possible to see also on some copper coins of the Qarā-Khānids from the numismatical collection of NBU stored in the Gallery of Arts in Tashkent (#41, #42, #43), and from other collections [www.zeno.ru: #002, #006, #013, #014a, #022, #024, #031, #032, #036]. On some coins of the Saldjūqids of Asia Minor are fixed 3-petal [Hennequin 1985: pl. XLIX, 1982, 1983] or 6-petal sockets [Hennequin 1985: pl. XLVI, 1878, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1885, 1890, 1893, 1895, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1904, 1911, 1918; XLIX, 1973, 1979; L, 1988], imitation of a square aperture in the middle of which the are placed ‘Arabian inscriptions [Hennequin 1985: pl. XIX, 828, 832, 833; pl. XX, 882; pl. XXI, 927, 930; XXXIII, 1397, 1401; XXXIV, 1435, 1437; XXXVI, 1516; XLIV, 1787, 1790, 1809; XLV, 1826, 1828, 1831, 1834, 1835; XLVII, 1917; XLVIII, 1966, 1967, 1968; XLIX, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1979, 1985; L, 1986], a portrait of the governor to the left [Hennequin 1985: pl. XXIV, 1054, 1055, 1059, 1063, 1065, 1069; pl. XXV, 1070, 1072], the governor sitting with crossed feet [Hennequin 1985: pl. XXXII, 1357, 1359, 1364; XXXIII, 1366, 1368, 1369] or a round face (the sun?) in a fullface [Hennequin 1985: pl. XXXV, 1466, 1468; XXXV, 1469b 1476b 1478b 1479b 1480]. Imitations of a square aperture with the ‘Arabian inscriptions are represented also on the coins minted in 616 – 617/1219 – 1220 in Balkh on behalf of the *amir* Abū-l-Mudjāhid Muhammad al-Husaynī [www. zeno.ru].

On Av of the copper *falses* minted in 349/960-61 in Farghāna on behalf of Mansūr ibn Nūh are placed two circular legends framed with dotted or continuous circles, and in a field there is an image of the small circle which has been built in a square, surrounded from 4 sides by the same small circles [www.zeno.ru: #36115]. There are known also

copper *falses* minted in 349/960-61 in Qubā on behalf of the Sāmānids, on Rv of which are placed two circular legends in the middle in the field placed the image of 7 or the 8-petal socket [www.zeno.ru: #12532]. On other *fals* of Mansūr ibn Nūh minted in 353/964 in Bukhārā the image in the field replaced by the ‘Arabian inscription or a small circle [www.zeno.ru: #29025, #40652]. There are known the same types of copper *falses* minted in 382/992-93 in Samarqand on behalf of his son Nūh ibn Mansūr [www.zeno.ru: #23398, #42386]. On the other type of his *falses* minted in 385/995-96 in Ispīdjāb in a circular ‘Arabian legend are built 5 circles – three of a continuous line and two of dotted line, and in the field is represented not clear sign [www.zeno.ru: #22969]. The image of the circles built in each other made of various elements, also is one of versions of the mandala.

On Av of the copper *falses* minted in 380/990-91 in Ūzgand on behalf of the *amīr* Nūh ibn Mansūr is represented a triangle, made of dotted lines, each of which from an outer side is accompanied by the ‘Arabian inscriptions. In the field inside of a triangle is placed ‘Arabian inscription [www.zeno.ru: #45853, #42488, #42489]. There are known copper *falses* of the same type minted in 386/996 in Farghāna on behalf of the Qarā-Khānids, and also on the coins of the Mamlūk governors of Egypt, on which inside of a triangle is built a circle in which is placed ‘Arabian inscription [www.zeno.ru]. This sign also reminds a mandala – a 6-final star in the triangle which has been built in the 6-petal socket which, in turn, is built in a triangle. On the copper *fals* minted in 401/1010-11 in Akhsīkath on behalf of the *amīr* Nasr ibn ‘Alī, the triangle is replaced by 3 petal socket which is one more version of the mandala.

At the reign of one of the last Sāmānid *amīrs* Nūh ibn Mansūr al-Ridā (ruled in 365 – 387/976 – 997), who was the second son and successor of the *amīr* Mansūr ibn Nūh one of the Sāmānids officials ‘Amīd al-Dawla Fā’iq al-Khāssa has issued in 368/978-79 in Balkh a copper *fals*, on Av of which in the field is represented a six-final star – hexagram, made of two opposite triangles, in a combination with ’Arabian letters [www.zeno.ru: #20649, #41276]. A six-final star entered in a circle is represented also on the panels from the palace of the Sāmānids discovered in the Afrasiab ruins [Bulatov 1976: ill. 59, panel B and ill. 64, panel E; Arapov 2004: 18]. On Av of the copper *fals* minted in 367/977-78 in Farghāna on behalf of the *amīr* Nūh ibn Mansūr is represented the circle which has been built inside of a hexagram which, in turn, is built in a circle and a square [www.zeno.ru: #42536].

The image of a six-final star is represented also on some coins of the Saldjūq rulers (V – VI/XI – XII centuries) of the Asia Minor [Hennequin 1985: pl. XXI, 903, 909; pl.

XXV, 1074, 1078, 1079, 1080, 1096, 1097; pl. XXVIII, 1199, 1200, 1203; pl. XXX, 1282; pl. XXXI, 1284, 1285, 1286, 1290, 1291, 1292, 1294; XXXII, 1336; XXXIII, 1370, 1371, 1379, 1381, 1384, 1386, 1388, 1390, 1391, 1395, 1400; pl. XXXIV, 1404, 1405, 1407, 1410, 1412, 1413, 1415, 1432, 1448, 1449, 1450; XXXV, 1471; pl. XXXVII, 1523; XLVI, 1898; XLVII, 1912; XLIX, 1975, 1976, 1978, 1980; L, 1996], on the copper *fals* minted in 393/1002-03 in Ilāq by the Qarā-Khānid ruler Bakr ibn al-Hasan [www.bukharacoins.com: #QK-020], and on the coins of some later Muslim governors. From a bottom of the Isiq-Kūl lake have been lifted the ceramic vessel of good safety and the big fragment big clay vessel (*hum*) on which is accurately drawn the 6-final star with helicoid ("space") curls inside [Ploskih 2007: 127].

The six-final star (hexagram) which is known as "the seal of Solomon" or «David's star», was widely used in the Middle Ages in Judaism, Christianity and Islām. At present it is a symbol of the Judaism though in this religion this symbol was used only from the V – VI/XI – XII centuries[84], while presence of this image on the Sāmānids coin is the earliest case of use of this symbol in these three religions[85]. It is possible to assume that its occurrence has been connected with strengthening of the Judaic community existed in IV/X century in Balkh and its area. In IV/X century one of city gates of Balkh was called Bāb al-Yahūd (باب اليهود) – "Gate of the Jews" [al-Istakhrī: 278]. In the area of medieval Balkh is mentioned the settlement Djahūdhānak (جهوذانك) that means Small Djahūdhān or Small Yahūdān [Jacut II: 167]. Near to Balkh in Gūzgānān on a way from Tāliqān to Fāryāb in IV/X century was situated the city Djahūdhān (جهوذان) [Hudūd al-'Ālam: 107] or Yahūdān (يهودان) [al-Jakūbī: 287] which was called also al-Yahūdiyya (اليهودية) [al-Istakhrī: 271; al-Moqaddasī: 347, 348].

The image of the hexagram is represented also in bronze stripes – metal plates and their analogies in ceramics of the nomadic tribes of the Eurasian steppes of an epoch of bronze [Avanesova 1991: fig. 50b]. The origin of hexagram connected also with the Buddhism and India where this symbol has been fixed for the first time in the temples functioning long before the new era. In the Tantrist school of the Buddhism and Induism the hexagram is a symbol of the classical mandala personifying the god Nara-Narayana. Corners of the top and bottom triangles making the hexagram, personify six faces of the

[84] The Khazars were the first of Jews who have started to use this symbol in the XI century AD.

[85] David's six-final star (*Najmat Dāwud*) or the seal of Solomon (*xātim Sulaymān*) as a symbol was used by the Ayyubits of Syria (VI – VII/XII – XIII centuries) and the Mamluks of Egypt (VII – VIII/XIII – XIV centuries).

god Shiva and the god Shakti. It is possible to assume that this symbol has been borrowed in religions of the Near East from the Buddhism where it had deeper roots. In the modern Buddhism hexagram is considered as the scheme of achievement of the higher step of *Chakra* in which a person becomes a part of the Universe. In the six ends of this scheme are represented the symbols of all world religions – a swastika, hexagram, a cross, a half moon, etc. In the centre of this scheme is located the flower of a lotus in the form of a swastika, personifying the higher seventh step. Images of 6 and 8 coal stars meet in fragments of the carved *ganch* (alebaster) of a smart hall of the palace of kings in Tirmidh of VII – VIII centuries AD [Alpatkina 2004: 31]. The image of hexagram built in a circle and a square on the Av of copper *fals* minted in 367/977-78 in Farghāna on behalf of the *amīr* Nūh ibn Mansūr [www.zeno.ru: #42536], specifies that in this case this symbol has been connected namely with the Buddhism.

On other *fals* issued by the same Fā'iq al-Khāssa in 368/978-79 in Balkh, in the field is represented the five-pointed star – a pentagram constructed of lines [www.zeno.ru: #20654]. The pentagram was used by many people from an extreme antiquity. Researchers of the simbolics especially allocate a pentagram as the most widespread magic symbol of an antiquity. Probably, this symbol has been invented independently by many civilisations and expressed any deep laws of a peace arrangement between a person and a society. Its images have been found on the walls of cave parking of an epoch of a Neolith, among the picture inscriptions of ancient Egypt, on clay tablets of Mesopotamia (IV millennium BC) and on the walls of temples of the Indians of Maya in the Latin America. The pentagram was a symbol of the followers of Pithagor (586 – 506 BC) in ancient Greece, and in IV century BC – of the city of Jerusalem. In the Judaism, the Christianity and Islām it is known also as "the seal of Solomon" or "David's star". The pentagram symbolised Eternity, Perfection and the Universe [Toporov 1991: 273]. The pentagram was used also in the Buddhism and other ancient religions of India and China as one of mandala symbols. In the doctrine of the Taoism it symbolised five elements of the east kosmology – tree, metal, earth, fire and water.

One more monument of connection of the Sāmānids with the Buddhism are the symbols represented on the external walls of the mausoleum of rthe Sāmānids in Bukhārā, representing a difficult geometrical composition consisted from the squares built in each other and a circle in the middle [Pugachenkova, Rempel 1960: 67; Pugachenkova 1968: 121; Bulatov 1976: 85], personifying kosmogram of the decreasing and increasing Universe [Bulatov 2005: 36]. There are known copper *falses* minted in 378/988-89 in Ūzgand on behalf of the *amīr* Nūh ibn Mansūr, on Rv of which is

represented the square (rhombus) which has been built in a square with a figure of the person (?) in the middle [www.zeno.ru: #36724]. The symbol of the squares and disks entered each other is represented also in the wall paintings of Warakhshā [Rempel 1961: 152]. Precisely the same symbols are represented in the wall paintings with plots of the Buddhist legends in the cave complex of Dun-Huan which was one of the largest Buddhist cult centres of the Central and East Asia of an epoch of the early Middle Ages and on the walls of the Buddhist complex of VII – VIII centuries AD in Bāmiyān [Arapov 2002: 120 – 125; Klimburg-Salter 1989: Tab. X].

In the Middle Ages ornaments in furnish of buildings had magic character, served as a guard or a symbol of durability of buildings and well-being of their inhabitants [Alpatkina 2004: 32]. Geometrical symbols (polygons, a circle, a square and their combinations with each other, a mandala, a cross, a swastika, etc.) described space structure in its vertical and horizontal aspects, in spatial and time plans, and also more and more "densing" images of a space: the earth, the country, a city, settlement, a palace, a temple, a tomb [Toporov 1991: 272]. The Same various forms had temples of the Sabīes: a temple of the World order, a temple of Necessity and a temple of Soul – in round form, a temple of Saturn – six-coal, a temple of Yupiter – triangular, a temple of Mars – rectangular, a temple of the Sun – in square form, a temple of Venus – in the form of a triangle in a square, a temple of Merkury – in the form of a triangle in the extended rectangle, a temple of the Moon – in octagonal form [Belenitsky 1954: 65]. The early Sabīes were the Sun worshippers (عبدة الشمس) and 5 times in day uplifted prayers to the Sun in a kind the two armed idol as to the animated heavenly angel possessing human attributes, radiating a light [al-Fakhrī: 42].

The planning structure of the mausoleum of the Sāmānids is of interest, because it represents the cubic sphere topped with a semicircle (dome) with a centric composition – 4 entrences with absolutely identical facades [Pugachenkova 1968: 119]. Its architectural image is an embodiment of the cosmogram: the Square – the Circle [Bulatov 2005: 36]. It was supposed that mausoleum of the Sāmānids repeated the form of the early medieval lock [Pugachenkova, Rempel 1958: 67] or the pre-Islāmic funeral *ked* extended in the pre-Islāmic Sogdian architecture [Pugachenkova 1962: 52]. According to other opinion, the mausoleum building represented a Sabīan temple-observatory devoted to a cult of the Sun from which was conducted supervision over the sun movement [Bulatov 1976: 71 – 77; Bulatov 2005: 36]. Architectural forms of the mausoleums of the portal-dome type, combined of a brick, coming to the end with a dome, are based on construction of the *yurta*, which have been used at first in the *kurgan*

burial places of the Türks, and later in the mausoleums of the Islāmic time [Bernshtam: 129 – 131].

The mausoleum of the Sāmānids, according to the version of the remained *waqf* document written in 976/1568-69, has been built in 254/868 by Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad al-Sāmānī (died in 295/907-08) over a tomb of his father Ahmad ibn Asad (died in 204/819-20) [Saidjon 1927: 54]. Nearby of the Sāmānids mausoleum have been dug out the rests of the more ancient building which floor has been decorated by drawing in the form of concentric circles from a brick-laying. It was supposed that this building has been connected with a solar cult [Bulatov 1976: 91].

In our opinion, the general lay-out of the mausoleum at the sight of from above is exact reproduction of the Buddhist-Manichaean mandala [Mandala: 140; Arapov 2002: 13], and the rests of a cult building near to it could be that temple which was constructed by El-Tigīn for the Chinese princess. Probably, the mausoleum of the Sāmānids repeats the form of this temple and is its exact copy.

From 4 sides over the entrances into the mausoleum is represented the symbol in the form of two triangles making a uniform triangle by an edge downwards. It is considered that this symbol personifies an altar for burning a fire. The brick lattice of a southern arch of the octahedron is combined so that apertures between laying bricks make the form of the equipotential Manichaean cross [Bulatov 1976: fig. 47 – 49]. Such combination of symbols of three world religions – the Buddhism, the Zoroastrianism and the Christianity, in one building could be only in the doctrin of the Manichaean belief.

In an ornament of panels of the palace of the Sāmānids in the Afrasiab ruins, except a 6-final star (hexagram), there is an image of a 8-final star in the form of a flower entered in a circle [Pugachenkova, Rempel 1965: ill. 104; Bulatov 1976: ill. 57, panel B]. Image of the same 8-final star appeared for the first time in bronze stripes – metal plates and their analogies in ceramics of the nomadic tribes of the Euroasian steppes of an epoch of bronze [Avanesova 1991: fig. 4, 49, 50]. The general view of the 8-final star reminds the 8-petal socket – a symbol of the Buddha. There are also mandalas in form of 7, 8, 9 and 10-final stars in the form of a flower with the petals proceeding from the centre.

On the coins of the Qarā-Khānids, Saldjūqids, and also the Djūchīds of the Golden Horde is represented image of the 8-coal star made of two squares entered each other. This geometrical composition also can be considered as a symbol representing one of versions of the Buddist-Manichaean mandala.

On the panels of the palace of the Sāmānids in the Afrasiab ruins are represented also 4, 6 and 8-petal sockets entered in a circle, a square or a 8-square [Bulatov 1976: ill. panels A, B, C and D]. There is also the Sāmānids coin on which Av in the field is represented the 6-petal socket. Images of 4 and 6-petal sockets represented also on the coins of the Qarā-Khānids [www.zeno.ru: #9654, www.e-bay.com: #450]. Images of the same sockets and polygons are found out in a decor of a wall of the western cave of a Buddhist complex Kara-Tepa in Old Tirmidh (I century AD) and in the fragments of the carved *ganch* (alebaster) from a smart hall of a palace of the kings of Tirmidh of VII – VIII centuries AD [Alpatkina 2004: 31]. On a nimbus of the vessel (*hum*) from a site of ancient settlement in Krasnaya Rechka (medieval city of Sarigh) is traced the Sogdian inscription which is divided on two parts by the 8-petal socket [Livshits 2004: 138]. Images of 4, 6, 8 and 10-petal sockets also are versions of the Buddist-Manichaean mandala.

In an ornament of panels of the Sāmānids palace in Samarqand there are also patterns in the form of a swastika, one of Buddhism symbols, and also a pattern reminding a Buddhist symbol, known as Magic Knot or Infinite Knot.

Thus, signs on the coins of the Sāmānids as well as on the panels of their palace in Samarqand and on the walls of their mausoleum in Bukhārā, it is possible to consider as symbols of the Buddhism and, hence, the Manichaeism. Attracts attention the fact that almost all coins with such symbols have been issued mainly in two regions – Farghāna (Ūzgand, Qubā) and Tukhāristān (Balkh, Kābul, Ghazna, Farwān), in which during pre-Islāmic time there were large Buddhist cult centres. The life and activity of the pre-Islāmic ancestors of the Sāmānids have been connected namely with these two regions.

The earliest coin containing this kind of symbols, has been issued presumably in Farghāna on behalf of the local governor of the Sāmānid *amīr* Nūh ibn Asad (ruled in 274 – 279/887 – 893). But the mass release of the coins with such symbols was issued on the board of the *amīr* Mansūr ibn Nūh (ruled in 350 – 365/961 – 976) and his son Nūh ibn Mansūr (ruled in 365 – 387/976 – 997 in). Occurrence of these Buddist-Manichaean symbols on the coins of the Sāmānids could be connected with opposition and response of the Sāmānids to actions of the Buwayhids which, having grasped in 334/945-46 the actual power in Baghdād, declared themselves successors of the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāhs and began to esteem and revive some pre-Islāmic and Zoroastrian cultural values. The Sāmānids were unique strong and influential Sunnit court yard, capable to support the ‘Abbāsid Calīphs who have addressed to them asking for the help against the

Shī'it Buwayhids, who captured a power in Baghdād and in all central part of the 'Arabian Calīphate.

Imitation of a square aperture, triangle in a circle, a hexagon, an octahedron, 3, 4, 6 and 8-petal sockets, hexagram and pentagram as well as some other Buddist-Manichaean symbols, are widely represented also on the coins of the Chingīzids, Djūchīds and rulers of the Golden Horde [Fren 1832: Tab. I (fig. 4, 5; 8, 15, 20, 21, 22, 26, 29); Tab. II (fig. XXXIII, LVII); Tab. III (fig. LXXIV, LXXXVIII); Tab. VII (fig. CCIII); Tab. IX (fig. CCLXVII, CCLXVIII, CCLXIX); Tab. XVII (fig. LII, LIV); Sheldi 2002: 43 (№ 23); 47 (№ 45); 48 (№ 50 – 53); 50 (№ 66, 67, 70); 51, 75, 78, 80; Singatullina 2003: 133 (fig. 21); 135 (fig. 40 – 46), etc.] . It was connected by that the Manichaeism which was earlier the state religion of the Turkic, Uighūr, Qarluq, Kirghīz, Kīmāk and the Kidan Qaghanates, even after acceptance of Islām by the majority of the Türks, at the time of the Mongols and their descendants up to IX – X/XV – XVI centuries continued to live in the symbolics and to play great value in a spiritual life of the Turkic people of the all Eurasia [Kyzlasov 2004: 17 – 20][86].

In the Middle Ages among the Türks there were widespread such personal names, as Qarā-Khān (Great Khan), Qarā-Qūsh (Great Bird), Qarā-Tāy (Great Stallion), Arslān (Lion), Ay-Bars (Moon and Leopard), Ay-Tughdy or Ay-Tughmish (Born by the Moon), Ay-Temīr (Moon and Iron), Ay-Bek (Lunar Bek), Ayba (Lunar Governor), Ay-Degin (Moon and Governor), Kün-Tughdi or Kün-Tughmish (Borned by the Sun), Künash (Sun), Tūlūn (Full Moon), Ak Ayghyr (Sirius), etc. Among women were spread such names as Ay-Bala (Moon and Cub), Aygina (Small Moon), Ay-Saly (the Pure Moon), Ay-Savu (Taken from the Moon), Yulduz (Star), Yādikar, Yitkar (Galaxy Constellation), Ulkar (Galaxy Constellation), Chūlpān (Venus), etc. [Tardjumān: 60 – 62; ID: 409 – 410; Fazylov 1966: 644]. In our opinion, occurrence of all these names it is possible to connect with the Manichaeism.

The Sāmānid *amīr* Nūh ibn Nasr (ruled in 331 – 343/943 – 954) was married to the daughter of "the king of al-Sīn" [Sunn 1999: 101 – 102] which is identified with the Uighūr governor of Gaochan (Turfan) [Metz 1966: 376] or the king of the Qarluqs which soon after that has accepted Islām [Bosworth 1969: 24 – 25]. Abū Dūlaf described arrival to the court of the Sāmānid *amīr* Nasr ibn Ahmad in Bukhārā of the embassy from the king of al-Sīn, i.e. the Uighūr governor of Sandabīl (Kansu), asking to conclude the marriage contract between the two dynasties. The *amīr* has refused to give the daughter for infidel, but has agreed on a marriage of one of his sons on the princess

[86] For more details about the symbolics of the Sāmānids see: Kamoliddin 2009: 49 – 60.

from al-Sīn, then Nūh ibn Nasr married her, and she became mother of the *amīr* 'Abd al-Malik ibn Nūh [Abū Dūlaf: 347 – 361].

The hereditary possessors of the Naw-Bahār and all of the lands belonged to this monastery, as it is known, were the Barmakids whose ancestors were originated from an epoch of the Kushans or even earlier times [Pugachenkova 1976: 148]. They owned the large territory surrounding the monastery, and also large *rustāq* (رستاق), i.e. agricultural district named Rāwan (راون) located in Tukhāristān [Ibn Haukal: 428; Jacut II: 272; Mahmūd ibn Walī: 58]. Inhabitants of this *rustāq* still in VI/XII century have not accepted Islām and adhered to the belief of their ancestors [al-Sam'ānī VI: 58]. The Barmakids were the independent governors possessing not only the big religious authority, but also the political and economic power. Therefore in some sources their possession is called also as "the state (*al-dawla*) of the Barmakids" [al-Balkhī: 37].

According to some information, the Barmakids had a common origin with the Sāmānids [Mahmūd ibn Walī: 315a; Barthold 1945: 48]. Name of the ancestor of this dynasty Barmak (برمك) is made from the Buddhist title *Pramukha* from which there is also an honourable name Parmūda (پرموده) of El-Tigīn, the ancestor of the Sāmānids on a parent line [Harmatta, Litvinsky 1996: 371]. One of the last representatives of the Barmakids dynasty after murder of his father at juvenile age ran with his mother from Balkh to Kashmīr where remained true to the religion of his family and studied there astronomy, philosophy and other sciences [Ibn al-Fakīh: 323 – 324]. Such place in which adults studied these exact sciences quite could be a Manichaean school which called in Turkic *Otuz Oγlan* (Thirty of Young Men) [Zuev 2002: 201].

Some of members of the Barmakids family erected their family tree to certain Mihrān [al-Sam'ānī II: 168 – 169], judging by his name, it is possible to assume his connection with the Parthian clan Mihrān to whom also concerned Bahrām Chūbīn. The head of the Barmakids dynasty was the grandson of the king Bushtāsf or Gushtāsp [Ibn Khallikān I: 105] which name, most likely, is identical with a name of Bahrām Chūbīn's ancestor[87]. According to a legend, Gushtāsp was a descendant of the king of the Türks Ardjāsp, the son of Afrāsiyāb, and, having grasped Balkh, ruled there 120 years [Nawā'ī: 193]. This data specifies in presence of related communications between the Barmakids and Bahrām Chūbīn's clan.

Proceeding from the data set forth above, it is possible to assume that Balkh was the native land of Bahrām Chūbīn and his descendants, which were the Barmakids and the

[87] In the Middle Ages it was usual to give to children names of their ancestors, therefore the same name could belong to several representatives of different generations of one clan or family.

Sāmānids. After coming to power of the ‘Abbāsids and eminence of the role of the Khurāsānian people in the Calīphate Sāmān-Khudāt has presented his rights on the share of the property in Balkh, which earlier belonged to the Bahrām Chūbīn’s clan.

Patrimonial Possession of Sāmān-Khudāt

Before the ‘Arabian gain Sāmān-Khudāt had in the region of Balkh the patrimonial possession belonged to his higher ancestor Bahrām Chūbīn. The hereditary possessors of the Naw-Bahār temple and all its numerous land properties, as it is known, were the Barmakids [Bartold 1966: 669 – 674]. The Barmakids, according to some information, had a common origin with the Sāmānids and were descendants the pre-Islāmic Turkic Yabghū of Balkh Djabbā-Khān (جباخان) [Mahmūd ibn Walī: 315a][88]. The governor of Balkh Djabbā-Khān has built for his son Sāmān a settlement named Sāmān (Qariya-i Sāmān) located nearby the settlement of Djabbā-Khān in the region of Balkh and has surrounded the both settlements by the general wall [Togan 1969: 283]. Consequently the patrimonial possession of Sāmān-Khudāt which was located in a vicinity of Balkh has got to him by right of succession from his ancestor Djabbā-Khān. Besides, he presented also claims on some of the lands belonged to the Barmakids, including on the *rustāq* named Rāwan (راون) in Tukhāristān, which size was 8 on 4 *farsakhs* [Ibn Haukal: 428; Jacut II: 272; Mahmūd ibn Walī: 58]. In Khurāsān is mentioned the settlement named Barmak, from which was originated one of soldiers of the legendary Oghuz-Khān named Barmaklyk Djosun Billig [Scherbak 1959: 52].

After the ‘Arabian gain Sāmān-Khudāt has arrived to Marw to the deputy of Khurāsān Asad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Qushayrī, with his assistance has accepted Islām, and named his son Asad in his honour. Then he asked him to give a military help against his enemies in Tukhāristān and after a gain of Tukhāristān by the ‘Arabs, he has been appointed as a governor of Balkh. Proceeding from this data, it is possible to assume that after coming to power of the ‘Abbasids and beginnings of the process of partial revival of traditions of the pre-Islāmic legal system the ancestor of the Sāmānids Sāmān-Khudāt

[88] It is remarkable that name of the ancestor of this dynasty, Barmak, meets among names of legendary ancestors of the Oghuz Türks as his *nisba*. According to a legend, at the time of Oghuz-Khān at the head of a Turkic tribe Qanghly (Kangly) was a person named Barmaklyk Djosun Billig [Rashīd al-Dīn 1987: 38; Togan 1972: 28].

has arrived from Farghāna to Balkh for presentation of his right to the share of the property belonged earlier to a clan of Bahrām Chūbīn the last representative of which was Djabbā-Khān[89].

The settlement Sāmān from which occurred the Samanids, according to some information, was located nearby the settlement Baharzeh [Jacut I: 13; Dictionnaire: 297], between Balkh and Khulm [Ibn Khordadhbeh: 34; al-Sam'ānī VII: 236; Jacut I: 767]. There are bases to consider that the land possessions of Barmak and Sāmān-Khudāt have been located, if not in the neighbourhood, then, nearby from each other.

Origin of the Sāmānids connected also with name of the city Samangān or Simingān ('Arab. سمنجان) in Tukhāristān. During pre-Islāmic time it made one possession together with the neighbour Ru'b (رؤب), in which ruled the Turkic prince the Ru'b-Khān (رؤبخان) [at-Tabarī II: 1219]. In the XIX century AD inhabitants of Simingān considered themselves of a Turkic origin, and their city – of a native land of the Sāmānids [Borns II: 297; Hakimov 1983: 153]. According to other data, the settlement Sāmān from which were originated the Sāmānids, was located in the area of Samarqand [al-Moqaddasī: 337 – 338; Jacut III: 13] or Tirmidh [Semenov 1955: 3 - 11]. In the oral tradition the origin of the Sāmānids connected also with the settlement named Sāmān-Burūn (Sāl-Burūn) located in the region of Balkh to the South-West from Dawlatābād [Salahetdinova 1970: 225]. Medieval settlements with the name "Sāmān" are fixed also in the region of Bukhārā and Rey [al-Tha'ālibī 1976: 219, 531], in Isfahān [at-Tabarī II: 992; Jacut III: 13; Dictionnaire: 297; Zambaur 1968: 136], in Khuttalān [Rashid al-Dīn 1946 I (2: 218)], and also in Syria [Wallis Budge 1976 I: 251] and India [Ghiyāth al-Dīn: 186]. The name of Sāmān was carried also one of the quarters of Isfahān [al-Hazimī: 208], one of the settlements of Harāt and some settlements in the region of Dihistān, and some of them were called in Turkic – Sāmānlū [Dehkhoda VIII: 11770 – 11771], The name of Samanli is carried a mountain chain in the northern part of present Turkey [TA XXVIII: 93]. Thus, judging by the available data, the place-name Sāmān had in the Middle Ages a wide circulation in Central Asia and behind its limits, but it is impossible to consider that all of them concerned to the Sāmānids. It is possible to assume that Sāmān-Khudāt was the founder at least of the several settlements which names were connected with his name.

[89] According to the Sāsānids law, after death of the head of family each member of his family, including the women who have become members of other families, had the share of the inheritance which became his private property [Perihanian 1983: 195 – 225].

Many of these places with which connected origin of the Sāmānids during pre-Islāmic time were the Buddhist cult centres: a monastery of Naw-Bahār (Balkh), a temple in Qubā (Farghāna), a cave monastery Kara-Tepa and a temple Fayaz-Tepa (Tirmidh), the monastery Adjina-Tepa (Wakhsh), the temple Kala-i Kafirnigān (Khuttalān), the Buddhist complex Shutur-Mullo (Qubādiyān), Takht-i Rustam cave temple in Haybaq (Samangān), a cave monastery of Hazār-Sūm in the region of Haybaq (Samangān), the temple city of Lalma in Hadda (Djalalabad). In the Middle Ages in the region of Samarqand was *rustāq* Sandjarfaghn (سنجرفغن) [al-Istakhrī: 320, 321; Ibn Haukal: 496, 498; al-Moqaddasī: 266, 279] in which name is traced the Buddhist term *sangharama* – "monastery". In the valley of Sanzār in the North-East there was discovered a cult building of I – III centuries AD; in this temple there were large bronze statues of the Buddha round which there were bronze figures of sitting lions [Litvinsky 1975: 191 – 198]. On the existence in this place of the Buddhist temple functioned in V – VII centuries AD, it is told in an inscription made of 15 years later after its destruction [Lapierre 1998: 9]. The name of quarter Ushtābdīza (اشتابديزه) in the medieval Samarqand [al-Nasafī 1991: 118 (№ 190); al-Nasafī 6284: 23R; al-Sam'ānī I: 265] contains a word *ushtāb*, being the deformed form of a Sanskrit word *stuppa* – "a Buddhist stupa". During pre-Islāmic time in Bukhārā on a place of the mosque Mākh (ماخ) was a temple in which people worshipped to idols [Narshakhī: 102].

It is possible to assume that Sāmān-Khudāt, most likely, was not the Zoroastrian priest as it is written in the textual sources [Gardīzī: 62], but he was the Buddhist priest and the founder not of ordinary settlements, but of the Buddhist temples and monasteries. Thereby he continued family traditions of his ancestors, in particular, his higher ancestor El-Tigīn (Parmūda) which was the founder of the Buddhist temple in Kashmīr, and his father Djabbā-Khān who was the founder of the Buddhist temple and monastery of Naw-Bahār in Balkh.

In the composition of al-Muqaddasī are mentioned the "Türks of Sāmān" (ترك سامان) who were the Sunnits and were fighted in Djurdjān against groups of the Daylamits, who were extreme Shī'its and alleged about creationship of the holy al-Qur'ān [al-Moqaddasī: 358]. The publisher of the 'Arabian text of this composition de Goje the word Sāmān in the word-combination "the Türks of Sāmān" considered a proper name of a person, that is why he has placed it in the historical index under a name *Āl Sāmān*, i.e. the Sāmānids [BGA IV: 159]. Therefore S.Volin after him has translated it as "the Türks of the Sāmānids" [al-Makdisi: 208]. In our opinion, in this word-combination the word Sāmān should be considered not as a personal name, but as a place name, i.e.

toponym[90]. According to the textual note of de Goje, in other copy of the al-Muqaddasī's composition is resulted a bit different variant of reading of this fragment, namely *al-Turk min Sāmān* (الترك من سامان)[91] that is translated as "the Türks from Sāmān" [al-Moqaddasī: 358, n. L]. Such translation on sense will be co-ordinated also with the previous word-combination in which is mentioned a district of al-Daylam [al-Makdisi: 208]. As a whole this fragment should be translated as follows: "... Two armies are one of al-Daylam and another – of the Türks from Sāmān". In the composition of al-Muqaddasī, most likely, subject goes about the army of the Türks consisted of the inhabitants of patrimonial possession of Sāmān-Khudāt in the region of Balkh though al-Muqaddasī himself placed it in the area of Samarqand [al-Moqaddasī: 338].

According to Ibn al-Athīr, these events took place in 309 – 310/921 – 22 when there were armed conflicts in Djurdjān between the Daylamits and the people of Djurdjān on the one side, and the Sāmānids armies on another side. At the head of the Sāmānids armies there were such military leaders as Qarā-Tigīn, Sīmdjūr al-Dawatī, Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Bal'amī, Abū Dja'far al-Sa'lūq, Hamawayh ibn 'Alī and the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 46 – 49]. Probably, some of these persons, in particular, Qarā-Tigīn and Sīmdjūr, could be distant relatives of the Sāmānids and descendants of the Türks making the nearest environment of Sāmān-Khudāt during his residence in the settlement Sāmān. According to al-'Utbī, the chief of the army of Khurāsān Alp-Tigīn concerned to the family of the Sāmānids [al-'Utbī: 25].

Djabbā-Khān

According to Mahmūd ibn Walī, the Sāmānids had a common origin with the Barmakids[92] and concerned to the descendants of a certain Djabbā-Khān (جبا خان) [Mahmūd ibn Walī: 315a, 317a] from the dynasty of the Djabghū of Tukhāristān and he was a governor of Balkh at the time of occupation of the city by the army of the Sāsānid

[90] In all other cases of a mention of the Sāmānids in the composition of al-Muqaddasī is used the word-combination *Āl Sāmān* (آل سامان), i.e. "clan of Sāmān" [al-Moqaddasī: 7, 68, 260, 270, 337, 472], and only in this case the first component *Āl* (clan) is passed and used only a word *sāmān* which can be name of Sāmān-Khudāt, or name of the settlement founded by him. As in this fragment it is a question of events of III/IX or IV/X centuries it should be supposed that here means a settlement with the name Sāmān.

[91] Instead of *Turk Saman* (ترك سامان).

[92] V.V.Bartold also specified on the relationship of the Barmakids with the Sāmānids [Bartold, 1963a: 119].

Shāhān-Shāh Khusraw I Anūshīrwān (ruled in 531 – 579 AD) or the contemporary of the Chinese pilgrim Süan Tszan (ca. 630 AD) [Togan 1969: 282]. In the 80-es of the VI century AD the governor of Balkh Djabghū-Khān was a vassal of the Sāsānids and has acted together with the army of Bahrām Chūbīn sent by Hurmazd IV against the incorporated armies of the king of Bāmiyān and his ally the Kābul-Shāh, who have attacked Balkh [Mahmūd ibn Walī: 312b – 313a][93]. A source of the data of Mahmūd ibn Walī were the compositions which have not reached us – of Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (III/IX century) and of Abū-l-Qāsim Ishāq ibn Muhammad al-Samarqandī (died in 343/954-55) [Togan 1964: 61].

According to the data of "Fadā'il-i Balkh" (VI/XII century), during pre-Islāmic time the Barmakids which were founders of the Naw-Bahār temple, had a residence in a district Djabbā-Khān located on the western suburb of Balkh, whence this clan occurred [al-Balkhī: 19, 37].

There are known the coins of the Hephtalite and the Turkic governors of Balkh minted on the sample of the Sāsānids on which is fixed their dynastic title Yabghū – *yabγu bahlikano*, i.e. "Yabghū of Balkh" or "Yabghū the Bactrian" [Göbl 1967: 141, 182; Nikitin 1986: 82, 87]. In the second half of the VI century AD in Balkh were minted coins on behalf of the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Khusraw I Anūshīrwān [Nikitin 1986: 50], and from the first quarter of the VII century AD – minted coins on behalf of the Turkic Yabghū of Balkh [Walker 1941: 14]. The Chinese pilgrim Süan Tszan who has visited Balkh in the VII century AD, named it "a small imperial city" [Julien 1857 I: 29].

In the VI/XII century al-Sam'ānī mentioned the settlement Djabbā-Khān located nearby the city gate of Balkh and specified existence of this settlement in III – IV/IX – X centuries [al-Sam'ānī III: 171; Jacut II: 14]. According to Mahmūd ibn Walī (XI/XVII century) the old *'īdgāh* (or *musallā-i qadīm*), i.e. a place of holding of public prayers and religious ceremonies lying up to the new *'īdgāh* (*musallā-i djadīd*), was called Djabbā-Khān-ābād [Mahmūd ibn Walī: 317b]. There, behind the wall of the *rabad* of Balkh, was located a fortress named Qal'a-i Djabbā-Khān, surrounded by high walls, and a palace of the king Djabbā-Khān [Togan 1969: 281 – 282]. The name of Djabbā-Khān (or Darb-i Waqī'a) carried also the gate (*darwāza*) in the western wall of the *shahr-i bīrūn*, i.e. an external city, between the old and the new al-Musallā [Hāfiz-i Tanish: 317a – 317b]. Nearby of this gate which have been constructed in the XI/XVII

[93] For more details about this manuscript see: Ethe 1903: col. 229 – 230.

century [Togan 1969: 282, 283], there was a quarter named Guzār-i Djabbā-Khān which reached up to the centre of the *shahristān* [Mahmūd ibn Walī: 307b]. It is not excluded that the gate of Bāb al-Türk (باب الترك) or Darwāza-i Türk (دروازه ترك) of the pre-Islāmic Balkh were located there – on the place of the gate Djabbā-Khān [Kamaliddinov 1996: 317].

According to Mahmūd ibn Walī, Djabbā-Khān had a brother named Fā'iz (or Qā'in) which owned the fortress named Hisn-i Kūfadj (حصن كوفج) located in a southern part of the *rabad* of Balkh. Between them there were bad relations because of what Djabbā-Khān has been compelled to construct for himself a new settlement which began to be called Qariya-i Djabbā-Khān (قرية جباخان) – "the Settlement of Djabbā-Khān". For his son named Sāmān which was ancestor of the Sāmānids, he has built another settlement which began to be called Qariya-i Sāmān (قرية سامان) – "the Settlement of Sāmān". Both these settlements have been surrounded by a common wall which subsequently has been repaired and strengthened by the Uzbek ruler 'Abd al-Mu'min-Khān (XI/XVII c.). Inside of this wall there lived descendants of Djabbā-Khān and Sāmān [Togan 1969: 283]. From the same place were originated the Barmakids too. The *wazīr* of the Calīph Hārūn al-Rashīd al-Fadl ibn Yahyā al-Barmakī during his being the governor of Khurāsān, passing through this settlement, has addressed to the *al-'ulamā'* and the nobility of Balkh a speech in which has noticed that the quarter Djabbā-Khān is a inheritance from his ancestor Djabbā-Khān who during pre-Islāmic time has duilt also the Naw-Bahār monastery and temple. The *al-'ulamā'* have answered him with the request of construction of new channel into the quarter which was built by his ancestor Djabbā-Khān [Togan 1969: 283]. The Barmakids though outwardly looked pious and devout Muslims, their opponents reproached them in indifference to Islām and its doctrines [Bartold 1966: 674].

In the XVII century AD in the western part of *shahristān* was located the largest park of that time named Bāgh-i Khānī (باغ خاني) belonged to Nadr Muhammad-Khān. It was stretched from the east to the west from the mosque of Djan-Keldi-Biy to the gate Darwāza-i Djabbā-Khān, and at width from the gate Dīh-i Shaykh to the northern towers of the gate Djabbā-Khān. There were some high constructions, beautiful locks and flower beds [Mahmūd ibn Walī: 306]. The same park or garden is mentioned in the V/XI century as Bāgh-i Buzurg (باغ بزرك). According to Abū-l-Fadl Bayhaqī, in this garden three times (in 422/1030-31, 423/1031-32, 427/1035-36) stayed *amīr* Mas'ūd

Ghaznawī during his residence in Balkh together with his retinue and *dīwāns*[94]. It should be considered that this garden has been founded by pre-Islāmic Turkic governor of Balkh Djabbā-Khān, and here was located also his residence.

According to al-Kh^{w}ārazmī, the kings of the al-Ghuzz and al-Kharlukh tribes were called Djabbūya (جبوية) [al-Khowarezmī: 120]. In the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) sources of VII century AD among the opponents of the Sāsānids in Balkh is mentioned certain Djabbu-Kagan [Markwart 1931: 10]. According to the Armenian sources, the governor of the western part of the Turkic Qaghanate was called to Djebu-Hagan, i.e. Djabghū-Qaghan [Gukasian 1971: 247]. The title Djabghū-Qaghan carried also the Supreme Qaghan of the Western Turkic Qaghanate Tūn Djabghū-Qaghan (ruled in 618 – 630 AD) [Gumilev 1967: 159]. Djebu-Kagan of the Armenian and Byzantian sources is identified with Tūn Djabghū-Qaghan [Bombaci 1970: 7 – 24]. On the medallion which has been issued in honour of Tūn Djabghū-Qaghan by his son Tardū-Shād, the governor of Tukhāristān and Gandhara appointed in 625 AD, he is called *jeb MLK'n MLK*, i.e. "*yeb* (Yabghū) Shāhān-Shāh" or "*yeb* (Yabghū) King of Kings" [Harmatta 1982: 167 – 180; Harmatta, Litvinsky 1996: 370]. In the Middle Ages on the border with Kashmir is mentioned the district named Djabkhān (جبخان) [Shāmī: 271].

Thus, *djabbūya*, *djebū*, *yabbū* and *yeb* (*djeb*) are later variants of a writing of the Turkic title Yabghū or Djabghū [Bosworth, Clauson 1965: 9 – 10]. Name of the governor of Balkh Djabbā-Khān also concerns to the same group [Togan 1969: 282]. The same name in various variants of writing (Djabbā, Djabā, Djubā, Djutā, Djamchān, Djathimān, Djithmān, Djuthmān, Hamitān, Khudāt, Khutā, Hāmān, Sāsān, etc.)[95] is resulted in medieval sources as the name of Sāmān-Khudāt's father[96]. Djabbā-Khān, undoubtedly, was the real historical figure because his name is fixed in several sources independent from each other: al-Balkhī (VI/XII c,), al-Sam'ānī (VI/XII c.), Yāqūt al-Hamawī (VII/XIII c.), Ibn Taghrī-Bardī (IX/XV c.), Hāfiz-i Tanish (X/XVI c.) and Mahmūd ibn Walī (XI/XVII c.). It is possible to assume that the name Djabbā-Khān

[94] Through this garden which is called as "a spacious and most pleasant place", flowed a big stream from which has been built a waterfall [Bayhaqi: 378, 385, 605, 606, 608, 610, 611].

[95] In some sources it is mentioned also in form Hayyā (حيا) [Ibn Taghrī-Bardī III: 279; Ibn al-Athīr 1937 I: 523; al-Ziriklī I: 290].

[96] The writing of these names in the 'Arabian letters (جبا , جتا , حيا , جيمثيان , جيثمان , جمجان , جثيمان , حميتان , جثمان , خداة , ختا , هامان, ساسان) allows to suppose for all of them reading Djabbā (جبا) or Djabbā-Khān (جباخان). For more details about this see: Togan 1964: 61.

actually was a title of the governor Tughrul which was father of Sāmān-Yabghū and ruled in Balkh at the beginning of distribution of Islām in the region [al-Lārī: 234a].

According to A.Z.Validi Togan, Djabbā-Khān was Supreme Turkic Qaghan named Sy (Se, Su) Yabghū or Sīr Yabghū (ruled in 630 – 632 AD) which was son of Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan (ruled in 618 – 630 AD) [Togan 1964: 64]. Sīr Yabghū was a brother of the governor of Tukhāristān Tardū-Shād and of the governor of Baykand to Nishu Kan-She. Earlier he was a governor of Chāch and, being a successor of a throne, carried the title Tigīn whereas his two brothers carried the title Shād. In the monument made in honour of Ton Yukuk is mentioned "the land of the people of the Sīr Türks" (*türk sir bodun jerī*) [DTS: 257]. According to the Chinese sources, Sīr Yabghū-Qaghan (Sy She-khu Kehan) ruled the right wing of the Turkic Qaghanate and was known also as shaman-governor Yelbi Ashpara [Zuev 2002: 182]. After murder of Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan in 630 AD he has been enthroned, but has soon been deposed and ran to Balkh where has died during the siege of the city in 632 or 633 AD [Chavannes: 54, 196; Togan 1964: 47]. According to Süan Tszan, he has made attempt to grasp the Buddhist monastery of Naw-Bahār in Balkh, but to him in the sleep was seen the goddess Vai šravana deva which was the keeper of this temple, and he has repented before monks of the act [Ekrem 2003: 149]. According to other data, Sy She-khu-Kehan, i.e. Sīr Yabghū-Qaghan, having lost a throne, ran to Kangüy and has died there of grief [Bichurin I: 285]. Sīr Yabghū was known also as Sy-li T'e-le (Sir-Tigin), Kül El Bilga-Qaghan and Irbis Bolun Djabghu-Qaghan [Gumilev 1967: 210 – 211; Kliashtorny 1985: 166; Tašagil 1999: 64]. It is known that many of the Supreme Turkic Qaghans at the same time had two or three and more names and titles [Shüven 1995: 34]. Name of the first Qaghan of the western part of the Turkic Qaghanate, who sent in 568 AD an embassy to the Byzantium, which is transferred in the Byzantian sources in form of Dizavul, is reconstructed as Sīr Yabghū [Zuev 2002: 189].

Among the coins which were in use in VI – VII centuries AD in the oasis of Chāch, there is a group with the image of a horseman, issued by an unknown governor with a title Djabghū-Qaghan (*cpγw γ'γ'n*) [Babayarov 2005: 198; Babayar, Kubatin 2005: 99]. Probably, these coins were minted by Sy Yabghū-Qaghan which was called also Djabghū-Qaghan or Djabbā-Khān.

Name of this Qaghan – Sīr, probably, is connected with the Turkic ethnonym Sīr which is mentioned in the monument written in honour of Ton Yukuk [Malov 1951: 65, 70; Musaev 1984: 192] and in the pre-Islāmic coins of Kh^{w}ārazm [Muhammadi 2000: 94]. The tribes Sīr and Tardūsh were a part of the confederation of Tele formed after

disintegration of the empire of Hunns, and in VI – VII centuries AD were one of the most powerful tribes of the East Turkistān [Khodjaev 2004: 19, 20; Khodjaev 2001: 23]. The same name in the ancient time used for the lower current of Syr-Darya [Murzaev 1957: 253] which is mentioned in the Ancient Greek sources in the form of Silis [Gorbunova 1976: 27; Kliashtorny 1964: 75 – 76]. The origin of the name Sir/Sil connected also with the ancient Turkic word *sel/selem* which has remained in the Chuvash language in the sense of "a pearl" [CRS: 357; Shoniyozov 1990: 22 – 23]. In the VIII/XIV century the Golden Horde was called also as the Sir Horde [Livshitz 2003: 3].

With a name or a title Djabbā-Khān can be connected an origin of the Turkic word *djiba* or *djibachī* [Hāfiz-i Tanysh II: 150, 151] which in the Middle Ages designated the people of a military rank responsible for storage of military equipment and an ammunition[97]. The word *djiba* is considered a Turkic origin and means "military armour", "equipment" [Dadaboev 2003: 40, 49]. The title Djebe carried also the Sipāhdār of the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Muhammad [al-Nasawī: 190]. In the XI/XVII century in the region of Balkh are mentioned quarter named Djabbā-Karān (i.e. Armour-clad warriors) [Ahmedov 1982: 25 – 26], the settlements Djibachī and Chūba-Yūzī [Salahetdinova 1970: 225]. Probably, the word Chūba as a part of last name is connected with a nick-name of the Sāsānids commander Bahrām Chūbīn, one of which variants had a form "Chūba"[98]. It is known that patrimonial possession of Bahrām Chūbīn has been located in the region of Balkh. In the Middle Ages some settlements located in Tukhāristān have been connected with his name: the settlement Chūbīnābād (جوبيناباد) in the region of Balkh [al-Sam'ānī II: 348], and stopping station Djūbīn (جوبين), i.e. Chūbīn in the region of Gūzgānān on the way from Andkhūdh to Fāryāb [al-Moqaddasī: 347].

Medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh

In the numismatical collection of museum Ashmolean in Oxford is stored a silver medallion (diameter 33 mm, weight 11,04 gr.) issued in 358/968-69 by the Sāmānid *amīr* Mansūr I ibn Nūh (ruled in 350 – 365/961 – 976)[99]. On its Av is represented the

[97] For more details about the term *djibachī* see: Hāfiz-i Tanish: 264, 405, n. 1238.

[98] The form "Chuba" meets in late sources [Azimov 1999: 26, 158, 160].

[99] The image of this medallion has been kindly given to me by the English researcher L.Treadwell (Oxford) to whom I express my sincere gratitude.

portrait of the governor to the right with two Middle Persian (Pahlavi) inscriptions on each side [Treadwell 1999: 9 – 10]. The right inscription is read as MLK''n MLK' that means "the King of Kings", i.e. Shāhān-Shāh, and the left – *GDH 'pzwt* that means "the Victory, a territory increase"[100]. On Rv in the field is resulted 'Arabian inscription in 6 lines in the form of a square, simulating a square aperture. In it after a usual Sunnit creed (لا اله الا الله وحده و لا شريك له محمد رسول الله) is resulted name of the Calīph, and then a name of Mansūr ibn Nūh with an imperial title al-Malik. In a circular legend the issued data is cited: "This *dirham* has been minted in Bukhārā in three hundred fifty eighth" (ضرب هذا الدرهم ببخارا سنة ثمانية و خمسين و ثلثمائة).

The portrait of the governor is interesting, because it finds out similarity not with the Īrānian, but with the Turkic tradition of the portrait art [Treadwell 1999: 10]. The anthropological type of his face represents a mixed Europeoid with prevalence of the Mongoloid features. The nose is convex characteristic for the western Türks, in particular, for the Oghuz Türks of Khurāsān. In the top part of his face is an outstanding bone characteristic for the Mongoloid Qīpchāqs. An eye is big extended, almond-shaped with strongly swelled up eyelids. On his head is the specific headdress which is bearing a faint resemblance of the compounded crown. In the right ear is the spherical earring hangs down. Behind from under a crown the dense wavy plait falls for a back. Comparison of this portrait with a portrait on the medallion which has been issued in 351/962 in al-Muhammadiyya by the Buwaihid governor Rukn al-Dawla, testifies that Mansūr ibn Nūh and his ancestors concerned to other culture and, probably, ethnic environment, than Rukn al-Dawla [Treadwell 2003: 328][101].

Iconography of the portrait has close similarity to portraits of the Turkic governors of Tukhāristān, Kābul and Gandhara of the VII – VIII centuries AD which are represented on the coins issued by them in imitation to the *drachmas* of the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Hurmazd IV [http://www.zeno.ru/orientalcoinsdatabase/westernturks//html][102]. Imitations to the Sāsānids mint are connected with the beginning of the Kushan-

[100] Reading of the Moddle Persian (Pahlavi) inscriptions is carried out by the Russian researcher P.B.Lurje (St.-Petersburg), for whom I express my sincere gratitude.

[101] For more details about this medallion see: Miles 1964: 283 – 293, and its image can be seen in Peus Sales 1994: 61,110.892.

[102] These coins contain legends on the Bactrian, Middle Persian (Pahlavi) and Indian (Brahmi) languages. Especially close analogies find out the coins of Hindu Shahi-Tigīn (#20999, #21384), coins of Vasudeva (#12962), coins of the Yabghū of Tukhāristān (#15170, #21382) and coins of the governors of Arakhosia (#20783, #26690, #22922). See also: Nikitin 1986: 82 – 88; Göbl 1967 I: 25, 26, 140 – 143, 164, 167 – 173.

Sāsānids monetary circulation generated during the period of 368 – 388 AD after the Sāsānids gain of Tukhāristān [Lukonin 1967: 26]. The reason of imitations to the Sāsānids coins by the Türks was that dissociation of Central Asia on the separate princedoms and absence of uniform monetary system could not provide to the local monetary issues that visible generality of wide monetary circulation of the monetary signs which had international circulation [Pugachenkova 1981: 260]. Among all Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāhs the Türks with special preference concerned to Hurmazd IV Turkzāda who was the grandson of the Supreme Turkic Qaghan on a parent line and the patron of the Türks in the empire of the Sāsānids.

But almost full similarity to the medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh is found out two memorable medallions issued by the Turkic Qaghans in the first quarter of the VII century AD in honour of a victory over the Sāsānids and the Hephtalites. One of them has been issued by the Turkic Qaghan Zīk or Zhīk (ruled in 610 – 618 AD)[103] after a victory over the Sāsānids in 616 – 617 AD when his army has advanced deeply to the territory of Īrān and has reached Rey and Isfahān. On Av is represented a portrait of the governor to the right, on the right and to the left of which are placed the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) inscriptions. The left inscription is read as *GDH 'pzwn zyk* – "the Victory, increase, Zik», and the right – *MLK''n MLK'* – "the King of Kings". On Rv is represented the altar with fire, and on the right and to the left of it are placed two priests who are making a sacrifice to fire [Göbl 1987: 276 – 277, pl. 39, fig. 2].

To the same Qaghan belongs the seal, which has been let out by him for administration of the won territory, which is stored in a private collection of Forūghī in Īrān [Frye 1971]. On it are placed the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) and the Runic inscriptions. The Middle Persian inscription is read as *zyk hhn GDH* – "Zik Kagan, a victory», and the Runic – *b(a)q(e)šeb qiy(ū)g(o)ŋkū* - «Keep the partners, the house, the settlement, find for yourself a good name» [Harmatta, Litvinsky 1996: 369]. Name of this Qaghan is similar with name Zīk of a noble clan in the ancient Parthia[104].

The second medallion has been issued circa 625 AD in Qunduz by Tardū-Shād, the son of the Supreme Turkic ruler Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan and the founder of the dynasty of

[103] Djeguy-Qaghan or Sheguy-Qaghan – grandson of Tardū-Qaghan (Qarā Chūrīn), brother of Tūn Yabgū-Qaghan and El-Tigīn Buyuruq (Nili-Khān, Parmūda), was earlier a governor of Chāch [Bichurin I: 279, 281; Gumilev 1967: 138, 154 – 158, 166; Kliashtorny 1985: 166 – 167].

[104] In ancient Parthia except the Arshakids were 7 other noble families – Karen Pahlav (in Nihāwand), Suren Pahlav (in Sīstān), Ispahpat Pahlav (in Gurgān), Spandiyāt, Mihrān, Zik and some others, who saved their high position during the Sasanids reign too [Simokatta: 93; Diakonov 1961: 195, 283].

the Turkic Yabghū of Tukhāristān and Gandhara on the occasion of a definitive victory over the Hephtalites and joinings of their territories to the Turkic Qaghanate. Iconography of the medallion as well as of some coins of the Turkic Yabghū of Tukhāristān, finds out on the one hand imitation to the *drachmas* of the Shāhān-Shāh Hurmazd IV, and on the another hand – to the Indian religious tradition [Harmatta 1982: 168]. On Av of this medallion also is represented the portrait of the governor to the right, on the right and to the left of which are placed the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) inscriptions *jeb MLK''n MLK'*, i.e. "*yeb* King of Kings", and *GDH 'pzwt* – "the Victory, territory increase". It is supposed that on this medallion is represented Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan. On Rv of the medallion of Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan are represented an altar and two priests, and also the god Shiva with hair in the form of a flame [Harmatta, Litvinsky 1996: 370].

Possibly, Av of these two medallions have served as a prototype of Av of a medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh. Similarity of the portraits is expressed almost in all details – the same dense plait falling for a back, the same suit. A winged crown with horns of a bull, a moon and a dod, as well as necklaces from jewels on a necks of Zīk-Qaghan and Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan, are represented in the stylised form.

Difference only in that on a portrait of Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan from his ear hangs down the big earring consisting of three stones, and in an ear of the governor represented on a medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh, is a small earring in the stylised form with the spherical suspension bracket consisting of one stone. On a portrait of Zīk-Qaghan in his ear of an earring is not present.

On the portrait of Zīk-Qaghan are accurately transferred dense hanged down moustaches, and on the portrait of Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan and the portrait of the governor represented on a medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh, is small short moustaches. An eye of Zīk-Qaghan of almost round form, whereas an eye of Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan strongly extended almond-shaped. The governor on a medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh has a big almond-shaped eye and strongly swelled up upper eyelid.

On the right and the left of the all three portraits there are almost identical Middle Persian (Pahlavi) inscriptions. On the medallion of Zīk-Qaghan is mentioned his name (Zīk), and on the medallion of Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan – his title (*yeb*). On the medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh a name and a title of the governor are not specified. It is known that the first Qaghans before acceptance of the Runic letters used the Sogdian, and even earlier the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) language and alphabet.

On Rv of the medallion of Zīk-Qaghan is represented the altar with fire and two priests presenting a victim to fire. On Rv of the medallion of Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan are represented the same altar and two priests, but unlike its field first in the bottom part under an altar is represented a face of the god Shiva with hair in the form of a flame. On Rv of the medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh all these symbols have been replaced by the 'Arabian inscriptions.

There is no doubt that the governor represented on a medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh, was the Türk to what first of all testifies the portrait iconography, namely, earring presence in his ear and a hairdress in the form of the braided plait. The Türks of the times of the Turkic Qaghanate combed hair back and braided in one or several plaits, and some of the Central Asian Türks wore the hair long, dismissed on shoulders. An ornament characteristic for the ancient Türks was earrings which carried both women and men. The men carried one earring, and the women – two [Litvinsky 1981: 131]. The moon and new moon image on a crown of the governor goes back to tradition of ancient Türks which subsequently this plot was borrowed by the Sāsānids [Esin 1972: 313 – 372].

The anthropological type of the governor represented on a medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh, has obviously expressed Mongoloid features: an outstanding bone in the top part of the face and an almond-shaped eye with strongly swelled up eyelid, a nose direct and convex in what it is possible to see influence of the North Indian iconography. It is possible to assume that one of his ancestors was married on the native of India. It is known that almost all Turkic governors of Kābul were married on the Indian women that finally has led to their full assimilation with the Indians [Mikhaylova 1951: 17; Davidov 2001: 15 – 16]. This marriage could be made in Kashmir where during some period of time lived the ancestor of the Sāmānids El-Tigīn, or in Balkh where influence of India was rather strong and there lived many of Indians.

However the convex nose also was a characteristic sign in shape of the Kets [Alekseev 1985: 102] which, according to toponymics, made a considerable part of the pre-Indo-European population of Central Asia and in the first centuries BC occupied a considerable part of its territory, taking an active part in formation of the Altay-Hunn conglomerate of people as its kernel [Yaylenko 1988: 133]. The convex aquiline nose also is characteristic for the Oghuz people, which unlike the Qīpchāqs had a European and the mixed type. Descendants of ancient Oghuzes are the Ottoman and Ādharbaydjān Türks, for which a convex aquiline nose also is typical.

On the copper coins of Nakhshab minted in V – VI centuries AD is represented a scene of single combat with a lion looking monster (Rv) and a portrait of the governor with an oblong face without a beard, an aquiline nose, instead of a crown an unusual hairdress with a bunch of hair on a cinciput, spin hair fall down on shoulders and a back (Av). These coins could not belong to the local nobility and have been defined as the Hephtalite [Kabanov 1956: 137 – 144]. On a cemetery Astana, located near to Turfan was revealed the burial place of the Khān of the Hunns Qutlugh Pantay of 445 AD, in which burial ground it is revealed 4 idols made of clay. They have a little extended faces, large noses and long hair [Almas 1993: 38].

Portraits of all three governors on the above mentioned medallions are characterised by absence of a beard that contradicts an iconography of coins of the Sāsānid kings and the Hephtalite rulers. The Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāhs carried a specific beard and moustaches, and their hair has been twisted in a ball on top. The Hephtalite governors carried moustaches and a hair behind was shortly cut. In environment of ancient Türks it was accepted to carry moustaches and a small beard. The al-Ghuzes pulled out a beard and left only moustaches, and some of them left a small beard under a chin [Puteshestvie: 64]. Many of stone sculptures – *balbals* of the ancient Türks, found out in the territory of Mongolia and Central Asia, have thin hanging down moustaches. On a gold medallion with the Runic inscriptions, found out recently, represented the Turkic governor with the almond-shaped eyes, the swelled up eyelids, accrete eyebrows, moustaches and rare shortly cut beard[105].

The crown on a head of the all three governors also differs from crowns of the Sāsānid kings and finds out close similarity to crowns of the Turkic Kābul-Shāhs, Turkic governors of Pandjikent [Harmatta 1982: 169 – 170] and kings of Arakhosia with a title Yabghū [Nikitin 1984: 234].

Absolutely other shape has the governor represented in a fullface on the above mentioned copper medallion covered by silver, issued in 351/962 in al-Muhammadiyya by the Buwayhid governor Rukn al-Dawla al-Hasan ibn Buwayh (ruled in 335 – 366/946 – 977) [www.zeno.ru: #23677]. He has strongly expressed anthropological type of the Mediterranean group of the European race: the roundish face, a direct nose, small round eyes, dense moustaches and a beard, on a head a winged crown, and a suit of absolutely other breed, than at suits of the governors represented on the medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh and the Supreme Turkic Qaghans. All of these mean that Mansūr ibn

[105] Information about this medallion belongs to S.G.Kliashtorny, and its image is published on a cover of the book of O.Sertkaya and R.Alimov [Sertkaya, Alimov 2006].

Nūh and his ancestors concerned to other culture and, probably ethnic environment, than Rukn al-Dawla [Treadwell 2003: 328].

At the same time general view of Av and Rv of the medallions of Mansūr ibn Nūh and Rukn al-Dawla is almost identical to each other. On Av of the coin of Rukn al-Dawla from two sides of the portrait of the governor there are two Middle Persian (Pahlavi) inscriptions, same, as on the coin of Mansūr ibn Nūh. On Rv the same 'Arabian legend from 6 lines in which after the usual Sunnit creed (لا اله الا الله وحده و لا شريك له محمد رسول الله) is resulted a name of the Calīph, and then a title and a name of Rukn al-Dawla Abū 'Alī al-Hasan ibn Buwayh. In the circular legend is cited the issued data.

Thus, though the general form of these two medallions identical, their maintenance absolutely various. This data specifies that the medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh has been issued as an answer to the issue of the medallion of Rukn al-Dawla, what allowed definition of a true origin of the Sāmānids.

In the light of this data, it is represented to us that pre-Islāmic ancestors of the Sāmānids including Sāmān-Khudāt belonged to the dynasty of the Turkic Yabghū of Tukhāristān which founder was Tardū-Shād, the son of the Supreme Turkic ruler Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan. In due time A.Z.Validi Togan came out with the assumption that ancestors of Sāmān-Khudāt concerned not simply to a dynasty of the Qarluq Djabghū of Tukhāristān, but they were descendants of one of the Supreme Turkic Qaghans named Kūkem-Khān[106], who ruled the Oghuz branch of the Türks from his name [Togan 1981: 112]. According to other data, an ancestor of the Sāmānids was Sy (Se) Yabghū-Qaghan which was one of three sons of Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan and the successor of a throne [Togan 1964: 64]. Though, judging by the data of the Byzantian sources, the name of Sy (Se) Yabghū could belong to Istamī-Qaghan too [Shüven 1995: 34]. Founders of a dynasty of the Turkic Yabghū, which ruled in Tukhāristān with breaks more than 150 years, occurred from the Türks of the Ashīna clan, who were at the head of the Great Turkic Qaghanate.

Who is represented on a medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh still it is necessary to find out. He could be the Supreme governor, i.e the Turkic Qaghan, probably, Tūn Yabghū-

[106] Name of this Qaghan Rashīd al-Dīn mentioned as Kūkem Yawkūy, Abū-l-Ghāzī – as Kūkem Bakūy, Ibn al-Balhī – as Qāqim-Khāqān, al-Tabarī – as Sīr Yabghū which are identified with Istamī Yabghū-Qaghan Dizavul. His daughter was a wife of the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Khusraw I Anūshīrwān and mother of Hurmazd IV Turkzāda [at-Tabarī I: 899; Ibnu'l-Balkhī: 24, 94, 98; Rashīd al-Dīn 1987: 94; Kononov 1958: 69].

Qaghan or his son Sy (Se) Yabghū-Qaghan as he had a title "the King of Kings" or Shāhān-Shāh. The portrait of one of the Supreme Turkic Qaghans on a medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh specifies to that the Sāmānids esteemed him as the higher ancestor of their family. This related communication was with the assistance of Bahrām Chūbīn who, according to written sources, married the daughter of the Turkic Qaghan El-Tigīn (Parmūda, Nili-Khān), the son of Yang-Soukh-Tigīn (Sāwa-Shāh, Shīr-i Kishwar). The last, in turn, was a relative of the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Hurmazd IV Turkzāda on a maternal line [Bel'amī II: 248, 265; Firdousī VI: 656 – 657] as his father Tardū-Qaghan (Qarā Chūrīn) was the brother of Istamī-Qaghan's daughter, which married the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Khusraw I Anūshīrwān.

Most likely that on the Sāmānid medallion is represented a portrait of this Qaghan, i.e. El-Tigīn (Parmūda) which was the higher ancestor of the Sāmānids on a female line. With this related communication can be explained honouring of Hurmazd IV by the Turkic Yabghū of Tukhāristān who issued coins in imitation to his *drachmas*.

However, the same title "King of Kings" is fixed on the coins of the Kushan governors in form "Shaonano-Shao" by the Kharoshti letters. Hence, it could use not only the Supreme Turkic Qaghans, but also the Turkic Yabghū of Tukhāristān which considered themselves the descendants of the Kushan kings. It means that a governor represented on the medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh, could be one of the closer ancestors of the Sāmānids – Djabbā-Khān or Sāmān-Khudāt.

On the copper coins of the Turkic Yabghū of Balkh (*ybgu bhlk'n*) is represented the governor with the same winged crown with two half moons in which are entered images of the moon and the sun. To the left of it is placed the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) legend *GDH 'pzwt*, the same, as on the medallion of "Tūn-Yabghū" and the medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh, and on the right instead of title *MLK''n MLK'* (Shāhān-Shāh) a name of the governor *''p'gwl* and his title *bg hwt'p* (Bagi Khudāt), i.e. the divine governor [Nikitin 1986: 85 – 86; Göbl 1967 I: 182]. From this data follows that ancestor of the Sāmānids Djabbā-Khān was not a small local governor Balkh, but he was namely the Supreme Yabghū of Tukhāristān with a residence in Balkh and except a title Yabghū (يبغو) carried also the Supreme Turkic title Khān (خان) and the Īrānian title MLK''n MLK', i.e. Shāhān-Shāh (شاهانشاه). His son Sāmān-Khudāt was among the governors of the second rank carrying except a title Yabghū the second title Khudāt (خداة).

Issue in 358/968-69 by Mansūr ibn Nūh of a medallion with a portrait of one of the Sāmānids ancestors with a title Shāhān-Shāh could be caused by actions of the Buwayhids which, having accepted a title Shāhān-Shāh, declared themselves as

descendants of the Sāsānids. As an occasion for this purpose served issue in 351/962 in al-Muhammadiyya of the above mentioned medallion by the Buwayhid governor Rukn al-Dawla al-Hasan ibn Buwayh. The same Mansūr ibn Nūh minted in 359/969-70 in Farghāna copper *fals* with the image of a classical Buddhist mandala [Arapov 2002: 12 – 16]. There are known also some more types of copper *falses* minted in 359/969-70 in Farghāna on behalf of Mansūr ibn Nūh, on which Av is represented a *mandala* – a circle which has been built in a square, but a 8-petal socket in the middle is replaced by the ‘Arabian inscription [www.zeno.ru: #25061, #42257, #43703, #44088]. During the next years of reign of Mansūr ibn Nūh and his son Nūh ibn Mansūr (ruled in 365 – 387/976 – 997) have been minted also coins with other Buddhist symbols. All of these monuments are documentary certificates of that struggle which conducted the Sāmānids with the Buwayhids during the period, since 334/945-46 when the last have captured a real power in Baghdād and have established their control over the ‘Arabian Calīphate[107].

Earlier issue of medals was a prerogative only of the Baghdād Calīphs. There are known some medallions which have been issued by the ‘Abbāsids. In a numismatical collection of the museum of Vienna is stored the medallion which has been minted in 241/855-56 by the Calīph al-Mutawakkil (ruled in 232 – 247/847 – 861) [Ferit 1934: 253, n. 2]. In the Berlin museum is stored the silver medallion which has been minted by the Calīph al-Muqtadir (ruled in 295 – 320/908 – 932). On its Av is represented the sitting Calīph with a glass in a hand, and on Rv – a sitting musician [Ferit 1934: 253]. In the museum of ethnography in Ankara is stored the gold medallion which has been minted in 365/975-76 in Baghdād by the Calīph al-Tā’i bi-llāh (ruled in 363 – 381/974 – 991). On its Av is represented the Calīph in sitting position with a glass in the left hand, and on Rv – a sitting musician. This medallion has been issued in honour of wedding of the Calīph with a daughter of the Buwayhid governor of al-‘Irāq Mu‘izz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār, the son of ‘Izz al-Dawla Abū-l-Husayn Ahmad ibn Abū Shudjā‘ Buwayh [Ferit 1934: 250 – 253]. In a private collection of Bay Behzad Butak in Istanbul is stored the gold medallion which has been issued in 453/1061 in Baghdād. On Av of it is represented the Calīph al-Qā’im bi-Amri-llāh (ruled in 422 – 467/1031 – 1075) in sitting position with a round bowl in the right hand, and on Rv – the Saldjūqid Sultān Muhammad Tughrul-Bek (ruled in 429 – 455/1038 – 1063) in the same position with a bowl in a hand. The medallion has been issued in honour of wedding of Tughrul-Bek

[107] In written sources are marked armed conflicts between the armies of the Sāmānids and the Buwayhids in 334/945-46, 349/960-61, 354/965, 356/966-67 [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 202, 222, 231].

with a daughter of the Calīph al-Qa'im bi-amri-llāh [Walker 1958: 692 – 693; Agadjanov 1964: 10 – 16].

It should be supposed that the medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh also has been issued by him in connection with any significant event. Issue of this medallion meant increase in territory of the Sāmānids when the founder of the Sāmānids dynasty Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad has increased his possessions after having won the army of 'Amr ibn al-Layth has attached to his possessions the lands of the Saffārids. In that case, on the medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh could be represented Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad, the great-grandson of Sāmān-Khudāt who keeping a memory of his ancestors, considered himself as a descendant of the dynasty of the Turkic Yabghū of Tukhāristān and of the Supreme Turkic Qaghans. Thereby the Sāmānids wished to show that their ancestors were not less notable, than ancestors of the Buwayhids, who considered themselves descendants of the Sāsānids.

In the Chinese sources mentioned names of several Turkic Yabghū of Tukhāristān ruled during the period since 588 till 750 AD with a residence at first in Qunduz, and then in Balkh. Their dynasty continued to exist after the 'Arabian gain, having moved to Badakhshān [Bichurin II: 321 – 322; Chavannes 1903: 156 – 158]. It should be supposed that Sāmān-Khudāt's father Djabbā-Khān might be one of the last representatives of this dynasty. The first governor of Tukhāristān was El-Tigīn (Parmūda) (588 – 590 AD), then Tardū-Shād (618 – 630 AD), who was the son of Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan, then Ashpara Yabghū (630 – 650 AD), Ashina Uchebo (653 – 660 AD), Hunn Ashpara Yabghū (660 – 700 AD), Nadunili (700 – 720 AD), Qutlugh Tūn Tardū (720 – 730 AD) and Shiliman Galo (ca. 750 AD). Time of the reign of Djabbā-Khān and Sāmān-Khudāt should be corresponded to the reign of the three or four last representatives of this dynasty.

Sāmān-Yabghū

In some medieval legends Sāmān-Khudāt is mentioned among legendary rulers of the ancient Oghuz Türks. So, according to Rashīd al-Dīn, after a Khān named Tokuz Yawkūy (or Dukur Yawkūy[108]) in Mā warā' an-nahr ruled the Noble (Asl-Zāda) Khān named Sāmān Yawkūy whom people called also Sāmān-Khudāt, and he was the

[108] In the Turkish edition of "Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh" by Rashīd al-Dīn (Ankara, 1957) [Mercil 1994: 253].

ancestor of the all Sāmānids [Rashīd al-Dīn 1987: 94; Togan 1972: 112][109]. In the composition of Abū-l-Ghāzī the same Khān (i.e. Sāmān Yawkūy) is mentioned by a name "Asl-Zāda" ("Notable") and it is noticed there that he ruled 20 years. According to his data, this Khān ruled after Arslān-Khān which ruled 10 years, and before ancestor of the Saldjūqids Arslān-Khān and the Khān named Kūkem Yawkūy [Kononov 1958: 69]. The last is mentioned also in the composition of Ibn al-Balkhī, according to which, his daughter was wife of the Sāsānid king Khusraw I Anūshīrwān and mother of Hurmazd IV[110]. According to later variant of the same legend[111], the word "Yawkūy" is meant "leader of a tribe" and served as the dynasty name [Muhamedova 1978: 169 – 171].

Information of Rashīd al-Dīn about the Oghuz origin of the Sāmānids is resulted also in the composition "Mir'āt al-Adwār wa Marhāt al-Aghyār» (Mirror of Times and Pleasures of Changes) by Muslih al-Dīn Muhammad al-Lārī (IX/XV c.), which refered to the composition of Rashīd al-Dīn "Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh" (Collection of the Annales) [al-Lārī: 234a]. Information about the Oghuz origin of the Sāmānids really is mentioned in one of little-known manuscripts of "Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh" ("Collection of Annales"), which is stored in Istanbul[112], and also in the manuscripts "Madjmū'a" (Collection) by Hāfiz-i Ābrū[113].

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[109] "Oghuz-Nāma" is a fragment of the historical composition "Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh" (Collection of Annales) by Rashīd al-Dīn, which manuscript is stored in library Topkapu Sarayi in Istanbul (fund "Bagdad köškü") at number 282 in structure of "Madjmū'a" by Hāfiz-i Ābrū" (ff. 590a – 601b and 641a).

[110] Ibn al-Balkhī results his name not in the form of Kūkem Yawqūy (Baqūy), but as Qāqim Khāqān [Ibnu'l-Balkhī: 24, 94, 98]. According to al-Tabarī, wife of Khusraw I Anūshīrwān was the daughter of the Qaghan of the Western Turkic Qaghanate Sīr Yabghū [at-Tabarī I: 1966], which is meant Istamī Yabghū-Qaghan Dizavul [Gumilev 1967: 34 - 37, 39 - 40].

[111] There is information that the people's epos "Oguz-Nāma" has been written down for the first time during pre-Islāmic time and had two different versions; in II/VIII century one of them has been translated to the Persian, and in III/IX century – to the 'Arabian languages. During the next centuries it constantly supplemented by new materials reflecting a history of the Oghuz tribes [Köprülü 1976: 25 – 26, n. 31; 249 – 251, n. 106].

[112] This iformation contains in the manuscript of "Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh", stored in the fund "Sultan Ahmet" in the library of Topkapu Sarayi under the number 2935 [II: 168b] and in other manuscript of the same composition stored in the same place under a number 1654 which have not been considered at the edition of a Russian translation [Rashīd al-Dīn 1946 – 1952]. See: Günaltay 1938: 76 – 77. According to A.Z.Validi Togan, this manuscript of Topkapu Sarayi is stored under the number 2475 [Togan 1981: 429, b. 2, n. 2; Mercil 1994: 253].

[113] This manuscript is stored in the library of Topkapu Sarayi (fund "Bagdad Köškü, MS 282) [Günaltay 1938: 77]; According to A.Z.Validi Togan, "Madjmū'a" by Hāfiz-i Ābrū" is stored in the fund Es'ad Efendi, MS 919: 197b [Togan 1981: 429, b. 2, n. 2].

According to Muhammad al-Lārī, ancestor of the Sāmānids Sāmān-Yabghū[114] who called also Asl-Zāda, originated from a Turkic tribe of the Oghuz. In the beginning of distribution of Islām from his clan there was a ruler named Tughrul, and after him ruled Sāmān-Yabghū [al-Lārī: 234a]. The same ruler Tughrul is mentioned in the composition of Rashīd al-Dīn as Tokuz (Dukur) Yawkūy. Another copy of the composition of Muhammad al-Lārī is stored in the Suleymaniya library[115].

According to the legend, Yāfath ibn Nūh (Bibl. Iaphet) was the ancestor of the all Türks and was called also Buljā-Khān, and his son who was the ancestor of Oghuz-Khān, called Dīb Yawkūy [Rashīd al-Dīn 1946 I: 80 – 81]. Hence, "Yawkūy" was a patrimonial name or a title of the Oghuz rulers and can be identified with a title Yabghū belonged to the Hephtalite and the Qarluq[116] rulers of Tukhāristān of an epoch of the Turkic Qaghanate[117]. Originally this title used the Kushan kings from whom it was inherited by the Hephtalites and the Türks [DTS: 222]. In the hierarchy of the Turkic Qaghanate it was the second for a value after the Supreme Qaghan and was awarded to high military leaders, who were members of a reigning clan [Gumilev 1967: 53]. In the war a Yabghū usually headed the right flank of army [Dadaboev 2003: 192]. Besides, this title could carry also Supreme Turkic Qaghan [Ibn Khordadhbeh: 40; Togan 1981: 412]. In particular, it carried Tardū-Qaghan (Qarā Chūrīn Türk) who was the son of Istamī-Qaghan [Narshakhī: 16] and Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan [Chavannes 1903: 171]. Firdawsī also is mentioned a title Yabghū in a combination with the higher title Qaghan [Korogly 1983: 165]. According to the Chinese sources in which this title is mentioned in form Chjao'Wu, it was used almost all local pre-Islāmic dynasties of Central Asia[118]. In IV – VIII centuries AD the title Yabghū has been extended also among the Hephtalite and Turkic governors of Tukhāristān [Sims-Williams 1997: 7]. In the Islāmic period this

[114] In the text: سامان باوغي – Sāmān Bāwghī.

[115] Muslih al-Dīn al-Lārī. Mir'āt al-Adwār wa Marhāt al-Aghyār, Nur Othmaniye (MS 3156) [Günaltay 1938: 77].

[116] Approximately in the second half of VII century AD in Tukhāristān, obviously, there is a power change therefore instead of governors from the Ashina clan to the power come the Qarluqs which leaders carried a title Yabghū [Sabitov 1986: 164].

[117] According to the Chinese sources, last governor from a dynasty of the Yabghū of Tukhāristān mentioned in 750 AD, already used a Muslim name Sulaymān [Bernshtam 1952б: 193]; in the IV/X century in Shīrāz lived the transmitter of the al-Hadīth which was a grandson of the person named Djabghūya [al-Sam'ānī III: 179 – 180].

[118] There is an opinion that the patrimonial name Chjao'Wu which according to the Chinese sources had almost all Central Asian dynasties, reflects the higher Turkic title Yabghū which has been transformed into a surname [Maliavkin 1989: 257, n. 571].

title has lost a little its value and occupied the third step after the titles Qaghan and Yugrus (*wazīr*) [MK I: 39]. In the Middle Ages in the region of al-Shāsh (Chāch) is mentioned the city named Djabghūkath in which earlier there was a military camp [Hudūd al-'Ālam: 117; al-Idrīsī: 52]. The city Yabghūkat is mentioned also in the Sak-Khotan guidebook written in the X century AD [Bernshtam 1952a: 181 – 183].

The title Yabghū is made from the Kushan-Sak words *yavuga* with a mening "leader", "head" [Smirnova 1961: 65] or the Parthian *ymg* – "head" [Frye 1972: 275, n. 85]. The origin of this word connected also with ancient Turkic word *yabγū* or *yapγū*[119] with similar meaning [Baskakov 1985: 41] which is made from a verb *yap* – "to build", "to close" [Clauson 1972: 873]. In the ancient Turkic texts written in Kharoshti letters this title is mentioned in form *yapgu* [Thomas 1930: 519]. The origin of this title communicates also with a Turkic word *davgū* (*damgū*) that means "press", "a seal" or "keeper of press" [Clauson 1960: 115]. As a part of this word it is possible to see an affix *-γū* (*-gū,-qū,-kū*) or *-āγū* (*-āgū,-lāγū*), widely used in word-formation of the ancient Turkic language and carrying out a role of a participle of absolute future time with meaning of obligation and possibility [DTS: 654].

On the Kh^{w}ārazmian coins of the Kushans time this title is mentioned in form *Ybqoy* [Muhammadi 2000: 76 – 80], in the medieval sources – in form Yawghū and Yafghū [Dadaboev 2003: 192], in the Chinese sources – in form She-khu [Bichurin I: 5] or Ye-khu (*yepkhou*) which was the highest title of governors of tribal and political associations of the Türks – Oghuzes, Qarluqs, Khazars, etc. [Zuev 2002: 289; Bichurin III: 303]. In the Middle Ages is mentioned the term *yabū* [Hāfiz-i Tanish II: 150, 151, 201, 235, 262, 263], used in sense "a person having a working horse" [Hāfiz-i Tanish II: 405, n. 1237]. In the Middle Ages among the Turkic tribes which were a part of the Qarluq confederation, is mentioned the tribe Yabaqū [MK I: 66, 64, 342, 323; Marwarrūdī: 93] which name has remained also in the historical toponymy [Yazdī: 82; Mahmūd ibn Walī: 37] and hydronymy of Central Asia[120]. It is known also the mountain Yafghū-Art [MK III: 39] and a pass Yabghū-Davan [Valikhanov 1961 I: 309]. In the people's etymology the name of this tribe is made from a verb *yap* – "to cover", "to close" [Bartold 1973: 42 – 43]. There is an opinion that this ethnonym is only

[119] In such form this title is fixed in the Hephtalite version by the Greek alphabet on a coin of the West Turkic governor of the middle of VII century AD [Ghirshman 1948: 50].

[120] So was called the river, which began in the Kāshghar mountains and flowed in Ūzgand and Farghāna [MK III: 43; Karaev 1985: 26].

conformable with a title Yabghū and means "worshipping to god Yaba/Yama" [Zuev 2002: 130].

The name Yabghū is mentioned in the ancient Turkic Runic monuments of Mongolia [Malov 1959: 94], and also in medieval sources [Gardīzī: 91; Ibn al-Athīr IX: 158, 191 – 201; X: 13]. Till the IV/X century a title Yabghū, as it is known, were used the Supreme governors of the Oghuz Türks inhabited in the steppe areas of the Aral region [Puteshestvie: 64] including some from of the Saldjūqids [Ibn al-Athīr IX: 196 – 199]. In the Persian sources this title is mentioned in forms Biyāghū (بياغو) [Narshakhī: 16], Bayghū (بايغو) [Djuwaynī: 444], Bāykū (بايكو) [Rashīd al-Dīn I (2): 274], Biyghū (بيغو) [Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān: 343 – 351], Payghū (پايغو) [Bayhaqi: 576, 602, 646; Gardīzī: 117 – 118], Bāwghī (باوغي) [al-Lārī: 234] or Bākūy (باكوي) and was used in sense "foreman of the people or a tribe" [Budagov 1869 I: 234]. The king of the Kīmāks carried a name Yamal-Payghū [Bartold 1973: 44]. In 443 – 446/1051 – 1055 in Harāt has minted coins the local governor named Hasan Bayghū [Khodjaniyazov 1978: 177]. The same writing (Bayghū) is fixed in the composition of Ibn al-Athīr as a proper name [Ibn al-Athīr IX: 196 – 199; Ibn el-Athīr IX: 267, 322]. In the Middle Ages in the region of al-Shāsh is mentioned the city named Istabayghū (استبيغو) [al-Idrīsī: 52] in which name it is possible to see this title in a form Bayghū (بيغو).

In the Mongolian time to this title corresponded a title Daruga – the chief of area or a city, who was engaged in census and taxation from citizens, and also carried out functions of the police officer [al-Hawafī: 64, 120, 136, 141, 167]. In the same meaning this title was used in Central Asia and Irān up to the beginning of the XX century AD [Ansārī: 26, 50, 79, 80, 82, 106]. At the Altaians it was known in form of Targa, and was used in sense the collector of taxes and the chief of a city [Budagov 1869 I: 805], and at the Siberian Buriats – in form of Dargū in sense the chief of a clan who was the second person after the Supreme governor Tayshī [Budagov 1869 I: 546 – 547]. To the same root, apparently, concerned also the name or a title of the military leader of the Qarā-Khitāys Tayanghū which also was the second person in the state after the Supreme governor Gūr-Khān [Ibn al-Athīr XII: 63]. The origin of the word *bayghū* (بيغو) can be connected also with the Turkic ethnonym Bayirghū as was called also the white stallion of Kül-Tigīn [Malov 1951: 41]. The Turkic tribe Bayghū (Bayirghū) is mentioned among the tribes which were a part of confederation Tele, which formed after disintegration of the empire of the Hunns [Khodjaev 2004: 19].

According to medieval sources, father of Sāmān-Khudāt was the military commander [Mustawfī-i Qazwīnī: 379] and was called also Khudāt (خداة) [Usanova 1995: 26 – 27][121] that allows to assume that he was a governor who had a title Khudāt (خداة). A title Khudāt with a meaning "king" [Jacut III: 13], occurs from the Avestian *hu-data* – "well given" (perfectly created) and was an epithet of gods in Avesta. This title is fixed in form *hwδ'δ* on the pre-Islāmic coins of Bukhārā [Smirnova 1981: 31]. In the Sogdian documents is mentioned the similar title *γwt'w* which just as other title *γwβw*, was used as a title and the traditional reference for the Sogdian and the Turkic nobility for which in the 'Arabian sources are used terms *dihqān* (دهقان) and *malik* (ملك) [Smirnova 1970: 41, 55].

During a pre-Islāmic period the title Khudāt which on the value was equated to a title *dihqān*, has been extended in the limited territory in the south of Central Asia, mainly, from Balkh to Bukhārā [Smirnova 1975: 60 – 63]. So, except Sāmān-Khudāt, this title carried governors of such cities as Wardāna (Wardān-Khudāt), Bukhārā (Bukhār-Khudāt), Warakhshā (Khunuk-Khudāt), Chaghāniyān (Chaghān-Khudāt). In Khurāsān are mentioned also governors named Sarwar-Khudāt and Turār-Khudāt [at-Tabarī II: 1869; III: 356]. Governors of Gūzgānān carried a title Gūzgān-Khudāt [Ibn Khordadbeh: 69]. In 835 – 837 AD the governor of the northern part of the 'Arabian Calīphate Haydhar ibn Kāwus known as al-Afshīn, has appointed Muhammad ibn Khālid Bukhār-Khudāt as the governor of Armīniya [al-Ja'kūbī II: 475; Ter-Gevondian 1977: 97]. One of military leaders of the Calīph al-Ma'mūn was Abū Shudjā' Shabīb ibn Bukhār-Khudād al-Balkhī [al-Djāhiz: 75].

According to Hamd Allāh Qazwīnī (VIII/XIV c.), descendants of Bahrām Chūbīn during pre-Islāmic time were governors of the whole Mā warā' an-nahr. After the 'Arabian gain position of the father of Sāmān has changed, and he became a guid of camels under one of notable persons. However, this job was humiliating for him because he was a notable of origin. Therefore he has gone to Turkistān and was engaged there in robbery. After som time he became strong enough and, having grasped the city of Ashnās (اشناس)[122], became its possessor [Mustawfī-i Qazwīnī: 379]. The same data is

[121] Probably, this word is one of variants of a writing of an above mentioned name Djabbā-Khān.

[122] Ashnās – a city of the Türks in the Lower basin of Syr-Darya, between Djand and Sighnāq [Mustawfī of Qazwīn: 261; Rashīd al-Dīn 1946 I (2): 200]. Further the same authors noticed that one of the 4 sons of Asad named Yahyā has been appointed as a governor of the city Ashnās. However from data of other

resulted in the composition "Asahh at-Tawārīkh" (the Most True of the Annales) by al-Mūsawī (VI/XII c.)[123], and also in the composition of Kh^{w}āndamīr (IX/XV c.) according to which, the father of Sāmān has grasped the city of al-Shāsh (الشاش) [Kh^{w}āndamīr II: 352]. Muhammad al-Lārī (IX/XV century) added that at the very beginning of Islām from the Oghuz clan from which occurred Sāmān-Yabghū, there was a governor named Tughrul after whom ruled Sāmān-Yabghū. When Sāmān has arrived to Marw, Tāhir Dhū-l-Yamīnayn[124] which at that time was the *amīr* of al-Ma'mūn has engaged in his education [al-Lārī: 234a].

Data of these sources was considered till now invented and seriously was not perceived [Frye 1993: 136; Buchner 1997: 140]. However, in our opinion, they indirectly prove to be true by data of other sources (Rashīd al-Dīn, al-Sam'ānī, Mahmūd ibn Walī, etc.) and can serve as the important link in reconstruction of the biography of Sāmān-Khudāt. It is possible with sufficient basis to assume that father of Sāmān-Khudāt was the military leader and the governor of any area in the south of Central Asia. His name was Tughrul and he was, most likely, the same person, as above mentioned governor of Balkh Djabbā-Khān who had a title Yabghū (Djabghū). It is not excluded that Sāmān-Khudāt himself also carried by right of succession this title of the Turkic governors of Balkh. Therefore he is called in the composition of Rashīd al-Dīn as Sāmān Yawkūy, i.e. Sāmān-Yabghū, among legendary governors of the Oghuzes [Togan 1972: 111 – 112]. During the 'Arabian gains in Tukhāristān father of Sāmān-Khudāt has been deposed and has lost possession of his ancestors in Balkh. After that he some time was the cameleer, and then has left to Turkistān where was engaged in robbery and after some time has captured a power in a city of the Türks Ashnās[125], or in al-Shāsh (see

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sources it is known that, first, in beginning of the III/IX century the lower bassin of Syr-Darya and Ashnās yet were not included to the 'Arabian Calīphate, secondly, Yahyā has been appointed as a governor of al-Shāsh and Ustrūshana. Hence, here in the name of the city of Ashnās it is meant, most likely, al-Shāsh (الشاش – اشناس), what still had been supposed earelier by V.V.Bartold [Bartold 1963a: 267].

[123] The manuscript of this composition is stored in the fund "Yeni Cami Hatice Turhan" (MS 224): 296b [Togan 1964: 63].

[124] Here means the military leader Tāhir ibn al-Husayn (ruled in 159 – 207/775 – 822) which was ancestor of the dynasty of the Tāhirids in Khurāsān.

[125] During an epoch of the 'Arabian Calīphate was known also personal name Ashnās, which carriers, probably, occurred from this city. So, this name was carried one of the Turkic military leaders of the Calīph al-Mu'tasim (ruled in 218 – 227/833 – 842) and *ghulām* Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad (ruled in 279 – 295/892 – 907) [Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān: 450, n. 771]. The city with name Ashnās is mentioned only in sources of the late time [Mustawfi of Qazwin: 261].

above a comment 120)[126] which during his time have not been definitively gained by the ‘Arabs and still belonged to the Türks[127].

In this information there are some more moments indirectly specifying in a Turkic origin of the father of Sāmān-Khudāt. So, it is known that the trade of the cameleer was traditional at the Türks who were engaged in cattle breeding and provided movement of caravans on the trasses of the Silk Road [Shefer 1981: 103]. For example, a cameleer of Abū Muslim was the Türk named Tarkhān [at-Tabarī II: 1950]. Father of Sāmān-Khudāt was engaged also in robbery that was widespread among many Turkic tribes. And, at last, the power in such area of Turkistān as al-Shāsh (or Ashnās) which most part of the population during an epoch of the early Middle Ages was made the Türks, could grasp only the native of the environment of the Türks.

In the library of the mosque (*al-djāmi‘*) Halach Muhmūd in Ankara under a number 112 is stored the ‘Arabian manuscript of the unknown author which is dated 611/1214-15. In it are resulted data on the river Sayhūn (Syr-Darya) which was called also as Mā’ Djand (ماء جند), i.e. the Water of Djand[128]. On this river there was a city named Ashnās – native land of the Sāmānids, and Sāmān was its *al-‘āmil*, i.e. a deputy [Togan 1964: 63]. It is represented to us that in this text as well as in the texts of Kh^{w}āndamīr and Mustawfi-i Qazwīnī, instead of a word Ashnās (اشناس) should be read al-Shāsh (الشاش). Hence, it is possible to assume that Sāmān-Yabghū which later became Sāmān-Khudāt was born and has grown in Chāch (al-Shāsh) where his father was the governor.

Father of Sāmān-Khudāt known as Djabbā-Khān is identified with the Supreme Turkic ruler Se (Sy) Yabghū-Qaghan (ruled in 630 – 632 AD) [Togan 1964: 47, 64] which was the son and successor of Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan (ruled in 618 – 630 AD), and before murder of his father in 630 he was a deputy of Chāch [Bichurin I: 285; Chavannes 1903: 54, 196; Gumilev 1967: 210 – 211; Kliashtorny 1985: 166; Tašagil 1999: 64]. Sāmān-Yabghū before becoming Sāmān-Khudāt could be a deputy (*‘āmil*) of his father in one of cities of the area of Chāch. In IV/X century in the region of al-Shāsh is mentioned the city named Djabghūkath (جبغوكث) in which earlier there was a military camp [al-Istakhrī: 330, 345; Ibn Haukal: 461, 463, 507; al-Moqaddasī: 264; Hudūd al-

[126] The version about capture of al-Shāsh by him is more probable, because Sāmān-Khudāt had family relations in Farghāna located near to al-Shāsh. It is possible that father of Sāmān-Khudāt has left Tukhāristān to Farghāna which in above mentioned sources is called as “Turkistān”.

[127] According to al-Azraqī, the Qarluqs up to the beginning of the III/IX century owned a considerable part of Turkistān from Farghāna to Otrār including al-Shāsh [Mihailova 1951: 17].

[128] It is an ‘Arabian calque from the Turkic place-name Djand Sūyī (جند سوي) or the Persian Āb-i Djand (آب جند).

‘Ālam: 117, 357]. Name of this city specifies that it was a residence of the governor with a title Djabghū (Yabghū) [Karaev 1987: 115]. The same title, as it is known, was carried also ancestors of Sāmān-Khudāt.

Among the coins which were in use in VI – VII centuries AD in the oasis of Chāch, allocate a group with the image of a horseman, issued by the unknown governor with a title Djabghu-Qaghan (*cpγw γ’γ’n*) [Babayarov 2005: 198; Babayar, Kubatin 2005: 99]. Probably, these coins were minted by Sy Yabghū-Qaghan which was called also Djabghū-Qaghan or Djabbā-Khān.

On Av of the earliest coins of Chāch (III – IV centuries AD) is represented a portrait of the governor with massive features, hair are picked up over a forehead by a diadem and fall downwards curling locks. On Rv is represented a sign (*tamgha*) surrounded by the Sogdian legend [Rtveladze 1987: 136 (№ 40)]. In 605 AD the local dynasty has been liquidated by the great-grandson of Istamī-Qaghan named Shegūy-Qaghan (ruled in 610 – 618 AD) which has placed on a throne of Chāch Tian-Chji (Fu-Chji) with a title T’e-le (Tigīn) which ruled during 605 – 620 AD [Chavannes 1903: 141; Bichurin II: 282].

In the VII – VIII centuries AD in Chāch ruled the dynasty of the Turkic governors with a title Tudūn [Bīrūnī 1957: 111], (in the Chinese sources Tutun) [Maliavkin 1989: 270; Bichurin II: 313; Babayarov 2005: 200], which was widespread among the Türks [Gukasian 1971: 249]. So, in 641 the Turkic Qaghan has sent Tudūn of Chāch with an army against his enemies [Bichurin I: 287], in 658 AD in Chāch ruled Kan-Tutūn, i.e. Ton-Tudūn [Chavannes 1903: 141], in 713 – 741 AD– Mohedu-Tutūn, i.e. Bahadūr-Tudūn [Chavannes 1903: 61, 141, 142; Bichurin II: 313 – 314] or Badūr (Bahadūr)-Tarkhān [at-Tabarī II: 1693], in 746 AD – Inay-Tutūn Tsiuyle, i.e. Inay-Tudūn Köl (vice-king) [Chavannes 1903: 76, 142; Bichurin II: 314], and in 742 – 750 AD – a certain T’e-le (Tigīn) [Chavannes 1903: 67, 70, 72, 74, 76, 88, 142]. Tudūns of Chāch are mentioned also in the Sogdian documents [SDGM II: 78 – 79, 82 – 84] and the ‘Arabian sources[129], and also on the coins of Chāch of pre-Islāmic time in the form of *č’čn’k tδwn* [Smirnova 1963: 33 (№ 777 – 783); Smirnova 1981: 52; Babayarov 2005: 30]. There are known the coins of the governor of Chāch named Tudūn Satachar (*Stcr tδwn*) or a Master Satachar (*Stcr γwbw*) [Baratova 1999: 248]. On Av of his coins is represented a portrait of the governor with slanting eyes and the dense bang outstanding from under a felt cap [Smirnova 1981: 61]. On the coins of Chāch are mentioned also names of such governors as Tarnavi and Sochak [Rtveladze 1987: 164, 172].

[129] In the text *kadar* (كدر) [at-Tabarī II: 1694; Bīrūnī 1957: 111].

But on the coins of Chāch which were in use in VI – VII centuries AD in the oasis of Chāch, except a title Tudūn are mentioned titles Tigīn, Tarkhān, Shād, Tutūk, and also the Sogdian title *γwbw*. In textual sources are mentioned also such governors of Chāch as Inye-Dagan (Tarkhān) [Bichurin II: 292], and Badur (Qadar)-Tarkhān [at-Tabarī II: 1694]. Last findings of the coins of Chāch have allowed to reveal a new group of coins with a name Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan (*twn cpγw γ'γ'n*), written by the Sogdian letters [Babayarov 2005: 198; Babayar, Kubatin 2005: 99].

With Turkic governors of Chāch connected some more series of coins with the image of a horse, the horseman, a two-humped camel, a semifantastic predatory animal, a portrait of the governor with features obviously expressed the Mongoloid type and the Sogdian inscriptions [Smirnova 1963: 32 (№ 347 – 374, 375, 376)]. Among the coins of Chāch of the VII – VIII AD centuries there are coins of the governor with a title Qaghan (*γ'γ'n*) [Babayarov 2003: 12], and also coins of the governor named El-Tigīn (or Er-Tigīn) [Babayarov 2004: 31; 2005: 198]. Probably, they have been issued by the higher ancestor of Sāmān-Khudāt El-Tigīn who is mentioned in the 'Arabian and Persian sources with a name Barmūda (برموده) or Parmūda (پرموده).

On the some coins of Chāch are represented the Runic inscriptions [Babayarov 2005: 198]. There are known some types of the coins of the Turkic governors of Chāch with image of pair portraits of king and queen and a sign of Chāch in form of a pitchfork [Rtveladze 1997: 314 - 323; Baratova 1995: 15]. On some of them there is a Sogdian inscription *βγy γ'γ'n*, i.e. «a Divin Qaghan» [Baratova 1998: 41 – 46]. In the VII – VIII centuries AD in Chāch were issued also the coins with an image of a horse [Baratova 1995: 15]. On the Afrasiab ruins is found a coin of the Turkic governor of Chāch holding in a hand a cross from what follows that probably he professed Christianity [Rtveladze, Tashkhodjaev 1973: 232 – 234].

In the village Kerchevo in the Ural Mountains is found a vessel with an image of the governor in the two-horned crown topped with a sphere. He sits on a horse and strikes by a sword one of two wild boars which is running out from canes at the river. On this dish, which was made in III – IV centuries AD in Balkh, is represented the Sogdian inscription "from property..., concerning to the people of Chāch" [Pugachenkova 1990: 28]. It is possible to assume that it was belonged to one of the Khionit governors of Balkh occurring from Chāch. On the one of the Sāsānids seals of V – VI centuries AD with the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) inscriptions is represented the portrait of the governor with features of the obvious not Īrānian type (oval face, big nose), in a headdress with horns of a bull [Frye 1971: pl. XI, fig. 81]. On a head of the Supreme Turkic ruler Tūn

Yabghū-Qaghan which portrait is represented on the memorable medallion which has been issued circa 625 AD in Qunduz on the occasion of a definitive victory over the Hephtalites, also is represented a winged crown with horns of a bull [Harmatta 1982: 168].

The information of Qazwīnī that the descendants of Bahrām Chūbīn were rulers of the whole Mā warā' an-nahr specifies on their related connection with the family of the Supreme Turkic Qaghans because the Supreme rulers of the whole Mā warā' an-nahr in pre-Islāmic time could be only the Supreme Turkic Qaghans or their deputies in Mā warā' an-nahr, which had a residence in Bukhārā. When Qutayba ibn Muslim was forwarded through Amu Darya and has arrived to Bukhārā, in this city ruled the king named Sūl who was also the king of the whole Mā warā' an-nahr [al-Dīnawarī: 327]. The pre-Islāmic ancestors of the Sāmānids – El Arslān (Shīr-i Kishwar, Sāwa-Shāh) and El-Tigīn (Parmūda, Nili-Khān) also were governors of the same rank.

These data prove to be true by Nizām al-Mulk, according to which, ancestors of Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad owned Khurāsān, al-'Irāq and Mā warā' an-nahr. The Calīph al-Mu'tadid, inciting Ismā'īl to attack on 'Amr ibn al-Layth, wrote to him: "Take away from him a kingdom. You have more rights to be a governor (*amīr*) in al-'Irāq and Khurāsān because this kingdom belonged to your ancestors, and he owns it as an aggressor" [Siyāsat-Nāma: 17, 20]. In this text the place-name "al-'Irāq" means Rey, and the place-name "Khurāsān" – Balkh. Both of these two cities made possession of Bahrām Chūbīn. As to the ancestors of Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad which were rulers of Mā warā' an-nahr they were the Turkic governor of Bukhārā El Arslān (Shīr-i Kishwar, Sāwa-Shāh, Yang Soukh-Tigīn) and his son the Supreme Turkic Qaghan El-Tigīn (Parmūda, Nili-Khān) which daughter married Bahrām Chūbīn.

Arquq

In the composition named "Sa'diya" written in XI/XVII century in Persian is resulted a legend about a family tree of the al-Sayyids of Tirmidh. According to this legend, when the 'Abbāsids have captured a power in Khurāsān, from Farghāna to Tirmidh has arrived certain Arquq or Arqaq (ارقق), who was a descendant of Bahrām Chūbīn. From Tirmidh he has arrived to Balkh where he has accepted Islām from hands of the al-Sayyid Hasan al-Amīr, which was a descendant of the *al-imām* al-Husayn ibn

‘Alī[130] and a relative of the ‘Abbāsids. Then Arquq has gone to Baghdād to the Calīph which has appointed him a governor of Balkh by recommendation of Hasan al-Amīr. When Hasan al-Amīr has decided to move from Balkh to Tirmidh for its accomplishment and colonisation, Arquq (Arqaq) has gone together with him, has given him all of his money and personally has taken part in the restoration of the city. He has founded a settlement in the region of Tirmidh, has built buildings and has planted large gardens in it, and then he has lodged hiself in it and named it Sāmān. Here in this village was born his son Asad who after death his father has accepted into his hands management of many areas. Asad had three sons – Nūh, Nasr and Ismā‘īl. When they have grown up, Asad has appointed Nasr the governor of Samarqand, and himself has gone to Farghāna where has died [Semenov 1914: 3 – 20; Semenov 1955: 3 – 4].

In the XIX century AD the suburb of Tirmidh was called Shahr-i Sāmān, and the historical monument Qirq-Qiz located in 3 km to the east from the ruins of ancient Tirmidh, the people considered as the rests of patrimonial lock of the Sāmānids [Hakimov 1983: 149 – 153].

Though the data whivh are resulted in the composition “Sa‘diya” have semi-legendary character, there are some important details in them which can serve for definition of the origin of Sāmān-Khudāt, and echoe of some real events. In particular, from this data follows that, first, real name of Sāmān-Khudāt was Arquq (or Arqaq), secondly, he came to Balkh from Farghāna, and thirdly, after acceptance of Islām he has been appointed a governor of Balkh.

al-Sayyid Hasan al-Amīr is identified with Abū Muhammad al-Hasan ibn al-Husayn al-‘Alawī al-Balkhī, which was one of grandsons of the Calīph Abū Dja‘far al-Mansūr. His moving from Balkh to Tirmidh is dated 251/865-66 [al-Nasafī 1462: 290a]. It is considered that ancestor of the Sāmānids Arquq has received a post of management of Balkh from the Calīph al-Mutawakkil (ruled in 232 – 247/847 – 861) [Mirzaev 2004: 15]. However this data are not co-ordinated with data of other sources about ancestor of the Sāmānids. Coming to power of four sons of Asad and grandsons of Sāmān-Khudāt, as it is known, is firmly dated 204/819-20, and appearence of Sāmān-Khudāt on a political arena and consequently his appointment as governor of Balkh concerned to the time of Abū Muslim, i.e. to the middle of II/VIII century. It is possible, that the year in the text of al-Nasafī should be read as 151/768 instead of 251/865-66. At that case the

[130] The al-Sayyids of Tirmidh erected their family tree to ‘Ubayd Allāh al-A‘radj (the Lame) which was the grandson of *al-imām* Zayn al-‘Ābidīn ‘Alī ibn al-Husayn [Mirzaev 2004: 14].

Calīph with whom had a meeting Arquq, possibly, was not al-Mutawakkil, but he was al-Mansūr (ruled in 136 – 158/754 – 775).

The Farghāna roots of Sāmān-Khudāt do not cause doubts because his ancestor Bahrām Chūbīn marrying the daughter of the Supreme Turkic Qaghan El-Tigīn (Parmūda), has resided in the end of his life in Farghāna where he has left the descendants [al-Dīnawarī: 98 – 102; Macoudī II: 223 – 224; Gumilev 1960: 229 – 230][131]. If to consider that El-Tigīn was the adherent of the Buddhism, it is possible to assume that descendants of Bahrām Chūbīn had a residence in the city of Qubā (قبا) where in the VII – VIII centuries AD there was the large Buddhist temple which had been founded by the Türks [Bulatova-Levina 1961: 241 – 250]. Appointment of Arquq as governor of Balkh could be connected with a fact that before the 'Arabian gain his father Djabbā-Khān was the governor of this city and patrimonial possession of the ancestors of Sāmān-Khudāt was located in this city.

Farghāna has not been casually given to control to Ahmad, the senior son of Asad, and subsequently his descendants posessed the Supreme power in Khurāsān and Mā warā' an-nahr. Ahmad has founded a city in Farghāna for his son Nasr and named it by his name Nasrābād (نصر اباد) [al-Moqaddasī: 271]. It is unique case of the founation of city by the Sāmānids. Nasr was born in the city Khaylām (خيلام) in Farghāna [Hudūd al-'Ālam: 116; al-Istakhrī: 334]. Even after coming to power of the descendants of Ahmad ibn Asad in Samarqand and Bukhārā representatives of Farghāna branch of the Sāmānids family were actually independent of the central power and in a pointed manner underlined this on their coins [Davidovich 1977b: 117 – 121]. Subsequently Nasrābād has been given as a possession to Bakr ibn Malik who was one of the most approached dignitaries of the Sāmānids and their deputy in Khurāsān [Davidovich 1959: 212 – 213]. At the bottom of the mountain Sulayman-Tagh in the region of Osh has been discovered the rock inscription with a name of Nasr ibn Ahmad dated 329/940-41 [Masson 1960: 111].

As to a name of Arquq or Arqaq it is a unique source from which we know real name of Sāmān-Khudāt. Arquq (Arqaq) is purely Turkic name having the termination typical for Turkic names *-aq* (*-qaq*, *-γaq*) or *-uq* (*-quq*, *-γuq*) [DTS: 653, 654], and ranking with such names as Qunaq, Tuqaq, Tutaq, Saldjūq and many others[132] that in Turkic means

[131] There is also data that the Sāmānids originated from Ustrūshana [Mukhtorov 1998: 163].

[132] For example, Alidjaq, Alp-Tughaq, Artuq, Asaq, Badjnaq, Barchuq, Barquq, Barkiyaruq, Bursuq, Buzuq, Damqaq, Duqaq, Imlaq, Karindjuq, Oghurdjiq, Oyunaq, Qabadjiq, Qaradjiq, Qarluq, Qaylaq, Qultaq, Qurjuq, Qušluq, Saltuq, Satuq, Tughluq, Učuq, Ulaq, Yuluq, Yarmaq, Yasaq, Yumaq, etc.

"obstinate". In the dictionary of Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī is resulted name Arquq and a word-combination *arquq kiši* – "the obstinate person" [MK I: 109; DTS: 54]. The etymology of this word is made from a verbal basis *arquqlan* - (*-ma:k*), formed from root *ARG* [Clauson 1972: 219]. If Arquq (Arqaq) really was the grandson or great-grandson of Nawshard, the son of Bahrām Chūbīn [Mukhtorov 1999: 285; Bostonguhar 1998: 75 – 82] he is one more carrier of a Turkic name from among the descendants of Bahrām Chūbīn in Balkh and Farghāna.

In the sources of IX – X/XV – XVI centuries is mentioned a city or a fortress Arquq (ارقق) with the same named area which was in Turkistān in the lower bassin of Syr-Darya, on its left coast opposite to the city of Sawrān [Isfahānī: 42, 72 – 78, 81, 91, 92, 143 – 145, 175; Bartold 1963a: 489]. Ruins of this fortress have remained till now in Turkistān area of the South Kazakhstan [Materialy: 28, 29, 103, 111 – 113, 159, 258, 260]. There are bases to believe that the name of this fortress has been connected with a name of Arquq. Meanwhile, in the Sogdian, the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) and the New Persian (Fārsī) dictionaries such word is absolutely not fixed.

For etymology of the name Arquq it is possible to offer one more variant, namely *ar* + *kuk* that in Old Turkic means "the person of straw"[133], i.e. the person who is engaged in manufacturing and sale of straw. In that case, the Chigil Turkic word *saman* [MK I: 392], underlying name in the base of Sāmān-Khudāt's name[134], it is necessary to consider as a calque or a synonym of the Old Turkic word *kūk* with the same sense – "straw"[135].

Kākuldār

According to a later variant of the same legend fixed in a manuscript of XII/XVIII century written in Uzbek [al-Usturlābī][136], Sāmān-Khudāt had also a nickname

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[Rashīd al-Dīn 1987: 123 – 126; Kononov 1958: 71 – 94; Hennequin 1985: 68 – 82, 92, 98, 109, 462 – 547, 835 – 836.

[133] The word *kūk* in the Old Turkic is meant "straw" [Kuryshdjanov 1970: 147].

[134] Etymology of the word *saman* is made from the Turkic root SMN [Clauson 1972: 829].

[135] In the Persian for concept "straw", along with borrowed from a Turkic word *saman* [PRS II: 13] is used also the word *kah* [Hāfiz-i Tanish I: 221, 277].

[136] This manuscript has been found inside a wall of a historikal-architectural complex Qirq-Qiz (V – VI/XI – XII centuries) in Tirmidh and it is stored in a private library of G.Khodjamshukurova (Tirmidh),

"Kākuldār" (کاکل دار) that in Fārsī means "Owner of a Plait" (*kākul* + *dār*). So in the Middle Ages was called the hairdress in which hair on a head of the man were combed back, were braided in a plait drawn at a nape by a small tape and falling for a back. In ancient times such hairdress was characteristic for the Hunns[137], and during an epoch of the early Middle Ages, mainly, for the Türks [Vaynshtein, Kriukov 1966: 179][138] of what testifies the data of the Chinese sources [Bichurin I: 167; II: 254][139] and numerous monuments of art [Albaum 1960: 137, fig. 11; Albaum 1975: 30, 31; Esin 1970: fig. 9a, 9b, 10; Rahmonov 2001: 38, 45; fig. 2,6, 9][140], epigraphics [Kubarev 2001: 103; Tashbayeva 2001: 194 – 195; Pomaskina 1970: 435][141] and sculpture art[142]. People with the hair braided in a plait, are mentioned in the Chinese guessing inscriptions written on the turtle guards and bones of animals of the epoch of In (XIII – XII centuries BC) concerned to the "Barbarians" from enemy Jun tribes, which lived in the west [Kriukov

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the director of the International memorial centre "Qirq-Qiz". I have got information about this manuscript from my colleague Dr. Djalāl al-Dīn Mīrzā (Mirzaev), for what I express to him my gratitude.

[137] The cut off plaits that was a mourning sign have been found in burials of the Hunns of the boundary of new era in Mongolia [Albaum 1975: 30].

[138] One of the earliest images of the Türks with a hairdress in the form of hardly braided plaits meets on the bullas with prints of the seals of the early Sāsānids time (III – IV centuries AD) from a site of ancient settlement Djiga-Tepa in the region of Balkh [Kruglikov 1984: 141].

[139] According to the Chinese pilgrim Süan Tszan (VII century AD) when he has arrived to the city named Sou-e (Sūyāb), he has met there the Turkic Qaghan, gone on hunting. He accompanied more than two hundred Dagans (i.e. Tarkhāns), dressed in dressing gowns from silk, with the hair braided in plaits [Julien 1853: 55 – 58; Zuev 2002: 263). Inhabitants of Gaochan (Turfān) in VI century AD also braided plaits and threw back them on a back [Gaochan 2003: 20]. According to Chan Chun (1221 AD), the Turkic governor of Samarqand adhered to Turkic traditions and unlike the citizens carried a plait [Suhareva 1954: 333].

[140] See also: ZDP: tab. X, object 1; tab. XII; tab. XX, object 2; tab. XX, object 2; tab. XXXVI, object 6; tab. XXXVII, object 6; tab. XXXIX; Diakonov 1954: 83 – 158 (tab. VI, XVII, XXII, XXVI, XXIX, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI – XXXIX); and also illustrations: "Turkic grandees" – the Western wall, tab. VIII, a detail 2; tab. IX, a detail 3; tab. X, a detail 1; tab. XII.

[141] Turkic soldiers with plaits are represented also in a fight scene on a bone plate VII – VIII centuries AD from district Sitti-Bulaq in a valley of Kochkor in Kirgizstan [Tabaldiev 2005: 305 – 310], in rock paintings of Altay of the VI – VIII centuries AD [Cheremisin 2005: 251 – 258] and petrogliphs in Sulek [Artamonov 1962: 210; Esin 1965: 214].

[142] Plaits have many of stone sculptures of the ancient Türks – so called "*balbals*". On a site of ancient settlement the Qarā-Bulāq is found in East Farghāna a bronze figure of the person with a hairdress with knot on a nape [Pamiatniki 1983: 35 (№ 69)]; On a site of ancient settlement of Ak-Tepa (VI – VII centuries AD) near to Djar-Kurgan had been found a large head of an idol with the spherical face with a modelled plait [Rtveladze 1989: 69].

1970: 37]. It is supposed that tribes Jun just as Di, Din-Lin and Rung-Di, were Turkic spesking [Khodjaev 2004: 16 – 22]. Still in the XIX century AD the Kalmyk people carried plaits which were called *kahkül, kekil* or *kökül* [Radlov I: 1061, 1065; II: 1224][143], and boys on a head poppy-head left not shaved a scrap of hair which was called *aydar* [Radlov I: 50]. In contrary to the Türks the Sogdians combed hair and left top opened (i.e. shaved off hair), some absolutely cut and shaved the heads [MIKK II: 64]. According to the Chinese sources, the king of Kan (Samarqand) which was married to the daughter of the Turkic Qaghan, on Turkic custom braided the hair in long plaits whereas his confidants was cut a hair, differing from the governor and the Türks [Bichurin II: 271, 281].

Hence, Arquq known also as Sāmān-Yabghū and Sāmān-Khudāt was the representative of the Turkic nobility of Central Asia. During an epoch of the early Middle Ages the Türks made a considerable part of the population not only of Farghāna valley [Kamoliddin 2005: 93 – 101], whence came Arquq, but also of all Central Asia as a whole, including and its southern areas[144] to what testify not only numerous written sources [Kamoliddin 2005: 231 – 241], but also the archeology data [Malikov 1999: 194 – 197; 2000], numismatics [Smirnova 1963: 32; Smirnova 1981: 5, 53; Babayarov 2005: 197 – 208], monuments of art [Gül 2005: 55 – 88, 124 – 141], and rich Turkic toponymy of that time [Kamoliddin 2005: 24 – 29].

In the settlement (*qīshlāq*) of Namuna located in the region of Tirmidh near to architectural complex Sultān-Saodat, has remained the mausoleum of X/XVI century known as the Khānaqāh of Kākuldār. An origin of this mausoleum, which central hall is entirely occupied by burial places as well as the person to which this memorial building has been devoted, is not known [Arshavskaya 1982: 86 – 88]. It is possible to assume that here there was a family tomb of the earliest descendants of Sāmān-Khudāt – some of his sons and grandsons. Arquq Sāmān-Khudāt, according to the legend, in the end of his life has left on his native land, to Farghāna and has been buried there.

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[143] Man's plait named also *išin, örgüč, örmä sač, örüg sač, tulum* [DTS: 215, 388, 389, 391; TT: 205], *ašim čač*, *örüg, käjägä, kijägä, kärägä* [Radlov I: 910, 1061, 1150, 1224, 1343].

[144] As a result of the 'Arabian gain the ethnic situation in Central Asia which was before in structure of the Turkic Qaghanate, has a little changed because a part of the local population has been compelled to leave for limits of the 'Arabian Calīphate and to their place inflowed 'Arabian and Irānian immigrants. However, data of medieval sources testify that in III – IV/IX – X centuries the most part of the population of Central Asia nevertheless were made the Türks and Tukisized Sogdians, Kh^{w}ārazmians and local people of Tukhāristān [Ibn Haukal: 464 – 465].

Data of the people's legend about Kākuldār are testified by a documentary source. On Av of the above mentioned silver medallion which has been issued in 358/968-69 by the Sāmānid *amīr* Mansūr I ibn Nūh (ruled in 350 – 365/961 – 976), is represented the portrait of the governor from under which crown the dense wavy plait falling for a back behind hangs down. It is not excluded that on this medallion is represented Sāmān-Khudāt or his father Djabbā-Khān.

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Thus, it is possible with sufficient basis to assume that Bahrām Chūbīn was the native of the environment of the ancient notable Turkic clan, which was a branch of the Kushans or the Massagets Arshakids and entered in confederation of the nomadic Scythian tribes of Central Asia, which have put an end to the power of the Greek-Macedonian conquerors in Parthia in the second half of the III century BC.

Family possession of Bahrām Chūbīn was in the region of Balkh and was founded by him during his stay on a post of the Marzbān of Khurāsān with a residence in Balkh. This possession existed up to the 'Arabian gain and in the Middle Ages it was known as settlement Chūbīn or Chūbīnābād. In the end of the life Bahrām Chūbīn has rised in Balkh revolt against the Sāsānids and, having entered into alliance with the Türks, has grasped Ktesifon, the capital of the Sāsānids. Having usurped the Supreme power of the Sāsānids, Bahrām Chūbīn ruled one year then has been defeated by the Byzantian armies and has been obligated to run to the country of the Türks. There he became a friend and an adviser of El-Tigīn (Parmūda), who was the first Turkic Yabghū of Tukhāristān and then the governor of Bukhārā and Supreme Turkic Qaghan, and was a relative of the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Hurmazd IV Turkzāda on a parent line. Bahrām Chūbīn has entered with El-Tigīn to the family relations, having married on his daughter. The last residence of Bahrām Chūbīn was the city of Qubā in Farghāna where later had a residence his descendants from the marriage with a Turkic princess – the ancestors of the Sāmānids. After a gain of Tukhāristān by the Türks in 618 AD some of them have got over back in Balkh and have returned for themselves the patrimonial possession, which earlier belonged to Bahrām Chūbīn. The Djabbā-Khān and Sāmān-Khudāt were descendants of Bahrām Chūbīn in the fourth and fifth generations.

Rather Sāmān-Khudāt there are several versions specifying in his Turkic origin. But only some of them can be regarded as reliable, namely, the information of al-Muqaddasī

(IV/X c.) about the Türks from the settlement named Sāmān, the information of al-Sam‘ānī (VI/XII century) about the settlement named Djabbā-Khān in the region of Balkh and a mention of this person as ancestor of Sāmān-Khudāt almost in all sources (IV – VI/X – XII c.), and information of al-Balkhī (VI/XII c.) about origin of the Sāmānids and Barmakids from the settlement named Djabbā-Khān, and data of Mahmūd ibn Walī (XI/XVII c.), which testifies that. The information about father of Sāmān-Khudāt, Sāmān-Yabghū, Arquq and Kākuldār, which are fixed in later sources (Rashīd ad-Dīn, al-Lārī, Mustawfī-i Qazwīnī, Mīrkh^{w}ānd, al-Usturlābī, “Sa‘diya”, the *waqf* documents of Ismā‘īl ibn Ahmad al-Sāmānī) though have legendary character, they can reflect real events, and help to reconstruct some details of the biography of Sāmān-Khudāt. The data of written sources proves to be true also by presence of a documentary source – a medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh with the image of one of the pre-Islāmic ancestors of the Sāmānids – Djabbā-Khān or Sāmān-Khudāt.

Hence, it is possible to assert with good reason that Sāmān-Khudāt was a representative of not the Īrānian family which are going back to the dynasty of the Sāsānids [Gafurov 1958: 51 – 55; Negmatov 1977: 18; Mercil 1994: 253], but as well as his higher ancestor Bahrām Chūbīn, had an Oghuz-Turkic origin. If Bahrām Chūbīn was the native of the Īrānised descendants of the ancient Oghuz tribes of Khurāsān, Sāmān-Khudāt was his descendant from the marriage with a princess of clan of the Supreme Turkic Qaghans and had related communications in Farghāna. At the same time Sāmān-Khudāt on a parent line via El-Tigīn (Parmūda, Nili-Khān), El Arslān (Sāwa-Shāh, Shīr-i Kishwar) and Tardū-Qaghan (Qarā Chūrīn Türk) has been connected by related ties with the representative of the Sāsānids dynasty – Shāhān-Shāh Khusraw I Anūshīrwān which has entered relationship with Istamī-Qaghan, and consequently, with his son Hurmazd IV Turkzāda and his grandson Shīrūye too.

His father the Djabbā-Khān who during pre-Islāmic time was governor of Balkh, carried a Turkic title Yabghū (Djabghū) and a Turkic name Tughrul. His residence was in the fortress named Djabbā-Khān located in a northwest part of the *rabad* of Balkh, in which he has built a settlement for his son Sāmān. Djabbā-Khān was also the founder of a Buddhist monastery and a temple of Naw-Bahār, and from him occured the family of the Barmakids, the Supreme priests of this temple. After a gain by the ‘Arabs of Balkh and destruction of the temple of Naw-Bahār in 90/708-09 Djabbā-Khān has left Balkh to Turkistān and has captured a power in a chief town of the area of Chāch (a site of ancient settlement of Kanka) which belonged to the Türks and has departed to the ‘Arabs only after their victory over the Chineses in the battle of Talās in 134/751-52.

Sāmān-Khudāt has arrived to Marw from Farghāna and has accepted Islām with assistance of Tāhir ibn al-Husayn, the founder of a dynasty of the Tāhirids. Before acceptance of Islām Sāmān-Khudāt just as his ancestor Djabbā-Khān and the Barmakids, professed the Buddhism or the Manichaeism. He carried a Turkic name Arquq and the Buddist-Manichaean name Sāmān. On a Turkic custom, he braided hair in a long plait, for what has been nicknamed Kākuldār. The same as his father Djabbā-Khān, he carried a title Yabghū (Djabghū) which was the dynastic title of the Turkic rulers of Tukhāristān. Sāmān-Khudāt (Sāmān-Yabghū) has founded several settlements in various areas of Tukhāristān (Tirmidh, Khuttalān, Samangān) which were called subsequently by his name. It is possible to assume that he was the founder not ordinary settlements, but as well as his ancestor El-Tigīn (Parmūda) and his father Djabbā-Khān, was the founder of the Buddhist or Manichaean temples and monasteries.



Chapter Two
THE SĀMĀNIDS

The Sāmānids and the Oghuz Türks

In the family of the Sāmānids was dominated a clan system in which from all sons the Supreme power was descended to the senior son [Frye 1965: 35]. Ahmad, the senior son of Asad, was considered as a head of the all family, and his elder son Ismā'īl was a founder of the Sāmānids dynasty. Such system of inheritance was typical for all of the Turkic dynasties of the Islāmic time.

It is known that family relations of various dynasties had great value not only for a continuation of the family, but also in the international relations as a part of diplomatic communications. Family relations provided security of border and ways, promoted development of trading and cultural relations. In political aims in 361/971-72 Mansūr ibn Nūh married his son to the daughter of the Buwayhid Sultān 'Adud al-Dawla with which he waged long wars [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 247]. The Sāmānid *amīr* Nūh ibn Nasr (ruled in 331 – 343/943 – 954) was married to the daughter of the "king of al-Sīn" [Sunn 1999: 101 – 102] which is identified with the Uighūr governor of Gaochan (Turfān) [Metz 1966: 376] or with the king of the Qarluqs which soon after that has accepted Islām [Bosworth 1969: 24 – 25]. Abū Dūlaf described arrival to the Sāmānid *amīr* Nasr ibn Ahmad to Bukhārā of the embassy of the king of al-Sīn, i.e. the Uighūr governor from Sandabīl (Kansū), asking to conclude a marriage contract between two dynasties. The *amīr* has refused to give out his daughter for an infidel, but he has agreed, that one of his sons will be married the princess of al-Sīn then Nūh ibn Nasr married her and she became mother of the *amīr* 'Abd al-Malik ibn Nūh [Abū Dūlaf: 347 – 361].

Another Sāmānid *amīr* Ilyās ibn Ishāq ibn Ahmad ibn Asad al-Sāmānī in 310/922-23 which with the assistance of the Türks rised revolt against Nasr ibn Ahmad in Farghāna married the daughter of Tughān-Tigīn, the *dihqān* of Kāshghar [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 30, 49]. It is considered that Uighürs were relatives of the Oghuz Türks and entered into the initial confederation of nine Oghuz tribes – Tughuz-Ghuzes. However, already in the V/XI century this confederation included 22 tribes, some of which had other origin [Bosworth 1963: 210 – 211].

According to al-Qarshī, in Kāshgar had a residence the Sāmānid *amīr* Nasr ibn Mansūr who has run from prosecution of his brother *amīr* Nüh ibn Mansūr (ruled in 365 – 387/976 – 997). The Qarā-Khānid governor Ughuldjaq Qadr-Khān has well accepted

him and has appointed him as a governor of a district Artūdj in the region of Kāshghar [al-Karshī: 103 – 104].

Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad in political aims has taken in marriage with a representative of the clan of the al-Sayyids of Tirmidh that in veins of his descendants flew blood of the prophet Muhammad. Some from the Sāmānid *amīrs* were in family relations with their grandees from among the Turkic nobility that specifies in their common origin and affinity of blood. So, the Sāmānid *amīr* Nūh ibn Nasr has taken in marriage the daughter of his treasurer Qut-Tigīn Khazīnadār which was also a governor of Būst, ar-Rukhkhadj, Balkh, Tirmidh and Bukhārā [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 188]. Nūh ibn Mansūr (ruled in 365 – 387/976 – 997) has entered to relationship with the Sipah-Sālār of Khurāsān *amīr* Abū-l-Hasan Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Sīmdjūr and with Abū-l-Hārith Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Farīghūn, the head of the Farīghūnids of Gūzgānān [Gardīzī: 80]. The winter residence of governors from a dynasty of the Farīghūnids was in the city of Anbār or Anbīr located at the bottom of a mountain whereas their summer residence was in the city of Djurzuwān located between two mountains [Ibn Haukal: 443]. In the IV/X century in Anbār or Anbīr made well-known "Gūzgānian" skin which was taken out to all countries of the world. The small town San in which were made much of sheep was one more centre of cattle breeding of Gūzgānān [Hudūd al-'Ālam: 107]. In the III/IX century pre-Islāmic kings of Gūzgānān had a residence in the city of Djurzuwān (Gurzuwān), and the 'Arabian deputies – in the city of Anbār [al-Jakūbī: 287]. This data specifies that the governors of Gūzgānān conducted a seminomadic way of life, and its citizens were engaged in cattle breeding, hence, they, possibly, also were of a Turkic origin. In the IV/X century in Gūzgānān made horses, felt, pack bags, riding girths, palases and oriental carpets [Hudūd al-'Ālam: 105 – 106], i.e. it was area with typically cattle breeding. In the Middle Ages in the area of Shibirgān near to which there was medieval Anbār, there lived Turkmans [Bayhaqi: 420, 540]. Here is found the set of the medieval tombstones belonged to the Turkmans [Mukhtarov 1987: 211, 217].

In written sources there is some data indirectly specifying in existence of related communications of the Sāmānids with the Oghuz Türks. So, the Sāmānids are mentioned along with the Ghaznawids in which board the Türks have strengthened their position. Thanks to them the Türks have achieved nice victories and their banners have risen [Ibn Hassul: 113].

It is known that the Sāmānids have complied the request of al-Ghuzzes[145], living in lower reaches of Syr-Darya, and have allowed them to lodge in a valley of Zarafshān in the area of Nūr and the area of Bukhārā [al-Husaynī: 164; Bayhaqī: 823; Trever 1950: 269]. The descendants of these Oghuzes are the Turkmans living till present day around Nur-Ata in the region of Bukhārā [Shaniyazov 1973: 5]. It is known that al-Ghuzzes have lodged not only in a country side, but also in immediate proximity of Bukhārā. So, in the environs of Bukhārā the Turkman immigrants from Djand have founded a settlement named al-Qariya al-Djadīda (القرية الجديدة) – i.e. "the New Settlement" [al-Sam'ānī III: 319]. Subsequently this settlement became a part of a city and was called Turk-i Djandī [Sukhareva 1976: 91 – 92]. These al-Ghuzz Türks, who have subsequently based the state of the Saldjuqids, repeatedly gave a support to the Sāmānids and represented themselves as their nearest allies. So, by the data of al-'Utbī, when in 382/992-93 Bughrā-Khān, captured a power in Bukhārā in the board of the Sāmānid *amīr* Nūh II ibn Mansūr (ruled in 365 – 387/976 – 997) has been compelled to leave the city because of his illness[146], his way passed through the settlement of al-Ghuzzes. The last followed him some transitions killing the lagged behind and weak soldiers in his army [al-'Utbī 1939: 223; al-'Utbī 1988: 26 – 27]. When Hārūn, the son of Ilik-Khān has grasped a part the outlying districts of one of the Sāmānid *amīrs*, the last has addressed for a help to Saldjūq, the governor of the Oghuz Türks who has sent to him his son Arslān with his army [Ibn al-Athīr IX: 197]. In 391/1000-01 the last Sāmānid *amīr* al-Muntasir, who has run from a dungeon of Ūzgand, has gone to Kh^{w}ārazm [al-'Utbī 1939: 223; al-'Utbī 1988: 37], which considerable part of the population at that time as it is known, made the Kh^{w}ārazmian Oghuz Türks [Hudud al-'Ālam: 121 – 122]. At the court of the last Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh Abū-l-'Abbās Ma'mūn ibn Ma'mūn were resided some representatives of the Sāmānids family [Bayhaqī: 808 – 809, 812 – 817].

The descendants of the Sāmānids were keeping their family tree up to the Mongolian gain. In the IX/XV century is mentioned certain Djandī-Bek, the descendant of Ismā'īl al-Sāmānī and Bahrām Chūbīn. He has entered to the relationship with the dynasty of the Djūchīds, having given out his daughter for Ming Tīmūr-Khān who was a grandson Djūchī Bükā and the descendant of Shaybān-Khān in the 4th generation. It is remarkable that the genealogy of the Djūchīds before marriage of Ming Tīmūr-Khān with a daughter of Djandī-Bek was not any 'Arab-Muslim name and after that marriage in the genealogy

[145] In the 'Arabian sources the Oghuz Türks are called *al-Ghuzz* (الغز).

[146] According to Ibn al-Athīr, this event has occurred in 383/993-94 [Ibn al-Athīr IX: 41].

of the subsequent generations of the Djūchīds there are ‘Arabian and Persian names, such as Pūlād, Ilyās, Tawakkul-Kh^{w}ādja, Ibrāhīm, ‘Arab-Shāh, Khidr, Dawlat-Shaykh, Bakhtiyār, Hamza, Mahdī, Mutallib, Turdī-Muhammad, Nawrūz, etc. A descendant of Ming Tīmūr-Khān from the daughter of Djandī-Bek in the 4th generation was Abū-l-Khayr-Khān [Tawārīkh-i Guzīda: 102, 117, 134; Mahmūd ibn Walī 1969: 348]. The name of this descendant of the Sāmānids (Djandī-Bek) could be connected with the name of the city of Djand in the lower bassin of Syr-Darya or with the name of the quarter Türk-i Djandī located in vicinities of Bukhārā.

The last Sāmānid *amīr* Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā‘īl ibn Nūh known as al-Muntasir (died in 395/1004-05) has entered to relationship with the leader of the Oghuz Türks Yabghū [Gardīzī 1939: 229]. All of the people surrounding al-Muntasir made his *amīrs* and *hādjibs* from among the Türks – Arslān Yalū (Balū), Abū-l-Qāsim Sīmdjūr, Husām al-Dawla Tāsh, Abū Nasr al-Hādjib, etc., and his armour, his most reliable support, his friend and his assistant was Tūz-Tāsh al-Hādjib [al-‘Utbī 1939: 224 – 225; al-‘Utbī 1988: 37, 39, 40, 43]. Having suffered defeat from armies of *amīr* Nasr in Khurāsān, al-Muntasir remained without protection and ran to the Ghuzz Türks who “bragged of the service to the dynasty of the Sāmānids because they feeled love and friendship to this house”. They have expressed readiness to help and support him, and in 393/1002-03, having acted together with him against Īlik-Khān, they have crushed his army [al-‘Utbī 1939: 224; al-‘Utbī 1988: 41]. Later, in 394/1003-04 when al-Muntasir has been defended in the fortress of Nūr, among his supporters again appear groups of the Turkic *ghulāms* from Samarqand and the al-Ghuzz Türks [al-‘Utbī 1939: 225 – 226; al-‘Utbī 1988: 43].

From the medieval monuments located in the region of Zamm, it is of interest the so-called mausoleum of ‘Alambardār which is located in the settlement Astāna Bābā to the northwest from Kerki. According to a legend, in this mausoleum has been buried the last Sāmānid *amīr* al-Muntasir, which had been killed in 396/1005-06 [Pugachenkova 1983: 19].

In Central Asia transitions to the Türks had an old history and were used as strategy in internal conflicts. Even problems in the family of the Sāmānids sometimes dared with such way. Role of the Türks in many cases has been seen as simplification, especially rather to last period of board of the Sāmānids when from them have turned away both the nobility, and clergy. When the armies of Bughrā-Khān have come near to Bukhārā, the *dihqān* nobility has turned away from the Sāmānids, and then has passed to service of the Qarā-Khānids. The Sāmānid *amīr* has ordered to the *al-khatībs* to mobilise volunteers from inhabitants of Bukhārā against the Qarā-Khānids, but preachers have

told that the Türks are the same devout Muslims, as well as the Bukhārians, and have refused to interfere with the conflict [Bartold 1963a: 319 – 320]. Thus, the Sāmānid *amīrs* have lost support of two main motive forces of local population, as caused their falling [Paul 1994: 20]. When in 421/1030 the Qarā-Khānid governor of Bukhārā ‘Alī-Tigīn has collected his army against the Saldjūqids Tughrul-Bek and Dāwud, many people from local population of the country were adjoined to him [Ibn al-Athīr IX: 198].

The Oghuz Türks owing to their close coexistence with the Īrānians were different from other Türks both on language and on culture. During pre-Islāmic time considerable part of the Oghuz Türks, which lived in Khurāsān and Caucasus, professed the Zoroastrianism and has been subjected to the Īrānization [Kamodiddin 2004: 4 – 9][147]. The Oghuz Türks of Khurāsān via Persians the first of the all Türks have accepted Islām and have undergone still more Īrānization and an ‘Arabization [Esin 1979: 31 – 87; Kitapci 1995: 89 – 106]. In the V/XI century Mahmūd al-Kāshgarī, distinguishing the Oghuz Türks from other Türks and Qipchāqs, noticed that the Oghuzes owing to the close neighbourhood with the Persians have forgotten many Turkic words and instead of them began to use Persian [MK I: 406; Kašgarli I: 431 – 432]. The ‘Arabian writer of the III/IX century al-Djāhiz noticed that the Türks and the Khurāsānians really are the same people: they have similar characters and occupy the adjacent lands. Alien settlers easily become indistinguishable from aboriginals because acceptance in “clients” (*al-walā’*) quickly erased distinctions between the Türks and the Irānians, promoting their assimilation [al-Djahiz: 4 – 8, 17 – 21, 38 – 39]. The Muslim historians of an epoch of early Calīphate carefully separate people from Farghāna, al-Shāsh, Ustrūshana [Macoudī VII: 118. 122, 273, 396] and other areas of Central Asia in calīphal armies from the Tūrks arrived from distant steppes [Osman 1966: 14 – 15]. These people differed from “the Türks” that they were natives of the environment of the sedentary-agricultural and urban population of Central Asia. Therefore they had no tribal division and named their origin by a place of residence.

It is supposed that the Sāmānids had family relations not only with the Saldjūqids, but also with the Ghaznawids [al-Sabī 1965: 129]. One poet wrote: “the Sun of Mahmūd has eclipsed the stars of Sāmān, and the house of Bahrām began to belong to the son of Khāqān” [Bosworth 1962: 220]. The Ghaznawids, in turn had family relations with the Qarā-Khānids. The king of the Khitāys in the letter whoch he sent in 418/1027-28,

[147] So, the pre-Islāmic Turkic kings of Djurdjān which were professed the Zoroastrianism, outwardly almost differed nothing from the Persians [al-Sam‘ānī VIII: 110; Ibn Khallikān I: 9 – 11].

addressed to the Sultān Mahmūd as "the Governor of Khurāsān, Mahmūd Qarā-Khān" [Marvazī: 7]. It was supposed about presence of some connection between a name Qarā-Khān and India [Rashīd al-Dīn 1987: 18]. Such communication could be taken place during an epoch of the Turkic Qaghanate in which structure were included Kashmir and Gandhara.

Therefore for local population change of the power of different dynasties was event of an ordinary order. Moreover, it was often dictated by desire and will of the local population. During last period of board of the Sāmānids the local nobility and clergy of Bukhārā have turned away from them and have passed to the service of the Qarā-Khānids. When the tyranny of the Ghaznawid deputies in Khurāsān became intolerable, the local nobility has addressed to the Qarā-Khānids with the request to send to Khurāsān nomadic Saldjūqids that they have relieved them of the power of the Ghaznawids [Bosworth 1966: 86 – 87].

The ceremonial uniform and arms, and also court customs and rules of the Sāmānids were very similar with the Ghaznawids which were inherited and continued all of their traditions (clothes, regimentals, elite *ghulāms*, the gilt swords, belts, etc.) [Bosworth 1969: 26]. On a copper coin of the Qarā-Khānids, which is stored in the collection of the NBU in the Gallery of Arts in Tashkent (No. 41) is represented the same Buddhist symbol, as on the coin of the Sāmānid *amīr* Mansūr ibn Nūh of 359/969-70 [Arapov 2002: 12 – 16].

In the miniatures of the manuscripts of the Mongolian time the Sāmānids, in particular Mansūr ibn Nūh, are represented in so-called "Saldjūq" crowns in the form of a wide trident [Rise 1976: 133, fig. 47]. The last Sāmānid *amīr* – al-Muntasir is represented in the Mongolian clothes with Mongoloid features [Rise 1976: 141, fig. 51, 143, fig. 52]. The same "Saldjūq" crowns are represented on the heads of the king of Tūrān Afrāsiyāb, Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznawī, the Qarā-Khānid Khāqāns Ilik-Khān, Bughrā-Khān, Arghūn-Khān, the Saldjūq Sultāns Malik-Shāh ibn Alp-Arslān, Barkiyārūq ibn Malik-Shāh, Muhammad ibn Malik-Shāh, Sandjar, Tughrul II, the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāhs Ma'mūn and El Arslān ibn Atsyz [Rise 1976: 129 (fig. 45), 139 (fig. 50), 153 (fig. 57), 165 (fig. 63), 169 (fig. 65), 171 (fig. 66), 173 (fig. 67), 177 (fig. 69), 179 (fig. 70); Blair 1995: 42 (fig.) 81 (fig. 47, 48), 91 (fig. 54, 55), 100 (fig. 64, 65); Blochet 1929: pl. X, XI; Esin 1970: fig. 21; Esin 1977: 21, pl. IIIbc]. All of the people surrounded them are dressed in the Mongolian and 'Arabian clothes. Other governors, and also religious and mythical characters are represented in these miniatures in the 'Arabian headdresses or the Mongolian caps [Rise 1976: 43 (fig. 2), 103 (fig. 32), 113

(fig. 37); Blair 1995: 69 (fig. 34), 70 (fig. 35), 81 (fig. 45), 84 (fig. 51); 126 (fig.71)]. The majority of these miniatures are executed by artist Alp-Arslān, which, being the Tūrkī had a well knowledge about headdresses which were carried the Turkic governors. The crown of the same form is represented on the heads of governors represented on the Saldjūqids coins [Hennequin 1985: pl. 23 (978, 980, 981)]. When the rebellious *amīr* Abū ʻAlī Chaghānī has sent his son to Bukhārā as a hostage, *amīr* Nūh has ordered to meet him well and having removed from his head a turban, has put on it an honourable conic cap [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 182]. The soldiers of the Qarā-Khānids armies unlike the armies of the Ghaznawids dressed high caps [Ibn al-Athīr IX: 123]. Among honourable clothes which was sent by Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Ghūrī to the military leader Yildyz, there were gold caftans, gold belts and peaked caps, i.e. traditional clothes of the Turkic nobility [Ibn al-Athīr XII: 115].

The Sāmānids and the al-Shuʻūbiyya Movement

Sāmān-Khudāt with his son Asad took a part in the movement of Abū Muslim in Khurāsān [al-Ziriklī I: 290; Frye 1993: 136] that allows to assume his participation in the movement *al-Shuʻūbiyya*, widespread in III – IV/IX – X centuries among the intelligency of the not ʻArabian people, which has accepted Islām in the ʻArabian Calīphate [Bartold 1971: 359 – 370][148]. This cultural-political movement (from the ʻArabian *shuʻūb* – "people", i.e. other people) has arisen in the middle of the II/VIII century among scholars, poets and writers of the not ʻArabian people, such as Assyrians, Nabatians, Egyptians, Greeks, Andalusians [Martinez-Gros 1996: 176 – 190], Īrānians and Jews [Almbladh 1997: 53 – 69]. Among them the Īrānian *Shuʻūbits* were the most numerous and furious [Browne 1997: I: 265 – 266]. Representatives of this movement denied claims of the ʻArabs for a supervising role in cultural, and sometimes, a political life in the countries of Islām [Filshtinsky 1965: 141 – 142]. This cultural-political movement which has been especially accurately shown in the literature [Agius 1980: 76 – 88; Richter-Bernburg 1974: 55 – 64], has been connected with opposition to political domination of the ʻArabs and with aspiration to revival of local literary languages and traditions that led to occurrence of various heretical currents in Islām [Filshtinsky 1965: 141 – 142]. At the same time, the movement *al-Shuʻūbiyya* has been directed only

[148] For more details about the movement *al-Shuʻūbiyya* (Shuʻūbism) see: Gibb 1953: 105 – 114; Fariq 1960: 23 – 33; Mottahedeh 1976: 161 – 182.

against the ‘Arabs, but it had not anti-Islāmic character [Frye 1970: 133]. The ‘Arabs, despite their aversion of ideas of the movement *al-Shu‘ūbiyya*, always recognised the greatness of the cultural heritage which has got to them from the Persians after a gain of Īrān [Bosworth 1973: 53].

Formation of the initial stage of *al-Shu‘ūbiyya* has been connected with the ‘Abbāsids propagation in Khurāsān[149], among which active supporters, along with the Persians and the Kurds were also the Khurāsānian Oghuz Türks. It is known that process of formation of the states always passed in zones of close coexistence of nomads and settled population with active participation of nomads which, as a rule, made a basis of military force of such states [Paul 2003: 59]. The ‘Arabian writer al-Djāhiz (III/IX c.) noticed that the Khurāsānians and the Türks – brothers. They have common country and their destinies are common. Distinctions between the Türks and Khurāsānians not so such, as between the non-‘Arabs and the ‘Arabs, the Byzantines and the Slavs... These distinctions are similar to distinctions between inhabitants of Mecca and al-Madīna, or nomads and settled people, or inhabitants of plains and mountaineers, or between inhabitants of mountains and plains of the same tribe al-Tay. These distinctions remind those between inhabitants of lowland and a hilly district, or a plateau and a hollow [al-Djhāhiz: 59].

According to some information, Abū Muslim, the head of the ‘Abbāsids movement in Khurāsān was a *mamlūk* (*ghulām*) [al-Dīnawarī: 337], which originated from the Türks of Khurāsān [al-Djāhiz: 67], and he kept in his library the manuscript of “Oghuz-Nāma” in the Turkic language which has got to him by a right of succession from his ancestors[150]. It was one of two sacred books of ancient Türks named “Oghuz-Nāma” existed at that time which authors are called certain Ulugh-Khān Atā Bitikchī and some other Turkic transmitters. This book belonged to Buzurg-Mihr Bakhtagān, the *wazīr* of

[149] This movement has been extended among many of not ‘Arabian people – the Syrians, Nabatians, Egyptians, Greeks, Spaniards, etc. which made a complaint for the superiority of their culture. But the most furious and numerous were the representatives of the Īrānian Shu‘ūbism [Browne 1997: 265 – 267].

[150] In the composition “Durar at-Tidjan wa Tawārīkh Ghurar al-Zaman” («Pearls from History of the Glorified People”) by Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ay-Bek al-Dawādarī (VIII/XIV c.) it is mentioned that Abū Muslim was the descendant of a certain Bakhtū-Khān [Köprülü 1976: 25 – 26, 249 – 251]. In one of the Sogdian documents from the Mugh mountain is mentioned the Turkic governor named of Chubin Chur Bilga who was the king of Panch and simultaneously the king of the area named Bakht or Kasht [Smirnova 1963: 11]. For a name of Bakhtū it is possible to assume also a bit different reading and to compare it with the name of a Turkic tribe Tūkh or Tūkhsī, which lived, according to al-Marwazī (IV/X c.), located in the valley of the Chu river and entered into the Qarluq confederation [Bosworth 1963: 40].

the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Khusraw I Anūshīrwān (reigned in 531 – 576 AD) and then has been translated to the Middle Persian [Korogly 1976: 38]. In the genealogical tree of Abū Muslim it is mentioned that he was descendant of Buzurdj-Mihr ibn al-Bakhtakān al-Fārisī, and his father was a dealer of cattle [al-Dawādarī: 87a]. In 211/826-27 the Syrian-Nestorian scholar Djibrīl ibn Bakhtīshū who served at the court of five ‘Abbāsid Calīphs from Hārūn al-Rashīd (ruled in 170 – 193/786 – 809) to al-Mutawakkil (ruled in 232 – 247/847 – 861) [Ibn al-Nadīm II: 969], has translated this book to the ‘Arabian[151].

This data allows with sufficient basis to assume that Abū Muslim was the Khurāsānian Türk. Therefore, soon after coming to power of the ‘Abbāsids party the Khurāsānian Türks along with the Persians began to occupy key and strategically important posts, first of all, in the capital city Baghdād, and also in other cities and areas of the central part of the Calīphate. Besides, some of the ‘Abbāsid Calīphs had Turkic wives, hence, their successors on the throne were genetically the Türks in half [152]. According to Abū Bakr al-Sūlī which served as a court *al-nadīm* for several ‘Abbāsid Calīphs and has composed the history of the ‘Abbāsids and their board, many of the Baghdād Calīphs wore Turkic clothes, were speaking in Turkic well and showed propensity to all Turkic [al-Sūlī: 117, 122, 148, 150, 154, 167].

The movement *al-Shu‘ūbiyya* in east part of the ‘Arabian Calīphate was not homogeneous, and devided, at least, on two directions – the Īrānian and the Turkic which have been closely interconnected. To the ‘Arabian culture it was opposed the Persian, language and literature. The form of expression of this opposition was the Persian language whereas the motive power of this movement was made the Türks who posessed the military and political power [Schanzlin 1936: 281]. The Türks took part in a political life of the ‘Arabian Calīphate at the time of the Umayyads, since 54/673-74 when ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād has withdrawn from Bukhārā to al-Basra 2 or 4 thousands

[151] This data is resulted in the composition of Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ay-Bek al-Dawādarī (VIII/XIV c.) which writes that he personally saw the ‘Arabian version of “Oghuz-Nāma" in translation of Djibrīl ibn Bakhtīshū [Köprülü 1976: 25 – 26, 249 – 251; Dede Korkut I: 35 – 37.

[152] The first Calīph who has married a Turkic woman was al-Mansūr, which married Humar, then al-Mahdī has married al-Mubārak, then to their example have followed other Calīphs [al-Tha‘ālibī: 19]; Hārūn al-Rashīd had a Turkic wife Mārida originated from vicinities of Samarqand, and she was mother of the Calīph al-Mu‘tasim [al-Masūdī: 305], the wife of the Calīph al-Mu‘tasim was a Turkic slave girl from Tukhāristān named Shudja [al-Sūlī: 57]; Mother of the Calīph al-Muktafī called a Turkic name Djīdjak (*čīčak* – in Türkic “a flower”) [al-Tha‘ālibī: 102]; see also: Mokrynin 1973: 114; Golden 1992: 187 – 194. Mothers of the Calīphs al-Muqtadir and al-Nāsir also were of the Turkic origin [Zaidan 1907: 213, 217].

of skilled shooters from bows and has made of them an army known as “al-Bukhāriyya” [al-Beladsorī: 411; at-Tabarī II: 169 – 170]. It is supposed that the most part of these captured soldiers, which consisted of sons of the nobility, were the ethnic Türks [Pipes 1978: 86]. In 66/685-86 a Turkic soldier (*ghulām*) participated in intertribal war between the ‘Arabs in Khurāsān on the party of the tribe Tamīm [at-Tabarī II: 698]. In 96/714-15 Qutayba ibn Muslim had an army of 10 thousands which considerable part was made the Türks [Bel‘amī IV: 209]. In 123/740-41 the military leader from Sughd Muqātil ibn ‘Alī had under his command 150 of the Turkic soldiers [at-Tabarī II: 1719, 1767]. In the revolt against the Umayyads in 126/743-44 took part a Turkic client (*mawlā*) which has carried out execution of the grandson of al-Walīd [at-Tabarī II: 1805]. Turkic groups were also in the army of Abū Muslim, which himself was a Turkic origin. The first Calīph who has involved a significant amount of the Türks on his service, was al-Mansūr [al-Tha‘ālibī: 49] in which army was 40 thousands of the *mawlā* warriors [Ibn al-Zubayr: 213]. Some of them occupied high posts in his administration. So, in 137/754-55 Zubayr ibn al-Turkī has been appointed as the governor of Hamadān and Mosul [at-Tabarī III: 118]. Hammād al-Turkī which was the head of the personal guard of al-Mansūr, took active part in building of Baghdād, and then has been appointed as *al-‘āmil* of al-Sawād [at-Tabarī III: 276 – 280, 309, 392]. al-Mubārak al-Turkī was the military leader of the Calīphs al-Mahdī and al-Mansūr [al-Djāhiz: 96]. Faradj al-Khādim al-Turkī in 162 – 164/779 – 781 served as the governor of Egypt [at-Tabarī III: 562], and at the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd he was the governor of Tarsūs [at-Tabarī III: 604]. The Türks made a basis of military forces of Hārūn al-Rashīd and his sons. So, the Calīph al-Ma’mūn had in his army up to 70 thousands of the Turkic *ghulāms*; as much of the *ghulāms* had also the Calīph al-Mu‘tasim [at-Tabarī III: 799, 891].

The Turkic Shu‘ūbism unlike the Īrānian, certainly, had some own features. If the Īrānian Shu‘ūbism has been directed against domination of the ‘Arabs and the ‘Arabian culture in the Islāmic world, the Turkic Shu‘ūbism, has been connected with a mass acceptance of Islām by the settled Türks of Central Asia and with aspiration of the higher Turkic military aristocracy and intelligency to take a worthy place in a political and cultural life of the ‘Arabian Calīphate. Thus they staked not on the opposition to the ‘Arabs, but on the close military-political union with them which has soon outgrown in closer Türk-‘Arabian ethno-cultural symbiosis.

The history of board of the early ‘Abbāsids was devided for two periods: Persian and Turkic. The Persian period proceeded from the beginning of the board of al-Saffāh (132/749-50) up to the beginning of board of al-Mutawakkil (233/847-48). The

Khurāsānians, which provided coming to power of the ‘Abbāsids, were engaged in formationof of the ruling system, appointed the wazīrs, governors, scribes and secretaries. They have put an end to the national chauvinism of the Umayyads which discriminated the clients (*mawlā*). The Turkic period begins with board of al-Mutawakkil (233/847-48) when the Türks (i.e. the army) became absolute owners of the ‘Abbāsids Calīphate, and proceeded till the power had been captured by the Daylamits (334/945-46). Between these two periods there was no dividing line. On the contrary, they were interconnected [Zaidan 1907: 142, 215].

The last representative of the dynasty of pre-Islāmic Turkic rulers of Djurdjān and Dihistān Sūl-Tigīn was one of the earliest representatives of the Central Asian Turkic Shu‘ūbism. He was from the Oghuz Türks of Khurāsān professed the Zoroastrianism who outwardly almost did not differ from the Persians [al-Isfahānī IX: 21]. After a gain of his area in 98/716-17 the ‘Arabian military leader Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab (ruled in Khurāsān in 97 – 99/715 – 718) with his assistance Sūl-Tigīn has gone to al-Madīna and has accepted Islām over the tomb of the prophet Muhammad. Then he came back to Yazīd and remained with him, taking part in the conquest wars of the ‘Arabs [at-Tabarī II: 1320 – 1333] until he has been killed together with him in a battle in 102/720-21 [al-Sam‘ānī VIII: 110]. Sūl-Tigīn really was one of the first among pre-Islāmic governors of Central Asia, who voluntary both sincerely accepted Islām and entered close cooperation with the ‘Arabian conquerors[153].

His descendants took active part in military operations on the party of the ‘Arabs and in a state administrative office, heading *dīwāns* of secretaries [al-Sam‘ānī VIII: 110]. So, the son of Sūl-Tigīn named Sulaymān with his father and Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab took part in campaigns of the ‘Arabs on Gharchistān, Ghūr, Khuttalān and Tabaristān [at-Tabarī II: 1695]. In 99/717-18 he has been appointed *amīr* of Samarqand [Krachkovsky 1934: 52 – 90]. One of the active supporters of the ‘Abbāsids party and the nearest associate of Abū Muslim was Muhammad, the younger son of Sūl-Tigīn who was one of the 12 *naqībs*, i.e. the Khurāsānian military leaders, which have taken the oath to Abū-l-‘Abbās in al-Kūfa [AA: 138]. In 131/748-49 he has been appointed as the deputy of the

[153] Other pre-Islāmic rulers of the regions of Central Asia, who have any contacts with the ‘Arabs (for example, the governor of Fāryāb Nīzak-Tarkhān, Ikhshīd of Sughd Ghūrak, Marzbān of Marw Māhūye, the Qarluq Djabghūya of Tukhāristān, etc.), as it is known, they accepted Islām forcedly and secretly continued to profess religion of their ancestors, and later they at all refused Islām, having adjoined the anti-‘Arabian and anti-Islāmic revolts.

city of Nihāwand in Khurāsān [AA: 123], in 132/749-50 – the deputy of al-Djazīra (Mesopotamia) [AA: 197, n. 601], and in 134/751-52 – the deputy of Armīniya and Ādharbaydjān [at-Tabarī III: 81].

The son of the Turkic Qaghan which has been captured by Qutayba ibn Muslim on hunting was one more pre-Islāmic king who has accepted Islām [al-Beladsorī: 429]. Firstly he, possibly, was in the service of the Calīph as he is mentioned as Khāqān Ghartūdj [al-Jakūbī: 258] or Khāqān al-Khādim al-Turkī [al-Masūdī: 190, 191]. In the Isalāmic tradition he was known as the ancestor of a big family of the Khāqānids (al-Khāqānī), which numerous descendants occupied high position at the court of the ‘Abbāsid Calīphs. So, his son Yahyā ibn Khāqān was one of the most authoritative scholars at the court of the Calīph al-Mutawakkil [al-Masūdī: 362; al-Djāhiz 1965: 266]. Abū Muhammad al-Fath ibn Khāqān ibn Ahmad ibn Ghartūdj (died in 237/851-52) was the known politician and served at the court of the Calīph al-Mutawakkil, and then has been appointed as the governor of Syria [al-Jakūbī: 258, 266; Macoudī I: 12, 13; VII: 158 – 160]. He was also known as a poet writing in the ‘Arabian language, and the author of numerous works on the ‘Arabian philology. His private library was one of the richest at that time [al-Ziriklī V: 331]. The bibliographer of the IV/X century Ibn al-Nadīm noticed that he was the descendant of the pre-Islāmic kings and named him one of 3 most passionate bibliophiles of the III/IX century, along with the poet al-Djāhiz and *al-faqīh* Ismā‘īl ibn Ishāq [Ibn al-Nadīm I: 116]. One more representative of this family was Ibn Khāqān, the military leader of al-Mu‘tasim [Macoudī VII: 346]. In medieval sources are mentioned also such scholars lived in III/IX century, as Hibat Allāh ibn Khāqān [Ibn al-Nadīm I: 125] and Muhammad ibn Khāqān al-Barūqānī [al-Sam‘ānī II: 176]. Descendants of the Khāqānids of Baghdād known with a *nisba* al-Khāqānī, held high posts at the court of the ‘Abbāsids and were their military leaders, *wazīrs* and deputies. One of palaces of the Calīph al-Mu‘tasim in Baghdād was called “the palace of Ibn al-Khāqānī” [Ibn al-Faqīh: 52].

With the beginning of board of the ‘Abbāids dynasty has been connected activity of one of the earliest and bright representatives of the Central Asian Shu‘ūbism, the outstanding encyclopaedist scholar of the II/VIII century Abū ‘Abd ar-Rahmān ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak al-Hanzalī al-Marwazī (died in 181/797-98), which has combined the both directions of this movement, i.e. military-political and scientific-cultural. He was the native of the Oghuz Türks of Kh^{w}ārazm, who have moved to Marw [Ibn Khallikān I: 248]. His father known as al-Mubārak al-Turkī [al-Jakūbī 1967: 253; Ibn al-Fakīh: 282], was a military leader and a client (*mawlā*) of the Calīph al-Mansūr [Ibn al-

Faqīh 1968: 24] and was in the close relationship, not allowing marriage (*hudjr*) with ‘Īsā ibn al-Mahdī, the brother of the Calīphs al-Hādī and Hārūn al-Rashīd [Tskitishvili 1986: 89, 95]. al-Mubārak was very rich and owned much of the large land possessions [at-Tabarī III: 563, 981]. In Baghdād were a circle (*duwayra*) and an irrigating ditch (*dūlāb*), called by his name [Ibn al-Faqīh 1968: 24, 32]. His son Hammād ibn al-Mubārak al-Turkī was one of the informants of al-Tabarī [at-Tabarī III: 276 – 280, 392, 429, 443], and a grandson of the last Ahmad ibn al-‘Abbās ibn Hammād ibn al-Mubārak al-Turkī was a transmitter of the al-Hadīth [Tskitishvili 1986: 70 – 75, 89, n. 56].

‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak was a client of the ‘Arabian tribe Banū Hanzala and he participated in the conquest wars of the ‘Arabs in Byzantium [al-Sam‘ānī IV: 251]. At the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd he was a military leader and a deputy of one of the cities in Khurāsān [Siyāsat-Nāma: 224], he was engaged also in sciences and has collected in his house in Marw a huge library in which, according to some information, there were even me books originated from the palace library of the Sāsānids dynasty [al-Ziriklī IV: 256].

‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak, as authoritative scholar and one of the earliest al-Sūfīes, used equal popularity among representatives of two opposite directions of Islām – people studying al-Hadīth and al-Fiqh, and on his own means has built for them two *ribāts* in Marw [Bartold 1963a: 204, 231]. Still in the V/XI century in the vicinities of Marw was known a *ribāt* called by his name [al-Sam‘ānī VI: 72; VIII: 348]. ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak one of the most outstanding scholars of his time in the al-Hadīth study, Islāmic law (*al-Fiqh*), Sūfīsm, history, philology and poetry, he had set of pupils in the various countries of the Muslim world. To him belong more than 14 compositions in the area of al-Hadīth, al-Fiqh, Sūfīsm, history, philology and al-Tafsīr [Sezgin 1967 I: 95]. Besides, he was extremely rich and travelled much with research purposes. He has died on the way back home from the city of Tarsūs in Syria and has been buried in the Hit in al-‘Irāq on the river bank of the Euphrates [al-Sam‘ānī IV: 251].

‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak is really one of outstanding encyclopaedist scholars of the Islāmic world in II/VIII century, the earliest representative of the Turkic people which have reached so high positions among the Muslims. Having the highest culture and exclusive erudition, he was known in the all countries of the Islamic world, and his works were well-known even during the next centuries. He was one of founders of the Central Asian Turkic Shu‘ūbism of its cultural direction because he was the first who during an epoch of sacred wars with the so-called “infidel” Türks, in the personal example has shown, what even ordinary Türks are capable not only to be at war, but also to comprehend depths of knowledge and to occupy high position in a society.

The next stage in development of the Turkic Shu‘ūbism has been connected with board of the Calīph al-Ma’mūn (ruled in 198 – 218/813 – 833) which in 182/798-99 became the deputy of Khurāsān, Mā warā’ an-nahr and all of the east part of the ‘Arabian Calīphate [Mikhaylova 1951: 10 – 20]. After some time his residence in Marw has turned to the centre of a political life of the ‘Arabian Calīphate. By a line on his mother al-Ma’mūn was of the Īrānian origin, therefore he with understanding concerned destinies of the local people, including the Türks. During his board, i.e. in the end of the II/VIII – beginning of the III/IX centuries, there is a definitive formation of the Türkic Shu‘ūbism. By support of the Türks al-Ma’mūn has captured power in Baghdād where together with him from Central Asia has moved all of the people of his Khurāsānian environment. Thus, al-‘Irāq has been twice won by the Khurāsānians: at first for Abū-l-‘Abbās (133/750-51), and then for al-Ma’mūn (197/812-13) that has caused their high position in the ‘Arabian Calīphate, especially, at the court of the Calīphs.

The Türkic Shu‘ūbism developed during the next centuries and the most mass character has happened in the III/IX century, when many representatives of the Turkic nobility moved to Baghdād under protection of the Baghdād Calīphs at the reign of which the Türks began to come to the forefront in a political life of the Calīphate. Aspiration of the Central Asian Turkic intelligency to Baghdād, which took place during the all III/IX and beginning of the IV/X centuries, was not casual. It is known that the ‘Abbāsids pursued a policy of wide attraction in army of mercenaries, mainly, from among the Türks of whom it has been formed many thousands of so-called a “Khurāsānian” army. The first Calīph, who started to involve the Türks on his personal service, was al-Mansūr, to which example have followed other Calīphs [al-Tha‘alibī: 49; Zaidan 1907: 217]. Hārūn al-Rashīd in 170/786-87 has appointed the Turkic general as the chief of military garrison of Tarsūs in Syria [Creswell 1940: 228]. At the reign of the Calīph al-Ma’mūn his brother al-Mu‘tasim (ruled in 218 – 227/833 – 842) which was on his mother line of a Turkic origin, and has adopted many Turkic features and a sympaty to the Türks [Zaidan 1907: 217], specially has sent a person to Nūh ibn Asad to Samarqand for purchase the Turkic *ghulāms*. Nūh every year delivered the Turkic *ghulāms* to Baghdād and gradually in the army of al-Ma’mūn was involved about 3 thousands of *ghulāms* [al-Jakūbī 1967: 255 – 256]. The ‘Abbāsids involved recruits in the army not only by a payment, but they also invited the Turkic princes and military leaders to move to Baghdād and to live under the patronage of the Calīphs. Djaff ibn Yil-Tigīn, the prince of Farghāna was one of such military leaders. Having heard that he is very brave and courageous soldier, al-Mu‘tasim has called him together with other

princes for his service, and all of them have been met by the Calīph with a high honour. When Samarra (Sur Man Ra'y) has been built, the Calīph has presented them land properties, which were called by their names – Djaff, Dadjūsaq al-Khāqānī etc. [Zaidan 1907: 218 – 219]. Many Türks who have arrived to al-Mu'tasim, were idolaters or Zoroastrians, and some of them, having accepted Islām, continued to practise secretly their religion (al-Afshīn). Gradually all real political power has passed from the Persians to the Türks, and the Persian *wazīrs* began to divide the power and influence with the Türks.

In the middle of the III/IX century the court Turkic guards began to make strong impact on a political life of the country, as a result the Calīphs became operated in hands of the Turkic military leaders [Muller 1896 II: 212 – 217]. Gradually the Türks have grasped all points of power in the Calīphate, they killed the Calīphs whch were not loyal for them and appointed to their place their proteges [Macoudī VII: 118, 122, 259 – 268, 324, 334, 364; VIII: 11, 29, 345, 348; IX: 2, 7, 12, 28 – 30; al-Sūlī: 56, 159, 161, 166, 175, 192, 199, 202, 213, 224, 241; Mottahedeh 2001: 46 – 47; Pipes 1978: 91]. High position of the Turkic military aristocracy remained during the next centuries, at the time of the Buwayhids too, up to the reign of the Saldjūqids in the V/XI century. Many of them were large landowners and had the huge land properties which were presented them as *al-iqtā'* property for a good service by the Calīphs, and not only in al-'Irāq, but also in Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor and Caucasus. The 'Arabian poets and writers were eulogised merits of the Türks in their verses and special compositions[154].

Sāmān-Khudāt who together with his son Asad and other people from the Oghuz Türks, took part in the movement of Abū Muslim in Khurāsān also was one of the earliest representatives of the Turkic Shu'ūbism. His grandsons Nūh, Ahmad, Yahyā and Ilyās participated in suppression of the revolt under direction of Rāfi' ibn al-Layth in Central Asia. One of the grandsons of Sāmān-Khudāt Ilyās ibn Asad, before his appointment in 204/819-20 as a governor of Harāt, in 202/817-18 has been appointed as a governor of Alexandria in Egypt[155], in which ruling, as it is known, the most active part took the Türks.

[154] In the middle of the III/IX century the 'Arabian poet al-Djāhiz has written for *al-wazīr* al-Fath ibn Khāqān the work "Risāla fī Manāqib al-Atrāk wa Amāmat Djunūd al-Khilāfa" [al-Djāhiz: 17 – 23].

[155] According to the composition of al-Kindī "Hukamā' wa Qudāt Misr" ("Governors and Judges of Egypt") [Bartold 1963a: 267].

The Sāmānids and "Sacred" Wars Against the Türks

In Central Asia throughout all its history is characteristic peaceful co-existence various by origin local cultures. For the same reason nomads and farmers, keeping close trade and economic, historical and cultural mutual relations, did not build barriers against each other [Vinogradova 1986: 148 – 149][156]. Only foreign conquerors, namely the Persians of the Ahemenids period, the Greek-Macedonians, the Persians of the Sāsānids period and, at last, the 'Arabs and the Persians of the Muslim time who has grasped cities and cultural oases of Central Asia, during long time could not extend their power over steppes, and completely subdue local nomads which were rebellious and with hostility concerned them[157], therefore, they have been compelled to build against them defensive walls and boundary strengthenings round urban and agricultural oases[158]. The Sāmānids, as it is known, did not build such long walls. Only the senior from them, Nūh ibn Asad who was in a direct submission of the Tāhirids, the first has begun military campaigns against the "infidel" Türks, and in 225/839-40 has won Ispīdjāb. Ism'āīl ibn Ahmad, having come to power, in 260/873-74, has refused building of a wall round Bukhārā, having told: "While I am alive, I will be myself the wall of Bukhārā" [Narshakhī: 36].

The early Sāmānids in their power leant, on one hand, on *dihqāns*, and on another hand – on clergy. They waged fierce war against so-called "infidel" Türks for the

[156] About the various points of view in questions of mutual relations of nomads and farmers see: Kradin 2000: 5 – 16.

[157] The first of such walls has been erected by Antiokh I Soter (ruled in 280 – 261 BC), the son of Selevk, which has surrounded all cultural oasis with long walls (to 1500 stages, i.e. more than 235 km in a circle). Traces of these walls were visible in the first centuries of Islām. The Sāsānids have constructed a wall from burnt brick, which was extended beginning from the Caspian Sea to the east. The 'Arabs have constructed walls round Bukhārā and to the north from a cultural strip of Chirchik between the river and mountains [Bartold 1963a: 174, 198 – 199]. About building of defensive walls against nomads by the Ahemenids, the Greek-Macedonians, the Sāsānids and the 'Arabs see: DA: 66 – 67, 81; EI II: 1141; Markwart 1931: 12; Kodama: 261 – 262; Zayonchkovsky 1966: 197 – 198.

[158] These walls were erected by invaders also to prevent communications and joint actions of the sedentary-agricultural and nomadic cattle breeding population against overseas conquerors [Muhammedov 1964: 16 – 21].

purpose of distribution of Islām and capture of slaves[159]. In the eyes of Muslims all world at that time shared on two parts – *Dār al-Islām* (Country of Islām) and *Dār al-Harb* (Country of War) [al-Istakhrī: 291; Ibn Haukal: 467].

In 225/839-40 Nūh ibn Asad has definitively won Isfīdjāb (Ispīdjāb) [al-Sam'ānī VII: 13] and has constructed round it a wall, having surrounded all of its grape gardens and arable lands [al-Beladsorī: 422; al-Balādhurī: 38]. Though Isfīdjāb already in 211/826-27 is mentioned among the districts subjected to 'Abd Allāh ibn Tāhir [Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān: 65][160], the power of Muslims there, probably, was still fragile. Nūh ibn Asad waged wars with the Türks [Ibn al-Fakih 1993: 51] and has been compelled to suppress revolt of inhabitants of Kāsān and Ūrasht in Farghāna valley which have been won earlier by Sālih, the brother of Qutayba ibn Muslim [al-Beladsorī: 420; al-Balādhurī: 28]. Nasr ibn Ahmad at the head of army of al-Ghāzīes consisted of 300 thousands of people, has made a campaign to Shāwghar [al-Istakhrī: 291; Ibn Haukal: 467]. Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad has especially become famous for his victorious campaigns against the "infidel" Türks [Ibn al-Fakih 1993: 51], which in 280/893-94 has made a campaign in the country of the Türks and, having killed set of the people, has occupied the city of Tarāz, has taken prisoner the king of the Türks, his wife named Khātūn and about 10 thousands of people. There it has grasped uncountable set of horses and the big extraction that has distributed to each horseman on one thousand *dirhams*. The big church in Tarāz has been transformed into a cathedral mosque [Macoudī VIII: 144, 321; Narshakhī: 77; Ibn al-Athīr VII: 185, 216]. For the first time Tarāz has been occupied by the 'Arabs in 134/751-52 after a victory in a battle with the Chineses [Bolshakov 1980: 132 – 136] then the 'Arabian military leader Sa'īd ibn Humayd has been appointed as a deputy of the city [Karev 2000: 210 – 211]. In the III/IX century this city was known also as Madīnat al-Tudjdjār (مدينة التجار), i.e. "the City of Merchants" [Kalinina 1988: 39]. In the Middle Ages in Isfahān there was a street (*sikka*) named Tarāz in which there lived natives of Tarāz [al-Sam'ānī VIII: 224]. In the VI/XII century the *al-imām* of a mosque of Rā'ūm (راعوم) in Balkh was the native of Tarāz [al-Sam'ānī VIII: 222]. Tarāz was one of the main centres of the silk trade and in the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) the

[159] During an epoch of the 'Arabian gains the term "Türk" had not so much ethnic value, as many spiritually-social sense, and it was opposed to the term "Muslim". In the 'Arabian sources "the Turks" were meant as all of the tribes and people of Central Asia resisted to the 'Arabian conquerors and the Islām. Their most part was made, of course, by the Türks, but as soon as they accepted Islām, they ceased to be "the Turks and became "the Muslims".

[160] In other sources it is noticed that the cities of the Türks were paid the *al-kharādj* to 'Abd Allāh ibn Tāhir [Ibn Khordādhbeh: 68; Ibn al-Fakih: 101; Kodama: 38].

word *tarāz* meant "silk" [PS: 250]. The second large campaign against the Türks of Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad has made in 291/903-04 when they in infinite quantity have made invasion to Mā warā' an-nahr [Ibn al-Athīr VII: 211]. In the IV/X century the Sāmānids had won also the district Yettikent (Haft-Deh) in Farghāna with the cities of Astiyākand (Bīskand) and Shalāt (Salāt) which earlier belonged to the Türks [al-Istakhrī: 347; Ibn Haukal: 514, 524].

Meanwhile, the 'Arab-Persian conquerors, being guided by the al-Hadīth "Leave [with peace] the Türks, while they leave you alone» (*tarakū al-türk mā tarakū-kum*) [al-Djāhiz: 96; Kodama: 262; Ibn Hassul: 113], did not wage "sacred" war (*al-djihād*) against the Türks and were content with a policy of defence against nomads. At the reign of the Umayyads the 'Arabs did not try yet to extend Islām among the Türks, which themselves for the first time have shown their interest to new religion. The 'Arabian poet and writer al-Djāhiz (III/IX century) results the story according to which, the Turkic Khāqān, who opposed the 'Arabian deputy of Khurāsān Djunayd ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān (ruled in 111 – 116/729 – 734), has suggested him to meet alone to ask him about instructions and rules of his religion [al-Djāhiz: 97 – 100].

Just as during pre-Islāmic times made the Chineses and the Persians, the 'Arabs also put up defensive walls round oases and cities which were later are destroyed not by peaks of soldiers of the *al-djihād*, but by hoofs of horses of the Turkic nomads [Zayonchkovsky 1966: 196 – 198]. The retaliatory campaign in Otrār was the first considerable approach against the Türks, made in 197/813 г by the 'Abbāsids *wazīr* al-Fadl ibn Sahl Dhū-l-Riyāsatayn in which result it has killed the chief of a boundary fortress of Isfīdjāb and has taken prisoner sons of the Qarluqs Djabghū with his wives, as to Djabghū himself, he has ran to the country of the Kīmāks. In the same year he has captured Kāsān, the capital of Farghāna, and has sent to the 'Arabs keys of the fortresses of Farghāna [Mikhaylova 1951: 17]. According to other data, the definitive gain of the cities of Kāsān and Ūrasht in Farghāna is attributed to Nūh ibn Asad [al-Balādhurī: 28]. It is possible to assume that Nūh ibn Asad took part in a retaliatory campaign of al-Hasan ibn Sāhl and headed his group which had been sent to Farghāna. Dhū-l-Riyāsatayn was *mawlā* of the Īrānian origin and his campaign has been made inside of the lands of Islām with aim to punish and return to submission of the submitted Turkic tribes which took active part in the revolt of Rāfi' ibn al-Layth (191 – 194/806 – 810). It was the last attempt of the 'Arabs and the Persians to keep their actual power in Central Asia. The Sāmānids took part in suppression of the revolt of Rāfi' ibn al-Layth and have persuaded the risen people to lay down arms. There is an opinion that the Türks were

going to make large-scale approach to the West which has been prevented thanks to the Sāmānids [Saloh Kamol 1913: 51].

Acceptance of Islām by the Türks, i.e. the Sāmānids has allowed to the Muslims to conduct under their management "sacred" wars against the "infidel" Türks, capture of slaves and their further delivery to Baghdād [Frye 1975: 203 – 204]. The Sāmānids have played the big role both in Islāmization of the Türks and in Türkization of Central Asia [Daniel 1988: 373]. They were the first Muslims who have continued wars of conquest of the 'Arabs in the east. The Turkic origin of the Sāmānids has allowed them to rally round themselves other Türks who have accepted Islām and the Sogdians, and to wage "sacred" war against their tribesmen outside of the Calīphate. Together with the Turkic soldiers a war against the "infidels" conducted also the Irānian al-Ghāzīes [Kliashtorniy 2001: 35]. If they were the Persians other Türks who have accepted Islām and the Sogdians, would not enter with them in cooperation against the "infidel" Türks among whom was much of the Sogdians. In the Turkic Qaghanate there was so much of the Sogdians that the Chineses considered them as one of tribes of the Qaghanate. One of leaders of the Sogdians from Bukhārā An Tu-han (Tarkhān from Bukhārā) has resulted with himself 5 thousands of the fellow tribesmen [Kliashtorny, Livshits 1971: 144].

In the III/IX century in Samarqand, al-Shāsh and Farghāna have been located numerous groups of so-called al-Ghāzīes, i.e. the "fighters for belief" in which were flown down devout Muslims from all ends of the Islamic world. These groups were deployed in the *ribāts*[161], which constantly replenished by volunteers (*al-mutawwi'īn*)[162]. The Sāmānids were in close contact with these groups, which were managed by a clergy. At the reign of Nasr ibn Ahmad the groups of the al-Ghāzīes were totaled 40 thousands of horsemen. Unlike the regular army consisted of professional soldiers with the established contentment, the basis of groups of the al-Ghāzīes was made by local land owners (*ashāb al-iqtā'āt*) with whom were allocated estates (*al-iqtā'*) for the maintenance all of them requirements, including families, horses and the weapon. From incomes of these estates they were engaged also in trade and helped the poor. In case of need by order of the government they gathered in the *ribāts* with their military

[161] One of the largest of such *ribāts* was located in vicinities of Ūzgand and Ūsh [al-Moqaddasī: 272]. The *ribāts* are mentioned also in Wāshdjird and Isfīdjāb [Radtke 2001: 48]. In vicinities of Paykand was more than 1000 *ribāts* according to a number of the Bukhārian settlements which inhabitants gathered in them in case of an attack of nomads [Hudūd al-'Ālam: 113; Narshakhī: 24].

[162] Abū Hafs al-Nasafī results names of a set of persons who served in groups of the al-Ghāzīes and had the *nisba* al-Ghāzī and al-Mutawwi'ī [al-Nasafī: 91, 122, 127, 163, 204, 284, 286, 341, 414, 418, 445, 524, 547, 859, 973, etc.; al-Nasafi 6284: 59R; al-Sam'ānī VII: 163; Paul 1993: 81 – 84.

equipment and armour [Ibn al-Zubayr: 139 – 147]. In Chaghāniyān were 16 thousands of settlements which in case of war exposed the soldiers with the weapon and horses [al-Moqaddasī: 283]. Each settlement exposed, at least, one horseman and one pedestrian [al-Istakhrī: 291].

The groups of the al-Ghāzīes which waged "sacred" war against the "infidels" as which at that time were considered the Türks and the Sogdians, who struggled for clearing of their native land of strange conquerors. So, in written sources are marked the facts of collisions of the Muslims with the Türks in 199/814-15 in Shūmān [al-Sam'ānī VII: 412], in the *Rabī' al-Awwāl* of 212/June of 827 in al-Shāsh and Farghāna [al-Nasafī 1991: 154], in 245/859-60 in Shāwdar [al-Nasafī 1991: 284], in the *Shawwāl* of 272/March of 886 in the district Khukandja located between Paykand and Farabr [al-Sam'ānī VI: 347], in 324/935-36 in the settlement Budakhkath in the region of Isfīdjāb [al-Sam'ānī II: 104], etc. It is mentioned also a campaign of Nūh ibn Asad ibn Sāmān to al-Shāsh [al-Nasafī 1991: 122]. Besides are probable military campaigns in 213/828-29, 248/862-63, 264/877-78 296/908-09 and 337/948-49 in which have been killed some of the "fighters for belief" [al-Nasafī: 91, 127, 154, 204, 450]. The Sāmānids gave great value to these groups and took personal part in funeral of victims of al-Ghāzīes, saying a prayer [al-Nasafī 1991: 91]. In medieval cemeteries is found the set of gravestone monuments with the 'Arabian inscriptions among which there are names with epithet al-Ghāzī [Paul 1993: 80 – 83].

In the board of Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad relations between the Sāmānids and clergy are changed. If the first Sāmānids were transmitters of al-Hadīth after Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad any of the Sāmānids was not engaged in al-Hadīth transmission. Actually stoped also wars against the "infidel" Türks, because part of them have accepted Islām and acted as intermediaries between the Muslims and the "infidels". Therefore in the beginning of the IV/X century these groups have already lost their initial value, but still continued to function, came over to the side of the former enemies and took the most active part in the anti-Calīphate and anti-Sāmānid revolts of the inhabitants of Samarqand – the Türks and the Sogdians [Bartold 1963a: 201; Islam 1991: 52 – 53]. In the second half and the end of IV/X century the numerous groups of al-Ghāzīes which became out of work have moved from Central Asia to the south where have joined structure of the Ghaznawids army and were at war in India. Other group of al-Ghāzīes has left to the West, to borders of Byzantium. So, in 355/965-66 in Rey has entered the army of 20 thousands of al-Ghāzīes, moving from Khurāsān to the western direction [Frye 1965a: 124].

Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad the first of the Sāmānids has started formation of active armed forces which submitted not to *dihqāns* or *khatībs*, but has been ruled by people, which were true personally to him. Before the Sāmānids had no full power over *dihqāns* and clergy which were intermediaries between armies and the governor [Paul 1994: 33]. By an example of the 'Abbāsid Calīphs he has surrounded himself with guards from the Turkic *ghulāms* and mercenaries, which made his main military force. The commander-in-chief of army was the Türk named Sīmā al-Kabīr, which was *ghulām* and the client (*mawlā*) of his father Ahmad ibn Asad [Narshakhī: 32, 75, 76]. Other military leader of Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad was Bārs al-Kabīr, which was his *ghulām* and then the governor of Djurdjān, Tabaristān and Rey [Ibn al-Athīr VII: 209; VIII: 3]. One more military leader was Sīmdjūr al-Dawla al-Kh^{w}ārazmī, which also was client of Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad, governor of Sīstān and some other areas of Khurāsān [Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān: 281, 282, 288, 289, 292, 296]. There are known names of two more military leaders of Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad – Hamawayh and Ahmad ibn Sahl. The last was a descendant of a *dihqān* from Marw [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 23, 30, 33, 44, 45]. Between Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad and his military leaders from number of *ghulāms* and *dihqāns* existed mutual personal loyalty that provided their implicit submission to the governor [Paul 1994: 28].

The system of the *ghulāms* or *mamlūks*, which was widely spread in the 'Abbāsids Calīphate, was connected with Central Asia where during pre-Islāmic time there were the corpses of guard consisted from so-called *chākars* [de la Vaissiere 2005: 139 – 149]. Their distinctive feature was exclusive fidelity of the *chākars* to their owner. When the owner died, they committed suicide to be buried together with him. In Central Asia the owner of all *chākars* was the Supreme Turkic Qaghan. The governor of Nakhshab (Nasaf) al-Ishkand spoke: "I am a slave of Khāqān, one of his *chākars*" [at-Tabarī II: 1542]. When in the beginning of VII century AD the Turkic Qaghanate has been subordinated by China, the Türks voluntary or forced began to serve in the cops of guard of the Chinese emperor. In the VII – VIII centuries AD the Türks made a basis of this corps and dominated in the higher echelons of military structure of China. Till the middle of the XI century AD in China generals and military governors were appointed basically not the Chineses, but natives of the Inner Asia [Beckwith 1984: 30 – 35].

The 'Arabian military leaders have realised at once advantage of the system of *chākars* and some of them tried to use it for their own interests. So, in 54/673-74 the governor of Khurāsān 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād took away with himself to al-Basra 2 thousands of skilled bow shooters from Bukhārā and has built for them barracks [al-Beladsorī: 411; at-Tabarī II: 169 – 170]. Sa'īd ibn 'Uthmān took away with himself in

al-Madīna 50 *ghulāms* from Samarqand, but began to treat with them as with slaves. Then the *ghulāms* have killed him and, according to the custom of the Türks, have committed suicide [at-Tabarī II: 9, 179]. Qutayba ibn Muslim had a bodyguard contained from sons of the Turkic and Sogdian nobility and the big army consisted of notable Tūrks, and also from inhabitants of Sughd, Tukhāristān and Khurāsān. In all they were more than 10 thousands of persons and all of them were skilful in shooting from bows. They were remained true to him to the end and have refused to leave him even when his tribesmen have turned away [al-Beladsorī: 424, 521; Bel'ami IV: 209]. Nasr ibn Sayyār has bought one thousand of the *mamlūks*, has armed them and has given them horses [at-Tabarī II: 1717 – 1718]. The first Calīph who has got the guard corps of *chākars*, was al-Ma'mūn that was result of his long-term residing in Central Asia. His brother al-Mu'tasim, which himself was in half the Türk, had many thousands army from inhabitants of Sughd, Farghāna, Ustrūshana and al-Shāsh [al-Beladsorī: 431]. After that the institute of *mamlūks* has been accepted in the state system and, having replaced the 'Arabs in military sphere, became an integral part of the Islāmic civilisation [Bosworth 1973: 6 – 8; Golden 2004: 279 – 309]. It was the beginning of Turkization of the 'Abbāsids Calīphate. As a result of this cultural loan there was variety of intellectuals of early Islām such as al-Kh^{w}ārazmī, al-Farghānī, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, al-Bīrūnī, etc. The Türks and the Sogdians of Central Asia have transferred system of the guard corpses, which was part of their common heritage, to the 'Arabs who then have made it an Islāmic [Beckwith 1984: 39 – 40].

The regular army of the Sāmānids consisted from the Turkic *ghulāms*, the free people and the *dihqāns* [al-Istakhrī: 291; Ibn Haukal: 471]. Military slaves which, usually, were called by such terms as *ghulām*, *khādim*, *wasīf* or *mawlā*, by their position differed not only from usual and governmental slaves ('*abd*), but also from free people that they were among the high-ranking people and were a part of ruling elite. They bore arms, had access to the governor, occupied important posts and used privileges of riches and power. As a result the slavery was not for them burden, but opposite, gave them ample opportunities, admission to a power and a social superiority. Actually they were not slaves because in Islām the word '*abd* ("slave") meant only an origin of the person instead of his position [Pipes 1981: 6 – 10, 16].

The professional army was more expensive than the army of old type based on volunteers and operated by notable military leaders because it demanded payment of the regular salary even if there were no military operations. In "Qutadghū Bilig" is underlined that the governor should be generous in the maintenance of his armies and to

pay for freeborn soldiers more than for slaves because they, being in the service of the governor, become his slaves [Yūsuf Khās Hādjib: verses 2057, 2808, 3031, 5476, 5514, 5591; Paul 1994: 30]. However the Sāmānids were not able to achieve full autocracy and to get rid of intermediaries in the power, as later caused their falling when the Turkic military leaders, clergy and *dihqāns* have turned away from them and have actively supported the following dynasty [Paul 1994: 33].

Thus, the "sacred" wars (*al-djihād*) against "infidel" Türks conducted only early Sāmānids [Bosworth 1963: 31; Paul 1993: 69 – 92]. It was connected with a policy of spreading of Islām in region which pursued the 'Abbāsids. The Same "sacred" wars (*al-ghazawāt*) with "infidel" Türks conducted also the early Qarā-Khānids. The first Qarā-Khānid governor, who accepted Islām Satuq Bughrā-Khān (died in 344/955-56) has been nicknamed al-Ghāzī that he conducted "sacred" war against his relatives of idolaters [al-Karshī: 103 – 104]. The Qarā-Khānid governor of Isfīdjāb Ahmad ibn 'Alī Tughān-Khān on the coin which has been minted in 398/1007-08, is called with a title al-Ghāzī, i.e. "fighter for belief". It is known that this year the Qarā-Khānids have made a campaign against "infidel" Türks. A title al-Ghāzī used also his brother Muhammad ibn 'Alī who also conducted "sacred" wars against the "infidel" Türks [Kochnev 1988: 196 – 199]. In the end of board of Tughān-Khān (Ahmad ibn 'Alī), about 404/1013-14 or 408/1017-18, from the east to his territory has intruded a huge horde of the "infidel" Türks of a number of 300 thousands tents. To a call for help of Tughān-Khān have responded 120 thousands volunteers from neighbouring countries. They have moved on the "infidels", stopped in a distance of 8 days of travelling from Balāsāghūn and 3 months pursued the enemy. In a resolute battle "infidels" have been defeated [Ibn al-Athīr IX: 101 – 102]. A prorank al-Ghāzī had also the Qarā-Khānid Khāqān Arslān-Khān Muhammad ibn Sulaymān-Tigīn ibn Dāwud Kūch-Tigīn (died in 526/1131-32) [al-Karshī: 104]. In the same way "sacred" wars against "infidel" Türks conducted the Saldjūqids, Ghaznawids and Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāhs. In the Middle Ages among the Tūrks has been extended a name Alp-Ghāzī [Ibn al-Athīr XII: 82]. Mahmūd Ghaznawī was known as the Great al-Ghāzī [Bosworth 1962: 219]. Struggle for belief in India conducted the Ghūrid governors Ghiyāth al-Dīn and his brother Shihāb al-Dīn [Ibn al-Athīr XII: 63, 84, 86, 124], which basic part of army made the Tūrks [Ibn al-Athīr XII: 142]. Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Muhammad conducted "sacred" war (*al-djihād*) against the Khitāys [Ibn al-Athīr XII: 12, 121 – 126, 167], and then has fallen the martyr (*al-shahīd*) from hands of the Mongols [Ibn al-Athīr XII: 164 – 171]. His son Djalāl al-Dīn also was the same fighter for belief [Ibn al-Athīr XII: 187 – 233].

The Sāmānids actively conducted propagation of Islām among the Türks which was pursued still at the reign of the Umayyad Calīph Hishām (ruled in 105 – 125/724 – 743) when to the Turkic Khāqān has been sent ambassador with the offer to accept Islām [Bartold 1963a: 244]. The known *al-imām* Abū ‘Ali Shaqīq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Balkhī (died in 194/809-10) went to the Türks for trade and tried to turn into Islām of the attendant of a temple of idolaters [al-Sam‘ānī VII: 370]. His pupil an ascet (*al-zāhid*) and a mystic (*al-hakīm*) Hātim al-Asamm (died in 237/857-58) just as his teacher, has died in the *ribāt* of Wāshdjird [Radtke 2001: 47]. Another known *al-imām* Abū Mu‘ādh Khālid ibn Sulaymān (died in 199/814-15) from Balkh together with *al-qādī* of Tirmidh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Khālid have gone to al-Shāsh and Farghāna, and ostensibly have turned into Islām up to 100 thousands of pagans, then they have returned back to Balkh [Radtke 2001: 45]. In connection with *ribāt* of Wāshdjird is mentioned also *al-imām* Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf (died in 239/853-54 or 241/855-56) [Radtke 2001: 48 – 49]. In 340/951-52 an inhabitant of Nishāpūr of Abū-l-Hasan al-Kalimātī (died before 350/961-62) has gone to the Türks, and stayed till the end of thif life [al-Sam‘ānī X: 459; Bartold 1963a: 245]. In 360/970-71 the Sāmānid *amīr* Mansūr ibn Nūh has sent to the Tūrks an inhabitant of Nishāpūr Abū ‘Abd Allāh Djunayd al-Iskāf, which they have killed [al-Sam‘ānī III: 327]. In 380/990-91 at the time of the Sāmānid *amīr* Nūh ibn Mansūr an inhabitant of Samarqand Abū-l-Hasan Sa‘īd al-Usbānīkathī has gone to the Tūrks and the has returned from them in health [al-Sam‘ānī I: 210]. In the second half of the III/IX century Abū Mughīth al-Husayn ibn Mansūr al-Khallādj (died in 309/921-22) has gone to Turkistān with a purpose of propagation of Islām among the nomadic Türks [al-Sam‘ānī IV: 279 – 281]. In the genealogies of the Kirghiz trybes among their legendary ancestors is mentioned *al-shaykh* Mansūr Khallādj [Mokeev 1981: 61]. There is an assumption that he could be the native of a Turkic tribe Khaladj [Mamedov 1981: 35] which was one of the most ancient Turkic tribes penetrated into the territory of Īrān [Zeynalov 1972: 79]. The grandfather of al-Khallādj named Muhammī was the Zoroastrian [Arīb: 102].

As a result of these actions in III – IV/IX – X centuries the Turkic population of the Lower basin of Syr-Darya professed Islām, though these territories were not a part of possession of the Sāmānids [Bartold 1963a: 240]. In the district between the cities of Bārāb, Kandj-Deh and al-Shāsh were pastures, on which about thousand houses of the nomadic Tūrks have accepted Islām [Hudūd al-‘Ālam: 119; Ibn Haukal: 511]. In written sources it is noticed that the Oghuz Türks of the Kh^{w}ārazm who has accepted Islām, began to name themselves the “Turkmans”, and conducted fierce war against their

fellow tribesmen who yet have not accepted Islām [Marvazī: 18]. The city of Sutkand in the lower bassin of Syr-Darya has been occupied by the Oghuzes and Qarluqs which have already accepted Islām and conducted wars against infidel Türks [Ibn Haukal: 511]. Circa 310/922-23 the king of the Oghuz Türks accepted Islām and has made pilgrimage to Mecca and al-Madīna (*al-hadjdj*) and, having arrived to Baghdād, has met the Calīph al-Muqtadir [Macoudī II: 16]. The same Türks were also the Sāmānids who combated for the statement of Islām among their fellow tribesmen. The Sāmānid *amīr* Nūh ibn Nasr for the purpose of distribution of Islām has entered family relations with the Qarluq governors of the East Turkistān, having married their princess [Ibn az-Zubayr: 150; Minorsky 1955: 4 – 5; Bosworth 1969: 8 – 9].

There is the data confirming that the Qarā-Khānids have accepted Islām with assistance of the Sāmānids. According to al-Qarshī, the Sāmānid *amīr* Nasr ibn Mansūr has arrived to Kāshgar, running from prosecution of his brother *amīr* Nūh ibn Mansūr (ruled in 365 – 387/976 – 997). The Qarā-Khānid governor Ughuldjaq Qadr-Khān has accepted him well and has appointed him the governor of a district Artūdj in the region of Kāshghar. With permission of Ughuldjaq Nasr has built a mosque in Artūdj and began to preach Islām. Once to him in Artūdj has arrived Satuq, a nephew of Ughuldjaq, who was at that time 12 years old. He has shown interest to Islāmic religion and Nasr has told to him about advantages of Islām and the prophet Muhammad. After that Satuq has accepted Islām and has ordered to make the same to his soldiers and retinue. He has secretly called for Islām some of his relatives from which 50 persons have accepted Islām. When he became 25 years old he has acted with an army of 300 horsemen against his uncle Ughuldjaq. To him arrived for help fighters for belief (*al-ghāzī*) from Farghāna consisted of 1000 persons. They have grasped the city At-Bāshī then the number of his supporters has increased to 3000. Then they have grasped Kāshghar and have turned all into Islām. Satuq has accepted the title Bughrā-Khān al-Ghāzī and began to reign in Kāshghar till his death in 344/955-56 and has been buried in Artūdj [al-Karshī: 103 – 104]. From this data follows, that exactly the Sāmānids have played a decisive role in acceptance of Islām by the Qarā-Khānids.

In 435/1043-44 in the region of Balāsāghūn and Kāshghar 10 thousands tents of the infidel Türks have accepted Islām. At that time among the Türks which still not accepted Islām there were only the Tātārs and the Khitāys [Ibn al-Athīr IX: 216 – 217]. In 438/1046-47 Arslān-Khān, the governor of Balāsāghūn, has called the Türks of Tibet to accept Islām [Ibn al-Athīr IX: 222].

The Turkic cities which had been won by the Muslims quickly turned to trade centres. So, in IV/X century Tarāz, Shaldjī, Mirkī, Nawīkath and some more cities of the Türks, are called as "the cities of dealers" [Hudūd al-'Ālam IX: 119]. Only in a small city Shaldjī where there were silver mines, was up to 10 thousands of the Isfahānians [al-Istakhrī: 312]. In the IV/X century begins issue of coins in Pārāb and Isfīdjāb that testifies to their development and expansion of trade [Davidovich 1977a: 124]. In Isfahān there was a street named Tarāz in which stayed merchants coming to Isfahān from Tarāz [al-Sam'ānī VIII: 224]. Tarāz was known in Persia as a city of beauties in which weave different fabrics and produce beautiful ornaments [Baevsky 1980: 88].

The lands of the Sāmānids were open for all of the Türks who have accepted Islām who passed under their protection. At the time of the Caliph al-Mahdī (ruled in 158 – 169/775 – 785) the Qarluq Djabghū has accepted Islām [al-Ja'kūbī II: 479]. During the same time from the Tughuz-Ghuz country the tribes of the Oghuz Türks which have accepted Islām have moved to Mā warā' an-nahr, and then they actively participated in the revolt of al-Muqanna' [Ibn al-Athīr XI: 80]. In the second half of the III/IX century the separate Turkic tribes, which were not wished to obey to the power of the Qarluq Khāns in the Yetisū region, with a permission of the Sāmānids moved to their lands and accepted Islām. The Türks which accepted Islām in peace came to serve to the Sāmānids not only with their families and clans, but also with their tribes. They freely settled in the lands of the Sāmānids and received pastures and places for winterings from the local authorities [Shaniyazov 1981: 31; 2001: 194, 201][163]. According to Ibn al-Athīr, in 349/960-61 about 200 thousands tents of the nomadic Türks have accepted Islām [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 210], presumably from the Yetisū region [Bartold 1963a: 46; Bartold 1963a: 125], and in 354/965 the Khazars have accepted Islām too [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 222 – 223][164] . In the composition of al-Marwazī it is mentioned a large movement of Turkic tribes from the East to the West approximately in the second half or in the end of the III/IX century [Marvazī: 18]. Possibly, this movement has been caused by suppression of large revolt of the Türks in 847 AD against the Kidans. The part of these tribes has settled in the territory of the Yetisū region, Isiq-Kūl Lake and in the bassin of Syr-Darya [Zuev 1960: 133]. In the IV/X century was observed mass resettlement of the Kirghīz tribes from the basin of Yenisey to the Tien Shan region [HCA 1963: 159] that should cause chain reaction and replacement therefrom other tribes. According to the

[163] For more details about the mass acceptance of Islām by the nomadic Türks see also: Bartold 1963a: 315.

[164] However, this data does not prove to be true by other sources [Bartold 1963a: 793 – 794].

anthropological data, in the IV/X century on the territory of Central Asia from northern, northwest and northeast regions have moved and have settled considerable masses of the population with the expressed lines of the Mongoloid South Siberian racial type which have been concentrated in rural areas of Miyān-Kāl, Kashka-Darya valley, Farghāna valley, oasis of Chāch and Northern Tukhāristān [Khodjayov 1987: 19]. These large movements of tribes into agricultural oases have been connected also with the long drought which has comprehended the great steppe during the III – IV/IX – X centuries AD.

The Sāmānids have apportioned for the Turkic settlers who have accepted Islām and obliged to protect their border from other Türks, the lands on a basin of the average current of Syr-Darya where their chief towns were Sutkand and Sabrān [Bartold 1963a: 124; Bartold 1963a: 243]. They have allowed to the Turkmans to move from the lower basin of Syr-Darya to the vicinity of Bukhārā [al-Sam'ānī III: 319]. In the first half of the IV/X century occurred intrusion into the Yetisū region from the south of the tribe Yaghmā which governors, have accepted Islām and were founders of the Qarā-Khānids dynasty [Bartold 1963a: 41]. In the IV/X century in Tarāz and Mirkī the Christian churches which were existed there have been turned to mosques. Presence of cathedral mosques is marked also in several other cities of the Yetisū region [al-Moqaddasī: 275]. The Islāmic religion accepted not only simple people, but also large landowners. In written sources is mentioned certain Yināl al-Shaldjī which owned 10 thousands *ramaka* of land and, having accepted Islām, has distributed all of his property for poor people, and himself has put on in a tatter and began to conduct an ascetic way of life, for what he has been nicknamed Hastāna Oghlī [al-Nasafī 1991: 425]. In the IV/X century the Islām accepted the ancestor of the Qarā-Khānids Satuq Qarā-Khāqān who considered himself a descendant of Afrāsiyāb. The cities of Tarāz, Balāsāghūn, Khutan, Kāshgar and others were submitted to him [Ibn al-Athīr XI: 37].

After distribution of Islām among the Türks the Sāmānids have transferred their front of military operations from the east on the West, and were at war any more against the Türks, but against the Īrānian Shī'its, at first the Saffārids, and then the Buwayhids. In the east they were engaged, mainly, only in strengthening of external borders and trade and economic activity. So, in the second half of the IV/X century the Sāmānids dignitary Fā'iq al-Khāssa has built a *ribāt* outside of an external wall of a fortress Mirkī in the region of Tarāz [al-Moqaddasī: 275].

Thus, distribution of Islām among the fellow tribesmen was the main objective of the early Sāmānids in conducting the "sacred" wars against the Türks. After the

considerable part of the neighbored Turkic tribes has accepted Islām, the Sāmānids have stopped wars against the Türks and have turned their military power on the West – against the Īrānian Shī'its. Moreover, in their power they substantially leant on the Türks who occupied almost all key positions both at the court of the Sāmānids in Bukhārā, and in the areas which were subjected to the Sāmānids.

The Sāmānids and the Shī'its

The Türks have accepted Islām exclusively of the own free will as a result of close trade relations with Muslims and the peace sermon [Bartold 1968: 433; Bartold 1963a: 240, 244; Bosworth 1966: 87]. In the Syrian sources is resulted interesting interpretation of the reasons according to which the Türks have accepted Islām: "The Türks have easily united with the 'Arabs and have accepted their belief because: first, the Türks initially always proclaimed uniform god Qan Thangrī as whom they considered the heavenly arch; and when they have learnt that the 'Arabs proclaim uniform god have accepted their belief. Secondly, for the first time the Türks have entered in Margiana and have located there at the time of the Persians. After performance of the [prophet] Muhammad, the Türks who lived in Margiana, have joined him, just as the Persians and the Kurds. Other Türks which have arrived there after Islām have met there their fellow tribesmen with whom their language was similar. When they have found that they have accepted Islām, they have followed them. In the third, when the 'Arabs have invited the Türks as mercenaries on a war against the Greeks, and those have got into prosperous countries, the Türks have heard from the 'Arabs a word of the [prophet] Muhammad which has told: "When they (i.e. the Türks) will renounce honouring of their idols and will profess his belief, for them will be given the land, good and beautiful, and they will be established there", and consequently they have accepted Islām" [Guseynov 1960: 52].

This saying of the prophet Muhammad, as it is known, has been successfully realised subsequently. Under management of the Türks who were on the service of the Calīphs, have been transferred many cities and areas in Egypt, Syria, Armenia and other countries which were gained by the 'Arabs. Much of them for a good service had been presented by large land properties. As to Central Asia for its Islāmization the 'Arabs were equally needed both the Türks and the Irānians, but the better was a combination: the Turkic governors in the Irānian form, i.e. the Turkic soldiers and statesmen with al-

Qur‘ān in the hand, speaking in Fārsī [Hidoyatov 2004: 23]. Such governors the ‘Arabs have found in the person of the Sāmānids.

The Sāmānids as well as the ‘Abbāsid Calīphs[165], were proof adherents of the *al-Hanafiyya* law school of the Sunnism[166], and Khurāsān and Mā warā’ an-nahr, where they have ruled, always was a stronghold of the orthodox Islām [Bosworth 1971: 146; Daniel 1988: 372]. The movement of *al-Shu‘ūbiyya* to which, probably, concerned ancestors of the Sāmānids, has been directed only against domination of the ‘Arabs and had not anti-Islāmic character [Frye 1970: 133]. The early Sāmānids were deeply religious[167] and had close relations with clergy [al-Nasafī 1999: 455; Paul 1993: 88 – 89]. Turkic military leaders and the nobility also were the nearest allies of the Sunnit *al-‘ulamā’* [Daftari 2000: 49 – 50]. The Sāmānids though were initiators of revival of values of pre-Islāmic culture, adhered first of all to the Islāmic tradition, and revival of the Īrānian culture was for them only as *Nachklang* [Frye 1965: 229] that has been caused by aspiration to make Islām more accessible and comprehensible to local population [Frye 1967: 69]. Anything common with the Shī‘its had no also the local nobility. Therefore Abū Muslim, having come to power, has made slaughter of the *dihqāns* of Sughd and Bukhārā [Karev 2000: 209].

The Sāmānids began their political career when the governor of Khurāsān was al-Ma’mūn which at that time adhered the Shī‘it sights. Together with the Shī‘its the Sāmānids took part in suppression of revolt of the Türks and the Sogdians under the direction of Rāfi‘ ibn al-Layth. Nevertheless, further they were always irreconcilable to any of heretical currents and conducted especially fierce struggle with the Shī‘its. Though there were also periods when the Sāmānids tolerantly concerned to the Mu‘tazilits and the Shī‘its [Müller 1896 III: 49]. When the Sāmānid *amīr* Nasr ibn Ahmad (ruled in 301 – 331/914 – 943) in the end of his board has appeared under an influence of the amplified Qarmats and Ismā‘īlits[168], it has displeased both in Baghdād and in Bukhārā. The Calīph al-Rādī (ruled in 322 – 329/934 – 940) has written him the letter in which called him to protect Islām, like his predecessors, to struggle against

[165] From all of the ‘Abbāsid Calīphs only al-Ma’mūn felt liking to the Shī‘its because himself was in half the Persian [Bartold 1971: 426].

[166] About occurrence and development of traditions and schools of the *al-Hanafiyya* law school in Mā warā’ an-nahr in the II/VIII – early III/IX centuries see: Rudolf 2002; Muminov 2003.

[167] It is known that many of them were transmitters of al-Hadīth [al-Nasafī 1999: 65, 311, 565; al-Nasafī 6284: 64a; al-Sam‘ānī VII: 12 – 14].

[168] About these Shī‘it movements see: al-Nawbakhtī: 162, 164, 167; al-Shahrastānī: 102 – 103; Bosworth 1963: 186; Petrushevsky 1966: 276 – 309.

heretics and Shī‘its, to exterminate infidels and debauchees [Jacut I: 298 – 299; Bartold 1966: 492 – 493]. Soon in Bukhārā against him has been organised a plot, then he has been compelled to refuse a throne in favour of his son[169]. After that, at the reign of his son Nūh ibn Nasr, in 332/943-44 has been executed the main ideologist of the Qarmats movement in Central Asia Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Nakhshabī and one of the main leaders of the Ismā‘īlits Abū Tayyib al-Mus‘abī [al-Nasafī 6284: 43ab] then has begun universal destruction of the Qarmats-Iismā‘īlits with confiscation of their property [Köprülü zade: 18; Daftari 2000: 49 – 50] that has turned in due course to struggle against any heterodoxy [Muminov 2003: 22]. In Samarqand the Karrāmits and the Mu‘tazilits had 17 *madrasah* and authorities combated them under the direction of the Sunnits *‘ulamā’* Abū Mansūr al-Māturīdī and Abū-l-Qāsim al-Samarqandī [Bartold 1963a: 226; Rudolf 2002: 142].

The Karrāmits and the Shī‘its have been concentrated, mainly, in Khurāsān, which was a part of tae lands belonged to the Sāmānids [Madelung 1988: 39 – 46; Bosworth 1960: 6 – 14]. Therefore the basic struggle against them was conducted there, especially in the Caspian region [Bartold 1971: 446]. So, the Sāmānids conducted long wars in Djurdjān against the groups of the Daylamits, which were extreme Shī‘its and supported an idea of creation of al-Qur‘ān [al-Moqaddasī: 358; Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 46 – 49]. The Sāmānids as well as the Türks of Baghdād, were the main allies of the ‘Abbāsids in their struggle with the Daylamit Shī‘its-Buwayhids [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 202, 222, 231][170]. Though in Khurāsān the Shī‘ism has affirmed early enough, at the reign of the Umayyads, nevertheless, the basic part of the population adhered the *al-Hanafiyya* law school[171].

It is known that active anti-Shī‘it campaign of the ‘Abbāsids has been developed in the first half the of III/IX century and especially in the board of the Calīph al-Mutawakkil, i.e. at the time when the Türks have grasped in their hands the actual power in Baghdād and began to supervise internal and foreign policy of the ‘Abbāsid Calīphs [al-Sūlī: 117, 122, 148, 150, 154, 167]. Influence of the Türks in Baghdād was so great

[169] Then he ordered to build at the gate of his palace a cell named *Dār al-‘Ibāda*, i.e. “the divine service house”, has dressed clothes of a repentance and, having retired, has devoted himself to religious exercises [Bartold 1963a: 303; Gafurov 1972: 54].

[170] This struggle has not stopped even after a marriage of Mansūr ibn Nūh on the daughter of ‘Adud al-Dawla in 361/971-72 [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 247]. For more details about the Buwayhids see: Bosworth 1971: 137 – 140.

[171] The Saldjūqid Türks have brought with themselves to Baghdad not the Shī‘it, but the true believed theologians of the *al-Hanafiyya* law school [Bartold 1971: 434 – 435].

that many of the ‘Abbāsid Calīphs wore Turkic clothes and expensive furs, freely spoke in Turkic and showed propensity to all Turkic[172].

The Shī‘ism as the phenomenon cannot be considered as the Persian form of Islām[173] and a reaction of the Īrānian spiritual life to Islām [Metz 1966: 60][174] as even orthodox Islām has inherited many positions from the Zoroastrianism [Bosworth 1973: 51]. Nevertheless, it should be recognised that rapprochement of the Shī‘ism with the Īrānism has occurred already in the first centuries of Islām [Bartold 1971: 255; Bartold 1971: 425]. A part of the Persians from the very beginning closely co-operated with the ‘Arabs, entered to family relations with them, and at the time of the ‘Abbāsids Calīphate many of the ‘Arabs have been assimilated by the Persians and were speaking in two languages: ‘Arabian and Persian [Frye 1975: 97]. Therefore already in the III – IV/IX – X centuries in the east of the ‘Arabian Calīphate the most part of followers of this religious movement made the Īrānian speaking people[175]. At the reign of the Īrānian dynasties Ziyārids and Buwayhids was observed strengthening of positions of the Zoroastrianism and the loyal relation to them of the Shī‘it authorities [Frye 1965: 227 – 228]. The Buwayhid governor ‘Adud al-Dawla has established two Zoroastrian holidays, each of which lasted 7 days during which people gathered for a meal and amusements [Bīrūnī 1957: 223 – 224; 226 – 245, 250 – 251]. In the VI/XII century in Marw there was a castle or a temple of the Zoroastrians (*qasr min sukkān al-madjūs*) in which, according to a legend, has been buried the head of al-Husayn ibn ‘Alī at the entrance on the right side under a wall where is written down a long al-Hadīth [al-Sam‘ānī VII: 237].

The Ismā‘īlits movement is sometimes considered as continuation of traditions of knightly estate and last resistance of spiritual culture of pre-Islāmic Īrān to new Islāmic

[172] Many of the ‘Abbāsid Calīphs had Turkic wives and, hence, their successors of a throne were genetically in half the Türks [Ibn Djubayr: 161; Gordlevsky 1930: 273; Mokrynin 1973: 114].

[173] The birth of the Shī‘it movement took place not in Īrān, but in the ‘Arabian al-‘Irāq, whence it has gradually extended to the east. Therefore the Shī‘its doctrine has been based, first of all, on the ‘Arabian traditions and Islāmic culture in whole [Bartold 1971: 254; Bartold 1971: 435; Frye 1965: 228].

[174] The Shī‘its up to beginning X/XVI century made less than half of population of Irān [Petrushevsky 1966: 351 – 252].

[175] As Khurāsān played an important role in the Shī‘ism formation, among the participants of this process, undoubtedly, there were also the Türks. It is known, for example, that Sabuk-Tigīn, the founder of the Turkic Ghaznawids dynasty was a Shī‘it and erected his origin to a clan of the last Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Yazdigird III [Metz 1966: 134]; the deputy of the Buwayhid governor ‘Adud al-Dawla in Kirmān was certain Gūr-Tigīn ibn Djustān [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 240].

culture [Bartold 1971: 363 – 364; Bartold 1971: 373; Bartold 1971: 447]. Therefore in Persia the Shī'ism has gained a definitive victory in beginning of the X/XVI century [Bartold 1971: 449].

In the IV/X century the founder of the Irānian dynasty of the Ziyārids intended to grasp Baghdād for the purpose of its restoration as a capital of the Sāsānids Ktesifon and to declare himself as "the King of Kings» (Shāhān-Shāh) [Bartold 1971: 252]. In 334/945-46 this was possible to make for another Īrānian Shī'its of the Buwayhids dynasty, which have grasped Baghdād, but they have not dared to liquidate completely the power of the 'Abbāsid Calīphs. They have deprived of them only the secular power, then in the Calīphate during some time was dominated almost full anarchy. The Buwayhid regime, leaning on a force, exposed itself as a defender of its captive, the Calīph, and patronised the Shī'it *al-'ulamā'*. Being followers of "the Īrānian revival" the Buwayhids showed interest to pre-Islāmic spiritual and to cultural values. There is the data specifying in liking of the Buwayhids to the Zoroastrians of al-Fārs region [Frye 1965: 227]. The Daylamit Buwayhids as a whole pursued a policy of religious tolerance, as in the relation with the Zoroastrians, and with their contenders – the Sunnits [Frye 1965: 227 – 228], however, among the Sunnits, which made the most part of the population in the Calīphate, they had no support [Mottahede 1981: 62].

The Buwayhids pursued a policy of revival of the ancient Īrānian traditions, therefore many followers of the Īrānian culture aspired to their court yard, especially after falling of the Sāmānids dynasty and during a fight for a power between the Ilik-Khāns and the Ghaznawids [Frye 1965: 228]. The Buwayhids erected their family tree to the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Bahrām V Gūr [Shahbazi 1989: 518 – 519] and considered themselves as continuers of the state traditions of the Sāsānids[176]. The Buwayhid governor of Baghdād 'Adud al-Dawla (ruled in 367 – 372/978 – 983) has accepted a title Shāhān-Shāh and minted it on his coins [Busse 1981: 80] though officially continued to consider himself as a subject of the 'Abbāsids and completely observed all put etiquette [al-Sabī: 61, 64].

At the time of the Sāmānids which were the main supporters of the 'Abbāsids in the east of the Calīphate, Bukhārā was a unique considerable not Shī'it court yard after Baghdād and a place of gathering of all followers of the Sunnism. The Sāmānids repeatedly combated for releasing of the Calīphs from the captivity of the Shī'it.

[176] The *amīrs* of Khuttalān in VI/XII century also erected their family tree to Bahrām V Gūr [Ibn al-Athīr XI: 155; Bartold 1963a: 292].

. From written sources it is known about collisions between armies of the Sāmānids and Buwayhids in 334/945-46, 349/960-61, 354/965, 356/966-67 [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 202, 222, 231]. At the court of the Sāmānids found support and a haven numerous offsprings of the 'Abbāsids family[177], who applied for a caliphal throne. So, in 382/992-93 one of descendants of al-Ma'mūn together with groups of the Sāmānids has tried to grasp Baghdād which was in hands of the Buwayhids, and to become the Calīph [Metz 1966: 131].

Representatives of other Turkic dynasties of Central Asia – the Ghaznawids, the Saldjūqids, the Qarā-Khānids and the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāhs[178], and almost all of the Türks of Central Asia as it is known, also were the same jealous Muslims – the followers of the *al-Hanafiyya* law school of the Sunnism [Yāqūt 1939: 416]. The Ghaznawids which were continuers and successors of the state and cultural traditions of the Sāmānids, also were irreconcilable to the Shī'its [Bosworth 1966: 87]. When Mahmūd Ghaznawī in 420/1029 has grasped Rey, having taken away it from the Buwayhid governor Madjd al-Dawla, he has ordered to burn 50 heretical books of the Bātinids and Mu'tazilits, which were stored in the *madrasah* [Bosworth 1968: 38]. Ibrāhīm Tamghāch-Khān has become history as the sample of piety and justice. He especially cared of an establishment of an order and safety in his possession, severely punished larceny and gave a great attention to building works. In 436/1044-45 he has arranged persecutions against the Ismā'īlits and the Shī'its [Ibn al-Athīr IX: 218; Karaev 1983b: 144 – 150]. For the same qualities and merits have become famous also his son Shams al-Mulk and the grandson Khidr-Khān [Nizāmī: 77 – 79]. At the reign of the Qarā-Khānids the orthodox Muslim clergy was so strong that could even enter the conflict with the Qarā-Khānid governors, being supported by the Saldjūqid Sultāns [Beylis 1982: 8]. This conflict has come so far that the clergy has organized a plot against Ahmad-Khān ibn Khidr and, having accused him of heresy, in 488/1095 has arranged over him a court with a sentence to the death penalty [Bartold 1963a: 380]. The Saldjūqids finished with any deviations from the Sunnit dogmas. In the first years of their board even adherents of others Islāmic law schools (*al-madhhab*) were considered as heretics. Only the subsequent Saldjūqid

[177] At the reign of the Calīph al-Mu'tamid (ruled in 256 – 279/870 – 892) in Baghdād lived about 4 thousands of the descendants of the prophet Muhammad, 33 thousands of the 'Abbāsids and 2300 of the 'Alīds.

[178] All representatives of these dynasties recognised the Supreme power of the Calīphs and minted their names on the coins [Davidovich 1979: 131 – 240].

governors (Alp-Arslān and Malik-Shāh) have been compelled to reckon with the increased influence of the Shī'its in Īrān, and pursued a policy of religious toleration [Naumkin, Piotrovsky 1981: 10]. The Saldjūqids unlike the Sāmānids, who applyed for their notable Īrānian past, and the Ghaznawids, who considering themselves the successors of the Sāmānids, had no anything that could form a basis for giving a legality to their board. Therefore they staked first of all on the religious soil and leant exclusively on the Sunnits *al-'ulamā'* [Beylis 1982: 7 – 9].

The Türks have helped to the 'Abbāsid Calīphs to be released from guardianship of the Īrānian Shī'its-Buwayhids, to resist against the Ismā'īlit Fātimids in Egypt and Syria, and also to other sectarians undermining unity of the Islamic society. When in Persia has been established a power of the Īrānian Shī'its-Buwayhids, it was expected that from Khurāsān will come the king-philosopher who will restore an order in the west[179]. There were meant the Sunnits Sāmānids, but instead of them have come the Sunnit Saldjūqids who though could not destroy the Shī'ism, they have restored in Persia domination of the orthodoxy [Bartold 1966: 184]. Therefore it is not surprising that the Sunnit authors searched ideological and theological justifications to almost general domination of the Türks in the Near East. So, the Persian historian of the Saldjūqids Rāwandī speaks about the latent supernatural voice which said from al-Ka'ba with *al-imām* Abū Hanīfa and promosed to him that until the sword will be in the hands of the Türks, his belief (i.e. the *al-Hanafiyya* law school) will not disappear. Ibn Khaldūn also, marking almost universal domination of the Türks during his time, said that the Allāh in their person has sent to the Muslim world of valorous defenders from infidels and vigilant keepers of cleanliness of Islām [Bosvort 1981: 33].

The Renaissance of the Sunnism in the Calīphate usually is connected with the name of the Saldjūqid Sultān Tughrul-Bek who as it is considered, has responded to an appeal of the Sunnit Calīph al-Qā'im bi amri-llāh (ruled in 422 – 467/1031 – 1075) about a help to put an end to the power of the Shī'it Buwayhids in Baghdād [Makdisi 1981: 174; Ugur 1988: 34]. After overthrow of the Buwayhids power in Baghdād the Calīph has presented to Tughrul-Bek at once two honourable titles: Rukn al-Dīn (Support of the Religion) and Qāsim Amīr al-Mu'minīn (Companion of the Master of True Believers)

[179] This legend, possibly, has been borrowed from the Zoroastrian tradition through means of the Ismā'īlits. According to the Zoroastrian legends, in pre-Islāmic Īrān also was expected arrival "the king from the East" which will restore an order on the earth; in the same way the Ismā'īlits expected arrival from the east of al-Mahdī. Among the persons identified with "the king from the East", were called Bahrām Chūbīn and Abū Muslim [Meisami 2000: 367].

[Ugur 1988: 35]. However the beginning of this process concerned to earlier time. The Ghaznawid Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznawī in the end of IV/X century pursued a traditinalist policy in newly gained territories and, having supported the movement of the Khāridjits, conducted fierce struggle against the Shāfi‘its and the Shī‘its [al-Shahrastānī: 44 – 45; Ibn al-Djawzī VII: 205 – 226].

The Sunnit Ghaznawids, being in Khurāsān, pursued a policy of the ‘Abbāsids which were in a captivity of the Shī‘it Buwayhids. And even earlier, in the second half of the IV/X century, fierce struggle with the Shī‘its conducted the Sunnit Sāmānids who in the union with the ‘Abbāsids even tried to grasp Baghdād [Metz 1966: 131]. At the reign of the Sāmānids, which officially was adherents of the *al-Hanafiyya* law school of the Sunnism, struggle was conducted only with the Shī‘its, and representatives of other Sunnit law schools, in particular, the Shāfi‘its, were not exposed to any oppression [Bartold 1963a: 238]. But during the next centuries, in the board of the Saldjūqids and the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāhs, bloody wars of the Sunnits of the *al-Hanafiyya* law school were conducted in the cities of Īrān not only against the Shī‘its, but also against the followers of the *al-Shāfi‘iyya* law school [Bartold 1971: 448 – 449]. The Qarā-Khānid Khāqān Bughrā-Khān and the Ghaznawid Sultān Mahmūd also subjected to persecutions not only the heretics-Shī‘its, but also al-Sūfīes, which were the adherents of the orthodox *al-Shāfī‘iyya* law school [Ibn al-Athīr IX: 218; Bartold 1963a: 235]. Though there was not essential distinctions between the Sunnit law schools, to the *al-Shāfi‘iyya* law school has adjoined the elite of the society, whereas the Hanafits and followers of other law schools were more close to simple belief of broad masses [Bartold 1963a: 237]. Prosecution of the Shāfi‘its stopped only at the reign of the Sultān Alp-Arslān (ruled in 455 – 465/1063 – 1072).

Decline of the Sāmānids begins exactly with crisis of the real political power of the ‘Abbasids in the middle of the IV/X century, when Baghdād has been grasped by the Īrānian Shī‘its-Buwayhids [Bartold 1963a: 272 – 273; Bosworth 1971: 146]. In essence, only Ismā‘īl ibn Ahmad who posessed a huge merit in strengthening and protection of the east boundaries of the Calīphate and statement of Islām in the region, was the brightest figure from all of the Sāmānid governors. Among all other representatives of the Sāmānids dynasty there was no one in which there would be outstanding signs of physical or spiritual talents. All of them were whimsical, thoughtless, intellectually not bright and mostly sick of consumption and tuberculosis. Therefore they were helpless marionets in hands of bureaucracy, courtiers and military leaders [Bartold 1963a: 300 – 301].

The Sāmānids showed signs on the highest respect and esteem to descendants of the prophet Muhammad whom were, for example, the al-Sayyids of Tirmidh. According to some information, Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad for establishing of a family relations with the al-Sayyids of Tirmidh has given out his daughter for one of them [Mirzaev 2004: 15 – 16]. The Sayyids of Tirmidh were true believer Sunnits, therefore the representatives of the subsequent Turkic dynasties, such as Mahmūd Ghaznawī, Sultān Sandjar and Khʷārazm-Shāh Muhammad also patronised to them. The Tīmūrids, the Bābūrids, the Shaybānids and even governors of Kāshghar also had family relations with the al-Sayyids of Tirmidh [Mirzaev 2004: 16, 20].

* * *

Thus, in the family of the Sāmānids was dominated the clan system in which the Supreme power was descended to the senior from the all sons. Such system of inheritance was typical for all of the Turkic dynasties of the Islāmic time. The Sāmānids were in family relations with their grandees from among the Turkic nobility that specifies in their common origin and affinity of blood. The last Sāmānid *amīrs* were in family relations with the Saldjūqids and the Ghaznawids, and the last, in turn with the Qarā-Khānids.

Sāmān-Khudāt and the early Sāmānids were involved in cultural-political movement *al-Shu'ūbiyya*, widespread in III – IV/IX – X centuries among the intelligency of the not 'Arabian people which has accepted Islām in the 'Abbāsids Calīphate. The movement *al-Shu'ūbiyya* was not homogeneous, and devided, at least, on two directions – Īrānian and Turkic, which have been closely interconnected. The Turkic Shu'ūbism, unlike the Īrānian, has not been directed against domination of the 'Arabs and the 'Arabian culture in the Islāmic world, and has been connected with a mass acceptance of Islām by the Türks and with aspiration of the higher Turkic military aristocracy and intelligency to take a worthy place in a political and cultural life of the 'Arabian Calīphate.

The early Sāmānids in their power leant from the one hand on the local nobility, and from another – on a clergy. By the help of military groups of the *dihqāns* and the al-Ghāzīes they conducted "sacred" wars against the "infidel" Türks with a purpose of distribution of Islām and capture of slaves for their further delivery to Baghdād. "Sacred" wars against "infidel". Türks were conducted only by the early Sāmānids and have been connected with a policy of introduction of Islām in the region, which pursued the 'Abbāsids. When the part of the Türks of Central Asia has accepted Islām after the

reign of Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad the "sacred" wars actually have stopped, and groups of the al-Ghāzīes have lost their initial value. The same 'sacred wars (*al-ghazawāt*) with the "infidel" Türks conducted also the early Qarā-Khānids.

The Sāmānids as well as the 'Abbāsid Calīphs, were proof adherents of the *al-Hanafiyya* law school of the Sunnism, and Khurāsān and Mā wara' an-nahr where they ruled, always were a stronghold of the orthodox Islām. The early Sāmānids were deeply religious and had close relations with a clergy. They were always irreconcilable to any of heretical currents and conducted especially fierce struggle with the Shī'its. After that when Baghdād has been grasped by the Shī'its-Buwayhids, the Sāmānids repeatedly combated for release of the Calīphs from a captivity of the Shī'its. At the reign of the Sāmānids which were the main supporters of the 'Abbāsids in the east of the Calīphate, Bukhārā was the only considerable not a Shī'it court yard after Baghdād and a place of gathering of all followers of the Sunnism.

Chapter Three

BUKHĀRĀ – THE CAPITAL OF THE SĀMĀNIDS

Pre-Islamic Rulers of Bukhārā

During an epoch of the early Middle Ages in many cities of Central Asia ruled dynasties belonged to the house which name is fixed in the Chinese sources in the form Chjao'Wu [Chavannes 1903: 18, 133 – 134, 137, 144, 146; Bichurin II: 271 – 272, 274 – 275, 281, 310] that is the Chinese transfer of the name of a Turkic clan Djamūk (جموك) [at-Tabarī II: 1613; Smirnova 1963b: 10 – 19], which has become a title similar to the title Yabghū. According to al-Narshakhī, pre-Islāmic rulers of Bukhārā concerned to a clan named Hamūk (حموك) [Narshakhī: 16] in which also it is possible to see the name Djamūk [Frye 1951: 142 – 145; Smirnova 1971b: 64].

Representatives of separate branches of this clan owned Samarqand, Bukhārā, Kushāniya, Ishtīkhān, Kish, Nakhshab, Ustrūshana and Chāch. These houses totaled many generations. According to the Chinese sources, in 627 AD the ruler of Bukhārā named A-Lin-ga has informed the Chinese emperor that his house, which belonged to a clan of Chjao'Wu, reigned in the 22nd generation [Chavannes 1903: 18, 137; Bichurin II: 272, 281, 310], i.e. approximately during 400 years. The clan of the ruler of Samarqand also went back to the first centuries AD. Hence, the beginning of these ruling houses went back to the Kushans time. In the Chinese sources it is said that these ruling houses originated from the house of Yue-Chji which originally inhabited in the North side of the Tsilian-Shan Mountains in the city named Chjao'Wu. After defeat from the Hunns they have passed through "the Onions Mountains" to the West and have based a kingdom, having divided into set of sovereign houses which on their origin were nicknamed Chjao'Wu [Bichurin II: 271, 280, 310]. Numismatic materials confirmed an accessory of these dynasties to a family of great antiquity. Patrimonial signs on the Sogdian coins allocate in Sughd 4 strongest clans and specify in their similarity with signs on the Kushans coins [Smirnova 1970: 26].

During an epoch of the Turkic Qaghanate some of these dynasties have been replaced by governors from a ruling dinasty of the Türks of Ashina clan. The governors concerned this clan, lived in the palaces of a "dynastian" type (Afrasiab, Warakhshā, Pandjikent, Balalyk-Tepa, etc.), which sources go back to traditions of the Kushan time (Dalvarzin-Tepa, Surkh-Kotal) [Belenitsky 1975: 392 – 395]. In the Chinese sources it

is informed that the Qaghan of the Western Türks Tun She-khu (Tūn Yabghū) has given to all of the possessors of Central Asia Turkic titles and has appointed to them his residents [Bichurin I: 283]. The Ikhshīdh of Samarqand Ghūrak has told to the 'Arabs that "he is a slave of the Khāqān and he should execute his order" [at-Tabarī II: 1542]. The governor of Pandjikent Devashtich in one of his letters (B 17) writes: "My ambassadors have brought to me from the Qaghan a high rank and honour and has gone down also a lot of army both of the Türks and the Chineses" [Livshits 1960: 5 – 6].

According to al-Narshakhī, the Bukhārā oasis has been settled for the first time by the Türks, and subsequently its population constantly replenished with immigrants from Turkistān. The Turkic Khāqān Qarā Chūrīn Türk (in 587 AD) has appointed as a ruler of Bukhārā his son named Shīr-i Kishwar (El Arslān, Sāwa-Shāh) which ruled 20 years [Narshakhī: 16, 17]. In the Chinese sources is mentioned the ruler of Bukhārā named Nili-T'e-le that is transformed as Il (El)-Tigīn. In the 'Arabian and Persian sources he is mentioned under a name Parmūda (Barmūda). He was the son of Shīr-i Kishwar, the first Turkic ruler of Bukhārā. After death of Nili in 603 AD his place has occupied his brother Bosi T'e-le (Tigīn), and since 630 AD – Nishu Kan-She (Shād) which was a son of Tūn Yabghū [Bichurin I: 284 – 285]. In 655 – 660 AD the ruler of Bukhārā was certain Sha (Shāya, Shāba?) [Bichurin II: 312].

According to "Bey-Shi", the customs of inhabitants of the possession An (Bukhārā) were similar with customs of the Kangüy, differing only that they married sisters and on the senior wife of the father [Bichurin II: 272]. The same custom in VI – VII centuries AD as it is known, has been extended among the Türks [Kamoliddin 2005: 16 – 24].

One of the coins which were in use in Kh^{w}ārazm contained a Kh^{w}ārazmian inscription which is read as *sdq pqrq* – Shād of Bukhārā [Muhammadi 2000: 91]. Among the ambassadors who have arrived in 732 AD to the headquarters of the Türks in Orkhon for participation in the funeral ceremony of Kül-Tigīn, is mentioned Oghul-Tarkhān which have arrived from the people of ulus of the Bukhārians (*buqaraq ulus budun*) [Malov 1951: 43; Amanjolov 2002: 153 – 169]. During the period of the 'Arabian gains a queen named Khātūn has ruled in Bukhārā [Narshakhī: 17 – 20]. From this data follows that the rulers of Bukhārā except a title Bukhār-Khudāt used also the Turkic titles Tigīn, Tarkhān and Shād, and women – the title Khātūn.

On the eve of the 'Arabian gain the actual power in the Bukhārā oasis belonged to the Turkic rulers who had a residence in Baykand, Rāmīthan and Bukhārā. They were considered as the deputies of the Supreme Turkic Qaghan not only in Bukhārā, but also in all Central Asia and ruled in Bukhārā about 50 years, at least from 587 AD to 630

AD, at first El Arslān (Shīr-i Kishwar, Sāwa-Shāh), then his son El-Tigīn (Parmūda, Nili), from 603 AD his brother Bosi T'e-le (Tigīn), and from 630 AD a son of Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan. During this period Bukhārā was a residence of successors of a throne and the second capital of the Turkic Qaghanate. In the same way in III/IX century Marw at first was a residence of the successor of a throne al-Ma'mūn, which in 182/798-99 has been appointed as the deputy (*amīr*) of Khurāsān, Mā warā' an-nahr and all east part of the 'Arabian Calīphate. In the period after death of the Calīph Hārūn al-Rashīd in 193/808-09 till his moving to Baghdād in 198/813-14 a residence of al-Ma'mūn in Marw has actually turned to the centre of a political life of the 'Arabian Calīphate [Mikhaylova 1951: 10 – 20]. Hence, the Sāmānids have not casually chosen Bukhārā as the capital because in this city had a residence their ancestors El Arslān (Shīr-i Kishwar, Sāwa-Shāh) and El-Tigīn (Parmūda, Nili) before becoming the Supreme Turkic Qaghans.

In the Turkic Qaghanate has been extended the institute of the "Small Qaghans" which were co-rulers of the Supreme Turkic Qaghan in the east and the west of the empire [Kliashtorny, Livshits 1971: 130]. When Qutayba ibn Muslim was forwarded to through Amu Darya and has arrived to Bukhārā there was ruled the king named Sūl who was also the king of all Mā warā' an-nahr [al-Dīnawarī: 327]. In 102/720-21 the king (*malik*) of the *rustāq* Fayy in the region of Bukhārā was *dihqān* named Turk-Khāqān [at-Tabarī II: 1423, 1425]. When al-Muqanna' in 159/775-76 has arrived with his army to Samarqand, against him has set out for a battle a governor of Sughd who had the title Khāqān [Djalilova 1991: 12]. When the 'Arabs have approached to Bukhārā, inside the city there was an army of the Türks led by the Turkic Qaghan [at-Tabarī II: 169 – 170].

The 'Arabs named their opponents in Mā warā' an-nahr "inhabitants of Bukhārā and Sughd" or "the Türks and the Sogdians", i.e. they named the Bukhārians also the Türks [Gibb 1923: 8 – 9, 72]. In 54/673-74 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād has met in Bukhārā the Türks, their king and the queen named Fatah (Qabadj) Khātūn [Ibn al-Zubayr: 169]. When the 'Arabs have attacked Bukhārā, the local queen named Khātūn has addressed for the help to the Türks, and they have arrived in a considerable quantity from nearby areas [al-Beladsorī: 410; al-Balādhurī: 37]. During the board of the Umayyads in Bukhārā has ruled the Turkic prince [Barthold 1945: 47]. Ibn al-Nadīm has noticed that in Sughd there was a chief town of the Türks (*lahum khādirat al-Türk*) [Ibn al-Nadīm I: 18] under which, possibly, means Bukhārā because the governor of Samarqand was called as "the king of Sughd" (*malik* al-Sughd) [al-Beladsorī: 421]. The settlement Wardāna located in the region of Bukhārā was called as "a fortress on border of

Turkistān", and its possessors which carried a title Wardān-Khudāt, were natives of Turkistān [Narshakhī: 18, 23]. One of sources of al-Tabarī named the Sogdian *dihqāns*, who rised a revolt against the 'Arabs, "the kings (*mulūk*) of the Türks" [at-Tabarī II: 1281].

Shīr-i Kishwar (Sāwa-Shāh) was the relative of the Sāsānids Shāhān-Shāh Hurmazd IV Turkzāda on a parent line [Bel'amī II: 248] because he was the nephew of Istamī-Qaghan's daughter which married the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāh Khusraw I Anūshīrwān. When Bahrām Chūbīn in 589 AD has taken prisoner his son Parmūda (El-Tigīn, Nili-Khān) in Baykand and has sent him to Hurmazd IV, the last has accorded to him magnificent welcome and after conclusion of peace has released him with honour [Bel'amī II: 265; Firdousi VI: 656 – 657]. According to other data, El-Tigīn (Parmūda) has not been taken prisoner, but he has voluntary arrived to the Shāhān-Shāh Hurmazd IV for carrying on negotiations [Gumilev 1967: 132].

Consequently, the Sāmānids, being descendants of Shīr-i Kishwar and Parmūda on a parent line, at the same time had also related communication with representatives of the Sāsānids dynasty, who entered family relationship with the Türks.

In the VII – VIII centuries AD in Bukhārā ruled also a dynasty of the local rulers who had a title Bukhār-Khudāt [Narshakhī: 17 – 19; Smirnova 1981: 426 – 428]. The Turkic rulers of Bukhārā from a clan of Ashina had family relations with a local dynasty of the Bukhār-Khudāts. It was supposed that the Bukhār-Khudāt Bīdūn which ruled in Bukhārā in the second half of the VII century AD was the descendant of Shīr-i Kishwar [Narshakhī: 17, 28, 29, 42, 43]. His wife which ruled in Bukhārā after his death during 15 years carried the Turkic title Khātūn [Narshakhī: 17]. The Bukhar-Khudāt is called also as "the king of the Türks", and his wife carried a Turkic name Qabadj-Khātūn [at-Tabarī II: 169]. One of the last Bukhār-Khudāts, who ruled in 91 – 122/709 – 739, carried the name Tughshāda (or Taghshāda) [Narshakhī: 18]. In the composition of al-Tabarī this name is resulted in form Tūq Shiyāda [at-Tabari II: 1693, 1694]. This name on a writing in the 'Arabian letters can be compared with a name of the Ikhshīdh of Samarqand Tuk-Aspadak and with a name of the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh Turk-Aspadak that means "the owner of a Turkic (strong) army" [Smirnova 1953: 205 – 210]. There are known coins of the ruler of Bukhārā named Tughaspada (*Tuγaspaδe*) [Smirnova 1963a: 27, 51]. The name of Tughshāda was etymologised from the Turkic word *tuγ* (a banner) and the title Shād [Shüven 1995: 35].

His son who has arrived in 726 AD as an ambassador to China, also carried a Turkic name Asilan (Arslān) Dafodan Fili [Bichurin II: 312; Chavannes 1903: 138], but al-

Narshakhī called him Sukān or Salān [Narshakhī: 17; Smirnova 1981: 425]. The last Bukhār-Khudāt Buniyāt has been killed in 166/782-83 by order of the Calīph al-Mahdī [Narshakhī: 17, 24].

Descendants of the dynasty of Bukhār-Khudāts continued their clan, at least, till the middle of the III/IX century. One of them, Muhammad ibn Khālid, in 224/838-39 has been appointed as a governor of Armīniya in the board of al-Afshīn Haydhar ibn Kāwus [al-Ja'kūbī II: 475; Ter-Gevondian 1977: 99], and in 225/839-40 he took part in a trial over al-Afshīn in the court of the Calīph in Baghdād [at-Tabarī III: 1311; Smirnova 1969: 70 – 72].

There is a base to assume about existance of family relations between the dynasty of Bukhār-Khudāts and pre-Islāmic ancestors of the Sāmānids. According to Ibn Hawqal, a form the *dirhams* named al-Muhammadiyya, which minted in Bukhārā in the first centuries of Islām, have been made by ancestors of a clan of Asad ibn Sāmān [Ibn Haukal: 490]. These coins which named also "black *dirhams*", as it is known, were minted on the sample of coins of the Bukhār-Khudāts, the pre-Islāmic rulers of Bukhārā [Davidovich 1966: 103 – 134].

In the Chinese manuscripts of the middle of VIII century AD which were found in the Sogdian colony in Dun-Huan based in the beginning of VII century AD by immigrants from Bukhārā, along with the Sogdian names are mentioned Turkic names and titles of the natives of various cities of Central Asia, including An Da-han, i.e. Tarkhān from Bukhārā and An U-sy-mi, i.e. Ozmish from Bukhārā [Chuguevsky 1971: 153].

In the IV – V centuries AD the oasis of Bukhārā entered into a sphere of the Kushān-Sāsānids monetary circulation [Naymark 1995: 36], which developed after a gain of Tukhāristān by the Sāsānids, i.e. between 368 – 388 AD [Lukonin 1967: 26]. The northern border of the Kushans state passed in the area of Nakhshab, i.e. in immediate proximity from the oasis of Bukhārā [Masson 1975: 42 – 49]. There is a base to assume that the sphere of political influence of the Kushans extended to Bukhārā too. The Sogdian inscriptions on one of the earliest coins of Bukhārā from Warakhshā are read as *twγ'r γwβ* - "ruler of the Tukhārs" that allowed to assume that in the III – IV centuries AD in Warakhshā ruled a Tukhārian prince [Smirnova 1982: 143].

Among pre-Islāmic coins of Central Asia is allocated variety of so called "Türk-Sogdian" coins, which were issued in VI – VIII centuries AD in Bukhārā, Sughd, Pandjikent, Farghāna, Chāch and Tukhāristān not by the Sogdians, but by the bilingual Central Asian Türks [Smirnova 1981: 5]. From other Sogdian coins they differ only that

the Sogdian inscriptions on them contain Turkic ethnonyms, titles, patrimonial signs or the emblems of rulers identical with the *tamghas* of the Turkic rulers, and also portraits of rulers with Mongoloid features. It was supposed that these coins were issued by Turkic rulers [Smirnova 1963a: 32]. They devided on two categories: the first – with a portrait of a governor, the second – casted on the sample of the Chinese coins with a square aperture. Both categories of coins contain the Sogdian inscriptions accompanied by Runic by letters-*tamghas* [Smirnova 1981: 53].

So, on the most ancient types of the Sogdian coins of V – VI centuries AD on some images of kings can be seen typical Türks: obviously expressed Mongoloid lines, the oval face, a hairdress smooth on a hair parting, eyes are allocated by two bent strokes, a nose large, flat with the outlined nostrils, in ears of an earring with a suspension bracket from a round bead or a stone etc. [Ernazarova 1979: 113 (№ 155, 156); Vainshtein, Kriukov 1966: 179]. On the coins of unknown rulers of Sughd of VII – VIII centuries AD are represented horsemen and portraits of rulers with featurnes of obviously Mongoloid type: high cheekbones, the massive features full of a cheek, a large roundish chin, the big eyes, a short and stupid nose, a mouth small, chubby, on the left ear a large pear-shaped earring, hair are combed from a forehead back etc. [Smirnova 1963a: 33 – 34 (№ 784 – 785, 786, 787, 788 – 789, 790, 791)].

The group of the Türk-Sogdian coins of the Chinese sample which were in use in the oasis of Bukhārā, has 4-coal *tamgha* which reproduced ancient Chinese sign of 4 roads, and an inscription *βγy γ'γ'n pny* – "lord Qaghan's money" [Smirnova 1981: 59]. Probably, these coins have been issued by the Turkic rulers El Arslān (Shīr Kishwar) or his son El-Tigīn (Parmūda) during their board in Bukhārā.

The important group among coins of this series is made the copies with the image of a king and a queen (Av) and a combination of the Runic letters-*tamghas* surrounded by a Sogdian inscription (Rv). On the earliest series of coins from this category are represented faces with obvious Mongoloid features. The subsequent series of coins of the same category contain images of faces with Europeoid features in which it is possible to see representatives of the western Türks different from the east Türks by their Europeoid physical type. The most part of coins with the married couple image is found at excavation on a site of ancient sity of Pandjikent. Images married pairs, and also men and young men (father and son), often meet in areas to the north from Syr-Darya, in the Bukhārā oasis, Farghāna valley, Chāch and Chaghāniyān [Smirnova 1981: 55 – 56]. It is supposed that this type of coins was borrowed by the Türks from the same type of coins of the Byzantian emperor Yustin II (ruled in 565 – 578 AD) on which he is

represented beside the queen Sofia. The Türks could meet this type of coins during stay in Constantinople of their embassy led by the Sogdian named Maniakh, which was sent in 568 AD [Masson 1951: 98]. However high art level of their making assumes also other possibility: not the Türks from the Byzantines, but the Byzantines borrowed this type of coins from the Türks [Smirnova 1981: 56].

Among various kinds of headdresses of queens on coins with the pair image it is allocated a headdress "with three horns", which is identical with a crown of goddess Umay symbolising mountain with three peaks named Belukha in Altay where, according to a legend of ancient Türks, lived gods [Baratova 1995: 16]. On the Turkic coins the regal pair topped with divine symbols, acted as a terrestrial form of Tangri and Umay, two Supreme deities personifying the man's and female beginnings [Baratova 2004: 11].

The ascendent position of the Türks in large territories has made popular their customs, cultural achievements, in particular, clothes. Peaked Scythian *bashlyqs* and high headdresses were popular even at the Chineses. In all territories subjected to the Türks, has been extended the complex of similar female and men's wear which was traditional in Central Asia from the Kushan time. Similarity of the Kushan and early medieval Turkic clothes can speak about arrival to Central Asia of the same ethnic groups through certain time intervals [Maytdinova 1987: 131].

On some Türk-Sogdian coins there is an inscription *'wrδw γllč – urdū* Khalach, i.e. «the (tribe) Khalach's head quarter» [Baratova 1999: 243]. On coins of other type from the same group there is a Sogdian inscription containing two titles, the Sogdian and the Turkic: *γwbw Tdwn* ("sovereign, Tudūn"). There are known also the coins containing an inscription "master Tūrak" (*Twr'k γwβ*). Face images of rulers on the coins of the both types have features of the obviously expressed Mongoloid type. From the monetary data it is known about two more dynasties of unknown rulers of Sughd, one of them, which ruled during 100 – 120 years, judging the images of its representatives, was a Turkic [Smirnova 1951: 17 – 18; Smirnova 1963a: 33 – 34, 43 – 44 (№ 747 – 783, 786 – 790); Smirnova 1981: 21, 54]. Portraits on coins of this type have full similarity with identical terracotta figurines from the Hermitage, which have been defined as "Turkic soldiers" [by Smirnova 1963a: 35].

On the Sogdian and Old Turkic coins there are special signs which are accompanied by inscriptions that allow consider as their patrimonial brands-*tamghas*. Signs on the coins of Warakhshā and Qubā are accompanied by an inscription: *'lpw γ'γ'n ttwk* – Alp Qaghan Tutuk that specifies that these signs were the *tamghas* of Qaghan or Tutūk. The

Bukhārā sign is reproduced on coins of one of the series minted over Syr-Daria with the pair image of the Mongoloid type. Patrimonial *tamghas* on coins have direct analogies in signs of the Old Turkic letters and represent variants of their stylistic reproduction [Smirnova 1971: 74, 75, 77]. The origin of one sign contacts with a three-final sign, characteristic for antique coins of the east part of Asia Minor where it was a perpetual motion symbol – sun circular motions. One of two dynastic signs on the coins of pre-Islāmic rulers of Bukhārā and Warakhshā has direct analogies with dynastic signs on the coins of rulers of the cities located in the basin of Syr-Darya – Tashkent, Chimkent, Otrar, Qubā and Pandjikent [Smirnova 1981: 543] that specifies on family relations of pre-Islāmic rulers of these cities. In the same way, judging by monetary signs, the rulers of Pandjikent had family relations with the rulers of Farghāna and Khalchayān, the rulers of Samarqand – with the rulers of Southern Sughd and Khudjand, the rulers of Otrār - with the rulers of Tarāz and Ak-Beshim, the rulers of Nakhshab – with the rulers of Khuttalān etc. [Smirnova 1981: 543]. The Crosswise sign which was an emblem of the Bukhār-Khudāts is represented nearby the U-shaped sign of the Ikhshīdhs of Samarqand on the coins of Ghūrak and his son Turghar [Smirnova 1958: 260]. Hence, Ghūrak had family relations with Bukhar-Khudāts. In a family tree of descendants of Ghūrak which is mentioned in the ‘Arabian sources, there are many Turkic names that specifies in their Turkic origin [Kamoliddin 2003: 63 – 68].

On some early coins which were issued in various cities of Central Asia (IV – V centuries AD), are represented images of animals – a lion, a horse, a camel, a deer, a semifantastic predator, etc. So, on coins of VI century AD from Farghāna, Southern Sughd, Samarqand, Pandjikent and Otrār there is an image of a horse which contacts with a cult of a horse widespread among the people of Central Asia, including the Türks, especially in Farghāna. Probably, in some cases the image of a horse served as the city arms [Smirnova 1981: 26 – 27]. The Old Turkic coins of the Chinese type were issued, mainly, in Farghāna and Yetisū region. The coins minted on the Chinese sample with an inscription *‘lpw γ’γ’n ttwk* have been found in Farghāna, Bukhārā and Otrār [Smirnova 1971: 74, 75, 77; Smirnova 1981: 58].

The Türk-Sogdian coins testify that the Türks lived in Central Asia everywhere, but their basic areas of concentration were the Bukhārā oasis, Farghāna, Chāch, Otrār and Yetisū region. Face images on the Türk-Sogdian coins reflect complexity of ethnogenesis of the people of Central Asia and variety of their ethnic basis. They restore shape of representatives of two most ancient people of Central Asia – the Sogdians and the Türks – such as they were perceived by contemporaries [Smirnova 1981: 5, 7, 62].

There are known some types of coins of Bukhārā with the image of a married couple and an inscription containing a Turkic female title Khātūn (*γ'ttunh*) – "queen" [Smirnova 1981: 34 (№ 792 – 796); Baratova 1999: 248]. Face images of portraits of rulers on these coins have Mongoloid features [Smirnova 1961: 55 – 62]. In the history of Senior House of Han ("Tsian-Han-Shu") it is informed that in the state Ansi (Bukhārā) were issued a silver coins with an image of the face of a governor on Av, and on Rv – the face of his wife [Bichurin II: 182]. On the coins of the Chinese sample which were issued by the Turkic rulers of Bukhārā, there is an inscription *βγy γ'γ'n pny* (lord Qaghan's money) [Smirnova 1981: 58 – 59].

Another favourite image of the Sogdians and Türks was a two-humped (Bactrian) camel-male [Musakaeva 1989: 166 – 169; Musakaeva 1990: 33 – 37]. Such coins were characteristic for the Bukhārā oasis, especially for Warakhshā [Smirnova 1987: 142 – 148]. Some of them contain a Sogdian inscription which is read as *p'y* that, probably, is a Turkic title Bay, which means "rich" [Shishkin 1963: 203; Smirnova 1981: 28]. The two-humped camel was a symbol of a deity of war and a victory of Varatragna mentioned in Avesta, and served as talisman of the city and simultaneously as a heraldic symbol of the rulers of Bukhārā [Smirnova 1982: 144]. According to the Chinese sources ("Bey-Shi", "Suy-Shu"), thrones of rulers of Central Asia have been decorated by images of animals, in particular, the gold throne of the ruler of Bukhārā was in the form of a camel [Bichurin II: 256, 272, 282, 288]. In wall paintings of the East hall in a palace of the ruler in Warakhshā is represented a king on the throne with the legs decorated with images of winged camels [Shishkin 1963: 158 – 159]. Images of winged camels often meet on subjects of art of the early Middle Ages of Central Asia. For example, in the Hermitage is stored the jug of VII century AD from Sughd with the image of a winged camel [Pugachenkova, Rempel 1965: ill. 130; Kozep-Azsia: ill. 17; Belenizki, Belous 1980: ill. 14]. The winged camel is represented also in a wall painting of a palace of the ruler in Pandjikent [Belenizki, Belous 1980: ill. 4]. The name of medieval settlement Narshakh in the region of Bukhārā contains in its structure a word *nār* (the male of a camel) [Vaynberg 1999: 303].

The temples devoted to this deity, there were in former times in Kish and Samarqand. The foot of a camel cast from bronze which was a fragment of the big camel close to full size is found in vicinities of Samarqand [Shishikin 1963: 203]. In the IV/X century in Samarqand on the squeres there were sculptural images of horses, bulls, camels and the wild goats, cut out of a tree [Ibn Haukal: 365; Shishkin 1963: 189]. The two-humped camel going to the right is represented also on one of groups of coins of

Kadfiz, the first king of the Kushans [Smirnova 1987: 147]. On a site of ancient settlement of Balalyk-Tepa in the region of Tirmidh has been found a figure of a camel made of an integral piece of pink stone salt [Albaum 1960: 69]. The two-humped Bactrian camel-male, especially black (*kara*), was esteemed also by the Türks who named it *buγra* [MK I: 196, 397; III: 271]. In the Old Turkic texts is mentioned a name of the Bactrian, i.e. a two-humped camel-male of "a breed *titir*» [DTS: 564]. The word *buγra* as a component was a part of names of some Turkic rulers of Khuzār, Ustrūshana, Ishtīkhan and Kabūdān, etc. [at-Tabarī II: 1448; Chavannes 1903: 59, 75, 140, 210; Bichurin II: 313; Smirnova 1981: 425]. Names with a component *buγra*, such as Buγrā-Khān, Buγrā-Ilik, Qarā-Buγrā, etc., were widespread among the Qarā-Khānid rulers of Balāsāghūn, Kāshghar, Khutan, etc. [Kochnev 1993: 10 – 11]. Traces of honouring of a camel have remained also in the Uzbek epos: Alpāmish called himself "a camel" (*nār*), and his beloved Barchin – female camel [Shishkin 1963: 204].

Etymology of the Place-Name "Bukhārā"

In Central Asia the origin of a lot of ancient place-names till now remains unknown, for example, Amū, Chāch, Khīwa, Samarqand, Chaghāniyān, etc. To their number concerns also the name of one of the largest cities of the region – Bukhārā (بخارا). For the first time this toponym is mentioned in the Sogdian inscriptions of the earliest copper coins of Bukhārā (IV – V centuries AD) [Naymark 1995: 37] in the form of Pughar (*pwγ'r*) or Pukhar (*pwx'r*) [Smirnova 1981: 34 (№ 792 – 796); Smirnova 1982: 143], and on the coins with the Kh^{w}ārazmian inscriptions (VI century AD) in the form of Puqar (*pqr*) [Muhammadi 2000: 91]. In the Sogdian sources (early VIII – IX centuries AD) also are resulted forms of Pughar (*pwγ'r*) and Pukhar (*pwx'r*) [SDGM II: 182; Henning 1940: 10], and in the inscription of Kül-Tigīn (early VIII century AD) – Buqar (*buqar*) [Malov 1951: 19 – 20].

It was supposed that this name is originated from a Sanskrit word *vihara* that means "monastery" [Frye 1956: 106 – 119]. However, on norms of the Sogdian language this name could not be transformed from a word *vihara* for which in the Sogdian is used the word *βrx'r* [Lurye 2004: 20]. In the Persian language this word is transferred in form *farkhār* (فرخار) [Baevsky 1980: 88] or *bihār* (بهار) [Hudūd al-'Ālem: 27a; Hudūd al-'Ālam: 108], and in the 'Arabian – in form *al-bahār* (البهار) or *al-buhār* (البهار) [al-Khowarezmī: 34]. Hence, the writing *pwx'r* transfers the name sounding as *buxar* (*buγar*, *buqar*) or *puxar* (*puγar*, *puqar*), formed on the basis of a word of not Sogdian

[Tremblay 2004: 122], probably, the Hephtalite origin [Livshits, Kaufman, Diakonov 1954: 155, 157]. In the Yenisey languages (Hanty) there is a word *pukhar* (*pukhyr*) that means "island" [Murzaev 1984: 470].

Thereupon data of some sources are of interest. So, according to Djuwaynī, the word *buxār* (بخار), underlying the name Bukhārā (بخارا), in the language of the Mughs (*ba-luγat-i muγān*) meant "Collection of Science" (*majma'-i 'ilm*), and in the language of the idolaters (*ba-luγat-i but-parastān*), the Uighūr and the Chinese, it was used for a designation of temples where were located idols (*ma'ābid-i īšān ke mawze'-i butān*). Therefore this city named Bukhārā, and in the past it was called Bundjikath (بنجكث) [Juwaynī I: 76; Bartold 1963: 214]. In the old Uighūr language the word *buxār* (بخار) meant "temple", "chapel" [Budagov I: 285]. Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī notices that the city of Bukhārā has been named so because in it there was a temple of idolaters [Kašgarli: 111; MK III: 164].

Name of the city of Bukhārā could be formed from a word *bukhār* (*buxār*) which is not a Sogdian, but a Turkic (Uighūr) transfer of the Sanskrit word *vihara* (a Buddhist monastery). It is known that in the VI century AD the Bukhārā oasis was possession of El Arslān (Sāwa-Shāh, Shīr-i Kishwar), the son of the Supreme Turkic Qaghan Tardū (Qarā Chūrīn Turk), who was a relative of the Sāsānids Shāhān-Shāh Hurmazd IV Turkzāda on a parent line [Bel'amī II: 248, 265; Firdousī VI: 656 – 657], because his father was the brother of the Istamī-Qaghan's daughter, which married the Sāsānids Shāhān-Shāh Khusraw I Anūshīrwān. He ruled in Bukhārā 20 years with a residence in Baykand and has built the *shahristān* of Bukhārā, and also has founded some settlements in the Bukhārā oasis. His son El-Tīgīn (Parmūda, Nili-Khān) also has founded in the Bukhārā oasis some settlements, such as Iskidjkath, Shargh, Farakhshā and Rāmtīn (Rāmīthan). He was married the Chinese princess who has brought with herself from China a temple of idols and it has been established in Rāmtīn (Rāmīthan) [Frye 1954: 8; Narshakhī: 16 – 17]. Rāmītan was more ancient than Bukhārā and earlier kings had a residence in it, and after building of Bukhārā they have passed there. In some books Rāmtīn (Rāmīthan) is called also as "Bukhārā" [Frye 1954: 16; Narshakhī: 23]. On a map of the city of Bukhārā and its vicinities made in the middle of the XIX century AD, is mentioned a tomb of a son of the Chinese king (*qabri-i pīsar-i pādishāh-i Khitā*) [Muhamedjanov 1965: 31 – 42] from what follows that, possibly, the Chinese princess had a residence in Bukhārā where there was "a temple of idols".

In the Middle Ages in the region of Nasaf is mentioned the settlement Nawqad Sāwa (نوقد ساوه) [al-Nasafī 6284: 59V; al-Sam'ānī: 571R] which name can be connected with a

name of the Turkic ruler of Bukhārā which in the ‘Arabian sources is mentioned as Shāba (شابه) [Ibn Khordadhbeh: 40], and in the Persian sources – Sāwa-Shāh (ساوه شاه) [Firdousi VI: 656 – 658; Gumilev 1967: 115, 132] or Shīr-i Kishwar (شیر کشور) [Narshakhī: 16, 17]. Sāwa or Shāwa (*šāwa*) is a Bactrian title meaning “king” [Frye 1956: 122; Harmatta, Litvinsky 1996; 371]. From this data follows that Shīr-i Kishwar has founded settlements not only in the region of Bukhārā, but also in the region of Nakhshab.

In the IV/X century was considered that in olden time the central city of the Bukhārā oasis was called Nūmidjkath (نومجکث) or Būmidjkath (بومجکث) [al-Istakhrī: 313; Ibn Haukal: 463; al-Moqaddasī: 40, 289]. Hence, the name Bukhārā is not very ancient and concerned to the Early Medieval toponymic layer. Therefore some settlements of the Bukhārā oasis, such as Baykand, Warakhshā, Wardāna, Nūr, Rāmtīn (Rāmīthan) and Rāmush, are called as “settlements more ancient than Bukhārā» [al-Moqaddasī: 282; Frye 1954: 16 – 20; Narshakhī: 16, 23 – 25].

It is known that about 590 AD the Chinese queen from the house of Chjow, which prepared antigovernmental plot against the emperor from a dynasty Suy, wished to get a support of the Türks and concluded the alliance with the ruler of Bukhārā Nili-Khān (Parmūda) [Bichurin I: 240; Gumilev 1967: 136]. The conclusion of the marriage contract and arrival of the Chinese princess to Bukhārā, and also building of a Buddhist temple in Rāmīthan, apparently, also concerned this time.

The Chinese princess Sian-Shi has given birth to son named Daman (Taman). Soon after that Nili-Khān has died, and she has married his younger brother named Po-shi T’e-le (Tigīn). About 600 AD Po-shi together with Sian-Shi has left to the Chinese Court yard and has been stayed there as the hostage. Sian-Shi has not returned to Bukhārā and remained in China for the rest of her life. After death of Nili-Khān his son Daman (Taman) has been erected to a throne with a title Nigü Chulo-Khān. In 614 AD Chulo-Khān married the Chinese princess Sin-I, and was in military service at the Chinese emperor. In 618 AD he was lost in the war with the east Türks [Bichurin I: 279 – 283].

Probably, the name Bukhār (Buxār) was originally applied on this temple in Rāmīthan and later has been transferred on all area and on its new capital on a place of the present Bukhārā.

It is known that El-Tigīn (Parmūda) was the adherent of the Buddhism and with him was connected penetration of the Buddhism into Bukhārā [Stavisky 1960: 115], and also

building of two Buddhist temples in Kashmir where he has been sent as a deputy in 588 AD [Chavannes 1903: 157].

However the name Pukhar (*pwx'r*) is mentioned for the first time on the coins of the IV - V centuries AD [Smirnova 1982: 143; Musakaeva 1985: 82; Musakaeva 1990: 33 – 37; Naymark 1995: 37]. Hence, even in the board of the Khionits and Hephtalites, probably, there was a Buddhist temple from which all area has received the name. It was supposed that, at least, a ruling dynasty of confederation of the Khionits as well as the Hephtalites was a Turkic speaking [Frye 1991: 49]. In the wall paintings on a site of ancient settlement Bandian (3 km to the North-West from Dargaz) in the north of a province Khurāsān in Īrān are represented scenes of fight and a victory of one of the Sāsānid kings over the Hephtalites. At the defeated enemies lying with faces downwards the extended almond-shaped eyes and Mongoloid face type [Rahbar 1998: 236 – 237]. Early 'Arabian authors considered Hephtalites (*al-Haytal*, pl. *al-Hayātila*) as the Türks [al-Beladsorī: 403].

Penetration of the Türks into Tukhāristān and Khurāsān has begun long before formation of the Turkic Qaghanate, when they were in the structure of the Kidarits, Khionits and Hephtalites military-tribal associations. On a map of Central Asia made by Cl.Ptolemaeus is fixed the people named Comedae, who inhabited in upper basin of the Oxus river, i.e. Amu Darya [Tabulae Georaphicae: VII]. Their descendants were the medieval Kumīdjī Türks [Kamoliddin 2004: 98 – 108]. One more of the most ancient Turkic tribes which have located in Tukhāristān and Khurāsān, were the Khalachs [Zeynalov 1972: 79]. In the beginning of the VIII century AD they posessed the power in Sīstān [Macoudī V: 302].

In the IV/X century as descendants of the Hephtalites (*al-Haytal*) considered the Türks of a tribe Khalach (*xalač*) and Kandjīna, i.e. the Kumīdjī of Tukhāristān [al-Khowarezmī: 119; Frye, Sayili 1945: 315] which were the most ancient Türks, which penetrated to Khurāsān [Zeynalov 1972: 79]. In the V/XI century the Khalachs made a considerable part of the Ghaznawids army, and the Afghānī tribes of the Khildjī or Gilzay are considered as their descendants [Kudryavtsev 1972: 176 – 177].

In the IV – V centuries AD the Bukhārā oasis entered into a sphere of the Kushan-Sāsānids monetary circulation [Naymark 1995: 36], which was developed during the period between 368 – 388 AD after a gain of Tukhāristān by the Sāsānids [Lukonin 1967: 26]. Northern border of the Kushans state passed in the area of Nakhshab, i.e. in immediate proximity from the Bukhārā oasis [Masson 1975: 42 – 49]. There are bases to assume that the sphere of political influence of the Kushans extended to Bukhārā too.

The Sogdian inscriptions on one of the earliest coins of Bukhārā from Warakhshā are read as *twγ'r γwb* – "king of the Tukhārs" that allows to assume that in the III – IV centuries AD in Warakhshā ruled the Tukhārian prince [Smirnova 1982: 143].

Though dating of the earliest coins of Bukhārā is not firm and considering palegraphic data of their inscriptions for them is supposed the date till the beginning of the VI century AD. In that case gets the urgency again the hypothesis about origin of the name of Bukhar (Pukhar) during an epoch of the Turkic Qaghanate in connection with foundation of a Buddhist temple for the Chinese princess in Rāmīthan on what informed al-Narshakhī.

The Buddhism, obviously, had no wide circulation in the Bukhārā oasis, and the name "Bukhārā has been connected only with one Buddhist temple which has been built by the Turkic ruler, and it was alien to the local population.

In early Persian explanatory dictionaries the term *vihara* is mentioned in the form of Farkhār (فرخار), as the name of a city in Turkistān and an idol of a temple being there [Baevsky 1980: 88]. According to al-Kh^{w}ārazmī, *al-buhar* (البهار) means "the house of idols" of the Indians [al-Khowarezmī: 34]. In that case finds the explanation impossibility of formation of the form *puxar*, which is fixed in the Sogdian sources from a Sanskrit word *vihara* that, in turn, testifies that the city name is formed on a basis of not the Sogdian, but the Turkic (Uighūr) lexicon. The Sogdian form of Pukhar (*pwx'r*), in that case, is transfer of not a Sanskrit word *vihara*, but of the Turkic *buxar* with the same meaning.

Among the ambassadors who have arrived in 732 AD to the headquarters of the Türks in Orkhon for participation in a ceremony of the funeral of Kül-Tigīn, is mentioned Oghul-Tarkhān which have arrived from the people of the *ulus* of the Bukhārians (*buqaraq ulus budun*) [Malov 1951: 19 – 20; Amanjolov 2002: 153 – 169]. Though here the word *buqaraq* means people name, instead of the country name, and it is possible to see in it an Old Turkic form of this place-name (*buqar*) which could be constructed on the basis of a Turkic root (*buqa* – "bull") and has remained in the present Mongolian language [Frye 1956: 117]. According to the later information, the word *buqaraq* in an inscription of Kül-Tigīn is not people name, i.e. the Bukhārians, but it is an Old Turkic form of a Sanskrit word *vihara* – "the Buddhist monastery". The word *ulus* which accompaned the word *buqaraq* in the Old Turkic text also has a meaning "residence of Buddhas" [Murzaev 1984: 575]. In Southern Siberia there is a place-name Pukhar which name (*puxar*) in the Yenisey languages means "island" [Murzaev 1984: 470]. The earliest coins of Bukhārā (VI century AD) contain an inscription written by

the Kh^{w}ārazmian letters which is read as *sdq pqrq* – "Shād of Bukhārā» [Muhammadi 2000: 91].

Proceeding from the data set forth above, it is possible with sufficient basis to assume that the name of the city of Bukhārā originated from a Turkic word *buxar* that means «a Buddhist temple». Origin of this name could be connected with building of a Buddhist temple there in the board of the Khionits or the Hephtalites. In the VI century the Turkic ruler of Bukhārā El-Tigīn (Parmūda), the son of El Arslān (Shīr-i Kishwar) who was the adherent of the Buddhism, has founded here one more Buddhist temple for the Chinese princess. This temple has been located not in Bukhārā, but in Rāmīthan in which there was located his residence where, hence, have been placed the idols of the Chinese princess which were brought by her from China. Since that time the city and its area have received this alien to the Sogdian language the Turkic name of Bukhār (Buxār), from this temple. After transferring of a residence of rulers to the city of Nūmidjkath (Būmidjkath) this name began to be applied on a new city where, probably, has been constructed a new temple for idols. At the same time, still in the IV/X century it was continued to be in use the Sogdian name of this city – Būmidjkath or Nūmidjkath.

The Ancient Turkic Toponymy of the Bukhārian Oasis

During an epoch of the early Middle Ages ancient Turkic place-names prevailed in the toponymy of Central Asia, not only in the northern areas, but also in the central and southern areas of the region including the Bukhārā oasis.

The 'Arabian term Mā warā' an-nahr (ماوراءالنهر), which means "a land behind the river», is a calque of the ancient Greek name of Central Asia "Transoxiana", and the last, in turn, is a calque of the Turkic ethno-toponym Ariyaq (from ethnic name *ariyak*, *nariyak*), meaning "thouse behind the river" or «that behind the river» [Popov 1973: 142; Satibalov, Popov 1956: 109 – 112], which is mentioned in the Ptolemaeus map [Tabulae Georaphicae: VII].

On the map of Central Asia made by the Greek traveller Basilio Batatzi (1730 AD) the river Zarafshan is designated as *καρασουι* (Carasui) in which lower basin on the left coast there was a city *καρακολ* (Caracol) [Kamoliddin 2005: 40 – 41]. From this data follows that at that time the river Zarafshan was more known with a Turkic name Karasu, and in its lower basin there was a city named Karakul. In the basis of the place-name Karakul which has remained till now, lies ancient hydronym Karakul – "Black lake". In the IV/X century in the field of Bukhārā is mentioned a lake named Sāmdjan

سامجن (Sām-K^{w}āsh, Āwāza, Bārgīn-i Farākh) [al-Istakhrī: 306; Hudūd al-‘Ālem: 28a; Hudūd al-‘Ālam: 56, 73] which was called in Turkic Qarā-Kūl (قراكول) and Dingiz (دنكيز) [Frye 1954: 19, 119, n. 95; Narshakhī: 25; Lurie 2004: 192]. According to the map of Ibn Haukal, the river of Sughd (Zarafshan, Karasu) ran into a lake named Buhayrat Bukhārā (بحيرة بخارا) – “the lake of Bukhārā” [Ibn Haukal: 462, map; Fedchina 1967: 11]. On the map of al-Muqaddasī this lake is mentioned as Buhayrat Khudjād (بحيرة خجاد) – “the lake of Khudjād” [al-Muqaddasi 1994: map]. On the map of Ptolemaeus at the place of flowing of the river of Sughd (Zarafshan) into Amu Darya is mentioned the city *Characharta* [Tabulae Georaphicae: VII]. In our opinion, this name (*Characharta*), can be a distorted form of a place-name Qarā-Kūl. Hence, in the region of Bukhārā in the beginning of a new era along with the Irānian population lived also the Turkic people and this lake already at that time had its Turkic name.

It is possible to assume that the Turkic name of the river of Sughd (Karasu), which was fixed on the late medieval map, is so ancient as well as Qarā-Kūl and used among the Turkic speaking population of Sughd in the first centuries AD. At present the name of Zarafshan carries only the bottom watercourse of the river, as to the upper and average currents, they are call Qarā-Darya. It is remarkable that in a basis of the hydronyms Qarā-Kūl, Qarā-Sū and Qarā-Darya lies a Turkic word *kara* (*qarā*) – “black”. One of sleeves of Zarafshan, below Samarqand, is called Ak-Darya. Names designating various colours (white, black, red etc.) concerned to the earliest plasts of historical toponymy. One of the most ancient hydronyms of Central Asia is Tum (a) which is fixed on the map of Ptolemaeus in the form of Dumos as one of two basic inflows of Iaksartes [Tabulae Georaphicae: VII]. The origin of this name connected with the Yeniseian languages and etymologised as “Black (river)” that proves to be true by a Turkic calque of the name of this river – Qarā (Darya) [Yaylenko 1990: 40]. In the Kashka-Darya valley (Southern Sughd) one of the most ancient hydronyms Dumos is fixed in form *Du-mo* in the Chinese sources of the IV – VI centuries AD [Bichurin II: 274; Küner 1961: 178, n. 16], and also in “Zafar-Nāma” of Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī in the form of Tūm Sūyī (توم سوي) as a channel in the vicinities of Qarshī [Yazdī 1994: 163; Yazdī 1997: 54]. The origin of this hydronym also contacted with the Yeniseian languages and etymologised as Black (river) [Yaylenko 1990: 40]. Among the Mongolian clans which were a part of the Khitāy Uzbeks is fixed the clan named Tuma [Akhunov 1987: 90].

Name of the quarter Warān (وران) in Bukhārā, as well as the name of the city of Walwālidj or Warwāliz in Tukhāristān [al-Istakhrī: 275; al-Moqaddasī: 346] connected

with ethmic name Avar [Togan 1969: 284]. In the region of Bukhārā is fixed the settlement named Awshar (Afshar) [al-Moqaddasī: 282] which name is formed from a Turkic ethnonym Afshar [Kašgarli: 56; MK I: 89].

On the way from Bukhārā to Khurāsān in the Middle Ages there was a city named Baykand or Paykand [al-Istakhrī: 313 – 315; Hudūd al-'Ālem: 4a, 9b, 22b; Hudūd al-'Ālam: 113; al-Moqaddasī: 49, 266] which name originated from the Turkic word *bay*/*pay*/*may* which is going back to a name of a female deity Umay which entered into a pantheon of the Tangrian religion of the ancient Türks. According to al-Bīrūnī, Baykand was called also Diz-Rūyīn (دزروين) [Bīrūnī 1973: 470]. According to al-Kāshgharī, Baykand was called Diz-Rūyīn (دزروين) and it was the most extreme in the west a city of the country of the Türks [MK III: 164; al-Kašγarī II: 225]. In the East Turkistān in the V – VI/XI – XII centuries also there was a city named Baykand [Djaparidze 1984: 28]. On the same way from Bukhārā to Khurāsān is mentioned the settlement Miyān-Kāl (ميانكال) [al-Istakhrī: 337; Ibn Haukal: 517; al-Moqaddasī: 343, 345] which name contains topoformant *-kal* (*-gal*) widespread both in Irānian and in Turkic place-names.

In the region of Bukhārā is mentioned also the settlement Barskhān (برسخان) [al-Sam'ānī II: 153] in which name it is possible to see a Turkic title Khān. This name, just as names of the *ribāt* Bārs or Bāris (بارس) in Khurāsān [al-Moqaddasī: 348], the city Bārskat (بارسكت) in the region of al-Shāsh [al-Sam'ānī II: 29] and the city of Barskhān (برسخان) on the bank of the Isiq-Kūl lake [al-Moqaddasī: 48, 263; Hudūd al-'Ālem: 3b, 18a, 24a; Hudūd al-'Ālam: 98], is formed from a Turkic name Bārs or Bāris (بارس). The military leader of Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad al-Sāmānī named Bāris al-Kabīr, which was at first his *ghulām* and then has been appointed as a governor of Djurdjān, Tabaristān and Rey [Ibn al-Athīr VII: 209; VIII: 3]. A certain Bārs (Bāris) al-Saqlabī was one of participants of embassy of the Calīph to al-Bulghār [Collection: 391; Puteshestvie: 55, 72]. In the monuments of the Old Turkic Runic inscriptions of Talās are mentioned names Bars, Kara Bars and Okul Bars [Malov 1959: 92, 97, 100]. In the *waqf* doucment of Tamghāch-Khān Ibrāhīm (V/XI c.) is mentioned the name Bārs-Tigīn [Bosworth 1968: 451].

In the IV/X century the al-Ghuzz Türks which inhabited in lower basin of Syr-Darya with permission of the Sāmānids have lodged in the Zarafshan valley, in the area of Nūr and in vicinities of Bukhārā [Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaqī: 681; Bayhaqī: 823; al-Husaynī: 164]. The descendants of these Oghuzes – the Turkmans live to this day around Nur-Ata in the region of Bukhārā [Shaniyazov 1973: 5]. The settlement al-Qariya al-Djadīda (القرية

الجديدة), i.e. “the New Settlement” located in vicinities of Bukhārā, has been based in IV/X century by the Turkman immigrants from Djand (جند) [al-Sam‘ānī III: 319]. Subsequently this settlement was a part of a city and was called Turk-i Djandī [Sukhareva 1976: 91 – 92].

On the way from Bukhārā to Kh^{w}ārazm in the IV/X century are mentioned the settlement Shurūkhān (شروخان) [al-Moqaddasi: 343] and *ribāt* Tāsh (تاش) [al-Moqaddasī: 343, 345] which name can be connected with a name of the Sāmānids dignitary *al-hādjib* Abū-l-‘Abbās Husām al-Dawla Tāsh [Ibn al-Athīr IX: 4, 5, 10, 11, 12]. On the basis of Turkic language were etymologised such place-names located in the region of Bukhārā as Bīrmās (بيرماس) [al-Sam‘ānī II: 361], Sūtkhān (سوتخن) [al-Sam‘ānī VII: 184], Sūtikān (سوتكان) [al-Sam‘ānī VI: 42], Zimliq(ā) (ملقى) [al-Sam‘ānī VI: 299], Burzun (برزن,) Ghuzkent (غزكنت), etc. [NS 2001: 16; Babayarov 2005: 127]. In the region of Bukhārā are mentioned also *rustāq* Bardaq (بردق) [Ibn Haukal: 485], settlement Fāshūq (فاشوق) [al-Sam‘ānī IX: 228], settlement Qarāghūn (قراغون) [al-Istakhrī: 334; Ibn Haukal: 517; al-Moqaddasī: 345] and the city of Gharkand (غركند) [Ibn Haukal: 488] in which name contains Turkic topoformant *-kand* [Lurje 2003: 199]. Name of the settlement Turwākhā (تروا خى) or Turākhā (تراخى) in the region of Bukhārā [al-Sam‘ānī III: 37; VIII: 237] is made from a Turkic word *turagh* – “residence” [DTS: 587; Babayarov 2005: 126]. In the name of a settlement Kūkshībaghn (كوكشيبغن) [Ibn Khordadhbeh: 26] or Kūk (كوك) in which the Turkic Qaghan equipped his armies for a campaign [Kodama: 203], it is possible to see a Turkic word *kūk* (“dark blue”).

Name of the settlement Bitik (بتك) in the region of Farabr [Frye 1954: 6; Narshakhī: 15], which was etymologised from the Old Irānian *uaiδi* – “water stream” [Tremblay 2004: 122], it is possible also to etymologise from old Türkic word *bitik* – “book”, “letter”, “inscription” [Kašgarli: 68, 137, 198, 253, 321, MK I: 101, 171, 231, 295, 365]. The settlement Wardāna located in the region of Bukhārā, is called “a fortress on border with Turkīstān» [Frye 1954: 16; Narshakhī: 18, 23].

From the settlement Dakhfandūn (دخفندون) in the region of Bukhārā there was Abū Ibrāhīm ‘Abd Allāh ibn Khandja al-Dakhfandūnī (died in 273/886-87) with a prorank Djamūk [al-Sam‘ānī V: 289], which was originated from a notable Turkic clan Djamūk [Smirnova 1971: 64 - 65]. The ambassador of the Bukhārians, which arrived in 732 AD to the headquarters of the Türks in Orkhon for participation on funeral of Kül-Tigīn, had a Turkic name Oghul-Tarkhān [Amanjolov 2002: 153 – 169].

Thus, the historical-linguistic analysis of the historical toponymy of the Bukhārā oasis shows that Turkic names one of the most ancient in this territory, and it means that

the Türks lived here from an extreme antiquity, making a part of local settled population.

Ethnic Situation in the Bukhārā Oasis During the Early Middle Ages

The population of the Bukhārā oasis since ancient times had the mixed character and its considerable part made nomadic tribes. Research of the *kurgans* of Kalkan-Say in the Bukhārā area, which are dated V – III centuries BC, has shown that originally there prevailed the Mongoloid type which has been mixed subsequently with the Europeoid type [Zezenkova 1969: 161]. The population of the cities of Sughd and Bactria during an antiquity epoch was mixed as a result of constant inflow of nomadic tribes from the Aral Lake region, the East of the Caspian Sea region and Tien-Shan Mountains. The nomads settled, basically, not in a countryside, but in cities, therefore the Mongoloid elements of the urban population were expressed more strongly [Khodjayov 1986: 114]. The Bukhārā oasis, along with Tien-Shan-Alay and Aral Lake regions, was one of the centres of concentration of the population with a Mongoloid admixture [Askarov, Buriakov, Khodjayov 1988: 23 – 25].

During an epoch of the early Middle Ages there was a nonviolent and natural process of ethno-cultural mutual rapprochement and assimilation of the Irānian speking Sogdians and Kh^{w}ārazmians with the Türks [Krippes 1991: 67 – 80]. More precisely, it was coming to the end stage of this process, which proceeded within two millenia, and most intensively occurred beginning from the II century BC, when Central Asia after long domination of overseas conquerors was included again into an area of Central Asian cultures. As a result by an epoch of the early Middle Ages the Irānian speaking people of Central Asia already substantially were Turkisized [VT 1992: 337]. In turn, the Türks living among the Irānian speaking people, accepted their religion, culture and language, and by the external signs almost were not different from them. According to the anthropological data, during an epoch of the early Middle Ages when in Central Asia there was widespread a Turkic language, in parallel did not increased the Mongoloid elements, but on the contrary, decreased [Khodjayov 1987: 59] that, in our opinion, was connected with assimilation of the Sogdians, Kh^{w}ārazmians and Bactrians with the Türks to which was promoted also unity of their believes. The Türks not only possessed the political power, but also confessed the same religions, as the Sogdians,

Kh^{w}ārazmians and Bactrians, namely the Mazdaism, Buddhism, Christianity and Manichaeism.

The Turkic speking people used at the Irānian speaking Sogdians, Kh^{w}ārazmians and Bactrians very great prestige that is important factor for interlingual and intercultural influences. For example, language and antroponyms of the Alans, ancestors the Ossetins, already in the Middle Ages have been overflowed by Turkic loans that were explained as "a popularity" of the all Turkic among them. The Turkisms could not be superseded even the Greek-Biblical loans which have entered into the language of the Alans after acceptance of Christianity by them in X century. Especially widely Turkisms are presented in the Osset antroponymy, i.e. personal names [Abaev 1985: 27]. Loan of antroponyms is one of indicators of cultural, political, social and economic and language influence [Musaev 1984: 219].

In the same way in the VII century AD in the China of Tang dynasty where people were able to appreciate fine and to like far, there was popular all Turkic – clothes, dishes, a house requisite, and especially music, poetry and dances [Ismailov 1984: 180]. Turkic loans are existed in the Hindi (about 80 words) and the Tamil (40) languages [Musaev 1984: 149]. During the Hunn-Avarian and Pecheneg-Kuman periods (VIII – X centuries AD) the Turkic language has made strong impact on the European languages. Among Turkisms in the German language prevails political terminology and the subject nomenclature which together make over 60 %. About the same parity in lexical sets of Turkic loans in the English language [Musaev 1984: 128]. Strong influence the Turkic language and culture have rendered also on the Georgian, Armenian and other Caucasian languages [Gukasian 1971: 238 – 250], and the part of Armenians subsequently has at all passed to the Turkic (Armenian-Qipchaq) language [Documenty: 1967]. A big percent of Turkisms was also in the Ugrian languages, and these loans covered almost all spheres of a public life, including city and rural [Haydu 1985: 23]. Many place-names in Irān and Asia Minor were Turkisized [Schanzlin 1936: 284, 286]. Especially strong influence of the Turkic culture is traced in the Russian [Poppe 1981: 310 – 316].

During an epoch of the early Middle Ages the Türks played the important role in urban life of Sughd where have been extended as European, so Mongoloid and the mixed racial types. Therefore the racial shape of the Sogdians was exclusively various [Khodjayov 1987: 7, 22]. There is an opinion that the ancient Türks of Central Asia of the European shape, who lived in cities, were "the Sogdians which exposed to the Turkization" [NS 2001: 20]. However it is difficult to agree with such statement for the

several reasons. First, as it is noted above, a considerable part of the Western Türks initially had the Europeoid shape. During an epoch of the Turkic Qaghanate the share of the Mongoloid elements in comparison with the previous epoch of antiquity does not increase, but remains at former level. The Türks settled in the territory of Central Asia before the 'Arabian gain, were natives of the nearest territories and a little differed on appearance from local settled tribes. The Mongoloid impurity on their type was no more, than at the people of Central Asia [Khodjayov 1988: 30]. Secondly, a part of the western Türks initially conducted a settled and city way of life, being engaged in agriculture, craft manufacture and trade. Thirdly, historical terminology of Turkic languages in the field of agriculture, gardening and town-planning considerably surpasses in quantity and a variety the terminology of the Sogdian language, hence, dictionary structure and traditions of ancient Türks in these areas were much richer, than at the Sogdians. Fourthly, in sources is marked process of natural and nonviolent assimilation of the Sogdians among the Türks, but there are no examples of dissolution of the Türks in the Sogdian environment. Then, at last, alien nomadic Türks hardly could assimilate local, more cultural settled people. In the history everywhere is observed an opposite picture: Alien elements, both nomads, and conquerors, as a rule, gradually are exposed to assimilation among settled natives. The Irānian elements in territory of Central Asia were secondary and took root in the local settled pre-Indo-European population which part made the people, related to present Turkic speaking population of Central Asia. Language change is not always accompanied by population change [Khodjayov 1988: 30]. Hence, it is impossible to exclude, as the Irānian speaking Sogdians, Bactrians and Kh^{w}ārazmians far back in the past could be Turkic speaking. According to the ethnographic data, in the history of Central Asia there are many examples of transition of a part of the population on other language. So, in the end of XIX – beginning XX century AD in Afghanistan and east part of the Khānate of Bukhārā many Turkic clans and tribes which passed to a settled way of life, left Turkic language and passed on the Fārsī [Karmysheva 1976].

The Sogdians not only genetically, but also on the culture were very close to the local Türks with whom they entered mixed marriages about what testifies the data of written monuments, numismatics and art [Albaum 1975: 55 – 56 (a Wedding Scene); Maytdinova 1984: 20 – 27 (the Scene in a Boat)]. In the Chinese historiography of the VII century AD the Sogdians were considered as one of tribes of the Turkic Qaghanate [Kyzlasov 2004: 8; Kliashtorny, Livshitz 1971: 144] Even after defeat of the Turkic Qaghanate when the Sogdians became actually full independent, contacts of the Türks

and the Sogdians not only have not stopped, but have still much more developed [Gül 2002: 97]. And at last, about the same testify also the Armenian sources, according to which, "the Sogds, Tukhārs, Hephtalites and other people of Turkastan (*sic*.) were considered as the Turkic clans" [Ter-Mkrtichian 1985: 75]. The Same people are called among 44 people of the country Apahtark, i.e. Skithia who was stretched from the river Etil (Volga) to the country of Chens, i.e. China [Ter-Mkrtichian 1979: 63]. Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī named the Sughdāqs, i.e. the Sogdians, "the people which have merged with the Türks [MK I: 335 – 336] which representatives "avoid remixing with the Persians and speak only in two languages – Sogdian and Turkic" [MK I: 65]. By the term Sughdāq the Türks meant only the district of Samarqand, i.e. Sughd in narrow sense. Inhabitants of Bukhārā they named the Bukhārians (*buqaraq*), and the Sogdians of the East Turkistān – the Tukhārs [Bernshtam 1947: 46]. The 'Arabian poet Thābit al-'Atakī, which took part in battles of the 'Arabs against the Sogdians, named leaders of the revolted Sogdians as "the kings of the Türks» [at-Tabarī II: 1271, 1446]. The 'Arabian geographers also mentioned al-Afshīn of Ustrūshana, al-Ikhshīdh of Samarqand, Bukhār-Khudāt of Bukhārā and other local rulers of Sughd as "the Türks" [al-Istakhrī: 292; Ibn Haukal: 468].

According to art monuments, in VI – X centuries AD in Sughd, the basin of Syr-Darya and Yetisū region dominated the Türk-Sogdian traditions [Gül 2002: 98]. In the Chinese manuscripts of the middle of VIII century AD from the Sogdian colonies in Dun-Huan, along with the Sogdian names, are mentioned also Turkic names and titles of various natives of Central Asia, such as Irkīn (Kan I-tszin), Tudūn (He-Tu-dun), Tigīn (Lo Te-czing), Baγatur (He Mo-tszya-to), Tarkhān (An Da-han), Özmiš (An U-sy-mi), etc., i.e. carriers of these names still before resettlement from Central Asia were strongly Turkified. In the Sogdian inscriptions from Old Marw where also there was a colony of the Sogdians is mentioned Turkic Tarkhān [Freyman 1969: 296 – 302], as well as in the Sogdian documents from Sughd (doc. A 13) [SDGM II: 38]. The origin of this title connected with Turkic languages [Tatarintsev 1993: 178].

Meanwhile, in written sources there is no mention that the Sogdians have merged with the Persians or the 'Arabs. In the narrativ sources and documents of the early Middle Ages there are not at all any mentions about existence of the Persian speaking people in Alan and Turan [Bobnok 2001: 17]. The Sogdian language was unfamiliar for the conquerors therefore many names of Sogdian origin were not clear to immigrants and have gradually lost their original form [Karaev 1991: 41]. Present people of Yaghnob, being lineal descendants of the Sogdians do not consider themselves as the

Tadjiks. They have not mixed up till now with the neighbour Tadjiks and strongly differ from them as in the language, so anthropologically. The people of Yaghnob till now speak in their special language which is not clear even to the Tadjiks living in Yaghnob [Andreev 1970: 7]. Meanwhile, in their language there is a big percent of the Turkisms which considerable part concerns an epoch of the early Middle Ages [Krippes 1991: 74 – 75]. Other examples are the people of Pamir, which else in beginning of the XX century preserved themselves against mixture with the Tadjiks, considering them strange newcomers from everywhere [Liushkevich 1971: 36 – 71].

Traditions of the Irānian art never were dominating in Central Asia though were some kind of the standard for Sogdian and Turkic masters. Good breeding of the Sogdian and Turkic cultures did not allow the Irānian art got by religious subjects, to take leading positions [Gül 2002: 131]. Already during an epoch of the early Middle Ages art of Sughd, which population made the Sogdians and the Türks who were speaking different languages, was uniform and beacame their general property in the future [Pugachenkova, Rempel 1960: 56].

In the memorial inscription of Kül-Tigīn (VII century AD) it is told about time of Bumyn-Qaghan and Istamī-Qaghan which have settled the people in the east up to the Kadirkan and in the west – up to Temir-Kapig (*temir qapiγ*), i.e. the Iron Gate [Malov 1951: 36]. Under the name "that behind the river" (Mā warā' an-nahr) the 'Arabs meant the country of the settled Türks of Central Asia, which as a part of head tax (*al-djizya*) sent them children of nomads of Turkistān [Zaidan 1907: 216].

According to Süan Tszan, all of the country between Amu Darya and the river Sou-e (Chu) culturally represented a single whole. Clothes, letters and language everywhere were identical. They connected hair and left top opened. Some absolutely shaved a head and closed a forehead a silk piece. Half of inhabitants were engaged in agriculture, other half – in trade. The city on the river was the trade centre Suy-e (Sūyāb), which as well as other cities, submitted to the Türks. In the vicinities of Suy-e there was a headquarters of the Turkic Qaghan. The Qaghan carried a green raincoat, his hair has been dismissed, and the forehead is closed by a silk piece. At his retinue hair has been braided in plaits [Julien 1853: 55 – 58]. This data, in particular, the description of a hairdress and smoothfaced heads, testifies that in the beginning of VII century AD the population of Central Asia already made the uniform ethnocultural file representing symbiosis of the settled Türks and the Turkifies Sogdians [Vaynshtein, Kriukov 1966: 179, 182, 187]. Therefore the 'Arabs in the tax books considered Sughd as a unit with Farghāna and cities of the Türks [Ibn Khordadhbeh: 38]. On the coins of ancient Türks

there are portraits of rulers with plaits, and the hairdress of the Qaghan differs – a flowing hair intercepted on a forehead by a fillet [Baratova 1995: 16]. In VII – VIII centuries AD in the all territory of Central Asia were widespread Turkic belt sets, arms and suits [Raspopova 1965: 89].

In Central Asia in V – VIII centuries AD was widespread the Old Turkic Runic writing which monuments are found not only in the northern areas of the region, such as Yetisū, basin of Syr-Darya, Chāch and Farghāna, but also in central regions – Sughd and Ustrūshana. The Runic epigraphics shows closest ethnic and cultural communication of the population of Central Asia with the population of Southern Siberia and the Inner Asia [Kliashtorny 1970: 83 – 85].

It is known that the Sogdians were skilful dealers and played large role in international trade on the Silk Road [al-Isfahānī: 190]. From the data of Ptolemaeus follows that in the first centuries AD participation of the Sogdians in trade with China was still minor [Bartold 1963a: 186]. Probably, such role the Sogdians began to play later, during an epoch of the Khionits or Hephtalites. In the Chinese sources is noticed that when the boy was five years of age, he started to learn reading and writing and when he started to read, he forced to study in trading business [Bartold 1963a: 190]. Intermediary mission in international trade demanded from the Sogdians also knowledge of other languages, first of all, Turkic and Chinese. The Türks were the same intermediaries in international trade, and, possessing the political power, supervised trade on the Silk Road. The community of interests of the Sogdians and the Türks promoted their partnership in international trade. The Türks were engaged not only in delivery of the goods and conducting of the caravans, but took part also in commercial operations [de la Vaissiere 2004: 180 – 203].

In written sources it is noticed that the Türks trained the children in the reading and writing and used two kinds of writing: the Sogdian and the Tughuz-Ghuz (i.e. Uighūr) [Marwarrūdī: 90 – 93 The general interests and the neighbourhood of the Sogdians both the Türks have caused ethnocultural and ethnogenetic symbiosis of these two people that finally has led them to natural merge and nonviolent assimilation [Krippes 1991: 67 – 80]. The secular type of the Sogdian and Turkic societies which were actually of the same age in development alienated them from ideals of patriotism, jealousy of belief and love to cultural traditions that did ethno-social system defenceless. Therefore the Sogdians did not aspire at all to political independence from the Türks [Gül 2002: 99]. Even after defeat and disintegration of the Turkic Qaghanate the most close and trustworthy aliens of the Sogdians in their struggle against the ‘Arabs were the Türks.

On the frescos of Warakhshā is represented the saddle with stirrups that could appear not earlier than VII century AD, i.e. with the Türks. In the same place are represented figures of horsemen-soldiers of obviously east origin in caftans of breed characteristic for nomads. On feathers of a wing of a dragon there are Runic shape signs which make one line [Bernshtam 1951: 74].

In the ruins of a palace of the ruler's palace in Warakhshā which existed till the IV/X century has been found a hall with a fragment of wall painting. In this fragment is represented a horseman shooting from a bow having turned back – a motive characteristic for art of Sughd of the early Middle Ages when there were dominated the Türks [Pugachenkova, Rempel 1965: 144, ill. 117]. The motive of a horseman shooting on the move back is the classical plot, based on the Scythian tactics of horse fighting "a battle by the enemy leaving" [Litvinsky, Piankov 1966: 47]. On the Etrussk vase of VI century BC is represented the Kimmerian – a horseman in a peaked cap of type of felt caps of the Saka-Tigrahauda; he shoots back from compound bow [Shishkin 1963: 213]. The Scythian tactics of conducting a fight with enticing the enemy deep into their army was inherent for all people of the Euroasian steppes, but during an epoch of the early Middle Ages it was characteristic for Turkic tradition. In the Sogdian and the Irānian art this plot has appeared under the influence of the Türks [Gül 2002: 105]. So-called "Sogdian horseman", which was shooting having turned back, represented on the silver bowl of the VII centuryAD from the Afrasiab ruins, actually could be the Turkī [Pugachenkova, Rempel 1965: ill. 124]. The Türks were known in Irān as "shooters from bows", as the Greeks – philosophers, and the Indians – magicians [al-Tha'ālibī: 139].

The compound bows represented in the wall paintings of Warakhshā are typically Turkic which was widespread during an epoch of the early Middle Ages across all Central Asia [Shishkin 1963: 216]. Among petrogliphs of Sulek there is an image of a horseman with two plaits, shooting on the move back from the bow [Artamonov 1962: 210; Esin 1965: 214]. The 'Arabian poet al-Djāhiz (III/IX c.), giving the characteristic to the Türks, wrote: "He does not cease to be on a back of a horse constantly, pursuing or being pursued... The Turkī shoots on wild animals, birds, targets, people, the fixed targets, the established images and birds of prey. He shoots, driving the horse back and forth, to the right and to the left, upwards and downwards... If he recedes, all the same

he is as deadly poison and inevitable death because he amazes his enemy, shooting forward...” [al-Djāhiz: 28 – 29].

In the Nur-Ata mountains are found *tamgha* shaped rock drawings of the mountain goats connected with the Türks [Malikov 2000: 14]. The same images of mountain goats have been put on the memorial monuments in Orkhon where they were a symbol of the Qaghan’s power in the Turkic Qaghanate [Grach 1973: 322].

In the pre-Islāmic necropolis of Baykand are found oval ossuariums with sticked images of the female figures standing under an arch which are dated V – beginning of the VIII centuries AD. Faces of these figures have typically Turkic features (full oval face, narrow strongly extended cut of eyes slightly extending from top to bottom a flat nose, small full lips, a hairdress two-story, at some of them plaits go down on shoulders) [Alpatkina 2000: 129].

Two fragments of ceramics have been found in medieval Bukhārā with a painting on which are represented the young man playing a musical instrument and the young girl with two plaits. Both characters have typically Turkic features (a round face form, the narrow extended almond-shaped cut of eyes, the eyebrows converging at nose bridge) [Abdullaev 1979: 76 – 78].

The Turk-Sogdian nobility is represented in sources on fine horses, in clothes from expensive fabrics, in gold belts, with swords and daggers made in gold and silver [al-Beladsorī: 412; at-Tabarī II: 1243, 1441]. Same they are represented in wall paintings of the Sogdian palaces and temples [Smirnova 1970: 85].

The Türks possessed not only the political and administrative power, but also made a considerable part of urban population of Sughd. Therefore already during an epoch of the early Middle Ages the population of cities was bilingual. The comparative-typological analysis of the Sogdian and Turkic societies gives the chance to do a conclusion that they were practically coevals that facilitated an establishment of interethnic contacts. Secular character of culture of the Sogdians and the Türks even more promoted their active interaction. The analysis of monuments of art (a sculpture, painting) Central Asia testifies to the leading part of a Turkic ethno-cultural background. Turkic influence was showed not only in the torevtics, an art form traditionally advanced in the environment of steppe tribes, but also in such especially “city” kinds, as a sculpture and a carving on alabaster (*ganch*), wall painting [Gül 2002: 16]. In the Chinese manuscripts of the middle of VIII century AD from the Sogdian colony in Dun-Huan, which was based in the beginning of VII century AD by immigrants from Sughd, along with the Sogdian names mentioned the Turkic names

and titles of natives of various cities of Central Asia, including Kan I-tszin, i.e. Irkīn from Samarqand [Chuguevsky 1971: 153].

In painting of early Medieval Sughd it is possible to meet set of samples with the image of the Türks. A brightest example is the large group of the Türks making retinue of the Ikhshidh of Samarqand, represented on the western wall of a palace of the ruler in the Afrasiab ruins (VI – VII centuries AD). Suits and ornaments of other group of figures in the wall paintings of the Afrasiab ruins find close analogies in stone statues of the ancient Türks [Albaum 1975: 55 – 56]. In the images of later suits of the Türks (VIII century AD), in turn, is traced influence of the Sogdian culture.

In the wall paintings of the Afrasiab ruins are represented the belts with the buckles, having close analogies in materials from burial grounds of the VI – VII centuries AD in the territory of Siberia, Bashkiria, Ural Mountains, Western Farghāna and the Chu valley, which concerned to a type of the early Turkic belts [Arzhantseva 1987: 92 – 114]. In some cases belt sets of Sughd are identical with the Turkic belts of theYetisū region and Siberia [Raspopova 1965: 83].

In the Sogdian koroplastics is observed strong influence of the art traditions of the Türks in form of images of the Turkic soldiers-horsemen. Typical Türks with some Mongoloid shape in high conic caps are represented on the terracotta figurines of soldiers-horsemen of VII – VIII centuries AD from the Afrasiab ruins. Other group of such figurines, according to opinion of the researchers, represents "the Sogdian horsemen", as well as the image on a silver dish from the Afrasiab ruins[180]. However, it seems that in this second group of figurines could be represented not only the Sogdians, but also the urban Türks. In ears of these soldiers are represented heavy pear-shaped earrings, and hair are combed back, the fave is wide round severe without a beard, small moustaches with the ends lowered downwards, small mouth with full lips, eyes of a slanting cut, eyebrows converge at nose bridge [Pugachenkova, Rempel 1960: 56; Albaum 1975: 31]. Prototype of high conic felt caps of the Turkic soldiers-horsemen are headdresses of the Saka-Tigrahauda (with peaked headdresses), represented on bas-reliefs of the tombs of Darius I, Naqsh-i Rustam and Behistun, or of the Ortokoribanties of the Herodotus [Diakonov 1956: 248]. It was supposed, that these Saks have been settled in the Tashkent oasis, foothills of the Western Tien-Shan and steppes of Southern Kazakhstan [Akoshev 1978: 61]. The further development of this headdress form was the conic headdress (*doppi*) of the Turkic people of Central Asia [Sukhareva

[180] In total are found 28 figurines, from which 10 with the Europeoid face type and 18 – with the Mongoloid one [Pugachenkova, Rempel 1965: 160 (ill. 148, 152)].

1954: 345]. On a site of the ancient settlement Qarā-Bulāq in the Farghāna valley is found a bronze figure of the person with a peaked headdress [PKI: 35 (№ 66)]. Abū Rayhān al-Bīrūnī results the legend according to which the ancestor of the Turkic ruler of Kābul Barah-Tigīn left the cave named Bughrā in the Turkic clothes consisted from a *kaab*, high cap, boots and weapon [Biruni 1963: 359 – 360].

Influence of the Türks also is traced in ornamentation of vessels (the image of arrows, notches). In prints of stamps on walls of vessels prevailed images of persons with the Turkic features. The significant amount of the ceramics which repeated in clay the forms of the Sāsānids silver vessels had prints of not only pomegranate fruits, but also the faces of Turkic rulers [Lebedev 1994; Malikov 2000: 15].

The arms of the Sogdians of VII – VIII centuries AD developed under the influence of the Turkic arms and were almost completely identical with it to what testify subjects of material culture and art. So, with the Türks connected occurrence of such subjects as cut tips of arrows, type-setting belts, etc. [Malikov 2000: 14]. In Samarqand and its area are found iron stirrups of the 8-shaped form characteristic for the Hunns and the Türks [Litvinsky 1978: 111], and also the swords with two blades which were genetically connected with similar swords of the Southern Ural, the Lower Volga region, Southern Kazakhstan and Southern Siberia [Obelchenko 1978: 123 – 125].

Near to Samarqand it was revealed ancient Turkic burial with a horse, accompanying inventory which has direct conformity in similar monuments of the Altay and the Chu valley [Zadneprovsky 1967: 171; Malikov 2000: 14].

The Sogdians had close political relations also with the East Turkic Qaghanate. In 712 AD on an appeal of the Sogdians in vicinities of Samarqand appeared the groups of Bilga-Qaghan led by Kül-Tigīn, which tried to help them in their struggle against the ‘Arabs [Kliashtorny 1964: 136 – 155].

Thus, complex studying of data of written sources in comparison with data of material culture shows that during epoch of the Early Middle Ages the Türks made a considerable part of the population of Bukhārā oasis and played an important role not only in a political, but also a cultural life of the region. The settled Türks together with the Sogdians, the Kh^{w}ārazmians and the Bactrians which were substantially assimilated with them made uniform ethno-cultural space in all territory of Central Asia.

The 'Arabian gain, undoubtedly, has influenced on the ethnic situation in Central Asia and has led to some reduction of the local population, including the Türks as a result of mass destruction[181] and the compelled resettlement of a part of local population, the Sogdians and the Türks, out of limits of the 'Arabian Calīphate[182] and settling on their place of newcomers of immigrants and colonizers of the 'Arabian and Persian origin[183]. Considerable population migrations from Irān to Central Asia took place even in the second quarter of the VII century AD when the 'Arabs have occupied Irān as a result of what a part of the population of the Sāsānids state has moved to the East countries – India, Central Asia and China where there were communities of the Zoroastrians [Kolesnikov 1982: 146]. As the beginning of penetration of the Persians to Central Asia it is possible to consider 21/641-42, when the armies of the Sāsānids have suffered defeat from the 'Arabs at Nihāwand, then Persians have been compelled to run for Amu Darya [Gibb 1923: 15; Frye 1975: 96].

The period of the 'Arabian gain was the beginning of active formation of the West Irānian (Persian) toponymy in the territory of Central Asia [Khromov 1980: 136]. At this particular time entered into the use new Persian topoformants *-deh* and *-abad* with a meaning the "settlement", extended in Central Asia together with the New Persian language (Fārsī) of the West Irānian origin [Bartold 1963: 210]. The same time concerned also occurrence in Central Asia of the place-names with participation of the

[181] In 91/709-10 Qutayba ibn Muslim only for one day has killed in Tukhāristān 12 thousands of the Turkic war prisoners. In 98/716-17 the 'Arabian military leader Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab after a gain of the area of Djurdjān in Khurāsān, has killed there for one day 14 thousands, and according to other data, 40 thousands of the Turkic prisoners of war [al-Tabarī 1987: 125 – 130; 165 – 170]. Having won Khʷārazm, Qutayba ibn Muslim has killed there 4 thousands, and according to other data, 400 thousands of war prisoners [at-Tabarī II: 1238 – 1239. Smirnova 1970: 265]. The same massacre of prisoners of war accompanied also campaigns of the 'Arabs in other areas of Central Asia. It should be noticed, that all of these murders were made not during military actions, but already after delivery of the opponent in a captivity that testifies that they did this intentionally.

[182] In written sources there are numerous indications that not only the Türks, but also a part of the Sogdians left their lands and moved to Yetisū region, East Turkistān and China [VT 1992: 538].

[183] Having won cities, the 'Arabs concluded with local residents humiliating for them peace treties according to which, besides payment of excessively high contribution, they should release half of their city for conquerors and give to the 'Arabian soldiers half of each house [Smirnova 1957: 119 – 134; Bartold 1963a: 192; Muminov 2003: 108.

west Irānian topoformants *-an*, *-kird* (*-gird*,*-djird*), *-diza* (*-diz*), *-rud* and *-stan* (*-istan*) [Khromov 1974: 10 – 15].

If in the west the ‘Arabian conquerors built for the armies military camp, some of which have turned subsequently to cities, in the east they began to lodge in already existed cities among local population [Bartold 1971: 363]. It is known, that the ‘Arabian conquerors carried out active policy of colonization and forced inhabitants of large cities, such as Bukhārā, Samarqand, Kish, Nasaf, etc., to vacate half of the city for the ‘Arabian immigrants, and in other half part of each house for needs of colonizers [at-Tabarī II: 1250 – 1252; Narshakhī: 51 – 57]. Central Asia which was earlier a part of Turkistān, i.e. Western Turkic Qaghanate, was considered now as continuation of Khurāsān and has received the name Mā warā’ an-nahr (ما وراء النهر), i.e. “that behind the river”[184].

Considerable part of armies of the ‘Arabian conquerors and their administration made their so-called clients (*mawlā*) from among the Irānians who have accepted Islām which often acted in a role of intermediaries between the ‘Arabs and local population. The ‘Arab-Persian colonizers have pursued active policy of Irānization of the local population [Bartold 1963: 121]. Between the Sogdians and the Western Persians were established closer cultural dialogue than ever earlier [Bartold 1971: 251] and country of the Sogdians began to be called also as “the Upper Irān” [Ibn al-Nadīm I: 18] or “Upper Khurāsān” [Ibn al-Fakih 1968: 56]. These processes have found a reflection in composition of al-Narshakhī which noticed that “in board of Qutayba ibn Muslim (ruled in 86 – 96/705 – 715) all cities of Mā warā’ an-nahr have been divided between the ‘Arabs and the Persians” [Narshkhī: 120], and also in composition of Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī according to which, “after when in the cities of Ma wara’ an-nahr the quantity of the Persians has considerably increased, they became similar to the cities of al-‘Adjam” [MK III: 164; Bosworth 1963: 207]. These data prove to be true also by data of the toponymic researches according to which, the beginning of active formation of the West Irānian (Persian) toponymy in territory of Central Asia was the period of the ‘Arabian gain [Khromov 1980: 136].

The active colonizer policy was spent by the ‘Arabs and Persians mainly in Sughd and southern part of Tukhāristān. As a result of this policy to the middle IV/X century the New Persian language has superseded the Sogdian language in Sughd and the

[184] About the use of terms “Mā warā’ an-nahr” and “Turkistān” in medieval sources see: Kamoliddin 2002: 61 – 68.

Bactrian – in Tukhāristan, and Turkic language became language of enemies of Islām with which were conducted "sacred" wars (*al-djihād*).

As to other areas, for example, Khʷārazm, it has stood aside of these processes, therefore finally there has been finished a natural and nonviolent process. which proceeded many centuries, of assimilation of the Irānian speaking Khʷārazmians, which yet in V/XI century continued to speak and write on their language[185], with the Turkic speaking Khʷārazmians [Bartold 1963a: 122] which in V/XI century had their self-name Kochat [MK I: 338]. For this reason among local population of Khʷārazm already in VI/XII – beginning VII/XIII centuries as well as at present time, any more was not Irānian speaking layers [Bartold 1966: 244][186]. According to anthropological data, in IV – VI/X – XII centuries a considerable part of population of Sughd, Ustrūshana, Tien-Shan and Ust-Yurt were made by people with Mongoloid features [Khodjayov 1987: 22].

The 'Arab-Persian colonizers were involved in Central Asia, first of all, for its rich stocks of precious metals – gold and silver. In the territory of Central Asia in the Middle Ages is marked presence of set of rich mines of the gold and silver, largest of which were in the mountains of Pandjhīr, Wakhān, Farghāna, al-Shāsh and Ilāq, al-Buttam, Shaldjī and Lobān. Richest of these mines were that were near to the country of the Khīrkhīzes. In the same mountains were extracted also iron, copper, blue vitriol, tin, mercury and other metals [al-Istakhrī: 312 – 313, 327 – 328, 334]. In IV/X century in Mā warā' an-nahr is noticed such abundance of iron deposits that surpluses of extracted iron made the basic part of foreign trade. As to mines of gold, silver and mercury on abundance and riches with them could not be compared any of mines which existed in the Islāmic world [Ibn Haukal: 464 – 465]. Among the goods raised from these areas in

[185] Some documents in the Khʷārazmian-Irānian language have remained till present time [Freyman 1951; Bartold 1963a: 122, 193.

[186] Though there are known some monuments of the Khʷārazmian writing of the VI – VIII/XII – XIV centuries [Tolstov, Livshitz 1964: 50 – 69; Livshitz 1965: 18 – 21]. However, these inscriptions could be left by the Khʷārazmian Türks who used the Khʷārazmian language as written along with Turkic which in beginning of the VII/XIII century was official state language not only in the empire of the Khʷārazm-Shāhs Anūsh-Tigīnids, but also in some other countries in which dominated the Türks (for example in Egypt) [Nadjip 1989: 244; Yuce 2002: 794; Sagol 2002: 804 – 813].

211 – 212/826 – 828 by the deputy of Khurāsān ‘Abd Allāh ibn Tāhir mentioned 1300 pieces of shovels[187] and iron ingots in a half dale [Ibn Khordadbeh: 68].

One more factor which involved conquerors to Central Asia were its huge manpower resources that allowed them to take out there from a cheap labour, and first of all, slaves. In Irān still in the Ahemenids period (VI – V centuries BC) has been noted a practice of transformation of the captives to slaves [Korogly 1983: 21]. The slavery institute existed also in pre-Islāmic Sughd [Smirnova 1970: 264]. In the Turkic society also the slavery existed during an epoch of the Turkic Qaghanate when intertribal wars were the basic source of a slavish force. An overall objective of conducting of such wars by the Türks was capture of slaves (*qul*), and especially, female slaves (*kun*) which then used in housekeeping. In slavery usually withdrew only women and girls, boys and young men, and adult men were killed [Kliashtorny 1983: 168 – 170]. In Irān Turkic slaves, as a rule, filled up harems, and young slaves took up a post of a cup-bearer (*sāqī*). The ‘Arab-Persian conquerors, on the contrary, were more appreciated adult slaves-men. The prophet Muhammad in the end of a life had owned about 20 slaves, 5 released female slaves and two concubines [Bolshakov 1986: 427].

In 93/711-12 the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh was obliged to give to Qutayba ibn Muslim in addition to money contribution and a property 10 thousands, by other data, 100 thousands goals (*ra’s*) of slaves [at-Tabarī II: 1238, 1240]. According to the contract concluded in 94/712-13 in Samarqand between Qutayba ibn Muslim and Ghūrak, the king of Sughd, the last should give to him 30 thousands heads of slaves among which there should not to be neither children, nor old men[188]. In 104/722-23 inhabitants of Kish, which has concluded the contract with Sa‘īd al-Harashī, were obliged to give to him 10 thousands of slaves [at-Tabarī II: 1448]. In 121/738-39 Nasr ibn Sayyār has received in Farghāna 30 thousands heads of slaves [at-Tabarī II: 1691]. It was the beginning of huge deliveries of slaves to the ‘Arabian Calīphate therefore the slavery institute has got in the east wide development [Bolshakov 1986: 424 – 449].

The ‘Arab-Persian conquerors pursued in Central Asia the policy of colonization, but did not conduct offensive wars against the Türks. In the oldest al-Hadīths nomadic

[187] Probably, under “shovels” here mean *kuruk* - the shovel (scoop) of the smith used for heated iron [Fazilov 1966 I: 629].

[188] The contract text has remained in composition of Ibn al-A‘tham al-Kūfī and in the Persian translation by al-Bal‘amī of the composition of al-Tabarī, at which number of slaves is specified 3 thousands. Number of 30 thousands is resulted in the composition of al-Tabarī and anonymous history of the Calīphs written in V/XI century [Smirnova 1970: 208, 264; Smirnova 1957: 122, 132].

Türks are called "Banū Qantūra", i.e. "people of a tent" [al-Sam'ānī III: 43]. In one of the earliest al-Hadīths (VII c. AD) is resulted the following saying of the prophet Muhammad: "Leave (with peace) the Türks while they leave you alone" (*tarakū al-turk mā tarakū-kum*). Therefore Muslims tried not to be at war against the Türks who were represented as very strong and dangerous opponents [Kodāma: 262]. The 'Arabs really did not conduct "sacred" war (*al-djihād*) against the Türks and were content with a policy of defense against nomads. Just like the Chineses and the Persians, the 'Arabs erected defensive walls round oases and cities which later were destroyed not by peaks of soldiers of *al-djihād*, but by hoofs of horses of the Turkic nomads [Zayonchkovsky 1966: 196 – 198]. In the later al-Hadīths the campaigns to Mā warā' an-nahr have been encouraged. So, it was told, that one of the *al-ashābs* Ibn 'Uyayna said, that "spending one night on mattresses behind the river Djayhūn is better, than a hundred of pious justifications" [al-Nasafī 1991: 131 (№ 211)]. The city of Samarqand is called in al-Hadīths as "the Protected City" (*al-Madīna al-Mahfūza*), because heavenly angels protect it and its inhabitants [al-Nasafī 1991: 488]. The one who has read in Samarqand two *rak'ats* of pray, the Allāh will accept this from him as 70 *rak'ats*, the one who prayed in it the whole night, the Allāh will accept this from him as a pray within 60 years, the one who made a post during one day, this will be accepted as during one century, the one who has fed in it one poor, never will enter into his house poverty, the one who has died in this city, he gets directly on the seventh sky" [al-Nasafī 1991: 131, 505 – 506].

When the 'Arabs have come near to borders of Central Asia they have met there the Türks. The huge army of the Khāqān of the Türks, who has acted in 117/735 on an appeal of the king of al-Khuttal against Asad ibn 'Abd Allāh testifies to that, how much the power of the 'Arabs was still weak and about the strong support of the Türks by the local population. Among the supporters of the Khāqān there were Yabghū of Tukhāristān, Ikhshīdh of Sughd, Afshīn of Ustrūshana, the kings of Chāch and al-Khuttal [Shaban 1970: 124 – 125].

Ethnic Situation in Central Asia in the Board of the Sāmānids

The 'Arab-Persian invasion has led to some change of an ethnic situation in Central Asia in result of destroying of a part of local population and resettlement of the 'Arabs

and Persians in the large cities of the region. However, such situation proceeded not long period of time and with coming to power of dynasty of the ‘Abbāsids in power structures began widely to be involved the descendants of pre-Islāmic local ruling dynasties who have accepted Islām. Among of such dynasties were the Barmakids and the Sāmānids.

In III – IV/IX – X centuries in the separate cities and areas subjected to the Sāmānids, ruled local Turkic dynasties. So, in Ispīdjāb ruled the dynasty of the Qarluq rulers of Muttids [Kochnev 1993a: 25, 36; Kochnev 1993b: 17 – 20]. In Chaghāniyān ruled the dynasty of Muhtādjids which ancestor, named Muhtādj was a descendant Chaghān-Khudāts, the dynasty of the pre-Islāmic Turkic rulers of Chaghāniyān [de Zambaur 1927: 204]. One of the last representatives of the Muhtādjids dynasty named Muzaffar had a Turkic title Kiyā[189]. Kish was possession of the military leader *al-hādjib* Bek-Tūzūn which remained as a possessor of Kish during the reign of the Qarā-Khānids [Kochnev 1982b: 152 – 157]. In the valley of Īlāq ruled the dynasty of local Turkic *dihqāns* [Fedorov 1971: 85 – 89]. In al-Shāsh (Chāch) also ruled two dynasties of Turkic rulers with the titles Tudūn and Tigīn kept their power since pre-Islāmic time [Babayarov 2005: 197 – 208].

During III – IV/IX – X centuries in various cities and areas of Tukhāristān ruled representatives of the dynasty of Bānīchūrids [de Zambaur 1927: 202] which ancestor named Bānīchūr was a younger son of Ghūrak, the Ikhshīdh of Sughd [Kamoliddin 2003: 63 – 68]. Coming to power of this dynasty as well as the Sāmānids, has been connected with a service in the military-political structure of the ‘Abbāsids Calīphate. Hāshim ibn Bānīchūr in 218/833 at the reign of the Calīph al-Mu‘tasim was appointed as the military leader of army for fighting against supporters of Bābek (the Khurramits) in al-Djibāl, from which he has been defeated [al-Jakūbī II: 561]. He is mentioned among the military leaders of Khurāsān who were taking part in building of a palace complex in Samarra near Baghdād [al-Jakūbī: 260]. His brother Dāwud ibn Bānīchūr in 205/820-21 has been appointed as the deputy of Southern Irān, Bahrayn and Yamāma [at-Tabarī III: 1044 – 1045]. The son of Hāshim named al-‘Abbās, which was under the head of ‘Abd Allāh ibn Tāhir, in 211/826-27 have been appointed as the deputy in Fustāt [al-Jakūbī II: 561]. As the award for good service for him has been presented area of al-Wakhsh and Halāward, and also area of Shūmān [al-Jakūbī: 291]. According to al-

[189] The word *kiyā* in the Irānian languages is meant “the mister”, “the lord” [Rtveladze 1988a: 52]. But in the IV/X – beginning of the V/XI centuries AD a title Qaya/Qiya used also the Uighūrs of Bish-Balyq [Tugusheva 1972: 245, 255].

Balādhurī, Hāshim ibn al-M...djūr (Bānīchūr) had a *nisba* al-Khuttalī and was the ruler of the all area of al-Khuttal [al-Balādhurī: 119, 430]. After his death in 243/857-58 the power in al-Khuttal was inherited by other members of the family of Bānīchūrids. To his brother, Dāwud ibn Bānīchūr, possibly, has been presented Balkh, because in 233 – 259/847 – 872 there ruled his son Dāwud ibn al-'Abbās. After his death the power in Balkh has passed to Abū Dāwud who was a son of Ahmad ibn Bānīchūr, brother of Hishām [de Zambaur 1927: 202]. Abū Dāwud has considerably expanded the possession and in 279/892-93 he possessed Tukhāristān, Djūzdjān, al-Khuttal and Tirmidh [Fasmer 1925: 53].

The city of Yūz in Khuttalān belonged to Hātim ibn Dāwud ibn Bānīchūr [al-Jakūbī: 289]. Badakhshān was possession (*al-mamlaka*) of certain Ibn al-Fath [Ibn Haukal: 447]. Probably, he was a descendant of the known Turkic military leader al-Fath ibn Khāqān. The ruler of Balkh in 233 –253/847 – 867 was Dāwud ibn al-'Abbās ibn Hāshim ibn Bānīchūr [Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān: 217; Gardīzī: 57], and in 260 – 265/873 – 879 – Abū Dāwud Muhammad ibn Ahmad to whom in 279/892-93 belonged also Tukhāristān, Djūzdjān, Khuttalān and Tirmidh [de Zambaur 1927: 204]. Abū Dja'far Ahmad ibn Muhammad, who minted coins in Balkh (292/904-05), Andarāb (288/900-01, 290/902-03, 292 – 294/904 – 907), Bāmiyān (292 – 293/904 – 906), Tirmidh (293/905-06) and Khuttalān (310 – 313/922 – 926) was successor of Abū Dāwud [Fasmer 1925: 50 – 58]. His son Dja'far ibn Abū Dja'far ibn Abū Dāwud in 318/930 was ruler of Khuttalān on behalf of the Sāmānids [Bartold 1963a: 252]. His son Ahmad took part in revolt of 335/946-47 against the Sāmānids led by the ruler of Chaghāniyān Abū 'Alī Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Saghānī from the dynasty of Muhtādjids [Bartold 1963a: 257]. Badjkām al-Turkī was the military leader (*sarhang*) of the governor of Khuttalān Ahmad ibn Dja'far [Gardīzī: 73].

Shughnān and Badakhshān were possessions of certain Humār-Bek [al-Jakūbī: 292]. The city of Bīk with the same named *rustāq* in Khuttalān belonged to the Turkic possessor named Bīk (Bek) ibn al-'Abbās, which planted thoroughbred horses on the bank of the lake named Nāz-Kūl (نازكول) [Hudūd al-'Ālam: 119; al-Istakhrī: 339; Ibn Haukal: 447, 518; al-Moqaddasī: 49, 290]. Hulbuk, the capital of Khuttalān, and the city Andīchārāgh in 272 – 293/885 – 906 were possessions of al-Hārith ibn Asad ibn Bīk which was a nephew of Dāwud ibn Abū Dāwud ibn al-'Abbās [Ibn Khordadbeh: 180]. There are known coins of al-Hārith ibn Asad minted in Khuttalān in 292 – 296/904 – 909. In Tirmidh in 345/956-57 ruled *amīr* Ak-Tigīn, and in 346/957-58 – *amīr* Qūt-Tigīn [Rtveladze 1989: 99; Kochnev 2002: 59] which was also governor of Būst, al-

Rukhkhādj, Balkh and Bukhārā [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 188]. In 324 – 326/936 – 938 Balkh was possession of Bilkā-Tigīn [Lowick 1975: 143 – 144], to which belonged also Burdj Qishm (320 – 326/932 – 938) and Andarāb (388/998) [Mitchiner 1977: 133, 147].

Farghāna was at first possession of descendants of Ahmad ibn Asad [Bykov 1971: 72 – 73], but after death of Nūh ibn Nasr (ruled in 331 – 343/943 – 954) this area has been transferred as an appanage in possession of Ash'ath ibn Muhammad (Qubā, 355/965-66 and 359/969-70), and then to *al-hādjib* Mansūr ibn Bayqarā (Qubā, 356/966-67, Akhsīkath, 355/965-66, 356/966-67, Farghāna, 358/968-69) [Davidovich 1960: 254 – 255; Davidovich 1980: 127 – 128]. Ūzkand in III/IX century was a possession of the *dihqān* Hūr-Tigīn (or Chūr-Tigīn) [Ibn Khordādhbeh: 30; Kodāma: 208]. In 312/924-25 Ūzkand was a possession of Malik ibn Shukr-Tigīn, which name connected not with the 'Arabian word *malik* (a king), but with the Turkic name Malik which used among the Türks. The name of his father is compared with Turkic name Sunqār. In 335 – 344/946 – 956 to him belonged also Nasrābād, and in 330 – 342/941 – 954 and 359/969-70 – Farghāna [Kochnev 1984: 185 – 205]. In 372/982-83 Ūzkand was a possession of Bilgā-Tigīn ibn Tughrul to whom was submitted a governor of the second rank *al-hādjib* Ayāch and one more governor with a title Tigīn. The governor of second rank was also *al-hādjib* Qilīch Ahmad ibn 'Alī (Akhsīkath, 357/967-68, 359/969-70). On the coins of Farghāna of the Sāmānids time are mentioned also such Turkic governors as Bakr ibn Malik, *al-hādjib* Tāsh (Farghāna, 366/976-77, 367/977-78) etc. [Kochnev 1988: 191 – 205]. It should be supposed, that many of these governors belonged to local sovereign dynasties of the pre-Sāmānids origins which only nominally recognized the central power and remained actually independent [Davidovich 1956: 14 – 26]. Some of them, as for example, *al-hādjib* Ayāch, have received possession in quality of a grant for his good service. Coins of Farghāna minted during IV/X century show the 4 step feudal hierarchy of the provincial governors [Davidovich 1972: 110 – 141].

The high-ranking Sāmānids official Qūt-Tigīn had set of appanages, including the certain rights to Bukhārā, where in 347 – 349/958 – 960 he minted coins on his own behalf [Kochnev 2002; 59 – 66]. In Baykand nearby 393 – 408/1002 – 1018 ruled an appanage governor named Atim-Tigīn [Kochnev 1978: 123]. Governors of Farghāna, Kh^{w}ārazm, Ispīdjāb, Chaghāniyān, Khuttalān and some other areas were actually independent from the Sāmānids, and instead of taxes sent them only gifts [Negmatov 1977: 127]. Some of Turkic governors of Farghāna just like the Sāmānids, carried a high title Mawlā Amīr al-Mu'minīn, i.e. "the Client of the Master of True believers" [Davidovich 1972: 111, 131, 141]. In Khurāsān ruled the dynasty of Sīmdjūrids with a

title Sipah-Sālār, then as the deputy of Khurāsān has been appointed Sabuk-Tigīn, and after his death in 387/997 – the *al-hādjib* Bek-Tūzūn (387 – 389/997 – 999).

Data of some medieval written sources testify that after a gain of Central Asia by the 'Arabs the Türks have not left their lands and have moved to the east as it was supposed earlier, but on the contrary, they were increased both in quantity, and in the influence in a society [Frye, Sayili 1945: 312]. In III – IV/IX – X centuries the basic part of the urban and sedentary-agricultural population of Central Asia as well as earlier, made the Türks, and also Turkisized Sogdians, Kh^{w}ārazmians and Bactrians. The 'Arabian geographers al-Istakhrī and Ibn Hawqal (IV/X century), which were contemporaries of the Sāmānids, noticed, that inhabitants of Mā warā' an-nahr have been very adhered to horses, i.e. they used in food horse meat in a considerable quantity[190], but despite it there was not felt in it of shortage because it was made there in enough quantity. Besides, from the country of the al-Kharlukhs and al-Ghuzzes were brought mules, camels, horses and sheep in the quantities exceeding their requirements. There are grown up also much of sheep and there is always more than enough and too much cattle [al-Istakhrī: 288; Ibn Haukal: 464]. In Farghāna and al-Shāsh even a simple citizen can have from 100 to 500 and even to 520 horses though he is not a Sultān. Nobody leaves a city in desert so much, as they [Ibn Haukal: 468]. Meat was there so cheap, that for one *dirham* it was possible to buy 4 mines of the pure meat released from bones [Bartold 1963a: 234].

It is known, that in an ancient time the cult of a horse and horse breeding have been developed at the Indo-European, in particular, the Indo-Arian people [Kuzmina 1977: 28 – 52; Trubachev 1993: 12 – 27] from which this culture have borrowed the Ugrian people [Kuklina 1985: 186]. Horse breeding has been developed also in ancient Elam where is found a tablet of the first half of the V millennium BC with the image of a

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[190] In the text of Ibn Hawqal: **اما الدوا ب ففيها من التناج ما فيه كفا يتهم على كثرة ارتبا طهم لها**

In the text of aI-Istakhrī: **اما الدوا ب ففيها من التناج ما فيه كفا يتهم مع كثرة ارتبا طهم لها**

In a French translation this text is translated as follows: *Les bêtes de somme se reproduisent suffisament, quell que soit le nombre nécessaire pour assurer le service des relais* – "*As to horses they make them in sufficient for the of [needs] quantity though they use them for the needs much...*" (Here the second part of the sentance logically is not connected with the first part) [Ibn Hawqal II: 447]. In our opinion, this text should be understood as follows: "*As to horses they make them in sufficient quantity for [needs] in spite of the fact that they are very adhered to them...*", i.e. they very much like to use meat of horses, paternal their quantity constantly decreases.

horse which represents the most ancient certificate of existence of a horse in general[191]. In the district of Hallur in India in neolith layers have been found out bones of a horse which mismatched traditional opinion, that a horse and a chariot have been introduced to India by the Aryan tribes [Alur 1984: 134 – 136]. Not less rich traditions of horse breeding have also the Turkic people among which has been extended also the cult of a horse[192].

Central Asia was one of the centers where there was a process of domestification of horses. The Kelt-German isogloss of one of names of a horse (*markos*, *marka*) has associations with Mongolian place-name, which localized in an antiquity in Trans-Baykal region [Trubachev 1993: 18]. In the settlement Botay of the epoch of Eneolit in the north of Kazakhstan, are found bone remains of a horse of *Tarpan* breed, dated the end of IV – the beginning of III millennium BC. In I millennium BC the cavalry made a basis of military force of ancient Hunns and, therefore, horses were their basic riches [Nesterov 1990: 39, 103]. The horse always took the main place in an economy of the Turkic people. In Avesta the Central Asian tribes of Tūrs, which were enemies of the Irānians, are called with epithet *asu-aspa*, i.e. "the owner of high-speed horses", and a name of legendary king of Tūrān Aredjat-Aspa (in "Shāh-Nāma" – Ardjaspa) means "the owner of fine or noble horses" [Korogly 1983: 88, 159]. Among gifts which Afrāsiyāb has sent to Rustam, are mentioned much of horses and mules. Rustam, having ruined Tūrān, came back to Irān and carried to the Shāh herds of the Tūrānian horses, 10 thousands of male and female slaves, the glorified furs, sables, blue foxes, ermines, aromas, gold, patterned carpets, the weapon, thrones, wreaths [Pugachenkova 1999: 198 – 212; Pugachenkova 1986: 208, 210]. According to Herodotus, the Massagets from all gods esteemed only the sun to which they sacrificed horses. The sense of this victim was that they devoted to fastest of all gods the fastest animal [Dovatur, Kallistov, Ishnova 1982: 93]. In Turkic languages have remained special terms *uyuq* which called a horse devoted to the God [Radlov 1893 I: 1634], and *qoylaγi* – a horse which was pinned up together with late for rendering an honor to him [Radlov 1899 II: 505].

[191] The tablet is the official document devoted to economic questions, and has been supplied by the seals which could belong to horse-breeders [Hintz 1977: 25].

[192] In written sources are fixed the facts of honouring of a horse among the Finno-Ugric and Turkic people of Caucasus in the end of VII century AD, among the people of the Average Volga region in the Middle Ages up to XVIII century AD, and among the Altay Türks up to our days [Boyle 1965: 149, 150; Kuzmina 1977: 44 – 45].

The cult of a horse has been extended also in China where "heavenly" horses of Central Asia who live at top of mountain were highly appreciated and they cannot be caught. There is an opinion, that the Chinese myths about "heavenly" horses have been borrowed from common Indo-European circle of imaginations [Kuzmina 1977: 45]. In our opinion, these legends could be borrowed, most likely, from the Turkic people, with which the Chineses since the most ancient times had close contacts and versatile communications. At least, since second half of the III millennium BC a valley of the river Huang He, the former cradle of the Chinese civilization, from different directions surrounded cattle breeding tribes I, Jun, Di, Din-Lin, Rung-Di and others, many of which were Turkic speaking [Kriukov 1970: 34 – 45; Khodjaev 2004: 16 – 22]. The Lineal descendant of world famous horses of the "Nisa" breed is Ahal-Teke breed of the Turkman horses [Kuzmina 1977: 28]. On the wall of an *ossuarium* from Southern Sughd is represented a king in a crown, sitting on a carpet of a zoomorph throne based on two rams, and a priest who is standing at an altar and making a sacrifice to fire. Over him has inclined a head the horse in a bridle with a saddle and with stirrups [Krasheninnikova 1986: 45 - 46].

For a funeral ceremony of the Türks of the Altay Mountain, Kazakhstan and the Upper Ob of the "Early Scithian" time (IX – VI centuries BC) and the "Pazyryk" time (V – I centuries BC), and also other cultures which replaced them up to time of the Ashina Türks, were characteristic burial places of a horse or separate parts of its hulk together with burial of a person [Malikov 2000: 6 – 7]. It was supposed, that burial places with a horse belonged not to the Ashīna Türks who practiced a ceremony of dead body burning, but to another Turkic speaking tribes Tele [Trifonov 1973: 351 – 374]. The image of a horse – transport on travel to a next world is embodied also in tombstone monuments of the ancient Türks [Malikov 2000: 18]. Many Turkic *tamghas* have the form of a horse, and some of letters of the Runic alphabet are included ideogrammas, connected with a sound of horses [Esin 1965: 196]. Honouring of a horse is fixed on Caucasus in the end of VII century AD, the cult of horses has remained till now among the Altay Türks, and in the basin of Average Volga it was existed up to the XVIII century AD [Boyle 1965: 149 – 150]. The Bashkirians in the Middle Ages along with other gods (all of them was 12) esteemed the god of a horse [Puteshestvie: 66].

During an epoch of the early Middle Ages horses made the basic subject of export of almost all Turkic tribes[193]. The Türks were the main suppliers of horses to China and

[193] In the Chinese sources are listed names more than 40 Turkic tribes which delivered horses of various breeds as gifts to the Chinese court yard [Zuev 1960: 93 – 140].

every year drove here at least 3 – 4 thousands [Khodjaev 2002: 114] and even 6 thousands heads[194]. Embassy of the Uighūrs of 821 AD have presented as a gift to the Chinese Court yard 20 thousands horses and 1000 camels, but of them only 1000 horses and 500 camels have been admitted to enter in Chan'an [Mackerras 1969: 235].

Traditions of horse breeding remained at the Türks during the next centuries up to our time[195]. The 'Arabian poet al-Djāhiz (III/IX c.) giving the characteristic to the Türks, wrote: "The Türk – he is simultaneously the shepherd, the groom who is going round horses, the dealer ofhorses, the veterinary surgeon and the horseman..." [al-Djāhiz 1968: 28 – 29]. al-Mas'ūdī writes that the king of the Tughuz-Ghuzzes named Malik al-Khayl, i.e. "the King of Horses", he was greatest of Turkic kings because he had so much horses, how many had not any other king in the world [Macoudī I: 358, 359, 366].

The origin of many Qīpchāq ethnonyms is connected with names of breeds and colours of horses[196] that allows to assume, that the Qīpchāqs in an antiquity considered a horse as "a sacred animal" (totem) and worshipped to it [Akhunov 1987: 90 – 91]. In the riverheads of Iaksartes at its right coast, according to Ptolemaeus, lived people named Caratae [Tabulae Georaphicae: VII], i.e. Carats, that in transfer from the Turkic means "the black stallion" [Ahmedov 1987: 60]. In the beginning XX century AD in the riverheads of Naryn is fixed the natural boundary named Tulpār-Tāsh [Valikhanov I: 261]. The image of horses is the most favourite plot of the Turkic art and meets on many subjects of graphic and sculptural art of the Türks. So, the image of horses is represented in the Uighūr wall paintings of Beziklik, *tamghas* of many Turkic governors are a schematic image of a horse, some letters of the Runic alphabet include ideogrammas, which are connected with names of horses, etc. [Esin 1965: 170, 196, 201 – 223].

As well as in hydronyms (the river – water), initial names of many clans and tribes as mythological representations have been connected with various images of breeding animals and first of all of the totemic ones [Logashova 1978: 77]. Therefore many patrimonial names of tribes and people of Siberia, and also Indians of America go back to totems (a horse, a wolf, a bear, an eagle, a snake, etc.) [Nikonov 1970: 17]. The totem

[194] In 627 AD the Western Türks have delivered at once 6 thousands of horses [Shefer 1981: 87].

[195] In dictionary structure of the Kirghiz language is about 200 thousands terms connected with horse breeding [Abduvaliev 1985: 35 – 40].

[196] For example, Ala-Baytal (the Mare of the Mixed Colour), Qarā-Baytal (the Mare of Black Colour), Tort Ayghir (Four Stallions), Saman Atli (the Owner of a Black Horse), Yetti Qashqa (Seven Stains on a Forehead), Turi Sari (the Yellow Horse), Kulan (the Wild Horse), Kongur-At (the Bay Horse), etc.

of the ancient Hunns was a bull (*oküz*) or a deer [Borgoyakov 1976: 55 – 59], and of the Ashīna Türks – a wolf [Bichurin I: 220, 229, 290; Gumilev 1961: 103 – 104; Urmancheev 1978: 12 – 23]. The totem of the Chigils was a lion (*arslān*), and of the Yaghmā – a camel (*buγrā*), which simultaneously served them as titles of governors (Arslān-Khān, Bughrā-Khān) [Shaniyazov 1981: 33]. According to the Shaman mythology of the Türk-Mongolian people, at each tribe and a clan were their *ongon*, which personified spirits of their late ancestors of the totemic (a wolf, a bear, a horse, etc.) and antropomorph origins [Myths II: 255 – 256].

At the excavation of the Kushan settlements of Bactria are found out figures of horses, rams, elephants and other animals, and also relief images of lions, monkeys, goats, hedgehogs and the cat shape predators [Abdullaev, Zavialov 1985: 202]. In ornaments of a bronze vessel of the Hunns of V – III centuries BC from Farghāna are represented images of animal (totem) and the big circles (a sky symbol) that connected with a space cult, combined with a cult of animals [Rutkovsky 1956: 41 – 46]. In the *kurgan* of Isyq dated V century BC, it is found 165 gold products of art executed in animal style: a lion, a tiger, a leopard, a wolf, a fox, a horse, a wild boar, an elk, a deer, *arkhar*, a hare, a pigeon, a heron, a snake etc. [Akishev 1978: 64]. At the excavation of a palace complex of III – V centuries AD on site of ancient settlement Yer-Kurgan are found terracotta figurines, images of animals and birds – a camel, a ram, a dog, an eagle [Suleymanov, Nefedov 1982: 51]. It is supposed, that sculptural and relief images of animals, in particular a ram, could serve as a tribal and patrimonial emblems [Nilsen 1959: 74]. Images of animals (two-humped camels, goats, rodents, birds, the wild boars, skipping horses) were put also on rings with the seals [Bentovich 1973: 268]. According to "Shāh-Nāma", athletes of Irān and Tūrān had the banners with images of animals which have possibly been connected with any very ancient tribal totems [Pugachenkova 1999: 207]. Distribution of zoomorph images on cult subjects connected with ideological imaginations of the Kushan and Kangüy tribes [Kabanov 1978: 190].

In Samarqand on the areas there were sculptural images of horses, bulls, camels and the wild goats, cut out of a tree [Ibn Haukal: 365; Shishkin 1963: 189]. The foot of a camel casted from bronze is found in vicinities of Samarqand. This foot was a fragment of big camel close to full size [Shishkin 1963: 203]. Two bronze heads of sculptures of a wild ram close to full size have been found in the area of Kan-i Badam at the river Isfara-Say [Negmatov, Mirbabaev 1986: 413].

On some early coins which were issued in various cities of Central Asia (IV – V centuries AD) there are images of animals – a lion, a horse, a camel, a deer, a

semifantastic predator, etc. So, on coins of VI century AD from Farghāna, Southern Sughd, Samarqand, Pandjikent and Otrār there is an image of a horse which connected with a cult of a horse, widespread among the people of Central Asia, including the Türks, especially in Farghāna. Probably, in some cases the image of a horse served as the city arms [Smirnova 1981: 26 – 27]. Images of a horse meet also on coins of Chāch, Nakhshab, Chaghāniyān and Tukhāristān [Baratova 1995: 15]. On a site of ancient settlement Zar-Tepa in the *tuman* of Angor of the area of Tirmidh is found the fragment of a terracotta figurine of the horse dated III – IV centuries AD [Pidaev 1986: 51]. The terracotta figure of a horse from clay is found in medieval layers of a site of ancient settlement Āmul [Trapeznikov 1959: 270]. In bottom layers of the Kitab ruins (II – I centuries BC) are found terracotta figurines of a winged horse, horsy, horsy with the horseman and the horseman [Krasheninnikova 1977: 86, 91]. The statue of a horse is found in a Buddhist temple of VII – VIII century AD in Qubā [Bulatova-Levina 1961: 249]. On the coins of the Qarā-Khānids also were put images of animals: a hare, a cock, a pigeon, a bird with a baby bird, birds with a flower, fishes [Kochnev 1993: 14].

In Central Asia was the large centre of horse breeding Davan, i.e. Farghāna valley where in an antiquity got divorced so-called thoroughbred "heavenly horses", which received wide popularity in ancient China [Syma Tzian IV: 72; Bichurin II: 149, 161 – 166, 187; Küner 1961: 104, 117, 122, 123, 131; Maliavkin 1989: 51, 57, 58, 78]. At the settlement Aravan in 25 km from Osh, near to site of ancient settlement Marhamat where is localised the ancient capital of Davan, the city of Ershi, are found large rock drawings of two pairs of these well-known "Davanian" horses who were considered as a sacred and esteemed by local population even in the Middle Ages [Bernshtam 1948: 155 – 161; Bernshtam 1952: 222 – 228]. The same images of the smaller sizes are found on the right coast of Aravan-Say near to Nawkat and in 5 km to the south from present *qishlaq* Kok-Djar in a valley of Abishir-Say. In 8 km from Osh on a slope of mountain Surat-Tash of calcareous massiv Orta-Tagh there is about 90 rock drawings of the Davan horses [OO 1987: 171, 190, 318, 391, (543)]. Similar rock drawings of horses were found also in the Katta-Dangi valley in the region of Nawkat [Druzhinin, Zadneprovsky 1975: 553 – 554]. Concentration of the monuments specifies that exactly this foothill area was the centre of horse breeding of ancient Farghāna. On site of the ancient settlement Shurabashat there were the vacant sites occupying the space about 30 hectares which could be used as shelters for horses [Zadneprovsky 1985: 309]. The type of a horse of rock paintings has amazing similarity to images of "heavenly" horses on the Chinese tile which dated II – I centuries BC [Zadneprovsky 1962: 128]. The close

parallel to rock paintings Saymali-Tash is given by natural boundary Teke-Tash drawings in the Marguzar Mountains beyond Djizak [Pugachenkova Rempel 1965: 15]. In the VII century AD the same version of horses in a considerable quantity was delivered to the Chinese Court yard by the state of Kangüy [Zuev 1960: 98].

Among numerous petrogliphs with the image of the horses investigated in the valleys of the Altay Mountain there are drawings, in which as a sample served big high thoroughbred fighting horses with cut manes [Kubarev 2001: 95 – 107], which can be compared with breed of so-called "heavenly horses" of the Chinese sources. In *kurgans* of natural boundary Pazyryk barrows on Altay, which dated V – IV centuries BC, it has been found well remained 10 frozen bodies of horse corpses. Breed of these horses has been defined as having analogy with breed of the Ahal-Teke Turkman horses, which was known in China [Faizrahmanov 2000: 33]. The Türks named such thoroughbred saddle horses of special breed as Arghamaks [Bichurin II: 149, 162 – 166], that was etymologised on the basis of the Turkic language [Sevortian 1970: 32]. In the Turkic mythology have remained legends about the heavenly horses-dragons protecting water sources and exits of minerals who have close similarity to legends about the Bactrian and the Farghānian heavenly horses that specifies in a generality of their origin [Kuzmina 1977: 45]. With Farghāna (Isfara) connected minting of the most ancient copies of the Türk-Sogdian coins with the image of a horse [Smirnova 1981: 253]. Horse breeding has been developed also at the Usuns where rich people had from 4 to 5 thousands heads [Bichurin II: 160]. According to Huey Chao (726 AD) Farghāna was famous for the camels, mules, sheep and horses, i.e. it is described as the country of mainly cattle breeding. The same it is described also Gandhara which Turkic governor owned five elephants and horses without number, a lot of camels, mules and donkeys. In the beginning of the VIII century AD the cattle breeding was the basic employment of the Türks of Farghāna [Bernshtam 1952: 190, 193, 194]. In the beginning of the XX century AD east part of Farghāna valley was the large centre of cultivation of horses of the Kirghiz breed [SOF: 49 – 50].

One more centre of horse breeding was Khuttalān where thoroughbred horses got divorced since the most ancient times and were the basic subject of export [Belenitsky 1950: 112]. Among the images of the animals presented in the so-called "Amu-Darya treasure" of gold products prevailed the image of a horse with rather accurate features of breed that testifies that these products have been made in area with the developed horse breeding [Belenitsky 1950: 109]. The image of the Khuttalān horses of accurately expressed breed is represented also on the monuments of the Greek-Bactrian art [DA:

86]. The horse was the most widespread plot in images on the Kushans monuments of right-bank Bactria [Abdullaev, Zavialov 1985: 208].

According to the Chinese sources, in the country Kou-tou-lo (Khuttalān) there were many excellent horses [Chavannes 1903: 168]. In the north of the country T'ou-ho-lo (Tukhāristān) there was a mountain named P'o-li (Baysun) on which South side in one cave there was a divine horse. People of this country wished to graze the mares in the neighbourhood with it that from them were born the stallions having property to sweat by blood. The king of this country had a title She-khu (Djabghū) [Chavannes 1903: 155].

In the Middle Ages in Khuttalān there was a city named Rustāq Bīk which Turkic possessor named Bīk (Bek) planted thoroughbred horses on the bank of the Nāz-Kūl lake [Hudūd al-'Ālam: 119; al-Istakhrī: 339; Ibn Haukal: 447, 518; al-Moqaddasī: 290]. In various parts of Turkistān was known a legend about the horses which were borned from water [Shefer 1981: 89]. On site of ancient settlement Hulbuk is found the big dish with the image of the Khuttalān horse [Guliamova 1969: 66]. Name of Khuttalān connected with the Turkic people Khuttalakh, which were strongest of the all Türks and used in food of foals [al-Bākūwī 1971: 104]. Horses were the basic subject of export of the all Tukhāristān [Hudūd al-'Ālam: 108; al-Tha'ālibī: 137, 145].

Horse breeding has been developed also in the next with Khuttalān area named Chaghāniyān. On the Afrasiab ruins in Samarqand in the wall paintings of the main throne hall in a palace of the governor of VI – VII centuries AD is represented a scene of solemn reception of the foreign embassies which have arrived to Varkhuman, the king of Sughd (ruled ca. 650 – 696 AD). In the field of a dressing gown of one of ambassadors are put a Bactrian and a Sogdian inscriptions from 16 lines from which follows that they have arrived from the king of Chaghān named Tūrān-Tāsh [Albaum 1975: 55]. Among gifts which the embassy of Chaghāniyān has presented to the king of Sughd, is mentioned the herd of thoroughbred horses [Pugachenkova 1986: 156]. In the IV/X century in herds of the Muhtādjids of al-Saghāniyān was 18 thousands of the mares, everyone with a foal [Nizāmī: 68, 70; Baevsky, Vorozheykina 1970: 34 – 45].

Herds of camels and sheep prevailed also in other areas of Central Asia, in particular, in the region of Nakhshab and Balkh, in Djūzdjān, Tukhāristān, etc. [Ibn Haukal: 503]. According to Ibn Hawqal, inhabitants of Kh^{w}ārazm were obtained the well-being and generosity though in their country there was not deposits of gold either silver, nor any other jewelry of the earth. All of their well-being came from trade with the Türks and from cattle cultivation [Ibn Haukal: 481]. The way

between Bukhārā and Kh^{w}ārazm throughout 8 transitions passed through the large desert plentiful pastures [Ibn Haukal: 517]. In the *rustāqs* of Ishtīkhān and Yārkath in the region of Samarqand are marked rich meadows and pastures plentiful by a grass, and in *rustāq* Abghar abundance of a cattle [Ibn Haukal: 489, 500]. In *rustāq* Wīdhār there lived the 'Arabs from the tribe of Bakr ibn Wā'il, which basic employment was the cattle breeding [Ibn Haukal: 499]. In vicinities of the city of Marasmanda in mountain part of Ustrūshana are marked rich pastures and meadows [Ibn Haukal: 505]. In the *rustāqs* of Kish prevailed herds of sheep, and also horses and mules which from surplus took out to other areas [Ibn Haukal: 501]. In the area of al-Shāsh there was a large steppe named al-Qalās, in which there were pastures, also as well as in a mountain part of area, in riverheads of al-Shāsh and Ilāq rivers [Ibn Haukal: 507, 509]. On the large space between the areas Bārāb, Kandjīda and al-Shāsh are marked pastures plentiful by a grass [Ibn Haukal: 511]. In the vicinities Akhsīkath in Farghāna was numerous meadows and pastures [Ibn Haukal: 513]. In Farghāna the size of one settlement reached one day of a way because of set of the population, an abundance of their cattle and pastures [Ibn Haukal: 513]. The *rustāqs* Upper Nasyā and Lower Nasyā in Farghāna represented plains and pastures [Ibn Haukal: 514]. In the vicinities of the city of Kāsān is marked the abundance of cattle and pastures with herds [Ibn Haukal: 514].

The same position was marked also in IX/XV century when as the basic riches of population in Mā warā' an-nahr are called horses and cattle. There made from the camel wool magnificent jackets which were in demand in all countries and were taken out for export [Buriev 1997: 75]. In XI/XVII century the basic goods of Nakhshab (Nasaf) were high-speed camels, a green both black "Karakul" ("Astrakhan") skin and slaves [Mahmūd ibn Walī: 79]. The developed cattle breeding is marked also in Kh^{w}ārazm where just as in Turkistān, the sheep annually gave rise on 6 – 7 lambs from whom leave only two, and the others use for manufacturing of a special grade of a skin with red and darkly red shade[197]. In the Kokchetav area planted horses of the Qīpchāq breed, famous for their beauty and originated from the well-known Turkman racers breed [Valikhanov 1961 IV: 270].

At the same time the Sogdians have more become famous as dealers, than horsemen [al-Isfahānī: 190]. Poverty of the Irānian (Pahlavi, Sogdian and New Persian)

[197] Here, possibly, means the grade known now as "Karakul" or "Astrakhan" fur [Ibn Haukal: 106 – 107].

terminology connected with a horse says that settled Irānian speking people never were engaged in horse breeding[198], receiving horses and donkeys from their neighbours Turkic speaking cattle breeding tribes [Marshak, Raspopova 1989: 418]. Moreover, they never used a horse-flesh in food.

From all people lived in territory of Central Asia in the Middle Ages[199], only the Türks used a horse-flesh in food. In the medieval Turkic dictionaries are resulted names of the several dishes prepared from a horse-flesh [Radlov II: 363, 367, 372, 985]. According to the Chinese sources, in VI century AD in capital of the possession named Shi (Chāch) there was a temple of a cult of ancestors to which the possessor and grandees presented in a victim horse meat which they then all together ate [Buriakov 2002: 18]. In the Old Turkic document from Sughd (early VIII century AD) it is told about red-yellow spotty horses which were grown up for the use in food [Bernshtam 1951: 71]. al-Ya'qūbī noticed that inhabitants of Turkistān drink milk of mares and eat their meat [al-Jakūbī: 295]. According to Ibn Fadlān, at the Oghuzes slaughter of horses was a part of their funeral ceremony. After a construction of a barrow they killed one or two hundred horses depending on riches of the dead, ate their meat and left only a head, feet and a tail with a skin. Skins stretched on wooden constructions, saying, that is horse on which a late person goes to paradise [Puteshestvie: 63]. The basic diet of the al-Bulghārs also made the horse-flesh [Puteshestvie: 72]. Author of the VI/XII century noticed, that all of the Türks eat a horse-flesh, preferring to its mutton and beef, and grow up horses and buffalos for slaughter [al-Idrīsī: 56, 60]. In the VIII/XIV century a horse-flesh was the basic foodstuff of inhabitants of Kh^{w}ārazm and steppes surrounding it [al-'Umarī: 102; Ibn Battuta: 128, 129, 139, 141]. Even in Egypt at the time of the Mamlūks for meat along with cows and rams people began to slaughter horses and have learnt to produce a *koumis* [al-Kholī 1962: 23].

In the Middle Ages a horse-flesh used not only by nomadic Türks, but also by sedentary-agricultural and urban Türks. As to the Persians, the Sogdians and other Irānian people they as the 'Arabs, the Syrians and the Jews, as it is known, never used a horse-flesh. In 340/951-52 during military actions of the Sāmānids against the

[198] Except for a deep antiquity of the Indo-Iranian linguistic community for which rich terminology in the field of horse breeding is fixed. However, subsequently most part of it has been lost [Kuzmina 1977: 28 – 52].

[199] During an epoch of the 'Arabian Calīphate (VIII – beginning of the XIII centuries AD) in the territory of Central Asia except the Türks and the Turkified Sogdians, Kh^{w}ārazmians and Bactrians was lived also the 'Arabs, Persians, Jews, Syrians, Hindus and Pamir nationalities.

Buwayhids in the armies of Mansūr ibn Qarā-Tigīn which consisted of the Türks, Daylamits and Khurāsānians, it became difficult with the foodstuffs and forage, and situation has reached that began to pin up the riding animals – horses and camels. The Daylamits still suffered, being content with the most poor food, but the Khurāsānians unlike them could not endure it and have rebelled against Mansūr, have leaved him and returned to Rey [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 193].

Thus, the data of al-Istakhrī and Ibn Hawqal allow with sufficient basis to assume that in the III – IV/IX – X centuries at the reign of the Sāmānids a considerable part of local population of the Bukhārā oasis as well as all Central Asia, made the Türks engaged in cultivation of horses and using in food a horse-flesh in considerable quantities.

These data completely contradict the erroneous imagination standard now, as if during epoch of the Sāmānids the basic part of the population of Central Asia made Irānian speaking people. Hence, in the light of new data, it is possible to consider, that in the Middle Ages the Turkic speaking people just as during an epoch of early and later Middle Ages, made the most part of the population of Central Asia.

Some legends on the Qarā-Khānids coins are executed not by the ‘Arabian drawing, but the Uighūr letter. The earliest Qarā-Khānids coins with the Uighūr inscriptions are dated 384/994-95, and the latest – 472/1079-80. Coins with the Uighūr inscriptions were issued both in East Turkistān, and in Central Asia, in such cities as Samarqand, Bukhārā, Kish, etc. The Uighūr inscriptions (names and titles) were located not only on *dirhams*, but also on *falses*, i.e. a change, intended for small trade. All of this allow to assume that these inscriptions were clear not only to limited court circle, but also more various strata of society of Central Asia [Kochnev 2006: 55 – 57].

Certainly, that at the reign of the Sāmānids other kinds of activity also have been developed: agriculture, gardening, mining business and craft manufacture. But in the second half of the IV/X century after that when a policy of centralization pursued by the Sāmānids has suffered a failure, in an economic life of the country was observed decline, works on an irrigation have been suspended and the lands were not cultivated [Frye 1954: 33; Bosworth 1981: 30]. Therefore, probably, at that time in an economic life of the country the main place belonged to cattle breeding.

These data are co-ordinated with data of other sources according to which, in III – IV/IX – X centuries the Türks made a considerable part of the population of Central Asia [Shoniyozov 2002: 74 – 102; Gül 2002: 97 – 99]. According to al-Bīrūnī, in his time the Türks lived in all seven climates in the east. Their countries were stretched from the first climate to the seventh on width from an East side [Bīrūnī 1957: 112]. The same data in IX/XV century resulted al-Bākūwī, which noticed that a part of them were "inhabitants of tents", and others lived in settlements [al-Bākūwī: 90 – 91] from what follows, that only a part of the Türks conducted a nomadic way of life whereas other of their more considerable part conducted a sedentary-agricultural way of life. In VIII – XII centuries AD in Central Asia took place extremely wide process of mass transition of cattlemen to agriculture which was accompanied by growth of huge trading-craft-agricultural settlements with the areas in tens sq. km.[200] The Türks were townspeople and countrymen everywhere, except for those places where an environment compelled them by a nomadic life [Frye, Sayili 1943: 195]. It proves to be true also the archaeological data received as a result of excavation of settlements of the Turkic farmers and cities in the areas of Yetisū region, lower basin of Syr-Darya and in zone of the Aral Lake [Bosworth 1981: 21; Malikov 2000: 8 – 12, 13 – 17, 22]. In the same areas during an epoch of the early Middle Ages a monetary circulation basis made the Old Turkic coins [Baratova 1995: 22].

al-Muqaddasī noticed that colours of inhabitants of the country of al-Haytal were different. The most beautiful were inhabitants of al-Shāsh and Farghāna and districts round them. Then inhabitants of Nasaf, Tarāz and Fārāb, and to their women do not have equal on beauty anywhere [al-Moqaddasī: 336]. In the medieval Persian explanatory dictionaries are especially mentioned the cities of the Türks from which "bring many beauties" [Baevsky 1980: 85, 86, 88, 89].

There is an opinion, that during an epoch of the 'Arabian gain ethnographic border between Irānians and Türks, cultural – between the settled and nomadic population and political – between the Empire of Islām and the "Area of Infidels" approximately coincided [Bartold 1963a: 198]. However, it is difficult to agree with this opinion for

[200] The economic area in the strengthened walls of 19 settlements of the Chu valley made 83 thousands in hectares of which the area the built up vein of a part made 13 thousands in hectares. In X – XII centuries AD the Chu valley was area of practically continuous agriculture. The similar picture is observed also in the Talas valley, the Isyq-Kūl hollow and other areas [Petrov 1970: 66].

the several reasons. First, in the ‘Arabian sources of the first centuries of Islām under the name “Türk” were meant not only the Turkic speaking people, but also other not Muslim people of the Central Asia living outside of the ‘Arabian Calīphate [Gibb 1923: 10; Murzaev 1962: 122]. The Türks in 96/714-15 did not allocate themselves from other groups of Central Asia (al-Tabarī) [Pipes 1978: 86]. As the “Türks” in sources are called such governors as al-Afshīn, descendants of Abū-l-Sādj from Ustrūshana, al-Ikhshīdh from Samarqand, al-Marzbān ibn Turksafī, ‘Udjayf ibn ‘Anbasa from Sughd, Bukhār-Khudāt [al-Istakhrī: 292; Ibn Haukal: 467].

At the same time the ‘Arabs well distinguished among other people actually Türks. The ‘Arabs were called their enemies in Mā warā’ an-nahr as “the inhabitants of Bukhārā and Sughd” or “the Türks and the Sogdians” [Gibb 1923: 8 – 9]. To Müsā ibn ‘Abd Allāh went out inhabitants of Tirmidh – the Hephtalites (*al-Hayātila*) and the Türks and have entered to a battle with him [al-Beladsorī: 418]. Mūsā ibn ‘Abd Allāh has written a letter to Tarkhūn, asking him for a help against ‘Uthmān ibn Mas‘ūd, and to him to Tirmidh have come to aid the Türks (*al-Türk*) and the Sogdians (*al-Sughd*) [al-Beladsorī: 419]. For the help to Khātün to Bukhārā have come the inhabitants of al-Sughd and the Türks, the inhabitants of Kish and Nasaf [al-Beladsorī: 411]. Ibn al-Nadīm named al-Sughd “the Upper Irān and added, that there is a main city of the Türks (*lahum khādirat al-Turk*) [Ibn al-Nadīm I: 18].

Data of written sources specify that after the ‘Arabian gain the Türks continued to live in the territories included in structure of the ‘Arabian Calīphate [Frye, Sayili 1945: 315]. After that when the “infidel” Türks accepted Islām, the ‘Arabs any more did not name them the “Türks”[201]. Because in Islām were not important the racial, languistic and national distinctions of people [Frye, Sayili 1945: 310, 315]. According to al-Bīrūnī, the Oghuz Türks which accepted Islām were called the “Turkman”, i.e. “Similar to the Türks” [al-Bīrūnī 1963b: 193]. Originally a concept of “Turkman” included the Oghuzes ans the Qarluqs which accepted Islām[202] and their centre was Isfīdjāb [al-Moqaddasī: 274, 275] where passed a border between these two people [al-Istakhrī: 290]. After VII/XIII century the name “Turkman” remained only for the Oghuzes [Bartold, 1963a: 548]. The Muslims was considered concept “Turkī” as the opponent of Islām. Therefore they divided the East into “the Country of Islām” (*Dār al-Islām* or *Mamlakat al-Islām*) and “the Country of the Turks” (*Bilād at-Türk*) [Ibn al-Athīr XII:

[201] In the ‘Arabian sources made accurate distinction between the al-Ghuzzes and the Türks who are meant as the Oghuz Türks who have accepted Islām and so-called “infidel” Türks [Ibn al-Athīr IX: 100].

[202] Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī named “the Qarluq Turkmans” [MK I: 439].

167] or “the Country of War” (*Dār al-Harb*) or “the Country of the Infidels” (*Dār al-Kufr*) [al-Istakhrī: 333; Ibn Haukal: 511, 513]. The first Türks whom the ‘Arabs have faced, were nomad tribes, therefore in the earliest al-Hadīths they are mentioned as Banū Qantūra (بنو قنطورة), i.e. “people of tent” [al-Sam‘ānī III: 43].

The same imagination has been extended also among the Türks. When the king of the al-Ghuzzes Yināl the Younger has accepted Islām, his fellow tribesmen have told to him: “If you have accepted Islām, you are not any more our head”. Then he has refused Islām [Puteshestvie: 62].

If for the ‘Arabian conquerors as the “Türks” (al-Türk) were considered all of the tribes and people which were a part of the Western Turkic Qaghanate, including the Irānian speaking Sogdians in III/IX century they already began to distinguish among them various tribes: Qarluq, Tughuz-Ghuzz, Turkash, Kīmāk, Ghuzz, etc. [al-Jakūbī: 295; Ibn Khordadbeh: 66]. In the IV/X century is noticed, that the population of the cities of the Yetisū region, such as Tarāz, Shaldjī, Mirkī, Nawīkath, Farūnkath, etc., made “the Muslims and the Türks” [Hudūd al-‘Ālam: 119].

Secondly, on the other hand, not all of the Turkic speaking people were called as the “Türks”. In the Chinese sources the Uighūrs, the Kirghīzs and some other Turkic speaking people are not ranked to a number of the “Türks” [Frye, Sayili 1945: 309]. Ibn Fadlān noticed, that merchants from al-Bulghār went to the lands of the Türks, whence they brought sheep [Puteshestvie: 74]. Especially a lot of distinctions with the Türks had the Uighūrs who strongly differed from them, as by a way of life, so in belief and written culture [Kriukov, Maliavkin, Sofronov 1984: 70]. In the V/XI century Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī did a distinction between actually Türks and other Turkic speaking tribes and people, such as Oghuzes, Qīpchāqs, Qarluqs, etc. [MK I: 374]. In “Ta’rīkh-i Sīstān” is marked distinction between the Türks and the Khaladjs [Ta’rīkh Sīstān: 215]. Ibn al-Athīr also did a distinction between the Türks and the Oghuzes [Ibn al-Athīr IX: 100], and between population of Turkistān and Mā warā’ an-nahr” though both of them were Turkic speaking [Ibn al-Athīr XII: 166]. Abū Rayhān al-Bīrūnī in the list of the people two times mentione the Türks: once after the Kh^{w}ārazmians and second time after the Indians [Bīrūnī 1957: 87]. Hence, here it is a question of two different people.

Actually the term “Türk” originally concerned only a ruling tribe of the Great Turkic Qaghanate, and only subsequently began to have ethnopolitical value and acted as a collective name of the military union of variety of tribes and the people of a various racial and ethnic origin [Kononov 1949: 40 – 47; Tolstov 1938: 81; Gumilev 1960b: 251], but related among themselves on language and on the basis of unity of the

political power [Blagova 1972: 95]. This term was not the self-name of the Türks, but has been used concerning them by other people (Mongols, Chineses, Persians). The Türks originally named themselves Bozkurt, that meant "from a clan of a wolf" [Ahmedov 1992: 5 – 6].

The concept "Türks" is exclusively linguistic because the racial and ethnic unity in this group is not present [Gumilev 1960b: 251]. If the "Türks" have appeared on historical arena in the beginning of VI century AD or, at the best, in the first centuries AD[203], the history the Turkic speaking people leaves deep into millenniums and begins from immemorial time. Turkic speaking was a basic part of the ancient Hunns, and also a part of the Kushans, the Kidarits, the Khionits and the Hephtalites [Bosworth 1963: 205; Frye, Sayili 1945: 309, 312, 314 – 315]. As their descendants medieval authors considered the Türks [al-Khwārazmī: 119] which could be the medieval Khaladj (Khalach) tribes, which lived in the same territories, as the Hephtalites [Frye, Sayili 1945: 315; Kudriavtsev 1972: 176 – 177].

It is difficult to agree also with the statement that during an epoch of the 'Arabian gains in Central Asia was not settled Turkic speaking population [Bartold 1963a: 198]. In written sources are resulted legends, that else during Alexander the Great epoch the Türks shared on the "city" both the "steppe" Türks and their certain part already at that time, i.e. in the IV century BC, conducted an urban way of life in cities of the Central Asia [Kodāma: 263]. According to the legend, Oghuz-Khān the king of the Türks, owned the lands from Talas and Sayram to Bukhārā, and in his campaigns he has reached Egypt and India [Rashīd al-Dīn I (1): 83 – 86]. In medieval sources also there are indications, that some of the Türks lived in cities and settlements, and others in deserts and steppes of Mā wrā' an-nahr and Kh^{w}ārazm [Marvazī: 17 – 18; al-Marwazī 2003: 45].

Tribal names of the Türks as well as the term "Turkī" itself were used, mainly, concerning the nomadic Türks. As to the Turkic speaking people of Central Asia and East Turkistān which traditionally conducted a sedentary-agricultural and an urban way of life, which had no tribal division the 'Arabs and Persians did not considered them the

[203] The ethnic name Türk have been mentioned in the Middle Persian text of the III century AD, in which among the governors of the different countries which have arrived to the court yard of the Sāsānids Shāhān-Shāh Shāpūr I (reigned in 242 – 272 AD) are mentioned "the Turkic Khāqān" [KD: 83). There are also data, that the Türks are mentioned in the composition of Herodotus (V century BC) in form *Yurcae* [Togan 1981: 13], and also in compositions of ancient Roman scholars of the I century AD – the geographer Pomponius Mela and the encyclopaedic scholar Plinius in form *Turcae* [Blagova 1972: 96].

"Türks", but named them by a place of their residence or an origin – settlements, cities or areas. Such also named themselves the Turkic speaking inhabitants of these cities in Central Asia and East Turkistān, as during pre-Islāmic time [Otakhodjaev 2004: 108], so in the Middle Ages up to the latest time [Murzaev 1982: 39]. In the list of the people resulted in one of the Sogdian documents of the IX century AD from the East Turkistān along with the Byzantines, Syrians and Persians mentioned the Bukhārians, Tukhārs, Chāchians, Sogdians, Chaghānians, Khuttalians, Kāshgharians, Khutanians, Kuchian, and also tribes Arghī, Sabīr, Takū, Tangut, Merkit, etc., but ethnic name "Turkī" is not mentioned anywhere [Henning 1940: 9 – 10]. In the 'Arabian sources the Sogdians (*ahl al-Sughd*), the Kh^{w}ārazmians (*ahl Kh^{w}ārazm*), the Farghānians (*ahl Farghāna*) and Ustrūshanians (*ahl Ustrūshana*) are differed from the Türks [at-Tabari I: 2685; al-Sūlī: 192; Bosworth 1981: 22] and sometimes are considered as their making part [at-Tabarī I: 2689; II: 1195, 1249; III: 724, 1215; Macoudī VII: 118, 122, 273, 396; Gibb 1923: 72]. The inhabitants of Ūzkand and Samarqand were called "the Chigils and people of Mā warā' an-nahr" [Siyāsat-Nāma: 135]. In the medieval Baghdād there were the separate quarters which were called by the names of their inhabitants: Rabad al-Kh^{w}ārazmiyya (i.e. the suburb of the Kh^{w}ārazmians), Rabad al-Bukhāriyya (i.e. the suburb of the Bukhārians), Rabad al-Marāwiza (i.e. the suburb of the Marwians), the quarter (*al-qitā'*) al-Sarakhsiyya (i.e. of the Sarakhsians), Rabad of Tardjumān ibn Sālih, etc. [Ibn al-Fakih 1968: 19, 22, 24; Tskitishvili 1986: 80 – 82]. In Baghdād is mentioned also the Arch (*al-Tāq*) named Manas [Tskitishvili 1986: 80].

Primordially settled inhabitants had no tribal division and always were called in a place of their origin or a residence [Karaev 1991: 55]. In other words, political borders of II – IV/VIII – X centuries did not coincide with ethnic borders, and the Turkic people at that time just as during previous and subsequent times, occupied not only northern, but also a southern part of Central Asia, including Tukhāristān [Frye, Sayili 1943: 195; Malikov 2000: 8 – 12, 13 – 17, 22].

Data of written sources testify that during the all of the III/IX century has occurred large movement of the Türks from the east to the west and to the south. In the end of II/VIII – first half III/IX centuries took place mass resettlement of the Türks from Central Asia in Baghdād and other cities of the central part of the 'Abbāsids Calīphate[204]. One of Turkic military leaders in his speech said at the court yard of al-Mutawakkil stated: "We are inhabitants of Mā warā' an-nahr, we surpass in number

[204] About these movements more in detail see in the part "The Sāmānids and the *al-Shu'ūbiyya* movement" of the chapters 2.

even Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj. We have inspiring fear drums and the big banners. We are owners of horse armour, long felt sweat-clothes, the bent sheath, bent moustaches, the high caps of al-Shāsh and horses of Shihrī. We have art of manufacturing from felt, stirrups and chain armours. We have everything that we can use for training for the purpose of preparation for war... Attack by spears, returning after retreat, jumps on horses, shooting from bows on motionless aim, horse competitions with imitation of fight and shooting on birds of prey. We have in hands cudgels and pole-axes, and daggers at our belts. We have the manner of suspension of swords beautiful planting to horses. We have war-calls which cause in pregnant women premature birth [Mandelshtam 1956: 27 – 28].

In the second half III/IX century took place mass resettlements of the Türks from the Yetisū region in Mā warā' an-nahr, to which the Sāmānids authorities gave pastures and places for winterings [Marvazī: 18; Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 210]. As a result of these movement many nomads have passed to a settled way of life and a wide circulation has received the Qarluq so-called "ye" spelling dialect both among local settled population, and among nomadic and seminomad tribes. As a result already to middle of III/IX century in some areas of Mā warā' an-nahr and Yetusū region has developed uniform for this region both colloquial, and literary Turkic language [Shaniyazov 1981: 31]. Later the Sogdians and also the Turkic nomads who have passed to a settled way of life have merged with this basic kernel. As a result of these processes of ethno-cultural consolidation in III – IV/IX – X centuries comes to the end formation of the basic kernel of the people which began to be called subsequently as the "Uzbeks" [Shaniyazov 1988: 124].

* * *

Thus, data of written sources show that on the eve of the 'Arabian gain the actual power in the Bukhārā oasis belonged to the Turkic governors who had family relations with the dynasty of the Bukhār-Khudāts. They had a residence in Baykand, Rāmīthan and Bukhārā and were considered as deputies of the Supreme Turkic Qaghan in Bukhārā and in the all Central Asia. They ruled in Bukhārā about 50 years, on extreme from 587 AD to 630 AD, at first El Arslān (Shīr-i Kishwar), then his son El-Tigīn (Parmūda), from 603 AD his brother Bo-Shi T'e-le (Bosi-Tigīn), and from 630 AD the son of Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan. During this period Bukhārā was a residence of successors of a throne and the second capital of the Turkic Qaghanate. Hence, the Sāmānids have

not casually chosen Bukhārā as their capital because there was a residence of their ancestors El Arslān (Shīr-i Kishwar) and El-Tigīn (Parmūda) before becoming the Supreme Turkic Qaghan.

Name of a city of Bukhārā originated from a Turkic word *buxar* that means "a Buddhist temple'. Origin of this name has been connected with construction of the Buddhist temple in the VI century AD, which was founded by El-Tigīn (Parmūda), the Turkic governor of this city, the son of El Arslān (Shīr-i Kishwar). This temple in which the idols of the Chinese princess brought by her from China have been placed, has been located not in the Bukhārā, but in Rāmīthan, where was a residence of El-Tigīn. Since that time all of the area has received this alien for the Sogdian language Turkic name Bukhār (*Buxār*), from this temple. After moving of a residence of governors to the city of Nūmidjkath (Būmidjkath) this name began to be applied on a new city. At the same time, still in the IV/X century it proceeded to be used also the Sogdian name of this city – Būmidjkath or Nūmidjkath.

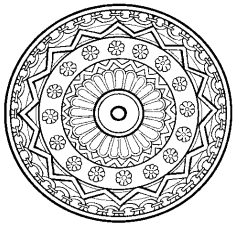
The historical-linguistic analysis of data of historical toponymy of the Bukhārā oasis shows, that Turkic names are one of the most ancient in this territory that in turn, testifies that the Türks lived there from an extreme antiquity, making a part of local settled population.

During an epoch of the Early Middle Ages the population of the Bukhārā oasis was made by settled Türks and Turkisized Sogdians. The Türks possessed not only the political and administrative power, but also made a considerable part of urban population of Sughd. Therefore already during an epoch of the early Middle Ages the population of cities was bilingual. The Sogdians not only genetically, but also on their culture were very close to the local Türks with whom they actively entered mixed marriages.

The 'Arabian gain, undoubtedly, has influenced an ethnic situation in Central Asia and has led to some reduction of local population as a result of mass destruction and the compelled resettlement of a part the Sogdians and the Türks out of the limits of the 'Arabian Calīphate and settling on their place of newcomers of immigrants and colonizers of the 'Arabian and Persian origin.

However, data of some sources testify that after the 'Arab-Persian invasion not all o the Türks have left their lands and have moved to the east as it was supposed earlier, but on the contrary, having accepted Islām, they were increased both in a quantity, and on the influence in a society. In III – IV/IX – X centuries the basic part of the city and

sedentary-agricultural population of Central Asia as well as earlier, made the Türks, and also the Turkisized Sogdians, Kh^{w}ārazmians and Bactrians.



Chapter Four

THE GOVERNMENT SYSTEM OF THE SĀMĀNIDS

Administration of the Sāmānids

The Sāmānid governors were deputies (*al-wālī*) of Khurāsān which was a part of the'Arabian Calīphate [al-Istakhrī: 306, 311], and carried a modest title al-Amīr. The government system of the Sāmānids has been copied at the 'Abbāsids and was precisely the same, as well as in Baghdād [Bosworth 1963: 33; Bosworth 1968: 36] though it was not so centralised [Frye 1975: 202]. As well as in the all 'Abbāsids Calīphate, it has been based on the traditions of management inherited from the Sāsānids Empire. However, the state system of the Calīphate was not reproduction of the Sāsānids political system, but its further development [Bartold 1971: 252]. In affairs of administration managerial control the Sāmānids were guided, first of all, by instructions of the Calīphs and to the end of their power did not recede from this principle [Farūzānī 1381: 6].

Legal bases of the Islāmic state have been based on the norms of the Sharī'at. At the same time, as in the state building of the 'Arabian Calīphate took part the people of the won countries, such as Persians, Greeks, Syrians, Egyptians, Türks and others, in it have been widely applied pre-Islāmic traditions. The main force on which the Calīphs leant as in the military sphere, so at the government organization, were the "Khurāsānians" which considerable part was made the Central Asian Türks. In the first centuries of Islām from the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) language have been translated into the 'Arabian such compositions as "Kalila and Dimna", "Kābūs-Nāma' on which basis the first works in genre of "Siyāsat-Nāma" have been written, which contained in themselves a basis of government [Ugur 1988: 80 – 83].

The administration of the 'Abbāsids in Samarra consisted of the *dīwān* of *wazīr* and 10 *dīwāns* [Metz 1966: 71 – 74]. Precisely same government system has been accepted also in administration of the Sāmānids which consisted of 10 *dīwāns* [Bosworth 1968: 36]. The head of administration in Samarra was Amīr al-Umarā' (i.e. *amīr* of *amīrs*), and in Bukhārā – al-Amīr, to which submitted *dargāh* (court) and *dīwāns* (military-civil managements).

The second person after *amīr* in the administration of the Sāmānids was *wazīr* which had his *dīwān*. To a post of *wazīr* were usually appointed representatives of the families of al-Djayhānī, al-Bal'amī and al-'Utbī. The most known of them were *wazīrs* Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad al-Djayhānī (301 – 305/914 – 918) and Abū-l-Fadl Muhammad al-Bal'amī (306 – 326/918 – 938 AD). Almost all *wazīrs* of the Sāmānids simultaneously were also military leaders and clerks. At the heart of this tradition laid the example of al-Fadl ibn Sahl, the *wazīr* of the Calīph al-Ma'mūn, which carried a title Dhū-l-Riyāsatayn (the owner of two arts) that "he skilfully used both a sword and a feather" [Arīb: 165].The first person, who combined two posts of the military governor and the civil collector of taxes was Khālid ibn Barmak when the Calīph al-Mansūr has appointed him as a governor of the area of al-Fārs with a duty to protect it and to collect its resources [al-Tha'ālibī: 49]. Sources of such combination besides go back to the Sāsānids tradition in which *vazurg-framadar* there was simultaneously both the minister and the commander [Bartold 1971: 364 – 365]. However, this loan was not direct continuation of the Sāsānids tradition because at the time of the Umayyads there was no a post of *wazīr* as well as at the last Sāsānids was not *buzurg-framadar* [Bartold 1971: 372; Bartold 1971: 364 – 366]. Nevertheless, an origin of this institute of the power as well as the word *wazīr* connected with the Irānian tradition [Bosworth 1973: 52]. Though at the time of the Umayyads there was not a post of the *wazīr*, his functions carried out *kātib al-kuttāb*, i.e. the head of the scribe's office. Therefore at the time of early 'Abbāsids the persons, holding a post of *wazīr* were, mainly, natives of circle of scholars and copyists. al-Fadl ibn Sahl was the first *wazīr*, who combining two functions – writing and military. Such combination has been dictated by that in the conditions of the military-theocratic state the *wazīr*, which possessed high powers of the authority, should be also competent of the decision not only economic and cultural, but also military-political questions [Ugur 1988: 52 – 54].

The profession of a *wazīr* was usually descended. Therefore very often the post of *wazīr* was occupied by representatives of one or several families. In the Middle Ages has been written variety of special works represented managements for *wazīrs*[205]. At the

[205] From them up to present day were reached such compositions as "Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa-l-Kuttāb" by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad ibn 'Abdūs al-Djakhshiyārī (died in 331/942-43), "Tuhfat al-Wuzarā'" by Abū Mansūr 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muhammad al-Tha'ālibī (died in 429/1037-38), "Tuhfat al-Umarā' fī Ta'rīkh al-Wuzarā'" by Abū-l-Hasan al-Khalīl ibn Muhsin al-Sabī (died in 448/1056-57), "Adab al-Wazīr" or "Qawānīn al-Dawāwīn wa Siyāsat al-Malik" by Abū-l-Hasan al-Māwardī (died in 450/1058-59) [Ugur 1988: 56 – 57].

time of the early ‘Abbāsid Calīphs writing affairs and culture questions were, mainly, in hands of the Irānians whereas to the Türks the ‘Abbāsids have transferred management of the all military-administrative affairs. However, in the both of these two spheres there were exceptions. And subsequently the Türks have taken in their hand alsowriting affairs. So, at the reign of the Calīph al-Wāthiq (227 – 232/842 – 847) the *dīwān* of mail managed Wasīf, and a *dīwān* of presentation of papers – Ashnās, and after him Ītakh, a reception hall managed Ītakh and Muhammad ibn Hammād ibn Dankash, at the reign of the Calīph al-Mutawakkil (ruled in 232 – 247/847 – 861) the presenter of papers, the manager of the court affairs and *wazīr* was Muhammad ibn Yahyā ibn Khāqān, *wazīr* of the Calīph al-Muqtadir (ruled in 295 – 320/908 – 932) was the Turkī named Mūnis al-Khādim, who earlier wasa *ghulām* of the Calīph al-Mu‘tadid (ruled in 279 – 289/892 – 902) [Tskitishvili 1986: 87], the *wazīr* of Hārūn al-Rashīd (ruled in 170 – 193/786 – 809) also and al-Mutawakkil was al-Fath ibn Khāqān, and then ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Yahyā ibn Khāqān [al-Djāhiz: 266], the *wazīr* and the manager of the court affairs of the Calīph al-Musta‘īn (ruled in 248 – 252/862 – 866) was Ūtāmish ibn Hūr-Takīn etc. [al-Sūlī: 52, 63, 93, 117, 148].

Except the *dīwān* of *wazīr* in the government system of the Sāmānids was 10 more *dīwāns*, each of which has been placed in a separate building and carried out certain function. So, *dīwān* of *al-mustawfī (*or *khazīnadār)* operated financial subjects, *dīwān al-inshā’ (‘amīd al-mulk)* – the important documents and the governmental correspondence, *dīwān sāhib al-shurat*– military men affairs, *dīwān al-‘ard* – maintenance of armies, *dīwān sāhib al-barīd* – delivery of governmental mail, *dīwān al-muhtasib* – problems of markets and the control over the prices, *dīwān al-mushrifīn* – the control over expenses from a treasury, *dīwān al-qādī* – the control over observance of laws, *dīwān al-dī‘a* – the control over the lands belonged to the government, *dīwān al-waqf* – the control over the lands belonged to the religious organizations.

In the government system of the Sāmānids served, mainly, local *dihqāns*, the nobility and religious figures who have been obliged in perfection to know the ‘Arabian and Persian languages and also to possess religious and secular knowledge. Such people named *ahl al-kalām* (i.e. people of a feather). The court military leaders carried a title al-Hādjib and military leaders of Khurāsān – Sipah-Sālār, and made the big impact on management affairs.

The Sāmānids united under their power two large regions – Khurāsān and Mā warā’ an-nahr which included such areas as Bukhārā, Samarqand, Ustrūshana, Farghāna, al-

Shāsh, Ispīdjāb, Kh^{w}ārazm, Kish, Nasaf, Chaghāniyān, Khuttalān, Badakhshān, Balkh, Tukhāristān, Gūzgānān, Gharchistān, Marw, Harāt, Ghūr, Nishāpūr and Gurgān. Therefore, in the research literature their possessions sometimes are called as "empire of the Sāmānids" [Bosworth 1963: 35; Metz 1966: 17, 19]. The administrative division in the possessions of the Sāmānids was precisely the same, as in Mesopotamia where heads staff consisted at the head of each of 36 districts [Ibn Haukal: 307, 309]. Babylonia just like Khurāsān has been divided on the 12 part system into 24 districts (*tassūdj*) each of which consisted of 12 areas (*rustāq*) [Metz 1966: 74 – 75].

In the areas management was in the hands of *al-hākims* which were appointed from the party of the *amīrs*. To this post were appointed, mainly persons from among the local land owners and the patrimonial nobility. Management of cities was in the hands of the *ra'īses* which appointed the *hākims* from among their relatives. For example, in the board of the Sāmānids in the cities of Tukhāristān ruled representatives of the family of Bānīchūrids, in Khurāsān – of the dynasty of Sīmdjūrids, in Gūzgānān – of the dynasty of Farīghūnids, in Kh^{w}ārazm and Ispīdjāb – of the local Turkic dynasties, just as in Chaghāniyān, Ghazna, Sīstān, Ghūr and Gharchistān.

It is considered, that the Sāsānids traditions during the epoch of Islām were reflected with the greatest completeness in the activity of the Barmakids and Sāmānids whereas the both families originated from a district which never was a part of the Sāsānids state, where during an epoch of the early Middle Ages dominated not the Zoroastrianism, but the Buddhism [Bartold 1971: 372]. The Sāmānids erected their origin not to the Sāsānids, but to Bahrām Chūbīn which originated from a clan of the Parthian Arshakids, and in the end of his life usurped power of the Sāsānids. As to the revival of some Sāsānids traditions at the time of the Sāmānids it has been connected, first, with a domination of ideas of cultural-political movement *al-Shu'ūbiyya* at the reign of the 'Abbāsids, secondly, with aspiration to give legality to an establishment of their power in Khurāsān, which belonged earlier to the Persian dynasties of the Tāhirids and Saffārids, and during pre-Islāmic time was a part of the Sāsānids state.

Unlike the Ziyārids and the Buwayhids the Sāmānids never applied for a title Shāhān-Shāh[206] and did not try to revive political system of the Sāsānids. On the contrary, they conducted ruthless struggle for an establishment of new rules in the areas

[206] Though this title which was used by the ancestors of the Sāmānids, the Turkic Yabghū of Tukhāristān, is fixed in the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) letters on the Av of the silver medallion which has been issued by Mansūr ibn Nūh in 358/968-69, this case had only incidental character and has been connected with a struggle against a dynastian ambitions of the Irānian Buwayhids.

along southern coast of the Caspian Sea, which population longest time has rose revolts against the ‘Arabs, aspiring to restore pre-Islāmic state traditions [Bartold 1971: 443].

The tax system of the ‘Arabian Calīphate also has been borrowed at the Sāsānids. The terms *gezit* (the tax per a head) and *kharag* (the land tax) in the ‘Arabian in form *al-djizya* and *al-kharādj* from the very beginning of the ‘Arabian gains have become widely used in the Muslim East [Sipenkova 1966: 148 – 154].

The Sāmānids and the Local Nobility

At the reign of the Sāmānids the specific system of land property has been extended. Distribution of the feudal destinies was a prerogative of the central power in the person of the Sāmānids *amīr* who could keep the land properties for their ancient possessors as it was in Ispīdjāb, al-Saghāniyān, Kh^{w}ārazm, Farghāna, Gūzgānān, etc. or to grant a land property to deputies of areas and cities for good service [Davidovich 1969: 212; Davidovich 1972: 140 – 141]. Some of the land grants were a lifelong, and sometimes hereditary, others –were provisional. Power of the Sāmānids over many of local governors was purely symbolical and was expressed only in annually sending of gifts [Bartold 1963: 293]. The same system of land properties has been extended also in the central part of the ‘Abbāsids Calīphate where the land destinies was granted the Calīph himself [Kochnev 2002: 66].

The Sāmānids combated against the system of the *dihqān* landed properties, which was similar to traditions of the knights making a basis of a political and cultural life of a class society of the Sāsānids Irān. The knights, i.e. the Irānian aristocracy, making the main politicl force of the pre-Islāmic Irān, have been concentrated mainly in the country strengthened locks, therefore people named them also as “people of fortresses” [Bartold 1971: 371, 373]. The *dihqāns* were so strong and rich, that presumed to arrange themselves a banquet for a Shāhān-Sāh [Osmanov 1963: 9]. On the eve of the ‘Arabian gain the idea of the Irānian knights was widespread also among the Türks of Central Asia where big and small land owners also were called the *dihqāns* [Bartold 1963a: 192]. Medieval authors as “*dihqāns*”named the pre-Islāmic kings of Samarqand, Bukhārā, Kish and other cities of Central Asia. The idea of knights was very close to the Turkic idea – to a cult of war for war, and there were many common features between an ideal of the knight and an ideal of the steppe athlete [Bartold 1971: 446].

The Sāmānids tried to destroy these former usages and, according to an example of the Calīphate, they tried to replace them with bureaucratic centralisation for what has

been created the whole system of *dīwāns*, i.e. government agencies with a huge mashinery of officials [Bartold 1971: 464]. During the Sāmānids time collased and came to desolation many of the "fortresses on rocks" and locks of the landowners' nobility (like Kala-i Bālā) in the Northern Tukhāristān, which were existed since the Kūshāns epoch, and were restored only during the epoch of the Qarā-Khānids [Litvinsky 1954: 140]. This policy of struggle against the system of the *dihqān* land properties caused discontent of the population of the areas subordinated to the Sāmānids and caused continuous revolts against their power. At the reign of the Sāmānids the institute of the *dihqāns* falls into decay [Osmanov 1963: 6 – 9], but their role in political and economic life of Mā warā' an-nahr was still rather great. Representatives of ancient clans of the *dihqāns* have called the Qarā-Khānid governor Bughrā-Khān in Mā warā' an-nahr because "they were bored by the days of the Sāmānids dynasty" (al-'Utbī), and, having arrived to him on his service, took part with his military groups in the military campaigns of the Qarā-Khānids [Bartold 1971: 465]. Further the basic part of the *dihqāns* was gradually dissolved in the environment of the dynastic Turkic aristocracy which appeared at the reign of the Qarā-Khānids and owned the land properties on the rights of *al-mulk* and *al-iqtā'* [Feodorov 1975: 109, 116]. In the VI/XII century under a word *dihqān* understood the head of a countryside or the one who was the owner of the land and vineyard [al-Sam'ānī V: 379], and as "*dihqān*" could be called any of the towns people who owned aland in the country [Bolshakov 1961: 9 – 11].

The specific system of the land property which have appeared in the VII – VIII centuries AD and existed at the time of the Sāmānids, has received the further development at the reign of other Turkic dynasties – the Qarā-Khānids, Ghaznawids and Saldjūqids, at the reign of which the land property in form of fee (*al-iqtā'*) has received a wide circulation not only in Central Asia, but in the Near East too [Frye 1965: 230]. According to this system, to the persons which was engaged on military service and employees of bureaucracy instead of salary payment were allocated the land properties which were bringing certain incomes. Instead of the salary for this income they should keep themselves, their family and houses, carrying out at the same time their official duties [Kurpalidis 1979: 102 – 109]. Further this system of the land property grants which could be descended, received a wide circulation also in other parts of the Calīphate [Kurpalidis 1992: 110 – 115].

There is an opinion, that the basis of a system of land property named *al-iqtā'* (الاقطاع) has been put appeared not in the time of the Sāmānids, but in the board of the Buwayhids and then has been continued by the Saldjūqids [Frye 1965: 230 – 231].

However, it should be noticed that this system of land property grants existed even in the Sāsānids Irān where the Shāhān-Shāh put his seals to the certificates, granted in conditional possession [al-Balādhurī: 464]. In the IV/X century al-Mas'ūdī speaking about such conditional fee land property grants during epoch of the Sāsānids, used for them a term *al-iqtā'* (from the verb *aqta'a* اقطع) [Macoudī II: 108 – 109]. The same system of land property existed also in Central Asia at the time ofthe Turkic Qaghanate. During the Islāmic time this system for the first time began to apply still in the III/IX century when the 'Abbāsid Calīphs granted to their Turkic military leaders numerous land properties in al-'Irāq, Syria, Caucasus and Asia Minor. Hence, revival of this system, in our opinion, with a big basis can be connected not with the Irānians, but with the Türks, which else before coming to power of the Buwayhids made a big impact on the political and economic life in the centre of the 'Abbāsids Calīphate.

The new system of landed property at first was meeting to interests of the *dihqāns*, because it was quaranteed inviolability of their land properties [Fodorov 1975: 109, 116]. However, further strengthening of the economic situation of the *dihqāns* and their aspiration to capture of the political power[207] became the reason of persecutions from a party of the Qarā-Khānids and the Saldjūqids [Bartold 1971: 465; Mukhtarov 1967: 80 – 81]. Soon have begun also intestine wars, which were inevitable at the grants system, especially between the separate branches of the Qarā-Khānids [Bartold 1963a: 42]. Nevertheless the institute of *dihqāns* continued to exist up to the X/XVI century which representatives else occupied visible position in a society [Mukhtarov 1967: 87].

Comparison of the Sāmānids dynasty with the Sāsānid kings has been based only on external similarities and has been connected by that they were the first Islamic dynasty of not 'Arabian origin which ruled more of hundred years and inherited the power by right of succession from generation to generation [al-Istakhrī: 293]. Definitive rupture of the Islāmic culture with the Sāsānids traditions has occurred during epoch of the Saldjūqids under the influence of the further development of a city life [Bartold 1971: 372]. Establishment of a new system of the government and the land property, received wide usage in the V/XI century at the reign of the Turkic dynasties, was considered as the ideal state order, to which aspired the Sāmānids and all other dynasties. The fee land property system provided centralization of power, management of the subordinated areas and stable economic development.

[207] At the board of the Qarā-Khānids the *dihqāns* of Ilāq were actually independent and minted their coins – *dirhams* and *falses*. See: Kochnev 1986: 125 – 132.

As the Sāmānids were natives of circle of the Türks of Tukhāristān and have been tested considerable influence of the Irānian culture, they paid a big attention to development of the Persian language and culture. After the ‘Arabs have left a political arena of Central Asia, the Islamic civilisation began to be perceived as Persian-Islāmic synthesis, and the Islāmic culture associated, first of all, with the New Persian (Fārsī) language [Gül 2002: 24; Gül 2005: 25 – 27]. In due time K.E.Bosworth stated thought that the early Ghaznawids have shown remarkable ability to assimilate with the Persian-Islamic spirit of a government system in the countries which they have subordinated, and have created the sample of board for all other modes established by the Türks in central and east parts of the Islāmic world [Bosworth 1981: 27]. However, in the light of the data set forth above, it is represented to us, that they were not the first Türks in the world of Islām, which created their owngovernment system, leaning on achievements of the Persian-Islāmic tradition. Their predecessors were the Sāmānids which on the all parametres can be considered as founders of a Turkic government system of the Islāmic time which prominent feature was wide use of the New Persian (Fārsī) language and a lean on the tradition of management of the Persians. The Ghaznawids were successors and continuers of all traditions and the achievements which have been established by the Sāmānids [al-Sabī: 91; Gardīzī: 23, 90 – 104; Bosworth 1969: 28 – 29]. All subsequent states of the Türks which existed in the territory of Central Asia (Ghaznawids, Saldjūqids, Qarā-Khānids, Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāhs, Tīmūrids, Shaybānids, etc.) up to the beginning of the XX century AD were constructed on the same basis.

The government system of the Sāmānids has been constructed on the sample of the ‘Abbāsids which in turn was constructed on the basis of state traditions of the Sāsānids. The Türks played an important role in the management affairs of all levels and throughout all period of board of the Sāmānids as well as at the court yard of the ‘Abbāsids in Baghdād, because the ancestors of the Sāmānids were belonged to the Türks. The Türks made a basis of the army of Ismā‘īl ibn Ahmad in which board the commander of his army was the Turkic *ghulām* named Bāris [Bosworth 1981: 26]. His position was so strong, that in 296/908-09 he has left from the Sāmānids with 4 thousands of the Türks-*ghulāms* and, soliciting inviolability, has entered in Baghdād. Ismā‘īl pursued him until Rey, and then has returned back to Bukhārā. Bāris then has been appointed as a governor of the area Dayr Rabī‘a in al-‘Irāq [Ibn Miskawayh: 165].

The Turkī named Takīn which was similar to a lion was one of the empowered persons of Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad. Ismā'īl has sent him as his representative to the court yard of the Calīph al-Mu'tadid bi-llāh in Baghdād [al-Karshī: 99]. In the army of Ahmad ibn Ismā'īl was about 10 thousands of the Turkic *mamlūks* which made one of two main political forces of Bukhārā of that time [Treadwell 2000: 399, 402]. At the reign of the Sāmānids influence of the Türks in Khurāsān and Mā warā' an-nahr increased to unprecedented degree [Togan 1981: 56].

In the III/IX century the Türks made a considerable part of officials of the court administration of the Sāmānids. The same situation was also in the areas belonged to the Sāmānids. The majority of the provincial governors appointed by the Sāmānids in the areas which subordinated them, made the Türks[208]. As to the fields of defence and protection of law and order these spheres were completely in hands of the Türks. And only a part of the Sāmānids army made the Turkic slaves from among the former nomads whereas other part was made by the Türks from among free people, who "know their house and a residence", i.e. the settled inhabitants [al-Istakhrī: 292]. In the beginning of the IV/X century after that when the considerable number of the Turkic population of Ispīdjāb, Tarāz and other cities of the northern part of Central Asia have already accepted Islām the role and number of the Türks in the government system of the Sāmānids became even more considerable. The Sāmānids have created all necessary conditions for an eminence of the Türks in the Islāmic society [Ibn Hassul: 113].

At the board of the Sāmānids as well as in the capital of the 'Abbāsids in Baghdād[209], almost all key posts, both at their court yard, and in other cities subjected to them and in the areas of Khurāsān and Mā warā' an-nahr, as is known, occupied the Türks [Togan 1981: 55]. The Türks have helped to the Calīphs to destroy the rebellious 'Arabian nobility not only in Baghdād, but also in other cities and areas, and have occupied all key posts [Pevzner 1980: 219 – 225]. Many of the Turkic military leaders were also large state officials and politicians. It is enough to mention such known figures of the

[208] At that time appointment of somebody as the deputy was as a matter of fact of grantig [Yakubovsky 1946: 108].

[209] The quantity and influence of the Türks at the court yard of the Calīphs was so great, that they held almost all of the key posts and controled all political and economic life of the Calīphate. They put on a throne only a loyal for themselves governors who served to their interests and implicitly carried out their will. The largest statesmen from among the Türks in Baghdād were Abū-s-Sādj, Ahmad ibn Tūlūn, Khāqān, Mūnis, Bakbak, Bughā al-Kabīr, Bughā al-Saghīr, Wasīf al-Turkī, Ītakh al-Khazarī, Kandjūr, Ashnās, Sīmā al-Tawīl, Baghīr al-Turkī, Sa-Takīn, Utāmish, Bardjūkh, Zurāfa al-Turkī, Badr al-Asbagh and many others, and their numerous descendants. See: al-Sūlī, the index of names.

epoch of the Sāmānids as Alp-Tigīn, Sabuk-Tigīn, Alp-Arslān, ‘Alī-Tigīn, Sīmdjūr, Bek-Tūzūn, Qarā-Tigīn, Ayāch, Altūn-Tāsh, Bānīchūr, Ay-Tāsh, Bek-Tāsh, Tāsh, etc., many of which have founded the dynasties of local governors and played the important role in a political life of Central Asia [Mercil 1994: 253 – 266][210]. In the various cities and areas which subjected to the Sāmānids, in the III – IV/IX – X centuries, according to written sources and numismatics, ruled deputies, many of which, judging by their names, were the Türks: Alkunmish, Arslān, Ay-Tughdi-Bek, Ay-Tughmish, Bayqarā, Bek-Tigīn, Bāy-Tūz, Bāy-Tigīn, Bilgā-Tigīn, Bughrā al-Kabīr, Fa-Tigīn, Fayāz-Bek, Humār-Bek, Humār-Tāsh, Inādj, Īl-Mangū, Indjūr, Kanda-Tigīn, Kün-Bāsh, Mamradj, Nūsh-Tigīn, Qūt-Tigīn, Sabukrā, Sūbāshī-Tigīn, Shār-Tigīn, Shukr-Tigīn, Tughān, Tūz-Tāsh, Yināl-Tigīn, Yalbagh and many others. At all are known names of about 80 large officials and politicians from among the Türks who served in the administrative and military-political government system of the Sāmānids [Sümer 1999: 537 – 552]. Many Turkic governors of the Khurāsānian origin carried the Irānian names, such as Bahrām, Fīrūz, Khusraw, Farrukh, etc. [Bosworth 1971: 162, 237; Kochnev 1999: 252]. Besides, many Türks together with Islām accepted also the ‘Arabian names, and from the data of written sources it is difficult to define their Turkic origin. For example, in the second half of the IV/X century one of the most influential dignitaries at the court yard of the Sāmānids Abū Mansūr Muhammad ibn Matt al-Isfīdjābī, who was the Turkī from Ispīdjāb of origin [Bartold 1963: 325 – 326]. One of the Saldjūqids named Yināl had also a Muslim name Ibrāhīm [Ibn al-Athīr IX: 191].

If in the III/IX century in the government system of the Sāmānids the leading part still belonged to the ‘Arabs and Persians and the number of the Türks still was insignificant, to the beginning of the IV/X century they already occupied almost all key posts in their administration. All of these Türks, certainly, in perfection knew the ‘Arabian, which was a state language, and also the Persian, which has been at that time accepted as a language of the court nobility, i.e. *Dārī*, and they conducted office-work in these two languages. The Türks were skilled administrators and skilful managers and, occupying various posts[211], were in the service at the court yards of many governors, beginning from the court yard of the ‘Abbāsids in Baghdād, the court yards of the

[210] So, in III – IV/IX – X centuries in Tukhāristān ruled the descendants of Bānīchūr, in Khurāsān – the descendants of Sīmdjūr, in Ghazna – the descendants of Sabuk-Tigīn, in Būst and al-Rukhkhādj – the descendants of Qarā-Tigīn etc.

[211] The Türks very often held a post of al-Hādjib a holder of which have been obliged to obtain a large knowledge of administrative business and abilities to supervise over people [al-Sabī: 55 – 56].

Tūlūnids and Ikhshīdids in Egypt and Syria, and ending to the court yard of the Sāmānids [al-Sabī: 67 – 69]. Hence, the Türks making a part of the population in the territory, which was subjected to the Sāmānids, have brought the big contribution to the development of not only so-called the "Sāmānids civilizations" [Litvinsky 1999: 19][212], but also the Muslim culture as a whole.

In the III – IV/IX – X centuries in the many cities and areas which subjected to the Sāmānids, ruled local Turkic dynasties. So, in Ispīdjāb ruled the dynasty of the Qarluq governors of Muttids or Mattids [Kochnev 1993a: 25, 36; 1993b: 17 – 20]. In Chaghāniyān ruled the dynasty of Muhtādjids, which ancestor, Muhtādj, was a descendant of the Chaghān-Khudāts, the dynasty of the pre-Islāmic Turkic governors of Chaghāniyān [de Zambaur 1927: 204]. One of the last representatives of the dynasty of Muhtādjids named Muzaffar had a Turkic title Kiyā[213]. Kish was possession of the military leader and *al-hādjib* Bek-Tūzūn, which remained a possessor of Kish at the reign of the Qarā-Khānids too [Kochnev 1982: 152 – 157]. In the Īlāq valley ruled the dynasty of the local Turkic *dihqāns* [Fedorov 1971: 85 – 89]. In Chāch also ruled the dynasty of the Turkic governors. In the various cities and areas Tukhāristān ruled the representatives of the dynasty of the Bānīchūrids [de Zambaur 1927: 202], which ancestor, Bānīchūr, was the younger son of Ghūrak, the Ikhshīdh of Sughd [Kamoliddin 2003: 66 – 67]. Coming to power of this dynasty as well as the Sāmānids has been connected with a service in military-political structure of the 'Abbāsids Calīphate. Hāshim ibn Bānīchūr in 218/833 at the reign of the Calīph al-Mu'tasim was appointed as the military leader of army for struggle against the supporters of Bābek (Khurramits) in al-Djibāl, from which he has suffered a defeat [al-Jakūbī II: 561]. He is mentioned among the military leaders of Khurāsān who were taking part in the building of a palace complex in Samarra [al-Jakūbī: 260]. His brother Dāwud ibn Bānīchūr in 206/821-22 has been appointed as the deputy of Southern Irān, Bahrayn and Yamāma [Tabarī III: 1044 – 1045]. The son of Hāshim al-'Abbās was under the head of 'Abd Allāh ibn Tāhir and in 211/826-27 has been appointed as the deputy in Fustāt [al-Jakūbī II: 561]. As the award for a good service he had been granted areas of al-Wakhsh and Halāward, and also Shūmān [al-Jakūbī: 291]. According to al-Balādhurī, Hāshim ibn M...djūr

[212] For more details about a role of the Türks in a cultural history of the epoch of the Sāmānids see in the chapter 5.

[213] The word *kiyā* in the Irānian languages is meant "the mister", "the lord" [Rtveladze 1988: 52. But in the IV/X – beginning of the V/XI centuries the Uighūrs of Bīsh-Balyq also used the title Qya/Qiyā [Tugusheva 1972: 245, 255].

(Bānīchūr) had a *nisba* al-Khuttalī and was the governor of the all area of al-Khuttal (Khuttalān) [al-Balādhurī: 119, 430]. After his death in 243/857-58 the power in Khuttalān was inherited by other members of the family of Bānīchūrids. To his brother, Dāwud ibn Bānīchūr, possibly, has been granted Balkh because during 233 – 259/847 – 872 there has ruled his son Dāwud ibn al-'Abbās. After his death the power in Balkh has passed to Abū Dāwud which was the son of Ahmad ibn Bānīchūr, the brother of Hishām [Bartold 1963: 64]. Abū Dāwud has considerably expanded his possession and in 279/892-93 he has possessed Tukhāristān, Djūzdjān, Khuttalān and Tirmidh [Fasmer 1925: 53].

The city of Yūz in Khuttalān belonged to Hātim ibn Dāwud ibn Bānīchūr [al-Jakūbī: 289]. Badakhshān was a possession (*al-mamlaka*) of certain Ibn al-Fath [Ibn Haukal: 447]. Probably, he was a descendant of the known Turkic military leader al-Fath ibn Khāqān. The governor of Balkh in 233 – 253/847 – 867 was Dāwud ibn al-'Abbās ibn Hāshim ibn Bānīchūr [Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān: 217; Gardīzī: 57], and in 260 – 265/873 – 879 – Abū Dāwud Muhammad ibn Ahmad to whom in 279/892-93 belonged also Tukhāristān, Djūzdjān, Khuttalān and Tirmidh [de Zambaur 1927: 204]. The successor of Abū Dāwud was Ahmad who minted coins in Balkh (292/904-05), Andarāb (288/900-01, 290/902-03, 292 – 294/904 – 907), Bāmiyān (292 – 293/904 – 906) and Tirmidh (293/905-06) [Fasmer 1925: 5 – 58]. In Tirmidh in 345/956-57 ruled *amīr* Ak-Tigīn, and in 346/957-58 – *amīr* Qūt-Tigīn [Rtveladze 1989: 99; Kochnev 2002: 59] which was also a governor of Bust, al-Rukhkhādj, Balkh and Bukhārā [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 188]. In 324 – 326/935 – 938 Balkh was a possession of Bilkā-Tigīn [Lowick 1975: 143 – 144], to which belonged also Burdj Qishm (320 – 326/932 – 938) and Andrāb (388/998) [Mitchiner 1977: 133, 147]. Andarāb in 288/900-01 belonged to Abū Dja'far Ahmad ibn Muhammad which in 310 – 313/922 – 925 was also a governor of Khuttalān [Fasmer 1925: 5 – 57]. His son Dja'far ibn Abū Dja'far ibn Abū Dāwud in 318/930 was a governor of Khuttalān on behalf of the Sāmānids [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 30; Bartold 1963: 252]. His son Ahmad took part in the revolt of 335/946-47 against the Sāmānids led by a governor of Chaghāniyān Abū 'Alī Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Saghānī from the dynasty of Muhtādjids. The military leader of Ahmad ibn Dja'far was Badjkām al-Turkī [Bartold 1963a: 257].

Shughnān and Badakhshān were possessions of a certain Humār-Bek [al-Jakūbī: 292]. The city of Bīk with the same named *rustāq* in Khuttalān belonged to the Turkic possessor named Bīk (Bek) ibn al-'Abbās, which planted thoroughbred horses on the bank of the lake named Nāz-Kūl [Hudūd al-'Ālam: 119; al-Istakhrī: 339; Ibn Haukal:

447, 518; al-Moqaddasī: 49, 290]. The capital of Khuttalān Hulbuk and the city named Andīchārāgh in 272 – 293/885 – 906 were possessions of al-Hārith ibn Asad ibn Bīk which was a nephew of Dāwud ibn Abū Dāwud ibn al-'Abbās [Ibn Khordādhbeh: 180]. There are known coins of al-Hārith ibn Asad, minted in Khuttalān in 292 – 296/904 – 909 [Kochnev 2002: 59 – 66; Rtveladze 1989: 99].

Farghāna was at first a possession of the descendants of Ahmad ibn Asad [Bykov 1971: 72 – 73], but after a death of Nūh ibn Nasr (ruled in 331 – 343/943 – 954) this area has been granted as a destiny in possession to Ash'ath ibn Muhammad (Qubā, 355/965-66 and 359/969-70), and then to *al-hādjib* Mansūr ibn Bayqarā (Qubā, 356/966-67, Akhsīkath, 355/965-66, 356/966-67, Farghāna, 358/968-69) [Davidovich 1960: 254 – 255; Davidovich 1980: 127 – 128]. Ūzkand in the III/IX century was a possession of a *dihqān* named Hūr-Tigīn (or Chūr-Tigīn) [Ibn Khordādhbeh: 30; Kodāma: 208]. In 312/924-25 Ūzkand was a possession of Malik ibn Shukr-Tigīn, which name is etymogizes not from the 'Arabian word *al-malik* (king), but from the Turkic name Malik which used among the Türks. The name of his father is compared with the Turkic name Sunqār. In 335 – 344/946 – 956 to him belonged also Nasrābād, in 330 – 342/941 – 954 and 359/969-70 – Farghāna [Kochnev 1984a: 185 – 205]. In 372/982-83 Ūzkand was a possession of Bilgā-Tigīn ibn Tughrul to which were submitted governor of the second rank *al-hādjib* Ayāch and one more governor with a title Tigīn. The governor of the second rank was also *al-hādjib* Qilich Ahmad ibn 'Alī (Akhsīkath, 357/967-68, 359/969-70). On the coins of Farghāna of the Sāmānids time are mentioned also names of such Turkic governors as Bakr ibn Malik, *al-hādjib* Tāsh (Farghāna, 366/976-77, 367/977-78) and others [Kochnev 1988: 191 – 205]. It should be supposed, that many of these governors belonged to the local land-owners dynasties of pre-Sāmānids origin which only nominally recognised the authority of the central power and in fact remained independent [Davidivich 1956: 14 – 26]. Some of them, as for example *al-hādjib* Ayāch, have received his possession in quality of the lad property grant for good service. The coins of Farghāna minted during the IV/X century show a 4 step feudal hierarchy of the local governors [Davidovich 1972: 110 – 141].

The Sāmānids high officier Qut-Tigīn had set of lad proprties, i.e. certan rights on Bukhārā, where in 347 – 349/958 – 960 he minted coins with his name [Kochnev 2002: 59 – 66]. In Baykand between 393 – 408/1002 – 1018 ruled the local governor named Atim-Tigīn [Kochnev 1978: 123]. The governors of Farghāna, Kh^{w}ārazm, Ispīdjāb, Gūzgānān and some other areas were actually independent from the Sāmānids, and instead of taxes sent them only the gifts [al-Moqaddasī: 337]. Some of the Turkic

governors of Farghāna just like the Sāmānids carried a high title Mawlā Amīr al-Mu'minīn, i.e. "the Client of the Master of True believers" [Davidovich 1972: 111, 131, 141]. In Khurāsān at first ruled the dynasty of Sīmdjūrids with a title Sipah-Sālār, and after them as a deputy of Khurāsān has been appointed Sabuk-Tigīn, and after his death in 387/997 – Bek-Tūzūn (ruled in 387 – 389/997 – 999).

Just as at the court yard of the 'Abbāsids, many of the Turkic governors of the territories, subjected to the Sāmānids, have come to power through the military service. However, among them there were also many descendants of the local pre-Islāmic Turkic dynasties who owned these lands even befire the Sāmānids. They only nominally recognised the authority of the central power and in fact remained independent [Davidovich 1956: 14 – 26].

When the Sāmānids have been deposed, and the power has passed to a new Muslim-Turkic dynasty in face of the Qarā-Khānids, many of them without ahesitation have passed to the service of new governors. The Qarluq Khāns as well as the Saldjūq Bīks (Beks), have achieved a power with surprising ease at that considerable overweight in human force which should possessed the armies of the Sāmānids, Buwayhids and Ghaznawids. Transition of a power to the Qarā-Khānids has been connected not with the aggressive policy of the last, but, first of all, with disintegration of the Sāmānids Amīrate [Bosworth 1981: 28]. Therefore, when Bughrā-Khān in 382/992-83, having acted from Ispīdjāb, has occupied Samarqand and Bukhārā, nobody has rendered him resistance. Because the local population including officials considered them as the primordial governors, who owned the lands of Central Asia before the 'Arabian gain and now, they having accepted Islām came back to their native lands.

It is known, that the Sāmānids throughout all centenary period of their board encountered persistent resistance of local population and have been compelled to suppress constantly almost annually rising anti-Sāmānids mutinies and uprisings in all corners of the territory which was subjected to them [Bosworth 1971: 146; Gafurov 1972 379; Negmatov 1977: 121 – 123]. It is remarkable, that with coming to power of the Qarā-Khānids all people's excitements have stopped at once. In general, the period of board of the all subsequent Turkic dynasties what were the Qarā-Khānids, Ghaznawids, Saldjūqids and Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāhs, is characterised by that in Central Asia has not been noted any people's uprising or anti-government mutiny. If not to consider the war with the Kidans (Qarā-Khitāys), took place only separate intertribal collisions and interstine wars of the local governors [Karaev 1983: 166 – 196], the largest of which

led to occurrence of new semi independent formations what were the possessions of the all above-named Turkic dynasties.

After the last national excitements which were taking place in the board of the Sāmānids, the following on time was the revolt which has risen in Bukhārā under the guidance of Mahmūd Tārābī which has been directed against the Mongolian conquest. All these data testify that the people of Central Asia perceived the board of the Sāmānids as the power of proteges of the overseas conquerors, i.e. the ‘Abbāsids, and the board of other Turkic dynasties – as the power of representatives of the local population.

It is known, that the Türks which considerable part by their nature being skilful soldiers, since the most ancient times as a hired army made a basis of military forces of many powers of the East and the West. In the V century BC the Türks made the basic part of a hired army of the Ahemenids king Kambiz [Ter-Mkrtichian 1985: 66]. Turkic military forces were used also by the Greek-Byzantian emperors for execution of boundary military service [Zulalian 1970: 50]. The Sāsānid kings used them for protection of their northern borders with the Khazars on Caucasus, and their western borders with Byzantium [Ashurbeyli 1983: 93]. The ‘Arabian Calīphs used the Türks in their aggressive wars against the Byzantium and in the suppression of revolts in Caucasus and Egypt [Ter-Gevondian 1977: 43]. The Türks made also a basis of the military forces of China of the Tang period (VI – X centuries AD), of the state of Qarā-Khitays (Kidans), of the Mongols, of the medieval Russian kingdom and other powers.

Participation of the Türks in military campaigns of various armies caused their strong mixing already in an antiquity. Armies of Türks, also as well as armies of other nomadic powers, were constructed not by a principle of the clans or tribal accessories, but have been divided on military-administrative units (thousands, hundreds etc.). Taking part in military campaigns on enormous spaces, Turkic soldiers often remained far from the native land. Therefore, separate parts of the same Turkic clans, eventually, have appeared sparsed on the all territory from Crimea to Altay, and from Siberia to Irān. This, in turn, caused a likeness of the all Turkic speaking tribes and the people living in the all of this territory since the most ancient times [Karmisheva 1976: 260]. Therefore, in the first centuries of Islām the local population of Central Asia as Turkic speaking people, and genetically uniform with it Irānian speaking people, considered all of the Türks as the people related to themselves, and the ‘Arabs and the Persians – as overseas conquerors.

Thus, the government system of the Sāmānids represented the accurate and perfect system comprising the most advanced achievements of that time in the field of statehood. However, as the term "statehood" is a legal concept its definition also should be based on the rules of law. From the point of view of the legislation, in our opinion, the government system of the Sāmānids as well as their board cannot be considered as the independent state. In a medieval Islāmic society on the first place always there was a religion, then the state, and then culture [Charles 1959: 24]. A basis of state in Islām is divinely opened law of the prophet Muhammad, which main positions are formulated in Sharī'at. The religion and the power in Islām are categories which are not devided [Rosental 1973: 1 – 2]. Therefore building of the Islāmic state occurred simultaneously to formation of rules of law of the Islamic society [Ugur 1988: 59]. In the Islāmic society the politics was considered uniform and inseparable from religion [Ugur 1988: 58, 60].

If we will look at this question from the legal point of view, at that time, i.e. in III – IV/IX – X centuries, in Central Asia was not existed any independent state. Though the central power in the 'Abbāsids Calīphate has considerably weakened and in the areas the role of local administrations which actually were independent in affairs of the internal management, all of the local dynasties including the Sāmānids, let even it is formal has amplified, but nevertheless submitted to the Calīphs of Baghdād and recognised their Supreme power [Oliver 1886: 98; Bosworth 1966: 87]. From the point of view of the law, and rules of law at that time were defined by the Sharī'at (*al-Sharī'a*), they were deputies of the Calīphs in this or that area and only had the wide rights and powers in administration managerial control and conducting economic affairs with which the Calīphs have allocated them. Therefore all of the deputies, including the Buwayhids, Sāmānids, Ghaznawids and Qarā-Khānids named themselves with a modest epithet Mawlā Amīr al-Mu'inīn, i.e. "The Client of the Master of True believers", or Wālī Amīr al-Mu'minīn – "the Deputy of the Master of True believers" [al-Sabī: 76, 84 – 85, 94; al-Sam'ānī VII: 12; Gafurov 1987: 92 – 93; Feodorov 1966: 140].

After falling of the Western Turkic Qaghanate Central Asia has been included in structure of the 'Arabian (Islāmic) Calīphate which have been liquidated only in the beginning of the VII/XIII century by the Mongols and was won by Chingīz-Khān. The dynasties of the Sāmānids, Qarā-Khānids, Ghaznawids, Saldjūqids, Ghūrids and Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāhs, which consistently ruled in Central Asia and the adjacent countries,

legally were only representatives of the local administrative and financial self-management allocated with the certain powers and rights from the party of the Calīphs of Baghdād[214]. All of them officially had no political, so also no legal independence.

The Sāmānids from the point of view of the law never had political, and consequently, also a legal independence. From the point of view of the Sharī'at which personified legality of all actions in the Islamic society and international law Khurāsān and Mā warā' an-nahr were integral parts of the 'Abbāsids Calīphate, and the Sāmānids – the deputies of the Calīphs appointed for management over these areas. In the management they were guided, first of all, by instructions of the Calīphs and till the end of their power did not receded from this principle [Farūzānī: 6]. According to al-Tabarī, "since 261/874-75 Nasr ibn Ahmad began to rule in Mā warā' an-nahr". Ibn al-Athīr explained, that meaning of these words consists that he began to rulethere officially from a party of the Calīph whereas earlier heruled from a party of the governors of Khurāsān, i.e. the Tāhirids [Ibn al-Athīr VII: 111]. After a victory of Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad over 'Amr ibn al-Layth all of the subsequent Sāmānid *amīrs* were called "as the governors (*amīrs*) of Khurāsān and Mā warā' an-nahr" [Ibn al-Athīr VII: 180; VIII: 2, 23, 29, 228, 247]. Ibn Hawqal also has mentioned that Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad al-Sāmānī till the end of the board of the Tāhirids dynasty aspired to be independent from Khurāsān [Ibn Haukal: 491].

In a part of the composition "Zayn al-Akhbār" ("the Beauty of Annales"), devoted to a history of the governors of Khurāsān, the Sāmānids (all them 10 governors) occupied 61 – 69 places in the general list of deputies of this area, which consisted of 76 persons [Gardīzī: 22 – 23, 62 – 90]. The same deputies of Khurāsān were considered alsothe Ghaznawids, whowere the successors of the Sāmānids [al-Sabī: 91; Gardīzī: 23, 90 – 104]. Despite of their power and force, the Ghaznawids were the most reliable and true citizens of the 'Abbāsid Calīphs and in relations with them strictly adhered to all established rules of etiquette [Bosworth 1962: 61; Bosworth 1966: 87]. The Calīph al-Qādir bi-llāh (381 – 422/991 – 1031) in 391/1000-01 has notified Mahmūd Ghaznawī (388 – 421/998 – 1030) about declaration as the successor of a throne (*walī al-'ahd*) his elder son al-Ghālib bi-llāh that his name should bementioned in the *al-khutba* on the all of territories which subjected to him. Sultān Mahmūd with honour has met the envoy of the Calīph and has solemnly proclaimed the news containing in the letter of the Calīph [Ibn al-Zubayr: 151 - 153]. Such magnificent ceremonies were arranged by the

[214] The Qarā-Khānids Qaghanate just until its falling remained an integral part of the Islamic world [Kochnev 1993a: 11].

Ghaznawids at each reception of the calīphal ambassadors [Bosworth 1965: 406; Bosworth 1966: 88].

Governors of areas carried a title *amīr* which was carried usually the members of the calīphal house and military leaders, and were called also Ashāb al-Atrāf (i.e. Governors of the Areas) or Mulūk al-Tawā'if (i.e. Kings of the Communities)[215]. The deputy of Egypt Kāfūr from a modesty ordered to call himself Ustādh, i.e. "the Master", "the Teacher" [Metz 1966: 25]. The Spanish Umayyads called themselves Banū-l-Khalā'if, i.e. «Sons of the Calīphs».In the eyes of the Calīphs of Baghdād the provincial governors including the Sāmānids, were only *al-wālī* or *al-amīrs*, i.e. deputies of Khurāsān [al-Istakhrī: 306, 311], and *al-'āmils*, i.e. collectors of taxes, though in theirterritory, as well as the previous deputies they were quite independent [Bartold 1963: 285]. The king of the Khitāys and the king of the Uighūrs who sent in 418/1027-28 their ambassadors to the Sultān Mahmūd, addressing to him, named him "Amīr of Khurāsān" [Marvazī: 7 – 8; Bosworth 1966: 88].

All provincial governors recognised the Supreme power of the empire, forced to mention first of all a name of the Calīph during the *al-khutba* in mosques, have bought from him the titles and annually sent him gifts [Metz 1966: 13]. The Sāmānids as well as the Buwayhids, throughout all of their board paid taxes to the Calīphs [Metz 1966: 114]. In the IV/X century the established tax of Khurāsān included annual delivery to Baghdād of the 12 thousands of slaves. The Sāmānids authorities supervised export of slaves, imposing at a crossing through Amu Darya for each Turkic slave the duty from 70 to 100 *dirhams* [al-Moqaddasī: 340].

In the middle of the IV/X century (in 334/945-46), as is known, the Irānian Shī'its-Buwayhids have grasped the political power in Baghdād, but, being afraid of discontent of the Sunnit Muslims, have kept thus the power of the 'Abbāsid Calīphs though have limited their rights, considerably having narrowed territory subject to them and having left them, mainly, only spiritual functions. One of the main signs of the Supreme power of the Calīph of Baghdād was that each of 5 daily prays was announced by palace guards blows in drums and the Calīphs desperately protected this privilege of the Supreme power from encroachments onit of the deputies. The Buwayhid governor 'Adud al-Dawla the first has encroached on this rule, and in 368/978-79 has ordered to beat in a drum before hisgate before the beginning of three daily prays [Metz 1966: 122]. Moreover, he has demanded from the Calīph to mention in the *al-khutba* (Friday

[215] So, for example, were called the local kings of Daylam, Tabaristān and other areas of the east part of the 'Arabian Calīphate [Bartold 1966: 97].

sermons) his name before a name of the Calīph and the Calīph has been compelled to agree [al-Sabī: 98].

However, despite this, the power of the ‘Abbāsid Calīphs was still strong and all of the Islāmic world, except for some provincial governors (Fātimids, Spanish Umayyads, the Qarmats of Bahrayn), recognised themselves as the vassals of the ‘Abbāsids [Mikhailova 1990: 30 – 31] and kept visibility of submission to the spiritually-political power of the head of Muslims – the Calīph [Naumkin, Piotrovsky 1981: 5]. In the ‘Arabian sources there are no indications on any disintegration of the ‘Abbāsids Calīphate, but is spoken only about loss of its former power, prosperity and the firm legislation, and on decline of former greatness and change of usages [al-Sabī: 23 – 24, 27]. Officially the Buwayhid governor ‘Adud al-Dawla was considered as the Supreme military leader, which was appointed by the Calīph [al-Sabī: 84].

In the middle of the V/XI century after release of the ‘Abbāsid Calīphs from the Buwayhids captivity the Saldjūqids which came to power tried to revive former power of the ‘Abbāsids Calīphate. In the first years of their board the lawyer from al-Basra Abū-l-Hasan ‘Alī al-Māwardī (364 – 450/974 – 1058) has written for them a work named “al-Ahkām al-Sultāniyya wa-l-Wilāyat al-Dīniyya» (“Key Rules of the Sultānate and Management of a Religious Life”) in which have been stated legal bases and rules of management by the Islāmic society and the state [al-Māwardī]. One of substantive provisions of this work is that the head of the state is “*al-imām*” [Ugur 1988: 32, 59] which for the both, the Sunnits and the Shī‘its, was considered the successor and continuer of the missions of the prophet Muhammad, i.e. the Calīph[216]. In the Islāmic society the politics was considered uniform and inseparable from religion [Ugur 1988: 58, 60]. The *al-imām*, i.e. the Calīph, bears responsibility before the state and the citizens as in questions of a spiritual and religious life of the Islāmic society, and for political situation and economic well-being of the state and citizens [Djuraev 2000: 64 – 67; 2003: 61 – 63]. In 447/1055-56 the Calīph al-Qā’im bi-amri-llāh (422 – 4671031 – 1075) recognised Tughrul-Bek as the secular head of the Islāmic world and has handed over to him investiture on the secular power, and in 455/1063 has given out for him his daughter [Guseynov 1980: 122]. On the memorable gold medal which have been issued the same year in honour of this event in Baghdād on Av there is a relief image of the Calīph al-Qā’im and on Rv a portrait of Tughrul-Bek [Agadjanov1964: 10 – 16]. The Saldjūqid Sultāns recognised the Supreme power of the ‘Abbāsid Calīphs and their

[216] For the first time this rank was used concerning the successor of the prophet Muhammad Abū Bakr [Petrushevsky 1966: 94; al-Sabī: 75; Ugur 1988: 32.

wazīr Nizām al-Mulk has based several *madrasah*, one of which, al-Nizāmiyya, was located in Baghdād [Rosental 1973: 9]. However, the power of the Calīphs continued to be left symbolical and the 'Abbāsids, living almost in the full confinement, have been compelled to be content with the maintenance which has been defined them by the Saldjūqids [Ibn Djubayr: 160].

In the Saldjūqids period the Calīphate and the Sultānate have been recognised as two different institutes; the Calīphs ruled religious activity, and the Sultāns – the government affairs. Release of the Calīph from the Shī'its control was result of a cooperation between leaders of the Sunnits and the Türks. The Calīphs had their own military guard and had a right to appoint their own *wazīr* which was the same official, as well as the *wazīr* of the Sultān. The balance between the Sultān and the Calīph was successfully observed, because the Sultān never was resided in Baghdād. At the reign of the Saldjūqids the Calīphs were more independent, than at the reign of the Buwayhids. Name of the Calīph was always mentioned in *al-khutba* and on coins. When Malik-Shāh for the first time has arrived to Baghdād in 479/1086-87, the Calīph has presented to him honourable clothes. He has asked of the permission to kiss a hand of the Calīph, but this was refused to him. Then Malik-Shāh was satisfied by kissing the rings of his religious idol [Klausner 1973: 27 – 34].

The Saldjūqid Sultāns called themselves "a Shade of the Allāh on the Earth" and tried to convince the citizens that the power belongs to them "at will of the Allāh" [Kurpalidis 1992: 48]. However, these claims have not received support at the Muslim lawyers who as a whole supported the strong Sultān's power, but have refused to recognise for the Sultān of a rank who was deserved only by the Calīphs[217]. Therefore every Saldjūqids Sultān had obliged to address for the investiture to the Calīph. The Turkic tradition of the power supposed a kind of diarchy at which the great Qaghan was the nominal governor, and the real power belonged to his deputy who replaced him in government affairs and has showed to himall kinds of formal honours [Kurpalidis 1992: 50]. Data of later medieval sources allow to define that the title of Sultān in the administrative system of the Islāmic state at all did not mean the first person, and occupied lower step and just as titles Wālī, Beklār-Begī and Khān, concerned a category of the *amīrs* [Ansārī: 21 – 22].

With coming to power in Baghdād of the Saldjūqids in the Calīphate it is sharp strengthened a role of the Turkic factor. Obviously, in the first years of board of the

[217] So, al-Ghazzālī in his work "Nasīhat al-Mulūk" («Advices to the Kings») tried to outline in detail the circle of the questions, concerning has the authorities of the Sultān and his relations with the Calīph.

Saldjūqids the relation between the Caliph and the Sultān were constructed taking into account the Turkic traditions and not without influence of the Irānian traditions[218]. New norms of the Turkic statehood have been stated in the composition "Qutadghū Bilig" by Yūsuf Khās-Hādjib which concept in many features has been based on the Indo-Iranian state traditions which have laid down in a basis of the Islāmic statehood [Ugur 1988: 124 – 131].

The successors of the Saldjūqids – the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāhs also had the same legal status. When the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh Muhammad, which have grasped in the beginning of the VII/XIII century the actual power in the east part of the Calīphate, has sent in *Ramadān* of 602/April 1206 to the 'Abbāsids Calīph al-Nāsir to Baghdād asan ambassador his adviser Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sam'ānī, he has been met there with an honourable escort. When they have come near to the calīphal palace, according to ceremonial, he should kiss the highest threshold. However, al-Sam'ānī, being the nearest adviser of the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh, has haughtily refused to execute this obligatory procedure for all of the Muslims. But he nevertheless have been forced to do this, and then have been allowed to read the sermon with eulogy of the Calīph, after what he has deserved a praise of the courtiers [Buniyatov 1986: 83]. Later the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh Muhammad has tried to transfer the centre of a political life of the Calīphate from Baghdād to Central Asia and has followed a way of open confrontation with the Calīph [Rashīd al-Dīn II (2): 136]. He officially declared deposition of the 'Abbāsids dynasty, having cancelled a mention of a name of the Calīph al-Nāsir in the Friday sermon and on coins. Then it has proclaimed as the Calīph the lineal descendant of the prophet Muhammad – the representative of the known family of the Sayyids of Tirmidh 'Alā' al-Mulk al-Tirmidhī. After that, in 614/1217-18 he has made an unsuccessful campaign to Baghdād which has been interrupted because of a strong snow storm. Having seen in this a bad omen, he began to search again reconciliation with the Calīph, but not having received the response, has been rejected also in Kh^{w}ārazm, then he has left to Samarqand [Ibn al-Athīr XII: 146; Buniyatov 1986: 85].

Signs of Statehood

[218] According to the Irānian tradition, a sovereign was a representative of the God on the earth, and according to the Turkic tradition were supposed cases of the double power with nominal submission to the Supreme governor [Kurpalidis 1992: 50].

Any administrative and managerial formation as in the Middle Ages, and today, for definition it as an independent state should have signs, which meet several requirements, namely, issue of coins on its own behalf, have external frontiers, have independent diplomatic relations, etc. [Zoirov 1999: 63]. The possession of the Sāmānids, in our opinion, did not have any of these signs.

First, board of the Sāmānids was considered lawful only in the presence of the special investiture (*al-manshūr*), which was given out by the Calīphs of Baghdād [Bosworth 1966: 87]. When Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad, having won 287/900 the Saffārids ruler 'Amr ibn al-Layth, has actually grasped Khurāsān on the right of possession he has received from the Calīph an investiture, i.e. document of appointment on a post of the *amīr* of Khurāsān [Ibn al-Athīr VII: 198 – 199]. This certificate had symbolical value – thereby was underlined a dependence of the Sāmānids on their masters in Baghdād [Hidoyatov 2004: 115]. After death of Ismā'īl in 295/907-08 on a throne has been erected his son Nasr who also has received the special investiture about his appointment from the Calīph al-Muktafī [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 2]. In the same way were appointed and affirmed all of others Sāmānid *amīrs*. The board of any of representatives of this dynasty could not be considered lawful if he had no corresponding investiture from the Caliph of Baghdād. Anybody from these governors never challenged such existing state of affairs and did not apply to have more rights than which he already had.

In the same way were appointed also representatives of all subsequent ruling dynasties up to the Mongolian gain. In 595/1198-99 the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh Tekish ibn Arslān has accepted from the Calīph al-Nāsir honourable clothes and investiture with appointment as the governor of the all territories that he was obtained in his hands [Ibn al-Athīr XII: 71].

Secondly, in every *al-khutba*, i.e. the euloging speech which is read before a Friday pray in mosques in all of the territories, subjected to the Sāmānids, was obligatory a glorification of the Calīph of Baghdād after the prophet Muhammad and before the Sāmānid *amīr* [al-Sabī: 91; Ibn al-Athīr IX: 61; Köprülü zade: 9], that has been defined by the law [Rosental 1973: 2]. In the 'Abbāsids Calīphate did not exist official signs of distinction for regional governors. As well as for any other deputy, people prayed for them after a pray for a health of the Calīph [Metz 1966: 25]. When in 207/822-23 Tāhir ibn al-Husayn has dared to refrain from a mention of the Calīph al-Ma'mūn on the Friday sermon, after a short time he has been poisoned by people who were loyal to the 'Abbāsids [Ibn al-Athīr VI: 156]. The *al-khutba* as well as the *al-sūra* of the al-Qur'ān and al-Hadīths should be obligatory read only in the 'Arabian language [Sultanov 2000:

3]. In the system of the administrative management of the Calīphate in Baghdād was functioned a special department which was engaged in control and maintenance of the suzerainitet of all subordinated areas of the state [Djuraev 2003: 61]. This firm rule was observed by all provincial governors including the Sāmānids and by the all subsequent Turkic dynasties of Central Asia [Ibn al-Athīr X: 61]. Only the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh Muhammad ibn Tekish (ruled in 596 – 617/1200 – 1220), which entered to a conflict with the Calīph al-Nāsir in 617/1220-21, i.e.in the were last year of his board just before the Mongolian invasion, declared the Calīph died and has excluded his name from the *al-khutba* in the several cities of Central Asia [Davidovich 1953: 51; Davidovich 1968: 281]. Earlier he could not in any way to receive a consent in the *dīwān* of the Calīphate in Baghdād on his request that the Friday sermons in Baghdād were read on his name and that to him has been awarded a title of Sultān [Ibn al-Athīr XII: 145].

Thirdly, the first Sāmānids issued only copper *falses* which further also made a basis of a monetary circulation in home market [Davidovich 1954: 38 – 39; Dobrovolsky, Kochnev 1982: 190 – 198]. Silver coins, which were minted by the Sāmānids for external trade were issued on the general sample of the Calīphate's mint, and it was obligatory a mention on them of a name of the Calīph as a head of the state which structure included also possession of the Sāmānids [Davidovich 1979: 126 – 130; Lowick 1975: 139, 140, 141, 144; 150, 151; Lowick 1984: 345 – 350], that also has been defined by the law [Rosental 1973: 2]. The governors of Andarāb which was subjected to the Sāmānids gave third part of the silver which was extracted in the mines of Andarāb, to the representative of the Sultān, i.e. the Calīph [al-Hamadānī: 143].

Issue of silver coins not always can be a sign of independence of governors. In the end of II – beginning of the I centuries BC already after falling of the Greek-Bactrian kingdom some time still proceeded issue of silver coins (obols) of Eukratid [Mandelshtam 1966:138]. During pre-Islāmic time silver drachmas were issued by Tūrghār, the son of the Ikhshīdh of Sughd Ghūrak which was adeputy in the small city of Kabūdān [Smirnova 1981:43; Belenitsky 1966: 99], in the V century AD in Bukhārā were minted silver imitations of samples of *drachmas* of Varahran V which issue has been renewed by the Bukhār-Khudāts in the end of the VII century AD [Davidovich, Zeymal 1978: 26]. Except the governors of Bukhārā and Samarqand in Sughd also the governors of Kish had a right of stamping silver coins. There are data about existence in Sughd of gold *dīnārs* and ingots, which as well as silver coins, were used for treating of large transactions in foreign trade [Smirnova 1963: 21, 37 – 38, 50]. However, they had no circulation in market, but exchanged only on weight as the goods for manufacturing

of jeweller ornaments and were kept as a treasure [al-Hamadānī: 333; Davidovich 1987: 36; Davidovich, Zeymal 1978: 27]. One more currency metal in pre-Islāmic Sughd along with silver and gold was a copper which also was kept as a treasure [Smirnova 1981: 66; Smirnova 1979: 64 – 65]. Silver coins were minted also by the pre-Islāmic governors of Chaghāniyān and some other small possessions of Tukhāristān, which also as well as copper coins, were not used in interregional trade, but intended for a covering of requirements of the internal trade [Rtveladze 1987: 120 – 130].

One of the first ‘Abbāsids deputies of Khurāsān Abū Dāwud Khālid ibn Ibrāhīm (ruled in 138 – 140/755 – 757) the first has started to mint silver *dirhams* on the sample of the Sogdian *drachmas* with his name [Smirnova 1970: 164]. Such coins were issued also at the reign of al-Mahdī and Hārūn al-Rashīd till the beginning of the III/IX century then begins issue of so-called “black” *dirhams* on the sample of pre-Islāmic coins of the Bukhār-Khudāts which served for a home market [Feodorov 1973: 77]. Along with them were issued also silver *dirhams* named “al-Ismā‘īlī” made on the general calīphale sample. In III – IV/IX – X centuries such coins were issued not only in Samarqand and Bukhārā, but also in the provincial centres, such as Farghāna, Chaghāniyān, Balkh, Andarāb, etc. [Rtveladze 1985: 38]. However, all silver coins left for limits of Central Asia and were taken out in a considerable quantity to the countries of the East and Northern Europe where they were used as the goods and were served as an ornament subject [TK 1846: 201]. In the territory of Central Asia findings of the Sāmānids silver coins are rare [Davidivich 1960: 113; Davidovich 1966: 110]. As a result of considerable reduction of stocks of silver and an exhaustion of mines in the beginning of the V – VI/XI – XII centuries at the reign of the Qarā-Khānids and the Saldjūqids took place damage of silver *dirhams*, and then a full disappearance of them, that has been connected with a so-called “silver crisis” [Feodorov 1967: 69 - 70].

In Central Asia during III – IV/IX – X centuries a basis of a monetary circulation made not the silver al-Ismā‘īlī *dirhams*, but so-called “black” al-Musayyabī, al-Muhammadī and al-Ghitrīfī *dirhams* made on a sample of the coins of the Bukhār-Khudāts of pre-Islāmic time which differed between each other with quality of metal – a pure silver (al-Musayyabī), alloy of a silver and a copper (al-Muhammadī), a pure copper (al-Ghitrīfī). The taxes also were estimated not in the al-Ismā‘īlī *dirhams*, but namely in these “black” *dirhams*. All of these 3 kinds of *dirhams* of the Bukhār-Khudāts type circulated at a very high course which was above a course of the silver *dirhams* of al-Ismā‘īlī type [Davidovich 1966: 119, 130; Kochnev 1990: 49 – 78]. The type of these

coins remained invariable during a long period of more than 4 centuries [Feodorov 1971b:122].

The Sāmānids have issued also in a small amount high-standard gold *dīnārs* which, however, had no a piece circulation, and were considered as the goods and were accepted on weight, i.e. servedin function of treasure and world money [Narshakhī: 37 – 39; Davidovich 1978: 24; Davidovich 1966: 105 – 110; Ernazarova, Kochnev 1977: 131 – 154]. The gold *dīnārs* were issued also at the board of the Qarā-Khānids, Saldjūqids and Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāhs in al-Wakhsh, Tirmidh, Marw, Balkh, Marw al-Rūdh, Sarakhs and other mints of Central Asia up to the beginning of the VII/XIII century [Lane-Poole 1875 III: 39, 46; Ishankhanov, Kochnev 1979: 149]. The first gold *dīnārs* of the Qarā-Khānids have been issued in 382/992-93 at once after capture of Bukhārā by Bughrā-Khān [Ishankhanov, Kochnev 1979: 149 – 150]. In connection with reduction of stocks of silver in the beginning of the V/XI century at the reign of the Qarā-Khānids began more intensive issue of the gold *dīnārs* [Feodorov 1978: 56; Feodorov 1972: 32 – 34] which also were circulated not by a piece, but on weight. Further with increase of scope and volume of a trade in the home market the role of gold as a currency essentially raised [Kochnev 1975: 175]. At the reign of the Saldjūqids gold *dīnārs* were issued not only on behalf of the Supreme Sultāns [Khodjaniyazov 1969: 110; 1972: 156 – 157; 1977: 58; 1979: 53; Beradze 1985: 48 – 51], but also on behalf of members of the king's family and successors of throne, and also the provincial and vassal governors [Khodjaniyazov 1971: 90 – 94; 1977: 62, 66, 88; 1979: 122; Feodorov 1967: 60], that has been connected not with change of the political status of the provincial governors, but with the economic reasons [Davidovich 1960: 92, 101, 114; Feodorov 1972: 74]. Except *dīnārs* from "red", i.e. pure gold were issued also the coins called *dīnār* named al-Ruknī made from alloy of gold and silver [Khodjaniyazov1977: 32, 35; 1978: 177].

On the copper *falses*, which used for internal small trade, names of the Caliphs sometimes could not be put [Rtveladze 1980: 231 – 236], but issue of copper coins only on his own behalf does not testify yet on the full independence of the provincial governor because inscriptions on the *falses* reflect mainly the bottom steps of a scale of ranks [Kochnev 1984b: 112, 120]. As to silver *dirhams* and gold *dīnārs* which were issued also in board of the Saldjūqids, Ghaznavids and Qarā-Khānids they reflected the top steps of a scale of ranks and on them the mention of a name of the Calīph was obligatory [Gōbl, Rider, Miles, Walker 1960: 89 – 91; Hennequin 1970: 155; Rtveladze 1978: 55; 1981: 75; Kochnev 1993a: 8 – 9; Kochnev 1987: 169; Feodorov 1972: 32; Khodjaniyazov 1969: 110; Petrov 1985: 52 – 56; Davidovich 1979: 131, 141, 144;

Lowick 1970: 241 – 251], and on some of them were mentioned also four "just" Calīphs [Kochnev 1993a: 9]. On the Sāmānids *dirhams* of al-Shāsh 276/889-90 are resulted names of only two Calīphs, al-Mu'tadid and al-Muwaffaq, without mention of the Sāmānids [Miles 1950: 87].

On the several *dirhams* Bukhārā minted during 336 – 346/947 – 957 the name of the Calīph is not mentioned, that has been connected with that the Sāmānids did not wish to recognise as the Calīph al-Mutī' li-llāh, who was a protégé of the Buwayhids. The name of the Calīph is absent also in several issues of the Badakhshān and Andarāb mint, in 367 – 385/977 – 996 when the areas located in the basin of the Upper Amu Darya left from under control of the Sāmānids [Lowick 1977: 2; Hennequin 1984: 197 – 221]. Only Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh Muhammad ibn Tekish, which entered the conflict with the Calīph al-Nāsir, in 617/1220-21, i.e. the last year of his board just before the most Mongolian invasion openly ignored the central power and has stoped to put down a name of the Calīph on his silver coins [Davidovich 1955: 172] whereas before that he put down his name not only on silver and gold coins, but on the copper coins too [Davidovich 1953: 51; 1968: 277 – 284; 1979: 231 – 232; Davidovich, Popov 1984: 92 – 104; Feodorov 1965: 164].

In the lands subjected to the Sāmānids had a circulation not only their coins, but as well as during the previous period of board of the 'Arabian deputies[219], *dīnārs*, *dirhams* and even *falses* of other ruling dynasties of the Calīphate, such as the 'Abbāsids (al-'Irāq), Tūlūnids (Egypt), Buwayhids (Irān), Ziyārids (Djurdjān), 'Alīds (Tabaristān), etc. [Ernazarova, Kochnev 1977: 150 – 151]. There were in use also coins of the deputies of Khurāsān who preceded the Sāmānids as well as the coins of the Sāmānids continued to be in use actively in monetary circulation at the board of the Qarā-Khānids even two centuries later [Davidovich 1966: 125; Kochnev 1990: 84 – 85; Feodorov 1971b: 123 – 124]. Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad, or it is more exact his brother Nasr ibn Ahmad, has carried out formal declaration of independence of the Sāmānids from Khurāsān and the Saffārids, but not from the Calīphate to what testify the coins minted by them [Oliver 1887: 93, 128 – 135; Yakubovsky 1946:112]. Ibn al-Athīr specially has commented on this fact, having noticed, that "in 261/874-75 Nasr ibn Ahmad began to rule in Mā warā' an-nahr from a party of the Calīph whereas earlier he ruled there from a party of the governors of Khurāsān", i.e. the Tāhirids [Ibn al-Athīr VII: 111]. It will be more correct to name the

[219] In the second half of the II/VIII – the first half of the III/IX centuries in Central Asia were in use all coins of the general calīphal sample, issued by the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids governors [Rtveladze 1987: 129].

Sāmānids at the best as a dynasty of semi-independent governors of Khurāsān and Mā warā' an-nahr as a part of the Islāmic empire [Oliver 1887: 98] which had only partial financial, but completely not political independence [Sourdel, Sourdel 1996: 728].

Fourthly, the borders of the territory subjected to the Sāmānids in the west and in the south were not frontiers, but were administrative borders inside of the 'Abbāsids Calīphate. On the imagination of the 'Arab geographers of IV/X century the borders of distribution of Islam in the northeast coincided with the borders of the territory, subjected to the Sāmānids [Bartold 1963a: 125]. As to the northern and eastern frontiers of their territory where they bordered with the Qarluq and the Uighūr Qaghanates, Tibet and India they coincided with external frontiers of the 'Abbāsids Calīphate [Farūzānī 1381: 7]. In the written sources of III – IV/IX – X centuries all of the territory of the 'Abbāsids Calīphate is considered as a unit, making *'amal* (i.e. empire) of the master true believers which was stretched in the east (al-Mashriq) from Farghāna and extreme limits of Khurāsān to Tandjar in the west (al-Maghrib) on 3700 *farsakhs*, and from the Caucasus to Djidda – on 600 *farsakhs* [Macoudī IV: 38]. All of this territory was called *Mamlakat al-Islām*, i.e. "Empire of Islām", whch had no internal political borders [al-Istakhrī: 11, 12; Ibn Haukal: 10, 71, 524]. Any of the Muslims could move freely on the all of this territory, not being exposed to any danger. Scholars and researchers could come without dificulty "for search of knowledge" from Bukhārā and Samarqand to Baghdād, Damascus or al-Maghrib, and on the contrary, from Andalusia and al-Maghrib to Balkh, Samarqand or Bukhārā. So, Nāsir-i Khusraw in V/XI century has made travel through the all empire, from Balkh to al-Maghrib and back, not having met on his way of any barriers [Nasir-i Khusraw 1933]. At that time there was a certain practical right of citizenship of empire of Islām when a Muslim has been assured of personal freedom in all areas of the country, and nobody could make him a slave [Metz 1966: 14]. If in the end of the III/IX century the last city of the empire of Islām in the east was Ispīdjāb, in the IV/X century after acceptance of Islām by the Qarā-Khānids the border of the empire of Islām have promoted up to the basin of the river Tarim, and in 397/1006-07 to them joined also the oasis of Turfān. Inthe same time from Ghazna advanced Mahmūd Ghaznawī and subordinated extensive territories in India. Therefore in the end of the IV/X century al-Muqaddasī writes, that the empire of Islām is stretched from Kāshghar and India to the country of al-Rūm and al-Andalus [al-Moqaddasī: 64]. In 331/942-43 the governor the Uighūr in Kanchan established friendly relations with the Sāmānids in Bukhārā that provided to the Muslim merchants a safe way to China [Metz 1966: 366].

Fifthly, the Sāmānids were independent only in pursueing of the internal policy which has been in advance defined by the ‘Abbāsid Calīphs. Besides, they had close trade and economic relations with foreign countries, in particular with the Volga region to what testifies the fact, that the route of embassy of the Calīph al-Muqtadir 309/921-22, which in detail was described by Ibn Fadlān, lay not on the nearest way through the Caucasus, but through Bukhārā and Kh^{w}ārazm [Bartold 1963a: 124; Puteshestvie 1939]. These communications had very deep roots and have been connected with rich deposits of silver in the Kama region which along with furs involved here still ancient Kh^{w}ārazmians, Kushans and Parthians [Bader, Smirnov 1954: 5 – 6]. Just as the Sogdians in the east, the Kh^{w}ārazmians in the west were intermediaries in trade between the North and South people. Still in pre-Islāmic time the Kh^{w}ārazmians have based the trading colonies in the west up to the Volga region where lived the Bulghārs and the Khazars [Barthold 1945: 49 – 54]. In the Chinese sources it is said about extracting of amber in the V century AD in Kh^{w}ārazm that specifies in existence at that time the Baltic-Caspian trading way which functioned also in IX – X centuries AD[220]. In the Middle Ages all of the northern trading ways, which connected the countries of Europe with the East, including the rivers Volga, Don and Dnepr with an exit to the Caspian and Black seas, controled the Kh^{w}ārazmian Türks. Through these ways they delivered to the east valuable furs and slaves from Russia and Bulghār which they took as a tribute from the Russian princes and the Bulghārs [Documenty 1967: 101].

The main centre of the all Islāmic world in trade with the Eastern Europe was Kh^{w}ārazm [Bartold 1963a: 240], which since the most ancient times (IV – III millenniums BC) played a role of the intermediary between the world of ancient civilisations of Middle East and a remote Giperboreys North [Tolstov 1948: 72]. The main city of Kh^{w}ārazm, Kāth, is called as a gate of the Ghūz Turkistān, the emporium of the Türks of Turkistān, Mā warā’ an-nahr and al-Khazar, a resort of merchants [Hudūd al-‘Ālam: 121]. The same gate to Turkistān and resort of merchants was Gurgāndj which people were known for their fighting qualities and archery [Hudūd al-‘Ālam: 122].

Bulghār was a meeting place of the Kh^{w}ārazmian and the Scandinavian merchants who also delivered on the east of slaves and furs [Mitchiner 1987: 141 – 143]. Instead of their goods they received cotton, woollen and silk fabrics from Chāch, Kh^{w}ārazm and Samarqand. But the maingoods on which exchanged slaves and furs were silver *dirhams* [Noonan 2000: 167 – 194]. The Sāmānids and general calīphale coins were circulated in

[220] Amber deposits, as is known, in Kh^{w}ārazm never was existed, but this stone here brought in a considerable quantity from the Eastern Europe [Bartold 1963a: 188].

the Volga region, but in the areas further on the west they were used as the goods [Mitchiner 1987: 140]. In territory of ancient Russia, Baltic Sea region, the Eastern Europe and Ural Mountains are found numerous treasures of the general calīphale *dirhams* [Nikitin, Fomin 1988: 65 – 68], and especially the Sāmānids and the Qarā-Khānids silver *dirhams*, testifying to their wide commercial relations [Feodorov-Davidov 1985: 44 – 47; 1988: 44 – 47; Beliakov, Yanin: 10 – 99; Dobrovolsky, Potin 1987: 136 – 155; Kropotkin 1971: 76 – 97], that has been connected with trade of slaves which the Kiev Russia willingly sold to the East. Slavic slaves then sold them to Byzantium and on the all slave markets of the Calīphate. Together with the Türks the Slavic slaves were the main weight of slaves in the Muslim world and the 'Arabian name of the Slavs *al-Saqlab* (pl. *al-Saqāliba*) began to mean slaves [Stavisky 1999: 22].

At the board of the Sāmānids the Muslim merchants had communications also with other countries, and even were reached Southern Siberia, Mongolia, East Turkistān, China, Tibet and India. During III – IV/IX – X centuries in trade of the Islāmic world with China on the routs of the Silk Road have acted as intermediaries the Uighūrs, in which structure there were also descendants of the Sogdian immigrants from Central Asia [Maliavkin 1983: 240]. The caravan way which connected the lands of the Sāmānids and the Uighūr Khānate, followed on almost impassable mountains, gorges and pastures. The period of the greatest revival of this way is occured namely in the III – IV/IX – X centuries [Karaev 1968: 68]. In the north the Muslim merchants reached a river basin of Yenisey where was discovered a Muslims cemetery of the IV – V/X – XI centuries [Kyzlasov 1963: 203 – 210]. On a site of ancient settlement Saryq-Tepa in the valley of Kashka-Darya in the layers of III – IV/IX – XII centuries are found bowls *kauri* and fragments of large oceanic bowls which have been brought from India and were highly appreciated in Sughd [Lunina 1990: 103 – 104]. Near to Sarakhs in Khurāsān has been found a treasure of silver coins minted in III – IV/IX – X centuries in India [Nikitin 1983: 29 – 30].

However, these commercial relations did not serve the state interests of the 'Arabian Calīphate, which overall objective in the foreign policy was distribution of Islām. Successes of these commercial relations more used the Christians and the Manichaeans which conducted active missionary activity in the neighbouring countries [Bartold 1963a: 125]. As to the external political connections they were spent only at the coordination with Baghdād and at upholding of interests of the Calīphate. As it is known, the Sāmānids had no external political connections with foreign countries. So, the last embassy from Central Asia to the Chinese court yard has been sent in the 761

AD from the governor of Farghāna. After that in the Chinese annals it has not been fixed any embassy from this region [Shefer 1981: 583 – 585]. Meanwhile, in the Chinese sources are mentioned embassies from the *Da-shi*, i.e. the ‘Arabs, including in the 924 AD, i.e. in the board of the Sāmānids [Suprunenko 2004: 81].

According to Ibn al-Zubayr, in 327/938-39 the king ofal-Sīn has sent to the Sāmānids *amīr* Nasr ibn Ahmad an embassy which consisted of 4 largest scholars of al-Sīn whom accompanied 40 horsemen. The ambassadors have transferred to Nasr ibn Ahmad the letter of the king of al-Sīn in which he demanded from the Sāmānids *amīr* payment of a tribute for last 27 years and a public recognition of his submission to the king of al-Sīn. Otherwise, he threatened to send against himan army which then will go to a campaign to al-‘Irāq and all of the Calīphate. The ambassadors have been received in the court of Nasr ibn Ahmad who has transferred them in answer the following letter: “Know, oh, a young man, that I did not ignore you and similar with you not because of fear, not because of weakness or shortage of my armies and the weapon. I was constrained only because the Supreme governor (i.e. the Calīph) has not ordered to me to operate. In my religion it is not authorised to undertake any actions without the order...” After that the king of al-Sīn has accepted Islām [Ibn al-Zubayr: 148 – 149]. Abū Dūlaf in his first note writes, that when he has arrived to Khurāsān, to the *amīr* Nasr ibn Ahmad there has arrived embassy from the king of al-Sīn Qālin ibn al-Shahīr which asked him to conclude a marriage contract between their two dynasties. But Nasr ibn Ahmad has refused to give his daughter for the infidel. Then they asked him to marry one of his sons to the daughter of the king of al-Sīn, and he has agreed on this consent. Together with the embassy of al-Sīn back to the capital of the Uighūrs Sandabīl (Kansu) have gone ambassadors of Nasr ibn Ahmad, which accompanied Abū Dūlaf. The princess has arrived from al-Sīn to Bukhārā already after death of Nasr ibn Ahmad and she has married for Nūh ibn Nasr and became mother of his son ‘Abd al-Malik [Abū Dūlaf: 347 – 361]. In these two fragments, possibly, it is a question of the same embassy of the king of the Qarluqs of the East Turkistān which soon after that has accepted Islām and has established family relations with the Sāmānids [Bosworth 1969: 24 – 25].

Meanwhile, the same Ibn al-Zubayr informed on gifts of the kings of India, al-Rūm and al-Sīn to the Calīphs Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Ma’mūn, al-Rādī, al-Mustansir, the *wazīr* al-Hasan ibn Sahl [Ibn al-Zubayr: 9, 20, 21 – 22, 28, 32, 60, 74, 76] and reciprocal gifts of the Calīphs [Ibn al-Zubayr: 65, 77, 179].

The Sāmānids did not aspire to support political-diplomatical relations with foreign countries where Islām has not been extended. In 354/965-66 the king of the al-Khazar

has asked the inhabitants of Kh^{w}ārazm to help him against a big group of the Türks who have occupied their country. The Kh^{w}ārazmians have agreed to help them only if they will accept Islām [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 222 – 223]. There are also data about sending of an embassy from the king of al-Rūs Vladimir, and also from the king of al-Bulghār which informed that he wished to accept Islām. The Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh was delighted and has sent to them people to learn them to the rules of the Islāmic religion [Marvazī: 23]. Here, however, it is a question not of mutual relations of the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh with the king of al-Rūs, but about the embassy of the king of Slavs (*al-Saqāliba*) to the Calīph al-Muqtadir and about reciprocal embassy which has been sent by the Calīph in 309/921-22, which was in detail described by Ibn Fadlān [Puteshestvie 55 – 57]. This fact visually shows a legal status of the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh and the Sāmānids which had no independent diplomatic relations with foreign countries, and played a role of intermediaries in diplomatic relations of the ‘Abbāsid Calīphs.

The same situation was also at the reign of the subsequent Turkic dynasties which considered representatives of foreign countries as infidels, and did not wish to have with them friendly relations. It is known, that in 418/1027-28 the king of the Khitāys and the king of the Uighūrs, having seen the increased power of the Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznawī, have sent to him their ambassadors, offering him to establish friendly mutual relations. However, the Sultān Mahmūd has rejected their offers, having told, that he does not wish to have with them any communications as they yet have not accepted Islām [Marvazī: 7 – 9].

Proceeding from the data set forth above, in our opinion, a board of the Sāmānids in Central Asia should be considered not as the independent sovereign state, but as a board of a dynasty of the local governors appointed from Baghdād as deputies, and they pursued rather independent internal economic-financial policy, using certain powers with which they were allocated by the ‘Abbāsid Calīphs. The huge sizes of the Islāmic state compelled the Calīphs to resort to the help of the institute of vice-kings. Cases of external relations of the provincial governors with other states consisted, mainly, under the authority of aggressive wars, reception of the established tribute and the distribution of Islām. Only some of them can be conditionally regarded as the diplomatic relations[221]. However, even they cannot be compared to high-grade and equal in rights

[221] So, it is known, that in 482/1089-90 when the Saldjūqids Sultān Malik-Shāh was in Isfahān, to him there has arrived the ambassador of al-Rūm with an established tribute. *al-Wazīr* Nizām al-Mulk has taken the ambassador with himself to Mā warā’ an-nahr and only in Kāshghar he has allowed him to leave back. He has told: “I want, that in annals have been mentioned that the king of al-Rūm has sent us a

diplomatic relations which had the ‘Abbāsid Calīphs with other states[222]. When one rebellious Byzantian grandee has arrived to the Buwayhids governor of al-‘Irāq Samsām al-Dawla, asking him about granting to him of a political asylum and the help, he has welcomed the governor only by easy bow and a hand kissing [al-Sabī: 30] whereas at the sight of the Calīph all of the people including the Buwayhids governors of al-‘Iraq were obligated to kiss the earth [al-Sabī: 34, 61].

Mutual Relations of the Sāmānids with the Calīphs

At the addressing to the Calīph in letters, according to the etiquette, all citizens should name him *Mawlānā* – “our mister” and *Amīr al-Mu’minīn* – “the Master of the True believers”, and at his sight to kiss the earth in front of him [al-Sabī: 61, 74 – 75]. At the addressing to the Calīph all of his citizens were obligated to name themselves as his slave. When Abū Muslim has dared to address to the Calīph al-Mansūr with simple words: “From Abū Muslim to Abū Dja‘far”, last reproached him, and later has betrayed him execution [al-Sabī: 72]. When the embassy of al-Muqtadir to the Bulghārs the first has arrived to Bukhārā, the first which Nasr ibn Ahmad has asked at them was: How you have left my mister (*mawlā* in sense of “suzerain”), the Master of the True believers?” [Puteshestvie: 56]. The Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh and the king of al-Bulghār named the Sāmānids *amīr* Nasr ibn Ahmad as “*amīr*”, and the Calīph al-Muqtadir – “Sultān” [Puteshestvie: 57, 64, 78].

The Sāmānids were zealous adherents of the Calīphate [CHIs I: 144.] and invariably stated themselves as true attendants of the Calīphs of Baghdād, constantly sending to them gifts. Ismā‘īl ibn Ahmad originally was considered as the military leader of the Calīph al-Mu‘tadid [Macoudī VIII: 144, 193, 194, 201, 209] and especially differed with his obedience to the Calīphate [al-Karshī: 98]. In 288/900-01 after a victory over the Saffārid ‘Amr ibn al-Layth and joining of Khurāsān to the territory of the Sāmānids, by order of the Calīph al-Mu‘tadid he has sent captivated ‘Amr to the capital, that was recognising of himself as his deputy [Ibn al-Athīr VII: 199]. To the envoy of the Calīph he has told: “Deliver his head to my mister, the master of the true believers” [al-Karshī:

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tribute and delivered it up to the gate of Kāshghar”. It has been made so that the ambassador has informed his mister on immensity of possessions of the Sultān that his fear before him has increased, and he has not dared to leave humility [Ibn al-Athīr X: 70].

[222] For example, with a ceremony of reception of the ambassador of the king of al-Rūm which has arrived to the Calīph al-Muqtadir bi-llāh [al-Sabī: 26].

99]. In 298/910-11 Ahmad ibn Ismā'īl, having captured the rebel Subkarī in Sidjistān (Sīstān), has reported on thisto the Calīph al-Muqtadir and, obeying his order, has sent him to Baghdād [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 23]. After the next victory over the 'infidel" Türks in 301/913-14 he even strenuously solicited a court post of the chief of police (*sāhib al-shurta*) in Baghdād and areas of al-Fārs and Kirmān when this post was released after death of the last Tāhirid *amīr*. However, to himhas been given an investiture only on the area of Kirmān [Arīb: 43]. After suppression of the revolt of the Daylamits in Djurdjān by the Sāmānids in 309/921-22, Nasr ibn Ismā'īl as the deputy of the Calīph has sent a head of the executed leader of the rebels Layla ibn al-Nu'mān al-Daylamī to Baghdād [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 46]. In 329/940-41 after murder of Makān ibn Kāli in al-Rayy (Rey) his head also has been sent at first to Bukhārā, and then to Baghdād [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 143]. The same have done the Sāmānids in 330/941-42 with a head of another rebel executed by them [Metz 1966: 27]. The Sāmānid *amīr* Mansūr ibn Nūh (ruled in 350 – 365/961 – 976 since the childhood have been given for education to the Calīph of Baghdād [al-Sam'ānī VII: 141], possibly to al-Muqtadir or one of his successors (al-Qāhir, al-Rādī or al-Muttakī). Ibrāhim ibn Ahmad ibn Ismā'īl al-Sāmānī who was an uncle on father's line of Nūh ibn Nasr ibn Ahmad, was in the service of Nāsir al-Dawla in Mosul [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 180].

The Sāmānids made all their acts in coordination with Baghdād. The building of the Sāmānids mausoleum in Bukhārā has been begun by an example of the 'Abbāsids after mother of the Calīph al-Muntasir (died in 248/862-63) has built for him mausoleum Qubbat al-Sulābiyya [Pugachenkova 1983: 23].

The same zealous adherents of the Calīph were also the Ghaznawids[223] which pursued pro-'Arab policy in the east of the Islāmic world [Bosworth 1968: 40]. Sabuk-Tigīn which earlier served as *al-hādjib* at the court yard of the Calīphs [al-Sabī: 93] in his letters addressing to the Caliīph named him"the mister" and "the master", and himself – his slave and the servant, the executor of his will and his defender [al-Sabī: 75]. Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznawī constantly showed his great awe in front the Calīph, always informed him abouthis victories and shared with him his cares. When in 403/1012-13 the Fātimids *amīr* al-Hākim has written hima letter, trying to win him on his side, Mahmūd has broken off his letter, has spat it, and has sent itto the 'Abbāsids [Metz 1966: 15]. When one of the descendants of the 'Abbāsid Calīph al-Wāthiq, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Uthmān al-Wāthiqī, having run from Baghdād to Khurāsān, and then to the

[223] On the all coins minted by the Ghaznawids after name of the prophet Muhammad are mentioned names of Calīphs [Davidovich 1979: 131 – 150].

Türks, gave out himself for the successor of a caliphal throne and aspired to expel the Sāmānids trying to grasp a power in Bukhārā, the Calīph al-Qādir bi-llāh has directed on the north special *bulla* (letter) in which denied claims of this person. After long wanderings he has come to Mahmūd Ghaznawī which has prisoned him in a fortress where he has died [Bosworth 1965: 406; Metz 1966: 131].

Provincial governors of smaller areas had not a right to address directly to the Calīph. When the Calīph al-Qādir bi-llāh for a good service has sent to the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh Ma'mūn which was subjected to Mahmūd Ghaznawī, an honourable robe, grant investiture, a banner and a title 'Ayn al-Dawla ("the Eye of Power"), the last did not begin to declare this, having considered, that Mahmūd Ghaznawī will consider this with insult, that he without his means accepted from the Calīph a robe and began to use such his bounties and an advantage [Bayhaqī 808 – 809, 812 – 817]. After that when the army of the Ghaznawids has been defeated from the Saldjūqids and their dynasty has lost its former power, direct relations of Mas'ūd Ghaznawī and his successors with the Calīphs of Baghdād became inconvenient, and then have at all stopped [Bosworth 1962: 76].

Privincial governors of areas and military leaders of the won areas were obligated to carry specially established honourable clothes which presented them the Calīph himself, and all of the provincial governors, including the Sāmānids, have adhered to this rule [al-Sabī: 67 – 68].

Titles of the Sāmānids

The Sāmānid governors as the deputies (*al-wālī*) of Khurāsān which was a part of the 'Arabian Calīphate [al-Istakhrī: 306, 311], carried a modest title *amīr*. Unlike other dynasties they were very constrained in use of titles and were called usually on their *kunya* (for example, Abū Ibrāhīm), and with honourable proranks or nicknames (*laqab*) they were mentioned only after death. So, Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad has been nicknamed al-Amīr al-'Adil (the Fair *amīr*), Nasr ibn Ahmad – al-Amīr al-Sa'īd (the Happy *amīr*), Nūh ibn Nasr – al-Amīr al-Hamīd (the Glorious *amīr*),'Abd al-Malik ibn Nūh – al-Amīr al-Mu'ayyad (the Approaching *amīr*), Mansūr ibn Nūh – al-Amīr al-Sadīd (Successful *amīr*), Nūh ibn Mansūr – al-Amīr al-Ridā (the Favourable *amīr*) and al-Amīr al-Rashīd (the Reasonable *amīr*) [Narshkhī: 70 – 87; Bīrūnī 1957: 150; Siyāsat-Nāma: 158; Gardīzī: 63 – 81; Bosworth 1962: 214; 1971: 145].

All provoncial governors and deputies, including the Buwayhids, Sāmānids, Ghaznawids, Saldjūqids and Qarā-Khānids named themselves with a modest epithet

Mawlā Amīr al-Mu'inīn, i.e. "Client of the Master of True believers" or Wālī Amīr al-Mu'minīn – "the Deputy of the Master of True believers" [al-Sabī: 76, 84 – 85, 94; al-Sam'ānī: VII: 12; Bosworth 1962: 214, 226; Gafurov 1987: 92 – 93; Feodorov 1966: 140]. The Qarā-Khānids named themselves also with such epithets as Nāsir Amīr al-Mu'minīn (the Winner of the Master of True believers), Safī Amīr al-Mu'minīn (Support of the Master of True believers), Sayf Khalīfat Allāh (the Sword of the Deputy of the Allāh), Wālī Khalīfat Allāh (Governor of the Deputy of the Allāh), Safī Wālī Khalīfat Allāh (Support of the Governor of the Deputy of the Allāh) and Khalīfat Amīr al-Mu'minīn (the Deputy of the Master of True believers) and the titles al-Ghāzī (the Fighter for Belief), Sāhib al-Djaysh (the Military Leader) [Kochnev 1993a: 10]. The title Amīr al-Mu'minīn belonged only to the Supreme rulers – the Calīphs[224] who according to the Islāmic tradition, have been allocated by a power from the Allāh [al-Sabī: 23], and only rebellious elements like the Khāridjits [Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān: 217] and heretics like the Qarmats and the Ismā'īlits could apply for carrying of this title[225].

After capture of Baghdād by the Irānian Shī'its-Buwayhids they began to call themselves with such titles as al-Sultān al-Mu'azzam and Shāhān-Shāh al-A'zam. This caused disapproval of the lawyers. When one of the Buwayhid governors wished to accept a title Malik al-Umam (the King of Peoples) or Malik al-Mulūk (the King of Kings), he has met a protest in Baghdād then he has changed it with a title Malik al-Dawla (the King of the Dynasty) [Bosworth 1962: 221].

In 335/946-47 on the coins of Nūh ibn Nasr nearby ofhis former title *al-amīr* has appeared a new title al-Malik al-Mu'ayyid, that means "the Supporting King" [Bosworth 1962: 214; Dobrovolsky, Potin 1987: 136; Treadwell 1999: 88 – 93]. Before that the Sāmānid governors did not use such a title, though, according to E. von Zambaur, the imperial title *al-malik* for the first time has appeared on the coins of Nasr ibn Ahmad [de Zambaur 1927: 202].

In some sources of the IV/X century the Sāmānid governors are called as the "kings" (*al-mulūk*) of Khurāsān [al-Istakhrī: 143, 292; Ibn Haukal: 468; al-Moqaddasī: 260] or the kings of the East (Malik al-Mashriq) [Hudūd al-'Ālam: 112]. Ismā'īl ibn Ahmad is called as "the king of Mā warā' an-nahr" [Ibn al-Athīr VII: 216]. Abū Bakr al-Narshakhī at the characteristic of the Sāmānid governors to Nūh ibn Nasr inclusive used a word *imārat*, i.e. board, and only since 'Abd al-Malik ibn Nūh (ruled in 343 – 350/954 – 961)

[224] For the first time this title has been entered in use at the reign of the Calīph 'Umar [Ugur 1988: 31, 33].

[225] For example, the Egyptian Fātimids, the Spanish Umayyads, etc.

used a word *mulk*, i.e. reign [Narshakhī: 85]. According to other data, ‘Abd al-Malik on the coins has been nicknamed al-Amīr al-Mu’ayyid [Bosworth 1971: 145][226] or al-Malik al-Mu’ayyid [de Zambaur 1927: 202] whereas Nūh ibn Nasr – al-Amīr al-Hamīd or al-Malik al-Hamid, and on the coins – al-Malik al-Mu’ayyid [Bosworth 1962: 214]. The word *al-mu’ayyid* (المؤيد) meaning in the ‘Arabian “supporting”, “sympathizing”, in our opinion, expressed their relation to the ‘Abbāsids, which were in captivity at the Buwayhids. Hence, ‘Abd al-Malik was considered as successor of Nūh in his struggle against the Shī‘its-Buwayhids. ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Nūh carried also the title al-Malik al-Muwaffaq, Mansūr ibn Nūh – al-Malik al-Muzaffar and al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam, and Nūh ibn Mansūr – al-Malik al-Mansūr [Bosworth 1962: 214].

The imperial title al-Malik could express relation of the Sāmānids to the Irānian dynasty of the Buwayhids because approximately in the same time (334/945-46) on the coins of the Buwayhids have appeared imperial titles Shāhān-Shāh (the King of Kings) and al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam (the Great King) [Ibn al-Zubayr: 78]. After a while the title Shāhān-Shāh has been used by the Sāmānids *amīr* Mansūr I ibn Nūh (ruled in 350 – 365/961 – 976) on the medallion which has been issued by him in 358/968-69. On Av of this medallion is represented the portrait of a governor to the right with two Middle Persian (Pahlavi) inscriptions on each side. The right inscription is read as MLK”n MLK’, that means “the King of Kings”, i.e. Shāhān-Shāh, and the left – *GDH ‘pzwt*, that means “the Victory in territory expansion”. On Rv after usual Muslim formulas (*Lā Ilāha illā-llāh Wahdahu wa lā Sharīka lahu Muhammadun Rasūl Allāh*) is resulted his name with an imperial title al-Malik. A prototype for the Av of this medallion has served the Av of the medallion which has been issued circa 625 AD in Qunduz by Tardū-Shād, the son of the Supreme Turkic Qaghan Tūn-Yabghū and a founder of the dynasty of the Turkic Yabghū of Tukhāristān and Gandhara. The Middle Persian (Pahlavi) inscriptions on this medallion which has been issued on the occasion of a definitive victory over the Hephtalites and joining of their lands to the Turkic Qaghanate, contain a title MLK”n MLK’, i.e. “the King of Kings” or Shāhān-Shāh [Harmatta 1982: 168]. This title could be belonged to the Supreme Turkic ruler Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan [Harmatta, Litvinsky 1996: 370]. However, the same or equivalent with it a title of the Supreme ruler was carried not only the Sāsānids and the Turkic Qaghans, but also the Kūshān kings from whom this title have inherited the Turkic Yabghū of Tukhāristān and Gandhara. Therefore a title MLK”n MLK’ (“the King of Kings” or Shāhān-Shāh), on the medallion from Tukhāristān could belong to El-Tigīn,

[226] In the composition of al-Narshakhī – Amīr Rashīd [Narshakhī: 85].

the founder of the dynasty of Turkic Yabghū of Tukhāristān, or to his successor Tardū-Shād.

Release in 358/968-69 of a medallion with the image of a portrait of one of ancestors of the Sāmānids with a title Shāhān-Shāh could be caused by actions of the Buwayhids which, having accepted a title Shāhān-Shāh, declared themselves as the descendants of the Sāsānids. To the same Mansūr ibn Nūh belongs a copper *fals* minted in 359/969-70 in Farghāna by his deputy Qilīch al-Hādjib Ahmad ibn ‘Alī [KI II: 102]. On Av of this *fals* there is an image of the classical Buddhist mandala which is a symbol of the sun accepted in the northern schools of the Buddhism, such as the Mahayana, Vardjayana (Tantrism), widespread in the Middle Ages in China, Tibet, Central Asia and East Turkistān. The classical mandala with the 8-petal socket in the middle was also a symbol of the Buddha, and it firstly appeared during VIII – IX centuries AD, i.e. the period of formation of the Buddhist school of Tantrism [Arapov 2002a: 12 – 16].

One of the last Sāmānid *amīrs* Nūh ibn Mansūr al-Ridā (ruled in 365 – 387/976 – 997) which was the son of afore mentioned Mansūr ibn Nūh, has issued in 368/978-79 in Balkh a copper *fals*, on which Av is represented so-called David’s six-final star (or seal of Solomon), i.e. a hexagram [www.zeno.ru], which a symbol of the Judaism. The origin of hexagram also is connected with India and the Buddhism where it is a symbol of the classical mandala personifying the god Nara-Narayana.

These three monuments are documentary certificates on the struggle which conducted the Sāmānids with the Buwayhids during the period since 334/945-46 when the last have grasped a power in Baghdād and have established their control over the ‘Arabian Calīphate[227]. This opposition has been put an end only in 361/971-72 by conclusion of the peace treaty between two dynasties and a marriage of the son Mansūr ibn Nūh on the daughter of ‘Adud al-Dawla [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 247].

The following Sāmānid *amīr* Nūh ibn Mansūr (ruled in 365 – 387/976 – 997), known as al-Amīr al-Ridā [Bosworth 1971: 145] or al-Amīr al-Rashīd [Narshkhī: 86], also named himself as Shāhān-Shāh [Siyāsat-Nāma: 158] though it also does not prove to be true by numismatical data [Bosworth 1962: 214]. The title Shāhān-Shāh was carried also some of the Qarā-Khānids and Saldjūqids [Kochnev 1993a: 11; Khodjaniyazov 1977: 45]. At the time of the Ghaznawids the title Shāhān-Shāh was used by poets concerning Yūsuf ibn Sabuk-Tigīn and Mas‘ūd ibn Mahmūd an answer to the claims of the Buwayhids [Bosworth 1962: 219].

[227] In written sources are mentioned collisions between armies of the Sāmānids and the Buwayhids in 334/945-46, 349/960-61, 354/965, 356/966-67 [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 202, 222, 231].

The Sāmānid *amīr* Nūh ibn Nasr (ruled in 331 – 343/943 – 954), the father of Mansūr ibn Nūh, was married to the daughter of the "the king of al-Sīn" [Sunn 1999: 101 – 102] which is identified with the Uighūr governor of Gaochan (Turfān) [Metz 1966: 376] or the king of the Qarluqs which soon after that has accepted Islām [Bosworth 1969: 24 – 25]. Abū Dūlaf described arrival to the Sāmānid *amīr* Nasr ibn Ahmad to Bukhārā of an embassy from the king of al-Sīn, i.e the Uighūr governor from Sandabīl (Kansu), asking him to conclude a marriage contract between the two dynasties. The *amīr* has refused to give his daughter for an infidel, but has agreed that one of his sons will be married the princess from al-Sīn, then her married Nūh ibn Nasr, and she became mother of the *amīr* 'Abd al-Malik ibn Nūh [Abū Dūlaf: 347 – 361].

In the Middle Ages the title al-Malik was carried by some provincial governors, which have mentioned on their coins except their name as well the titles of the Supreme governors [Khodjaniyazov 1977: 45]. Mahmūd Ghaznawī on a *fals* minted in 405/1014-15 in Ghazna, is called al-Malik al-Mansūr [Bosworth 1962: 219]. Governors of the separate cities of Syria and al-Rūm carried such titles as al-Malik al-Ashraf, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam and al-Malik al-Kāmil [Ibn al-Athīr XII: 208 – 212, 226 – 231]. One of the relatives of the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh Muhammad carried a double title Amīr-Malik [Ibn al-Athīr XII: 124]. In 603/1206-07 the Ghūrids governor Ghiyāth al-Dīn even to his *ghulām* Yidkiz al-Tātār, having released him from slavery, has appropriated a title Malik al-Umarā' (the Prince of the *amīrs*) [Ibn al-Athīr XII: 116]. Besides, the word al-Malik was used also as the own name which was spread among the Turkic governors. So, one of the Sāmānids deputies of Farghāna carried name Malik ibn Shukr-Tigīn [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 174].

The title al-Malik could to mean also not an imperial title in literally sense of this word, but to reflect a rank Mulūk al-Tawā'if (the Specific Kings) or Mulūk al-Atrāf (the Kings of Areas) with which the Calīphs sometimes named theprovincial governors of the remote areas of the Calīphate. Usually with this title were called pre-Islāmic rulers of areas and their descendants [al-Jakūbī: 294], but more often the term Malik was applied on the Turkic governors of areas in Central Asia, which carried also a title *dihqān* [Smirnova 1970: 39 – 40]. So, for example, were called the *amīrs* of Chaghāniyān, Khuttalān, Balkh, kings (*mulūk*) of Gūzgānān, *dihqāns* of Farghāna and other local rulers, who have accepted Islām [Hudūd al-'Ālam: 105 – 106, 114 – 116]. In 102/720-21 the king (*malik*) of the *rustāq* named Fayy in the region of Bukhārā was *dihqān* named Turk-Khāqān [at-Tabarī II: 1423, 1425]. The descendant of Ghūrak, the king of Sughd, which participated in litigation made over al-Afshīn in 225/839-40 at the court

yard of the Calīph in Baghdād, is called *dihqān* of Sughd and one of the kings (*mulūk*) of Sughd [at-Tabari III: 1311; Smirnova 1969: 70] though he had no political power. It is known, that the Calīphs allocated separate governors of the not ‘Arabian origin with pre-Islāmic imperial titles of their ancestors. So, the Calīph al-Mu‘tasim bi-llāh has awarded Haydhar ibn Kāwus the title al-Afshīn, which was the imperial title of the pre-Islāmic kings of Ustrūshana; the Calīph al-Rādī bi-llāh has awarded Muhammad ibn Tughdj with the title al-Ikhshīdh, which was an imperial title of the pre-Islāmic kings of Farghāna, etc. [al-Sabī: 90]. The Sāmānid *amīrs* were called also ‘*āmil* (pl. *‘ummāl*) of Khurāsān, whereas the local Turkic governors subjected to them in the boundary regions of Central Asia were called as the “Specific Kings” (*Mulūk al-Atrāf*) [Hudūd al-‘Ālam: 102].

For good service and fidelity to the Calīphate, the ‘Abbāsids awarded both their officials, and provincial governors, with various ranks like “friend”, “helper” or “support” of the dynasty (*al-Dawla*)[228], i.e. the ‘Abbāsids – ‘Adud al-Dawla, Tādj al-Milla, Bahā’ al-Dawla, etc.[229] These honourable proranks with “*al-Dawla*” since the second half of the IV/X century everywhere have become fashionable – as at the Sāmānids, governors of the North and the East, and even at the Fātimids [Bosworth 1962: 216].

The last Sāmānids, in imitation to the Calīphs, began to award to their deputies and military leaders higher and magnificent titles and *laqabs* [Bīrūnī 1957: 150; Siyāsat-Nāma: 158], similar to that which were carried the Buwayhid governors [Bosworth 1971: 137]. So, Sipah-Sālār Abū-l-‘Abbās Tāsh al-Hādjib had the titles Husām al-Dawla and Sayf al-Dawla [Gardīzī: 81], *amīr* Abū-l-Hasan Fā’iq was called al-Khāssa and ‘Amīd al-Dawla [al-Nasafī 1991: 527; al-Sam‘ānī V: 21]. Amīr Abū-l-Fawārīs Bek-Tūzūn was called Sinān al-Dawla [Bīrūnī 1957: 149]. The governor of Khurāsān Sipah-Sālār Abū-l-Hasan al-Sīmdjūrī was called Nāsir al-Dawla, and his son Abū ‘Alī al-Sīmdjūrī – ‘Imād al-Dawla. The title ‘Imād al-Dawla was carried also Abū ‘Abd Allāh ibn Hafs which was the commander of the army of al-Ghāzīes of Bukhārā. When position of Abū ‘Alī al-Saghānī has become strong he has appropriated for himself the titles Amīr al-Umarā’ and al-Mu’ayyad min al-Samā’, and in 382/992-93 when Bughrā-

[228] Unlike a word *al-Dīn* (the spiritual, religious power) the term *al-dawla* meant the secular power (Bosworth 1962: 210). The title with a word *al-Dawla* has been entered for the first time by the Calīph al-Muktafī [al-Sabī: 89]. About a word meaning *al-Dawla* as a part of these titles see: Rozenthal 1968: 89.

[229] Appointment and award of honourable titles to deputies and officials always occurred in the presence of the Calīph who spoke to him: “Here is my appointment to you. Execute” [al-Sabī: 68].

Khān has started to move to Bukhārā, he instead of coming to the aid to Nūh ibn Mansūr has demanded from him to award hima high title Mawlā (Wālī) Amīr al-Mu'minīn, which carried the Sāmānids themselves [Bosworth 1962: 215]. The governor of al-Saghāniyān Abū-l-Muzaffar Ahmad ibn Muhammad (beginning of the V/XI c.) carried the title Fakhr al-Dawla [Nizāmī: 25, 127].

The Ghaznawids were successors and continuers of the political and cultural traditions of the Sāmānids from which they have received their first titles. Despite their power and force the Ghaznawids Sabuk-Tigīn, Ismā'īl and Mahmūd during initial period of their board recognised Supreme power of the Sāmānids and named themselves on their coins as the provincial governors. Sabuk-Tigīn had a title Mu'īn al-Dawla [Bīrūnī 1957: 149] and al-Hādjib al-Adjall (Most deserving of *al-hādjibs*) [Bosworth 1962: 217]. In 384/994-95 for the rendered help in the struggle against the risen military leaders Abū 'Alī al-Sīmdjūrī and Fā'iq al-Khāssa Sabuk-Tigīn had been awarded by a title Nāsir al-Dīn wa-l-Dawla, and Mahmūd – Sayf al-Dawla [Gardīzī: 86; al-'Utbī: 33; Bosworth 1962: 216] which were appropriated him by the Calīph [Siyāsat-Nāma: 122 – 123; Bīrūnī 1957: 149]. However, so was before falling of the Sāmānids in 389/998-99 when the Ghaznawids declared themselves independent, and this event has been marked by release of medal of Mahmūd and addition of a title *amīr* to his other titles (al-Amīr al-Sayyid Yamīn al-Dawla wa Amīn al-Milla) and acceptance of a title Wālī Amīr al-Mu'minīn, which earlier used the Sāmānids [Bosworth 1962: 218]. At the same time the mention of the Calīph al-Qādir bi-llāh was remained on the *dīnār* which minted in 390/999-1000 in Nishāpūr [Thomas 1848: 267 – 386]. Later Mahmūd has accepted from the Calīphs the titles Nizām al-Dīn, Nāsir al-Haqq, Kahf al-Dawla wa-l-Islām. His son Mas'ūd had the titles Djalāl al-Dawla and Djamāl al-Milla and his brother Yūsuf ibn Sabuk-Tigīn – the titles 'Adud al-Dawla and Mu'ayyid al-Milla [Bosworth 1962: 219].

The Ghaznawids remained the Türks[230], but being successors of the Sāmānids in the Islāmic world, they did not carry Turkic titles as the Qarā-Khānids. Though in verses Mahmūd Ghaznawī sometimes was called as "the son of Khāqān" [Bosworth 1962: 220], and in the letter which has come to 418/1027-28 from the king of the Khitāy, he is called "the Governor of Khurāsān, Mahmūd Qarā-Khān" [Bosworth 1962: 220].

The Supreme governors of the Ghaznawids, and then the Saldjūqids and Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāhs were called with a title Sultān which was awarded them by the Calīph. This title which had originally a military value was applied at first on the small governors. For the

[230] A basis of the Ghaznawids army made the Turkic *ghulāms* and, addressing to them, as Sabuk-Tigin so Mahmūd and Mas'ūd spoke with them in Turkic [Bosworth 1962: 220].

first time it has been awarded to the *al-wazīr* Khālid ibn Barmak by the Calīph Hārūn al-Rashīd. Ibn Hawqal named the governor of small area of al-Wakhsh as "Sultān" [Ibn Haukal: 476]. The first provincial governor who has accepted this title was Mahmūd Ghaznawī which was called Sultān A'zam, Sultān Buzurg or al-Sultān al-Mu'azzam [Ibn al-Athīr IX: 54]. However, this title which is mentioned in written sources (Bayhaqī), is not fixed on the coins of Mahmūd where are resulted his other titles and epithets such as al-Sayyid al-Amīr, al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad, Malik al-Sharq wa Sayyid al-Gharb, Hudjdjat Allāh fī-l-Ard, etc. However, the subsequent Ghaznawids even on their coins were called with a title Sultān [Bosworth 1962: 223, 229 – 231].

The first Saldjūqids (for example, Dāwud) named themselves "King of Kings" or Shāhān-Shāh [Ibn al-Athīr IX: 200]. On the gold medallion which has been issued in 455/1063 in Baghdād in honour of wedding of Tughrul-Bek with the daughter of the Calīph al-Qāim bi-llāh Tughrul-Bek along with a title al-Sultān al-A'zam (the Great Sultān) is named also by the Irānian title Shāhān-Shāh (the King of Kings) to underline historical continuity of his power [Agadjanov 1964: 14]. The Saldjūqid Sultān Alp-Arslān carried such titles as al-Sultān al-Mu'azzam, Shāhān-Shāh, Shāhān-Shāh al-A'zam, Malik al-Islām, Malik al-Maghrib wa-l-Mashriq [Khodjaniyazov 1977: 44; Petrov 1985: 52 – 56].

Sultān Sandjar before acceptance of the title Sultān, being the deputy of Khurāsān, carried more modest titles Malik al-Mashriq (the King of the East) [Feodorov 1963: 120 – 125; 1967: 59] and Malik Khurāsān [Khodjaniyazov 1969: 110; 1977: 45, 50].

The Qarā-Khānids which accepted Islām, being the citizens of the Calīphate, carried pre-Islāmic titles Pādishāh, Shāhān-Shāh, Khāqān and Khān which they, possibly, have appropriated for themselves [Feodorov 1966: 165]. But the most magnificent were the Islāmic titles of the Qarā-Khānids. Bughrā-Khān Hārūn, which grasped in 382/992-93 Bukhārā, has appropriated for himself the titles Shihāb al-Dawla and Zāhir al-Dawla [Bosworth 1962: 222]. The subsequent Qarā-Khānid governors named themselves with such epithets as Sultān al-Salātīn (the Sultān of the Sultāns), Sultān al-Mashriq wa-l-Sīn (the Sultān of the East and al-Sīn), Malik al-Mashriq wa-l-Sīn (the King of the East and al-Sīn), Malik al-Islām (the King of Islām), Amīr al-Umarā' (the Amīr of *amīrs*), and also with such Persian epithets and titles as Pahlawān al-Sharq (the Athlete of the East), Dihqān (the Prince), Pādishāh (the King), Shāhān-Shāh (the King of Kings). At the same time still the very first Qarā-Khānid governor who has grasped in 382/992-93 Bukhārā, on the coins named himself Mawlā Amīr al-Mu'minīn (the Client of the Master of True believers), and not only on the gold *dīnārs* and silver *dirhams* [Ishankhanov, Kochnev

1979: 142], but also on the copper *falses* [Kochnev 1984a: 202]. The Qarā-Khānids governor Qilīch Tamghāch-Khān Mas'ūd (ruled in 536 – 551/1141 – 1156) named himself "the Deputy of the Calīph Nāsir" [al-Zāhirī: 24]. Ibrāhīm ibn al-Husayn Tamghāch-Khān named himself Mu'ayyid Amīr al-Mu'minīn (the Assistant to the Master of True believers) and al-Malik (the King) [Masson 1971: 81 – 82].

The subsequent governors from the dynasty of the Qarā-Khānids even being vassals of the Saldjūqids, the Qarā-Khitāys and Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāhs named themselves with such epithets as al-Khāqān al-Mu'azzam, Ulugh Sultān (the Great Sultān), Ulugh Sultān al-Salātīn (Great Sultan of Sultāns), al-Sultān al-A'zam (the Greatest Sultān) [Feodorov 1984: 111 – 112, 115, 122], and also Sultān al-Dawla (the Governor of the Dynasty), Nāsir Amir al-Mu'minīn (the Winner of the Master of True believers), Safī Amīr al-Mu'minīn (the Support of the Master of True believers), Sayf Khalīfat Allāh (the Sword of the Deputy of the Allāh), Wālī Khalīfat Allāh (the Governor of the Deputy of the Allāh), Safī Wālī Khalīfat Allāh (the Support of the Governor of the Deputy of the Allāh) and Khalīfat Amīr al-Mu'minīn (the Deputy of the Master of True believers) and with titles al-Ghāzī (the Fighter for Belief), Sāhib al-Djaysh (the Military Leader) [Kochnev 1993a: 10 - 11, 22 – 23]. In an inscription on the mausoleum of al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī the Khāqān Ahmad-Khān ibn Khidr which was a vassal of the Saldjūqids is named with such epithets and titles as Sultān al-Islām wa-l-Muslimīn (the Sultān of Islām and the Muslims), Sayyid al-Mulūk wa-l-Salātīn (the Mister of Kings and Sultāns), Sultān al-Mashriq (the Sultān of the East), etc. In the inscription on the northern mausoleum of the 444/1152-53 AD in Ūzkand the Qarā-Khānid governor Alp Qilīch Tungā Bilgā Türk Tughrul Qarā-Khāqān which was buried in it is called Mudjtabī Khalīfat Allāh Nāsir Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Malik, i.e. "the Elect of the Deputy of the Allāh, the Winner of the Master of True believers, the King" [Yakubovsky 1947: 29].

Proceeding from these data, it is possible to assume, that occurrence of an imperial title al-Malik on the coins of Nūh ibn Nasr nearby of his former title al-Amīr was connected not with aspiration to independence and claims on the status of the king [Treadwell 1999: 93], but with their opposition to the Buwayhid governors, which grasped Baghdād and appointed on a calīphal throne their protege al-Mutī' li-llāh (ruled in 334 – 363/946 – 974). The military campaign made in 382/992-93 by the armies of the Sāmānids for a purpose of capture of a power in Baghdād and release of the 'Abbāsids from the Buwayhids captivity also has been connected with the same aim [Metz 1966: 131].

Since the second half of the IV/X century titles of the governors of various areas of the Calīphate become more and more magnificent. At the same time gradually increased also the quantity of the titles, complaining to one person [Bosworth 1962: 213 – 214]. Governors of areas even competed among themselves in reception of more magnificent titles[231] that was some kind of a designation of their place of value for the state, which was defined by the head of the state – the Calīph. Sabuk-Tigīn, for example, at first has been granted only by one title Nāsir al-Dawla (the Support of the Dynasty), and his son Mahmūd Ghaznawī had at once three titles – Sayf al-Dawla (the Sword of the Dynasty), Yamīn al-Dawla (the Right Hand of the Dynasty) and Amīn al-Milla (the Keeper of the Belief) [Siyāsat-Nāma: 158]. The Turkic Qaghan Bughrā-Khān in 382/992-93 at first has granted for himself a title Shihāb al-Dawla (the Flame of the Dynasty) [Metz 1966: 120]. But the subsequent Qarā-Khānid governors were obtained the most magnificent titles, which were supported by special invetitures of the Calīphs. The Calīph al-Qādir bi-llāh has granted to the Khāqān of Samarqand at once three titles: Zāhir al-Dawla (the Helper of the Dynasty), Mu'īn Khalīfat Allāh (the Assistant to the Deputy of the Allāh), and Malik al-Sharq wa-l-Sīn (the King of the East and al-Sīn) [Siyāsat-Nāma: 154].

Titles and ranks had been confered not only to governors, but also to *wazīrs*, deputies of smaller administrative units, military leaders, and also *al-qādī*, *imāms* and *'ulamā'*. For Sipah-Sālārs usually had been confered titles with "*al-dawla*" – Zāhir al-Dawla (the Helper of the Dynasty), Rukn al-Dawla (the Pillar of the Dynasty), Sayf al-Dawla (the Sword of the Dynasty), etc., government officials – with "*al-mulk*" – Nizām al-Mulk (the Order of the Kingdom), Sharaf al-Mulk (the Honour of the Kingdom), 'Amīd al-Mulk (the Support of the Kingdom), etc., scholars and *al-qādī* – with titles of a type Madjd al-Dīn (the Glory of the Religion), Sharaf al-Islām (the Honour of Islām), Zayn al-Sharī'a (the Ornament of the al-Shari'a), Fakhr al-'Ulamā' (the Glory of the Scientists), etc. [Siyasat-Nāma: 158]. *Wazīrs* usually named Dhū-l-Yamīnayn, Dhū-l-Riyāsatayn, Dhū-l-Kifāyatayn, Dhū-l-Sayfayn, Dhū-l-Kalāmayn, etc. [Bīrūnī 1957: 149].

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[231] Mahmūd Ghaznawī 10 times sent ambassadors to the Calīph al-Qādir bi-llāh, complaining him that though he has huge merits in front the state, has only one title, whereas Khāqān of Samarqand, being his protege, has been granted at once by three titles [Siyāsat-Nāma: 153 – 154].

Thus, the government system of the Sāmānids has been constructed on the sample of the ‘Abbāsids which in turn was constructed on the basis of state traditions of the Sāsānids. At the board of the Sāmānids as well as in Baghdād, the capital of the ‘Abbāsids, almost all key posts, both at their court yard in Bukhārā and in other cities and areas of Khurāsān and Mā warā’ an-nahr which were subjected to them, occupied the Türks. As well as at the court yard of the ‘Abbāsids in Baghdād, they played an important role in management affairs of the all levels and throughout all period of board of their dynasty in the III/IX century the Türks made a considerable part of officials of the court administration of the Sāmānids. The Same situation was also in the all areas. The Türks made the majority of the provincial governors appointed by the Sāmānids in the areas subordinated by them. As to areas of defence, law and order protection these spheres were completely in hands of the Türks.

The government system of the Sāmānids represented the accurate and perfect system which comprised the most advanced achievements of that time in the field of statehood. However, as the term “statehood” is a legal concept, its definition also should be based on the rules of the Islamic law. From the point of view of the legislation the government system of the Sāmānids, as well as their board, cannot be considered as an independent state.

According to the law which in the Middle Ages was al-Sharī‘a, i.e. the Islāmic law, the Sāmānid governors were deputies (*wālī*) of Khurāsān, which was a part of the ‘Arabian Calīphate. They carried a modest title *amīr* and as all of the deputies named themselves with an epithet Mawla Amīr al-Mu’minīn, i.e. “the Client of the Master of True believers” or Wālī Amīr al-Mu’minīn – “the Deputy of the Master of True believers”.

The Sāmānids were independent only in conducting of the internal economic-financial policy, but their mangement has been strictly limited by the certain rights with which they were allocated by the Calīphs. The Sāmānids annually paid all taxes and duties to the ‘Abbāsid Calīphs and regularly in established time have sent them to Baghdād.

Borders of the territory which belonged to the Sāmānids with other parts of the ‘Arabian Calīphate have not been considered as the state borders, but they were administrative borders. The external borders of the territory which belonged to the Sāmānids coincided with the external borders of the ‘Arabian Calīphate. The foreign policy of the Sāmānids was pursued only in interests of the ‘Arabian Calīphate at the coordination with Baghdād.

The board of the Sāmānids was considered lawful only in case of the presence of the special investiture of the Calīph with appointment as their deputies of Khurāsān. The Sāmānids officially recognised the Supreme power of the Calīphs and mentioned their names in every *al-khutba* and on their coins. Hence, from the legal point of view the board of the Sāmānids should be considered not as a victory of local independent statehood, but as a board of the provincil governors of Khurāsān and Mā warā' an-nahr as a part of the 'Arabian Calīphate which were subjected to the 'Abbāsid Calīphs. At the same time, it should be recognised, that the Sāmānids were founders of a new model of board of the Türks in Central Asia, which was adapted for Islām.



Chapter Five

LITERATURE OF THE PEOPLE OF CENTRAL ASIA IN THE BOARD OF THE SĀMĀNIDS

Epoch of the Islāmic Renaissance

The term "Islamic Renaissance" for the first time has been entered into a scientific turn in the same named work of A.Metz which remained not finished in connection with his sudden death in 1917. Though actually A.Metz has used this term only in the 18th part of the work, he was right, when wrote about the deep changes which have occurred in III – IV/IX – X century in a cultural life of the Islamic society and about signs of continuity of ancient culture that has similarity to the similar process which occurred in XIV – XV centuries AD in Europe [Metz 1966: 230]. Revival and the further development of an Ancient Greek science were really general sign of the European Renaissance and blossoming of the Islamic culture [Bartold 1966: 617 – 618; Krachkovsky 1957: 171]. According to I.Konrad, "Revival" isa process, which was characteristic not only for Europe, but also for all countries and the people, only it occurs during the certain period in development of the civilised people. World history study shows that the Renaissance takes place in the life of the people, which passed long enough period of development of their culture [Metz 1966: 11]. So, in the history of China Renaissance is defined in VIII – XII centuries AD, in the history of Central Asia, Irān and North-West India in IX – XII centuries AD, in the history of the West – in XIV – XV centuries AD [Konrad 1972: 209 – 244]. Any of other terms or names cannot express completely all sense and maintenance of the epoch of the Renaissance [Saidkulov 1993: 30].

Epoch of the Islamic revival is characterized as the period of prompt launch in history of a science and culture of the people of the East. As a result of merge of cultural traditions of the 'Arabs and Persians have been created magnificent monuments of the literature to which cannot be compared any of the literary monuments which have reached us from the pre-Islāmic time neither in Irān, nor in Central Asia. During the Islāmic period prompt development occurred also in other branches of culture: a science, architecture, art. The Sāsānids period is characterized as "the stagnation period" in comparison with fast development of a science and progress of forms of the Islāmic architecture and art [Bartold 1971: 250].

An important role in the course of the Islamic revival was played also the Türks. Blossoming of Islamic art passed under the sign of activization of the "Turkic penetration" not only in Central Asia, but also in all Forward and Middle East that induces to pay attention to a role of the Türks in development of the Islāmic art. From the III/X century essentially varied the art of steppe tribes in which were inherent realism, graphicness, expression of art forms, the genetic relation with traditions of animal style. Instead of these traditions is formed the new art tradition with prevalence of a geometrical ornament. Attracts attention simultaneity of the two processes – the Islamic Renaissance and the Turkic penetration [Gül 2002: 25].

By the synthesis of various cultures, namely, the 'Arabian, Persian and Turkic, it is possible to explain the creative launch which was taking place during an epoch of early Islām. The similar picture can be observed also in the art culture. The most considerable achievements and the highest launches by which are noted stages of especially high development of art culture in Irān were defined not with the racial "Irānian" sign, but namely with the period of the most intensive conglomeration of various ethnic elements. At the peak of culture of the Saldjūqids, Chingīzids and Tīmūrids periods the creative role of the Irānian and Turkic people was equivalent [Pugachenkova 1949: 74].

It is known, that in early Islām it was forbidden drawing of images of people and live beings, especially in public buildings. Therefore in Islāmic art instead of painting have received development other directions, such as a vegetative and geometrical ornament, a calligraphy, a miniature, etc. [Bolshakov 1969; Veinmarn 1968; Evnikeeva 1969]. The Türks the first have dared to break this interdiction and began to represent people and animals in public places.

The palace walls of the 'Abbāsid Calīphs in Samarra have been decorated by portraits of the Calīphs, and also the Turkic military leaders and the grandeeswhich served at the court yard of the 'Abbāsids [Herzfeld 1927; Esin 1973: 47 – 88]. In the palace of the Calīph al-Mutawakkil there was a special room on which walls were represented portraits of Baghīr al-Turkī and other Turkic military leaders [al-Sūlī: 121]. It is known a silver medal with a portrait of the Calīph al-Tā'ī (ruled in 363 – 381/974 – 991) minted in Baghdād [Walker 1958: 693].

The Sāmānid *amīr* Mansūr I ibn Nūh (ruled in 350 – 365/961 – 976) in 358/968-69 has issued a silver medallion on which Av is represented the portrait of one of ancestors of the Sāmānids dynasty. The silver coins issued by the Sāmānids in 300 – 351/912 – 962 in the area of Kābul and Ghazna, contain the image of a bull and the horseman (Av).

Other type of these coins contains the image of a bull, the god Sri Khudavayaka (Av) and a horseman (Rv) [Mitchiner 1977: 132].

Walls of the Ghaznawids palace in Ghazna have been decorated by monumental subject painting [Schlumberger 1952]. One of the palace rooms has been decorated by scenes of the erotic maintenance. When Mahmūd Ghaznawī tried to find the scholar Abū ‘Alī ibn Sīnā, who run from Bukhārā after falling of the Sāmānids dynasty, he has ordered to draw a portrait of this scientist and to dispatch in all areas that people could identify him. On the Afrāsiab ruins in Samarqand in the palace of the Qarā-Khānids is discovered the wall mosaic with the image of the Turkic soldier [Karev 2007: 43 – 51].

The first Saldjūqids Sultān Tughrul-Bek, having released Baghdād from the Buwayhids, in 435/1063 married the daughter of the Calīph al-Qā’im bi-amri-llāh (ruled in 422 – 467/1031 – 1075) and has marked this event by issue of a memorable gold medallion on which Av has been represented the Calīph al-Qā’im bi-amri-llāh, and on Rv – Tughrul-Bek [Walker 1958; Agadjanov 1964: 10 – 16; Guseinov 1980: 122]. On many coins which have been issued by the Saldjūqid governors in Asia Minor, there are images of portraits of the Turkic governors [Hennequin 1985: pl. VII, VIII, IX, XI, XVII, XIX, XX, XXXIII]. On the coins of the Qarā-Khānids there are images of a running hare, a pigeon, fish, a bird with a baby bird, an elephant and other animals [Kamishev 2004: 157].

On the site of ancient settlement Hulbuk is found a big dish with an image of the Khuttalānian horse [Guliamova 1969: 66]. In the territory of a silk factory Khudjand has been found a bronze mortar made in the IV – VI/X –XII centuries with images of human faces and processions of animals on fields and with inscriptions in blossoming al-Kūfī in the middle. Human images are featureless and schematical, but images of animals are realistic and executed in so-called “animal style” of steppe tribes. All of the plots, which are represented on a mortar connected with a cult of the Shamanism and are traditional for art of steppe cultures [Moskalenko 1991: 110 – 114].

Two fragments of ceramics have been found in medieval Bukhārā with a painting on which are represented the young man playing a musical instrument and the young girl with two plaits. Both characters have typically Turkic features (a round face form, the narrow extended almond-shaped cut of eyes, the eyebrows converging at nose bridge) [Abdullaev 1979: 76 – 78].

Walls of the palace buildings of a site of ancient settlement (1,5 x 0,8 km) located near the present settlement (*qishlaq*) Sayyād on the bank of the river Pandj, which is dated V – VI/XI – XII centuries and are identified with the medieval city of Pārghar

[Guliamova 1982: 157], have been covered by high artistic alabaster carved ornament and a subject painting [Guliamova1977: 189 – 197; 1979: 576]. Here is opened the rich architectural decor with images fantastic lion shaped winged dragons in "animal style" and with a vegetative ornament. The image of animals, especially a lion and a leopard, is widely presented also on site of ancient settlement Hulbuk [Guliamova 1987: 127, 131].

In the Yetisū region is found more than 200 stone sculptures of the Orkhon Türks, latest of which are dated IV/X century [Sher 1963: 158]. In the Chū district located in the area of Tarāz (Djambul) in Kazakhstan has been found the stone sculpture of the person with the image of a musical instrument (harp) in a hand which is dated VI/XII century [Charikov 1981: 289 – 291].

Among the wall paintings of a palace of the governor in medieval Hulbuk (V – VI/XI – XII centuries) there is an image of the soldier with a cudgel in all of his growth, which has a big similarity with a plot of paintings in the palace of Mahmūd Ghaznawī in Lashkar-i Bāzār [Guliamova 1984: 200].

The miniature art, which started to develop in the Mongolian time in Central Asia [Rise 1976; Blair 1995], reached the highest blossoming during the epoch of Tīmūr and the Tīmūrids in person of Kamāl al-Dīn Behzād [Forman 1963; Adamova, Grek 1976]. To Turkey a painting has been brought at the reign of the Sultān Bāyazid II (ruled in 886 – 918/1481 – 1512) by Bābā Naqqāsh, the native of Turkistān [Bartold 1971: 435].

The Sāmānids and the Persian Culture

At the reign of the Umayyad Calīphs the superiority in administrative management in the country, as it is known, belonged to the 'Arabs, and in all spheres of a public life, i.e. political, spiritual and cultural, was used exclusively the 'Arabian language that has led to occurrence among other people of the Calīphate which have accepted Islām of various cultural-political trends, which are known in history as movements *al-Shu'ūbiyya*. With coming to power of the 'Abbāsids in the second half of II/VIII century as in political, so in a cultural life of the 'Arabian Calīphate there were occurred basic changes. The role of inhabitants of Khurāsān has sharply increased in a political life of the 'Abbāsids Calīphate, i.e. the Irānians and the Türks with whom the 'Abbāsids have been obliged by their coming to power. To the beginning of III/IX century in a public life of the country was gradually formed a situation of some kind of a balance between three largest people of the country – the 'Arabs, Persians and Türks, each of which brought their contribution to development of uniform Muslim culture. All basic spheres of a

public life of the country have been distributed between these three ethno-cultural communities – military functions and administration managerial control system were supervised by the Türks, writing affairs and culture questions were in hands of the Irānians, and the spiritually-religious sphere remained under the authority of the ‘Arabs. In the III – IV/IX – X centuries in all parts of the ‘Abbāsids Calīphate including the lands subjected to the Sāmānids a state language was the ‘Arabian on which was conducted all documentation and official correspondence [Frye 1965: 229]. Religious works were written exclusively in the ‘Arabian language, works on the exact sciences also were written, mainly, on the ‘Arabian. As to the literature and history it was written both on the ‘Arabian, and on the Persian languages[232]. It was some kind of the private law which was observed by everything, and nobody challenged an existing state of affairs. On this standard basis there was a development of all Islāmic culture in which took part all people of the Calīphate including the Türks [Imomnazarov 1996: 109 – 110]. The movement *al-Shu‘übiyya*, which received wide circulation among the people of the east part of the ‘Abbāsids Calīphate, has led to legitimation of the New Persian language in many areas where before dominated the ‘Arabian language [Meisami 2000: 356].

If in the west, in Persia and Trans-Caucasia, the ‘Arabian conquerors have built the military camps which turned subsequently to the centers of a city life [Bartold 1966: 233; Bartold 1971: 362], in the east, in Khurāsān, they began to lodge in the already existed cities with mainly Irānian speaking population. The Persians, having accepted Islām, took active participation in the further movement of the ‘Arabs on the east and distribution of Islām among the people of Central Asia. In the subsequent period Islām has been subjected to a strong influence of the Irānian culture not only in the east, but in the west too [Frye 1979: 4 – 5].

In Mā warā’ an-nahr (Turkistān) the ‘Arabs and Persians also did not build new big cities, but lodged in already existed cities (Samarqand, Bukhārā, etc.) forcing local residents to release for themselves a half of each city [Narshakhī 51 – 55] which have considerably increased subsequently in size at the result of intensive development of suburbs [Voronina 1959: 84 – 104; Kurennoy 1970: 61 – 64]. These data is co-ordinated with data of toponymic researches according to which, the beginning of active

[232] In Muslim classification of sciences, both the history, and the literature were not among “sciences”, as, for example, the “science”on al-Hadīth study. That is why they both did not enter into a number of the subjects which had been teached in mosques and *madrasah*. Therefore the first compositions in Fārsī have been composed in these fields [Rozenthal 1968: 51 – 53].

distribution of the West Irānian (Persian) toponymy in the territory of Central Asia was the period of the ‘Arabian gain. It is characteristic, that purely ‘Arabian element made very insignificant share in the local toponymy. The majority of the so-called “Muslim” names were formed on the West Irānian basis [Khromov 1980: 136]. The army of al-Ahnaf ibn Qays, which made a campaign to Balkh and Gūzgānān, consisted of 5 thousands persons, from them 4 thousands were the ‘Arabs and 1 thousand – the Muslims from number of the *al-‘Adjam*, i.e. non-‘Arabs [al-Beladsorī: 407]. A part of Persians from the very beginning closely co-operated with the ‘Arabs, entering with them in family relations. To the time of the ‘Abbāsids Calīphate many of the ‘Arabs have been assimilated by the Persians and spoke in two languages: ‘Arabian and Persian [Frye 1975: 97].

The Sāmānids, being followers of the orthodox Islām, with readiness have accepted all Islāmic values of the state and a society, and in these spheres were adherents of exclusively Islāmic traditions. The Calīph al-Ma’mūn, which was the son of a Persian wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, especially liked the Persians and all Persian [Zaidan 1907: 217]. His brother al-Mu‘tasim, which was the son of Hārūn al-Rashīd from his Turkic wife, also adherent of the Persian culture and traditions of the Persians [al-Ya‘qūbī: 31 – 32]. The Sāmānids, being proteges of the Calīphs, in all followed desire and tastes of their patrons and promoted development of the Persian culture.

The Buwayhids, which have come to power in the central part of the ‘Abbāsids Calīphate in the middle of the III/X century have found already developed ‘Arab-Islāmic culture and with readiness have continued its traditions. As to the Sāmānids, which have come to power much earlier in the east suburb of the Calīphate where positions of Islām were still rather unstable, on the contrary, have been compelled to make huge efforts for the statement of the ‘Arab-Islāmic culture and to struggle for its further development. The literature and history were not included into a circle of Islāmic sciences and were not the subjects of Islāmic education. Therefore in these spheres the Sāmānids showed tolerance and promoted revival of the Irānian literary traditions which were for them only as a “Nachklang” [Frye 1965: 229 – 230].

The Sāmānids as well as the Barmakids were the natives not of the Sāsānids Persia, but from the Buddhist Balkh where was strong influence of culture of India. In Buddhist monasteries were studied not only religious questions, but also questions of philosophy and the exact sciences. Therefore in the first centuries of Islām Baghdād and Bukhārā where proceeded activity of these dynasties, became the centers of studying of philosophy, astronomy, mathematics and other exact sciences [Bartold 1963a: 222].

Traditions of the Buddhism have played an important role in this process. In the Buddhist monasteries beginners studied not only sacred texts, but also secular sciences. The training program included studying of medicine and grammar, music, astronomy, geography, poetry and painting [Litvinsky, Zeymal 1971: 130]. The last Barmakid prince, who has run from the 'Arabs with his mother to Kashmir, studied there astronomy, medicine and philosophy [Ibn al-Fakīh: 324]. The origin *madrasah*, the higher theological school of the Muslims, was connected with organizational structure of Buddhist monasteries [Litvinsky, Zeymal 1971: 55, 132].

One more primary factor which has served as a reason for revival of the Irānian traditions at the board of the Sāmānids was that a considerable part of territory, which subjected to them, earlier was a part of the Sāsānids Irān. When the Sāmānids, having finished in 298/910-11 their struggle with the Saffārids, have captured Khurāsān, their board has soon become unpopular among local population and the internal opposition revolted against the occupational armies which culmination was a revolt of the local patriotic forces on which head was 10 years old member of the Saffārids family, the great-grandson of 'Amr ibn al-Layth. As a result of this revolt in 299/911-12 the Sāmānid governor of Khurāsān has been deposed and the young Saffārid prince has been proclaimed as the *amīr* of Khurāsān. Actually the power was grasped by one of the military leaders, Muhammad ibn Hurmuz which has cut communications both with the Saffārids and with the Sāmānids, and recognized as his suzerain only the 'Abbāsids Calīph[233].

Therefore the Sāmānids have been compelled to reckon with moods and requirements of their citizens for the sake of the statement of ideals of Islām. The same policy was spent also by other Turkic dynasties – the Ghaznawids, Saldjūqids and Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāhs. Even the Qarā-Khānids, who were considered as continuers of the Old Turkic traditions of statehood, and were not connected in their management with a territory of Irān, promoted to development of the both Turkic, and the 'Arabian and Persian literatures. Unlike the Qarā-Khānids, which were of a notable origin, the Saldjūqids were natives of bottoms of a society. Therefore after a gain of Irān they did not try to keep at all their own cultural values and ran all written documentation only in Fārsī [Frye 1965: 231; Frye 1967: 73 – 74].

Islām which has inherited many positions from the Zoroastrianism [Bosworth 1973: 125], has come to the Türks via the Persians and has been accepted in the Persian form

[233] He has issued a *dirham* on which are mentioned only his name and a name of the Calīph al-Muqtadir. This coin was a sign on disobedience to the Sāmānids [Bosworth, Rispling 1993: 215 – 217].

[CHIs IIb: 683]. Therefore the Muslim civilization was perceived by the Türks as Persian-Islāmic synthesis, and the Muslim culture associated, first of all, with the Persian one [Bartold 1966: 174; Bosworth 1973: 53; Gül 2002: 24]. The culture, being a part of ethnic identity, at the same time is over national phenomenon. The Persian language was widely used by the Turkic elite beginning from the Sāmānids to the *amīrs* of Bukhārā Khānate [Atkin 1993: 151]. The Persian language Dārī, which was generated at the court yard of the Sāsānids, was *lingua franca* for the all east part of the Irānian world [Frye 1975: 99]. During an epoch of early Islām the Persian language was only the form of expression of opposition to domination of the ‘Arabian culture while the basic vital force of this opposition was made by the Türks [Schanzlin 1936: 281].

Cultural identity is based on continuity of cultural values of the people. The Persian past was not monolithic. Among the population of medieval Irān always there were various ethnic, religious and linguistic groups. The most part of medieval past of Irān which has reached us and has laid down in a basis of the Irānian understanding of identity, belonged to very insignificant part of the population which used the Persian in the ‘Arabian alphabet. They were known well sciences and supervised all power in medieval Persia. In due time they also were keepers of memory of the past. The Irānian culture was created by various socially-ethnic and linguistic groups of medieval Persia [Hanaway 1993: 148, 150].

During pre-Islāmic times the ‘Arabs and the Persians had rather close cultural, trade and economic relations both in Persia and in ‘Arabia. Especially closely they co-operated in sea trade with the countries of the East Asia and the basic language of dialogue of the ‘Arabian and Persian merchants with foreigners there was a Persian language [Pickens 1942: 198]. During aggressive wars in the Sāsānids Irān the ‘Arabs began to study the Persian language even more freely to communicate with local population and when they have risen to borders of Central Asia, many of them already well knew this language [Frye 1970: 131]. Besides, in their numbers there was a set Persian *mawlā*, i.e. the Persians who have accepted Islām. It is possible to tell, that the ‘Arabs have played important, if not a paramount role in formation of the New Persian (Fārsī) language and in its distribution in Central Asia where at that time had dominated the Sogdian, Kh^{w}ārazmian, Bactrian and other East Irānian languages [Frye 1970: 132, 134].

Thanks to the movement *al-Shu‘ūbiyya* the Irānian elements in the Islāmic culture were from the very beginning rather strong and have even more amplified with coming to power of the ‘Abbāsids [Frye 1965: 230]. To the Persians belongs a huge role in

internationalization of Islām and its transformation from purely ‘Arabian property into universal culture [Frye 1965: 231]. The ‘Arabs despite the aversion of the ideas of the *al-Shu‘ūbiyya* movement always recognized a greatness of the cultural heritage which they have inherited from the Persians after the gain of Irān [Bosworth 1973: 53].

Distribution of Islām to Central Asia occurred via the language of Fārsī which carried out there a role of a repeater and the tool of propagation of Islām among local population [Bartold 1966: 242]. Therefore this language has very soon turned in the *lingua franca* for the all east part of the Islāmic world [Frye 1967: 74]. All of the ‘Arabian *al-‘ulamā’* of Khurāsān and Mā warā’ an-nahr should know the al-Qur’ān both in the ‘Arabian language, and on Fārsī [Frye 1970: 132]. In the first mosque which has been constructed in Bukhārā in 94/712-13, the text of al-Qur’ān was read in the Fārsī as it was difficult to local residents to learn the ‘Arabian language. Even the New Persian language (Fārsī) was not clear for them, therefore behind the praying people there was a special person who prompted to them in the Sogdian, when it was necessary to kneel or fulfill any other requirements of the ritual [Narshakhī: 47 – 48]. Thus, together with Islām among the local population in artificial form was extended also the New Persian language. It is known, that one of the Muslim missionaries in 110/728-29 has refused Islām propagation in Samarqand on the ground that he was not skillful in the New Persian language [Gafurov 1972: 374]. In the same way, at means of the New Persian language there was also a further distribution of Islām among the Turkic population of Ispījāb, Tarāz, Fārāb and others lands of Turkistān gained by the early Sāmānids. Because the Sāmānids, being the natives of Khurāsān and protégés of the ‘Abbāsids, in the internal policy leant, first of all, on the Irānian culture and the Islāmic *al-‘ulamā’* [Meisami 2000: 367].

The Türks and the Irānian Culture

The Turkic people even before acceptance of Islām were under cultural influence of their nearest neighbors, the Irānians and with their assistance accepted the Zoroastrianism [Barthold 1945: 33]. Among the people of the Central Asia during an epoch of the early Middle Ages has been extended fire worshiping, which is represented a circle of old Irānian pagan cults, related, but not identical with the dogmatic Zoroastrianism. The part of these cults has laid down in a basis of the Zoroastrianism, and other part continued to exist along with it.

In medieval sources there are numerous indications on distribution of the Zoroastrianism and other forms of the fire worshipping among the ancient and medieval Türks. So, according to Süan Tszan, the Türks worshipped to fire and therefore at them it was not accepted to use wooden beds because the tree contains fire element [Tugusheva 1991: 6]. In the one of the Sogdian documents (doc. 1.I) from the Mugh mountain is mentioned the priest (*vaγnpat*) named Kūrchī which was one of the most approached people of Devashtich, the pre-Islāmic king of Pandjikent. The name Kūrchī specifies that he was the keeper of a sacred fire [SDGM II: 110 – 112]. Another Sogdian document (Nov.3 and Nov.4) from the same collection represents the marriage contract concluded between the Turkī named Ūt-Tigīn with a prorank Nidan and the Sogdian girl named Dughd-Ghuncha, the daughter of the Chat-Viyus [SDGM II: 23 – 25]. The name Ūt-Tigīn formed from a Turkic word *ūt* – "a fire", which specifies that the groom as well as the bride, was a fire worshipper [Otakhodjaev 2000: 80 – 83].

From the composition of al-Tabarī is known the name of the Turkic governor named Sūl which ruled in 18/639 in the areas Djurdjān (Gurgān) and Dihistān of Khurāsān. He had a high Irānian administrative title al-Marzubān, which he has inherited from his father [at-Tabarī I: 2657]. In 98/716-17 the al-Marzubān, i.e. governor of Djurdjān was certain Fīrūz ibn Qūl, and the governor of the next Dihistān – *dihqān* named Sūl [at-Tabarī II: 1320 – 1333]. According to Abū-l-Faradj al-Isfahānī the Türks of Djurdjān and Dihistān, which governors in VII century AD were Sūl and his brother Fīrūz, have accepted language and religion of the Persians [al-Isfahānī IX: 21]. Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī noticed that Sūl and Fīrūz which during pre-Islāmic time were kings of Djurdjān, the both were Türks, they worshipped to a fire and became similar to Persians [al-Sam'ānī VIII: 110]. Tamīm ibn Bahr informed, that some of the urban Türks in the country of the Tughuz-Ghuz were fire worshippers from religion of the Zoroastrians (*'abdat al-nīrān 'alā madhhab al-Madjūs*), and some were the al-Zindiqs (pl. *al-Zanādiqa*), i.e. the Manichaeans [Minorsky 1947: 279].

The fire worshipping was spread not only among the settled Türks of Khurāsān and Sughd, but also among some of nomadic tribes of Central Asia. According to al-Marwazī, in the III/X century in the neighborhood with the Kīmāks lived three people which worshipped to fire and water [al-Marwazī 2003: 46]. According to al-Idrīsī, among inhabitants of the city named Tantabigh in the country of the Tughuz-Ghuzes were some people which worshipped to fire [al-Idrīsī: 57]. According to Yāqūt al-Hamawī, in the country of the Tughuz-Ghuzes the most part of population were fire worshippers, which adhered to the dogmas of magicians [Yāqūt: 77]. In the III/X

century the inhabitants of the settlement al-Qarīnayn located in the region of Marw named Turkun. All of them were fire worshippers (al-Madjūs) and were engaged in delivery of donkeys for hire [Kodāma: 209].

In the mountain gorges Kulan-Say and Terek-Say located in 7 – 8 km to the north from Talas in Kirgizstan have remained set of rock inscriptions of the X – XI centuries AD written in the Sogdian language by the Turkic governors and notable persons. Judging of their names they were not Muslims[234]. For dating of the inscriptions in all cases is used the era of chronology Khusraw (Yazdigird)[235], that also as well as the Sogdian language of inscriptions, can specify that the Türks who have remained these inscriptions, most likely, were fire worshippers [Djumagulov 1982: 25 – 31].

Thus, data of written sources testify to distribution to antiquities and an epoch of the Early Middle Ages among the Türks of Central Asia of various forms of fire worshipping, including the Zoroastrianism. These data prove to be true by data of toponymics and archaeological researches [Kamoliddin 2004: 4 – 9].

Through means of the Sogdians the Türks have accepted also other Irānian religion – the Manichaeism [Skjaevo 1995: 263 – 284], which has received especially a wide circulation in the first half of the VII century AD among the western Türks, and then has extended among other Türks [Kliashtorny 1964: 144]. In 762 AD the Uighūr Tūrks have accepted the Manichaeism, and in IX century AD this religion became dominated in the Uighūr Qaghanate. The Manichaeism have accepted also the Khakases, Kīmāks both some other Turkic tribes and peoples. The Sogdian language and culture have received a wide circulation among the Türks together with the Manichaeism [Kyzlasov 2004: 12 – 20]. The official language of the Manichaean church of Central Asia at first was the Parthian, and from the second half of the VI century AD it has been replaced by the Sogdian [Litvinsky, Zeymal 1971: 115].

Influence of the Sogdians on the Türks was especially strong, and their language had a wide circulation among all Irānian and Turkic people inthe areas from Samarqand to China [Bartold 1963a: 190]. Still in the IV – V centuries AD the Türks of the East Turkistān have adapted for the Turkic language the Sogdian alphabet of an Aramaic

[234] Among more than 100 man's and female names which are mentioned in the Sogdian inscriptions in Kulan-Say and Terek-Say, there is no any Muslim name. All of them concern to the pre-Islāmic Turkic anthroponymy and many of them are known from the Runic texts and the Old Uyghūr monuments.

[235] The era of Yazdigird, the son of Shahriyār, the son of Khusraw II Parwīz, the last Sāsānids Shāhān-Shāh, was counted by leap-years and was used in the al-Zīdjs (astronomical tables). In written monuments of Central Asia dating on an era of Yazdigird was used extremely seldom [Bīrūnī 1957: 42 – 43].

origin. Being in immediate proximity from China, the Türks, nevertheless, did not borrow the Chinese written language as it was made by other people of East Asia (Koreans, Japanese, Mongols, etc.), and borrowed written language of an Aramaic origin that testifies that in the cultural regarding they gravitated to the western people more, than to the east.

The Turkic Runic written language developed on the basis of proto-written language of the steppe nomads in form of ideogramma-*tamgha* signs, but its subsequent development occurred under influence of the old Sogdian written language on the basis of the Syrian alphabet of an Aramaic origin [Mokrynin 2004: 64; Bazilkhan 2004: 268]. Distribution of the Aramaic letters among the Irānians and the Türks of Central Asia has been connected first of all with development of trade relations, and also a consequence of religious propagation owing to what appears the Buddhist, Christian and Manichaean literature on the Sogdian and the Turkic languages [Bartold 1963a: 183 – 184].

In the VII – VIII centuries AD in the East Turkistān along with the Runic alphabet started to be in use the Uighūr alphabet based on the Sogdian letters, which is extended also in Central Asia. The Uighūr alphabet was used at the court of the Turkic dynasties of Central Asia as a court written language [Mansuroglu 1964: 81]. In the state office in Istanbul even in the beginning of the XVI century AD were copyists, which were able to write in the Uighūr alphabet. The Uighūr written language continued to be used among the Türks who have not accepted Islām in China up to the XVIII century AD [Mansuroglu 1964: 81].

The Persian author of the beginning of VII/XIII century noticed, that before Islām the Türks had their own written language: the Sogdian and the Tughuz-Ghuz (Uighūr). They trained children in the reading and writing and were able to compose verses – *qasīda* and *rubā'ī* [Marwarrūdī: 90 – 93]. During excavation of Pandjikent are found out fragments of the wall part of a vessel with the Sogdian alphabet contained of 23 letters [Livshits 1966: 62 – 63]. According to the Byzantian sources, the Turkic ambassadors who have arrived in 567 AD to Constantinople have brought with themselves a message written by the "Scythian letters" [Bartold 1963a: 114].

It is known, the first Turkic Qaghans before acceptance of the Runic written language used the Sogdian, and even earlier the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) written language. The Sogdian language was a state language of the First Turkic Qaghanate [Kliashtorny, Livshits 1971: 121 – 146]. The official language of the Türks of Tukhāristān was the Bactrian language [Sims-Williams 1997: 3 – 11].

On the medallion which has been issued by the Turkic Qaghan named of Zīk or Djīk (ruled in 610 – 618 AD)[236] after a victory over the Sāsānids in 616 – 617 AD, there is a portrait of a governor to the right, on the right and to the left of which are represented the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) inscriptions [Göbl 1987: 276 – 277, pl. 39, fig. 2]. To the same Qaghan belongs the seal which has been issued by him for administration of the gained territory on which are represented a Middle Persian (Pahlavi) and a Runic legends [Frye 1971: Tabl.; Harmatta, Litvinsky 1996: 369].

Another Turkic ruler Tardū-Shād about 625 AD has issued in Qunduz a medallion on the occasion of a definitive victory over the Hephtalites and joining of their lands to the Turkic Qaghanate. Iconography of a portrait, which is represented on this medallion, finds out close similarity to portraits of the Turkic governors of Tukhāristān, Kābul and Gandhara of VII – VIII centuries AD which have been minted in imitation to *drachmas* of the Sāsānids Shāhān-Shāh Hurmazd IV [Harmatta 1982: 168; Harmatta, Litvinsky 1996: 370]. Among all of the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāhs the Türks with special preference concerned to Hurmazd IV Turkzāda which was the grandson of the Turkic Qaghan on a parent line and the patron of Türks in the Sāsānids Empire.

All of these data show, that the Türks since the VI century AD up to the XIII century AD except the Turkic language and writing simultaneously used also the Sogdian written language. This factor played an important role that the New Persian (Fārsī) language and the literature have received so prompt development in the Turkic environment [Kyzlasov 2004: 11].

It is known, that nomad tribes, especially, the Türks, historically possessed a catalyst mission in development of civilization. Thanks to a nomadic way of life the Türks possessed outlook width, lines of democracy and a collectivism were inherent in their society. On the one hand the Irānian Türks, having a general history with the Persians and other people of the Sāsānids Irān, were active supporters of revival of the Sāsānids traditions. On the other hand, having entered the close military-political and ethno-cultural union with the ‘Arabs, they were conductors of the Islāmic policy and aspired to adapt cultural values of pre-Islāmic time for new realities. Interest to a new language has been caused by needs of the state building and necessity of trade with the south and on the Silk Road. Besides, high level of Irānian language literacy of the Turkic population was promoted the Manichaean priests who contained schools (prototype of the Islāmic

[236] Djeguy-Qaghan or Sheguy-Qaghan – the grandson of Tardū-Qaghan (Qarā Chūrīn), the brother of Tūn Yabghū-Qaghan; earlier he was the governor of Chāch [Bichurin 1950 I: 279, 281; Gumilev 1967: 138, 154 – 158, 166; Kliashtorny 1985: 166 – 167].

madrasah) inside of temples and monasteries in cities belonged to the Türks. As a result of their active missionary activity the Manichaeism has received in IX – XIV centuries AD a wide circulation among many of the Turkic speaking people in extensive territory from the river Amur to Danube (Dunay). Some data allows assume that at least some of the Supreme rulers of the Western Turkic Qaghanate were the Manichaeans [Zuev 2002: 188, 192 – 193, 200 – 203]. The Manichaeism was the state religion of the Uighūr and Khakas (Kirghīz) Qaghanates, and also in the states of the Kīmāks and Kidans. In all of the remained Turkic religious texts of the Manichaean maintenance was used the Irānian lexicon [Kyzlasov 2004: 12 – 16]. In the south of the desert Gobi it has been found a Turk-Sogdian inscription written on the marble monolith, which is dated 762 AD [Kliashtorny, Livshits 1971: 58].

New Persian Language and Literature

The New Persian language (Fārsī) had a West Irānian origin and developed not on a basis of the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) and Pārsī, i.e. the language of the Zoroastrians and inhabitants of the area of al-Fārs, but on the basis of the language Dārī, the spoken language of the court yard of the Sāsānid Shāhān-Shāhs in the capital area al-Madā'in [Ibn al-Nadīm I: 13; al-Khwārazmī: 116 – 117]. This language began to develop in the Islāmic time in Khurāsān as a literary written language [Lazard 1971: 376] whereas spoken languages remained former: the Pahlavi, Bactrian and Turkic. In the IV/X century in Bukhārā among the 'Arab-Persian immigrants had also distribution a spoken language named *al-Dariyya* [Ibn Haukal: 490] which was the simplified variant of the Fārsī [Frye 1967: 72].

The earliest epigraphic monument written in the New Persian language (Fārsī) is the inscription of Tang-i Azao located in 200 km to the east from Harāt which is written by the Jewish alphabet and is dated 752 AD [Masson, Romodin 1964: 235; Bosworth 1978: 74]. There is not exact data on when the first samples of the literature written in Fārsī, i.e. the New Persian language on the basis of the 'Arabian drawing, have begun to be composed. The Persians have not kept even legends about the beginning of their poetry in the first centuries of Islām [Bartold 1966: 176; 1971: 450]. The 'Arabian governors of Khurāsān patronized the 'Arabian poets among whom there were not only the 'Arabs, but also the Persians who composed verses in the 'Arabian language in the same style and with the same motives of breeding arrogance, as well as the 'Arabs. They have been named as the poets of the *al-Shu'ūbiyya* movement. The same Persian poets began to

compose subsequently verses in the Fārsī language, having kept thus all canons of the classical ‘Arabian poetry. Many poets of that time were bilingual and verses on the Fārsī composed not only the Persians, but also some of the ‘Arabian poets [Frye 1970: 133].

According to the ‘Arabian sources, the first verses on the New Persian language has combined the ‘Arabian poet Yazīd ibn Mufarrigh (died in 69/688-89) between 60/679-80 and 64/683-84 [Bartold 1971: 452; Frye 1970: 133]. In the composition of al-Tabarī is resulted a quatrain which has been combined in 108/726-27 in the Fārsī language in Balkh derisively over soldiers of Asad ibn ‘Abd Allāh (died in 120/737-38) after that wahen they have returned to the city from al-Khuttal, having suffered defeat from armies of the Turkic Qaghan [at-Tabari II: 1492, 1494, 1602]. Who was the poet which has composed this quatrain it is not known; it is possible to assume only, that its author was one of “clients” who have accepted Islām (*mawlā*) from among inhabitants of Balkh, who did not participated in this campaign. There is also a data (al-Narshakhī) on the composition of songs in the “language of Bukhārā”, in which was sung the love of the ‘Arabian commander to the queen of Bukhārā [Bartold 1963a: 194]. But here, probably, it is a question not of the Fārsī language, but about a Bukhārā dialect of the Sogdian language which in the IV/X century still was the basic spoken language of the inhabitants of Bukhārā [Ibn Haukal: 490].

It is considered also, that the first ‘Arabian speaking poet who has composed verses in Fārsī, was a court poet of the Calīph Hārūn al-Rashīd (reigned in 170 – 193/786 – 809) Abū Nuwās al-Hasan ibn Hānī al-Khāqānī (130 – 198/747 – 814 AD) which firstly entered into his verses the Persian words for the sake of a joke [Ta’rikh-i Sīstān: 213]. His father served in army of the last Umayyads Calīph Marwān al-Himār (reigned in 127 – 132/744 – 750), and his mother was of the Persian origin [Filshtinsky 1965: 120 – 121]. The *nisba* of his father, al-Khāqānī, as well as his profession of the military man, allows assume that he was one of the first Türks who accepted Islām and have arrived on the service to the ‘Arabs[237]. If it so, in that case, the poet Abū Nuwās which was his son, had a Turkic origin though he was born from the Persian wife.

It has remained a salutatory poem written in Fārsī, which was said at the time of entrance of the Calīph al-Ma’mūn (ruled in 198 – 218/813 – 833) to Marw in 193/808-

[237] It is possible to put him in one number with such known figures of a Turkic origin as Sūl-Tigīn and his sons Muhammad and Sulaymān, Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī, ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak al-Marwazī, Mahmūd al-Yūgnakī, etc. which were one of the first Turks who accepted Islām and have passed to service to the ‘Arabs. For more details about them see above in section “the Sāmānids and *al-Shu‘ūbiyya* movement” of the chapter 2.

09 by certain al-'Abbās al-Marwazī, in which it is noticed, that anybody did not composed earlier verses in this language[238]. Ibn Khordadhbeh resulted one more sample of early poetry written in the Fārsī, which author Abū-l-Taqī (Abū-l-Yanbaghī) al-'Abbās ibn Tarkhān was a native of Samarqand or al-Shāsh [Ibn Khordadhbeh: 64, 176, n. 84]. He lived in Baghdād in the reign of the Calīph al-Wāthiq (ruled in 227 – 232/842 – 847) and composed verses, both in the 'Arabian, and in the New Persian (Fārsī) [Mardonov 1979: 121 – 132]. V.V.Bartold identified him with the previous poet al-'Abbās al-Marwazī [Bartold 1966: 177; 1971: 451], that, in our opinion, can be quite probable. From his verses appears that, most likely, he was a native of al-Shāsh, and then some time he lived in Samarqand. In 186/802 he was in Marw when al-Ma'mūn has arrived there as a deputy of Khurāsān. When in 198/813-14 al-Ma'mūn became the Calīph, he, also as well as many other scientists and poets of Khurāsān, has arrived together with him to Baghdād, lived there till the end of his life and has died in the reign of the Calīph al-Wāthiq. Name of the father of this poet, Tarkhān[239], specifies that he, most likely, was the Turkī which came from al-Shāsh.

There are data on one more early poet named Muhammad ibn Bā'is (died after 236/850-51) which was adherent of Bābek in Ādharbaydjān. He was the owner of several locks in vicinities of the Urmia Lake and his verses in the Persian language were known among inhabitants of Marāgha [at-Tabarī II: 1388; Bartold 1971: 451]. His origin is not known, but it is known, that in III/IX century a part of the population of Ādharbaydjān were made by the Türks whom was much also among the supporters of Bābek.

Among the first Persian speaking poets who served at the court yard of Ya'qūb ibn al-Layth al-Saffār in Nishāpūr is mentioned the al-Khāridjī named Bassām-Kurd[240] or Bassām-Turk [Ta'rikh-i Sīstān: 212] which, judging by his name, also was the Turkī. Such situation looks quite natural against the data set forth above[241] and, especially, data of al-Djāhiz, which wrote, that in III/IX century between the Türks and inhabitants of Khurāsān practically there was no distinction, and the difference between them was only

[238] The text of this ode has been resulted in the work of the historian of the Persian literature Muhammad 'Awfī (VII/XIII c.) ['Awfī I: 21; Bartold 1966: 177; Bosworth 1978: 67.

[239] If the Türks depending on their belief could be carriers of various names, including Irānian, the ethnic Persians unlike them, as a rule, never were carriers of Turkic names.

[240] The second component of this name "Kurd", is read relatively in such form and, in our opinion, can be read also as "Türk".

[241] See above in the section "The Ethnic Situation in Central Asia in the Board of the Sāmānids" of the chapter 3.

as between inhabitants of Mecca and al-Madīna, or between the Beduins and farmers, or inhabitants of plains and mountains, or as a difference between mountain and flat inhabitants of the same tribe al-Tay [al-Djāhiz: 29; Bosworth 1963: 206]. Muhammad ibn Wasīf which was a secretary of Ya'qūb ibn al-Layth, at the desire of his mister composed for him verses in the New Persian language on the norms of a system *al-'Arūd* of the 'Arabian poetry [Bosworth 1978: 67, 72]. In the end of the III/IX or beginning of the IV/X century has been written the first comment of the al-Qur'ān in the New Persian by certain al-Djubba'ī al-Mu'tazilī (died in 303/915-16) from Khūzistān [Bosworth 1978: 74].

Thus, from these data follows, that at the sources of a literature in the New Persian (Fārsī) were standing not the Persians and not the Sogdians, but the 'Arabs and the Türks, who made a part of the population of the Sāsānids Irān. It speaks, first of all that the Türks, unlike the Persians with their orthodox sights, fanatical and irreconcilable character, were more flexible, courageous, susceptible to all new things and possessed ability quickly to adapt to new conditions for achievement of their purposes. The first verses in the New Persian have been composed spontaneously in various corners of the east part the 'Arabian Calīphate (Balkh, Baghdād, Ādharbaydjān, Marw), but as a literary language for the court poetry, which was subordinated to norms of the classical 'Arabian poetry, it has been claimed for the first time in the second half of the III/IX century in the board of the Saffārids *amīr* Ya'qūb ibn al-Layth.

The New Persian language which has arisen and formed during the II – III/VIII – IX centuries, in IV/X century at the board of the Sāmānids has been put into practice as a literary language in Khurāsān [Bosworth 1978: 62], and in the V/XI century at the board of the Ghaznawids it has been confirmed as an official language in the all east part of the 'Arabian Calīphate [Bosworth 1968: 36].

In result of centuries-old ethno-cultural contacts the Türks were exposed to a strong influence of the Irānian culture in the different areas. Special interest of the Türks caused not only a jeweller and an applied art, but also a literature and especially poetry [Gül 2002: 12]. Therefore the Turkic governors, who have accepted Islām, had the Persian poets at their court yard and some of them have composed verses in Fārsī [Bartold 1963a: 169 – 433; Bosworth 1966: 89]. The New Persian (Fārsī) became a language *lingua franca* for the all east part of the Islāmic world. Even in the board of the purely Turkic governors from the dynasty of the Qarā-Khānids in state affairs along with the Turkic language was used the New Persian (Fārsī) [Frye 1967: 70, 73]. Some of the Qarā-Khānids carried such Irānian epithets and titles as Pahlawān al-Sharq (the

Athlete of the East), Dihqān, Shāh, Pādishāh, Shāhān-Shāh, Sālār [Kochnev 1993: 10, 11]. On some of the Qarā-Khānids coins there are sayings in the Persian language, and absence of a definite article (*al-*) in some of the 'Arabian honourable proranks also testifies on influence of the Persian language norms. Application of the Persian language in such official sphere as monetary legends where the 'Arabian language traditionally dominated, specifies that the Qarā-Khānids governors gave to the Persian language great value [Kochnev 1993: 14, 55]. One of the two wall inscriptions on the northern mausoleum of 547/1152-53 in Ūzkand where has been buried the Qarā-Khānids governor Alp Qilīch Tungā Bilgā Turk Tughrul Qarā-Khāqān Husayn, is made in Fārsī [Yakubovsky 1947: 29]. The Persian inscriptions are represented also on the mausoleum Shāh-Fazil (a 3rd quarter of the V/XI century) in Farghāna [Nastich, Kochnev 1988: 76]. Use of the Persian language in inscriptions on walls of the tombs says that the Qarā-Khānids considered the Persian language as religion language along with the 'Arabian. The Qarā-Khānids were the first Muslim governors, who used the Persian language in monetary mint and in inscriptions of funeral constructions.

In the Irān up to the end of II/VIII century people continued to write compositions on the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) language. This time concern the separate parts of the historical compositions which have reached us such as "Matakdan-i Khazar Datastān" ("the Book of One Thousand Judgements"), "Shahristānhā-i Īrānshahr" ("Cities of Irān"), "'Adjā'ib Sakistān" ("Miracles of Sakistān") and many others [Ahmedov 1991: 52; Yazberdiev 1995: 172 – 181]. In Marw even during times of al-Ma'mūn functioned the library of the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) manuscripts originated from the palace library of the last Sāsānids Shāhān-Shāh Yazdigird III. They were accessible to any interested person who could freely read them and do extracts of them [Bartold 1971: 369]. The Middle Persian (Pahlavi) literature co-existed in Irān with the 'Arabian literature throughout the all III/IX century and only in the IV/X century became archaism [al-Istakhrī: 137], having given way in the west to the 'Arabian literature [Lazard 1971: 376], and in the east to the literature of *al-Shu'ūbiyya* written in Fārsī [Frye 1967: 70]. Among the Irānian Zoroastrians, which run from the Muslims to India, development of the literature written on the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) language continued up to the beginning of the IV/X century [Yazberdiev 1995: 198 – 204]. In 368/978-79 certain Zoroastrian Kay-Khusraw ibn Dārā from Rey has composed in the New Persian the work "Zardusht-Nāma" or "Mawlūd-i Zardūsht". It was the first work of the Zoroastrian maintenance, which was composed not in the Middle Persian (Pahlavi), but in the New Persian (Fārsī) [Bosworth 1978: 68].

As to the Muslim governors from among the Persians in which board was observed revival of the pre-Islāmic traditions and strengthening of positions of the Zoroastrianism [Frye 1965: 227] in the beginning they at all did not perceive the literature written in the New Persian (Fārsī) and considered its studying incompatible with true believe[242]. For example, the Tāhirids, who were the first Muslim dynasty of the Persian origin, were strongly ‘Arabized and tried to erect their family tree to the ‘Arabian tribe al-Khuzā‘a, the client (*mawlā*) of which was their ancestor Tāhir ibn al-Husayn [Bosworth 1973: 53 – 54, 56 – 57]. Many representatives of the Tāhirids family had a residence in Baghdād and considered for prestigious to carry themselves to a number of the ‘Arabs [Bosworth 1969: 47 – 48]. Many of the Tāhirids composed verses and were masters of prose in the ‘Arabian language and others were known scientists and seminary students [Bosworth 1969: 54, 77]. They concerned to the Persian literature with open animosity and ordered to burn and destroy compositions written in the Persian language [Bartold 1966: 177; 1971: 509]. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Tāhir has refused to listen to the Persian romance which had been presented to him he has thrown the book in the river and has ordered to burn all books of the Zoroastrians [Tritton 1970: 99].

The Daylamits also erected their origin to the ‘Arabs [Bosworth 1973: 54]. The Irānian Ziyārids and the Buwayhids, who considered themselves as keepers and continuers of the political traditions of the Sāsānids time, have not introduced with themselves any literary traditions, have entirely obeyed to influence of the ‘Arabian literature and were absolutely indifferent to the New Persian (Fārsī) [Bartold 1966: 179; Bartold 1971: 287, 368]. The Buwayhids governor ‘Adud al-Dawla, trying to present himself as a continuer of traditions of the Sāsānid kings, named himself Shāhān-Shāh and used on his coins the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) writing. He showed a big interest to the ancient history of the Persians and, having visited the ruins of the Ahemenids capital Persepolis, has left there a memorable inscription [Bosworth 1978: 62].

However, ‘Adud al-Dawla as well as other Buwayhids did not show any interest to the New Persian (Fārsī) language and the literature. The dynastic history of the Buwayhids has been written not on the New Persian (Fārsī) language, as, for example, of the Ghaznawids, Saffārids and Saldjūqids[243], but on the ‘Arabian language [Bosworth

[242] Though native language of Tāhir ibn al-Husayn and his descendants was Persian, they even in personal correspondence used exclusively ‘Arabian language and esteemed only the ‘Arabian culture [Bartold 1971: 506].

[243] The dynastic history of the Ghaznawids has been written in the ‘Arabian (“Ta’rīkh al-Yamīnī” by Abū Nasr Muhammad al-‘Utbī) and Persian (“Zain al-Akhbār” by Gardīzī and “Ta’rīkh-i Mas‘ūd” by Abū-l-

1978: 69]. In the ‘Arabian language at the board of the Buwayhids has been written the known work “Maqāmāt” by Badī‘ al-Zaman al-Hamadānī (died in 397/1006-07). The work of Abū ‘Alī ibn Sīnā “Dānish-Nāma-i ‘Alā’ī”, which was devoted to the Buwayhids governor of Isfahān ‘Alā’ al-Dawla, as well as the majority of his other works, has been written in the ‘Arabian language. Even the histories of such Irānian cities as the Qūm and Isfahān have been written in IV – V/X – XI centuries in the ‘Arabian language [Frye 1965: 225]. All state and correspondence, writing and public affairs in the Western Persia were conducted only in the ‘Arabian language [al-Istakhrī: 137]. The literature written in the New Persian (Fārsī) language at the board of the Buwayhids was insignificant and in its development almost was not beyond poetry [Bosworth 1978: 74]. The ‘Arabian language dominated there up to the most Mongolian gain, and the wide use of the Persian language in the historical literature begins only in VII/XIII century [Bartold 1971: 287 – 288; Lazard 1971: 376].

By the synthesis of various cultures, namely, ‘Arabian, Persian and Turkic, it is possible to explain the creative launch which was taking place during an epoch of early Islām. The similar picture can be observed also in the art culture. The most considerable achievements and the highest launches by which are noted stages of especially high development of the art culture in Iran were defined not with the racial “Irānian” sign, but namely with the period of the most intensive conglomeration of various ethnic elements. At the peak of culture of the Saldjūqid, Chingīzids and Tīmūrids periods the creative role of the Irānian and Turkic people was equivalent [Pugachenkova 1949: 74].

During the pre-Islāmic epoch the Irānian people, like Indians, had no authentic written historical literature; the Persians were indifferent to real history and geography which were replaced at them with myths and legends [Bartold 1971: 274]. All of the existed data on the history of Irān contain only in the religious (Avesta, the Zoroastrian literature in Pahlavi) and epic (“Khudāy-Nāma”, “Shāh-Nāma”, etc.) literature [Piankov 1998: 79]. In the historical tradition names of the Ahemenid kings, as well as the name of their dynasty, have been superseded by names of legendary Persian kings [Bartold 1971: 427]. Therefore the period of epic creativity, which occurred from circle of the East Irānian nomads in Irān was more long, than in other countries, and the national epos was met more attention from the educated estate [Bartold 1971: 383]. After a gain of Irān by the ‘Arabs one of first signs of revival of the Irānian culture was revival of the Irānian epos which has begun still that time when in the Islāmic world yet there was no

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Fadl Bayhaqī) languages. The dynastic history of the Saldjūqids also was written in the‘Arabian (“Zubdat al-Tawārīkh” by Sayyid Sadr al-Dīn Husaynī) and Persian (“Siyāsat-Nāma” by Nizām al-Mulk).

other literary language except the ‘Arabian [Bartold 1971: 395]. At the reign of the Calīph al-Mansūr (ruled in 136 – 158/754 – 775) have been carried out several translations of the Persian epos “Khudāy-Nāma” which in the ‘Arabian language were called “Ta’rīkh Mulūk al-‘Adjam” (“the History of the Persian Kings”). In the New Persian literature this book named “Shāh-Nāma”[244].

Turkic Governors and Development of the New Persian Literature

Development of the Persian literature and the culture, begun at the court yard of the Irānian dynasty of the Saffārids[245], and has been continued at the court yards of the Turkic governors –the Sāmānids, Qarā-Khānids, Ghaznawids, Saldjūqids and Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāhs, which patronized the best representatives of the Persian poetry [Bartold 1971: 253]. In the same way, VI – VII centuries AD, i.e. the epoch of the Turkic Qaghanate, has been noted by blossoming of the Sogdian art and culture in the whole [Gül 2002: 97]. The base of all poetry on the New Persian language, i.e. creation of the literary language Fārsī, creation of the basic types of art forms, has been put in pawn in Bukhārā and Samarqand during the epoch of the Sāmānids [Bertels 1988: 267]. The last, following the lead of the ‘Abbāsids, aspired to transform their court yard into a center the science and culture [Bosworth 1963: 34] and there were flown down scientists and poets from many countries of the Islāmic world [Frye 1967: 70]. The Sāmānid *amīrs* were highly educated people and they esteemed scientists and poets [al-Nasafī 6284: 64a; al-Sam‘ānī VII: 12 – 14], therefore they have released scientists from a humiliating ceremony of a kissing of the earth in front of themselves [al-Moqaddasī: 74 – 75]. At the court yard of the Sāmānids in Bukhārā along with numerous ‘Arabian speaking poets[246] have found a refuge such Persian speaking poets as Rūdhakī, Kisā’ī and Daqīqī, which top of creativity was Abū-l-Qāsim Firdawsī. Verses on the New

[244] Replacement of the word *khudāy* by the word *shāh* has occurred under the influence of Islām when former idolization of the king became impossible, and the word *khudā* (*khudāy*), which meant the god used in a value of “sovereign” [Bartold 1971: 399].

[245] There are known names of several Persian speaking poets who served at the court yard of Rāfi‘ ibn al-Layth [Ta’rīkh-i Sīstān: 211 – 212].

[246] In total are known names more than 120 ‘Arabian speaking poets who served at various court yards of the Sāmānid governors [al-Tha‘ālibī 1976: Index of proper names].

Persian (Fārsī) language has wrote also the outstanding encyclopaedic scientist Abū ‘Alī ibn Sīnā [Irisov 1980: 143 – 150].

In the beginning of the III/IX century at the board of the first Sāmānid *amīrs* in Marw from certain Sarw has been written down a part of the legend about Rustam. In 346/957-58 in Nishāpūr has been composed the first version of “Shāh-Nāma” written in prose, which author was Abū Mansūr Ma‘marī, who has presented his work to the Sāmānid governor of Nishāpūr the Sipah-Sālār of Khurāsān Abū Mansūr Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Tūsī (ruled in 349 – 350/960 – 962) [Bartold 1971: 403 – 405; Meisami 2000: 357]. Later at the board of the last Sāmānids, ‘Abd al-Malik, Mansūr and Nūh this work has been transferred from prose into verses by the poet Muhammad ibn Ahmad Daqīqī (died in 366/976-77) from Balkh, who had composed only 1000, and on other data, about 3000 verses before his death. His work has continued Abū-l-Qāsim Firdawsī which has finished his work at the court yard of the Ghaznawids in Ghazna, having included in it also the verses of Daqīqī. When Firdawsī has decided to leave Mahmūd Ghaznawī to the followers of the Sāsānids traditions Buwayhids, he has not been accepted by them and has returned to his native city of Tūs where he has died [Bartold 1966: 179]. The Muslim priest has refused to read a funeral pray over Firdawsī because of that he has glorified the Persian kings [Tritton 1970: 99]. Mahmūd Ghaznawī though a late, but all the same recognized ingenious work of Firdawsī and has sent after him for his work compensation of 60 thousand *dīnārs*, but when the messenger has arrived to Tūs the poet was already dead [Bosworth 1966: 89; 1968: 40].

At the board of the Sāmānid *amīr* Nasr ibn Ahmad (ruled in 301 – 331/914 – 943) his *wazīr* Abū-ل-Fadl al-Bal‘amī has translated from the ‘Arabian to the Fārsī the composition “Kalīla and Dimna” which then has been transferred into verses by the poet Rudhakī [Bartold 1971: 406]. By order of the *amīr* Nasr ibn Ahmad circa 320/932 the *al-faqīh* Abū-l-Qāsim Ishāq ibn Muhammad al-Samarqandī (died in 342/953-54) has written the composition on *al-fiqh*, which then has been translated on the Fārsī [Bartold 1963a: 194]. By order of Nūh ibn Nasr in 339/950-51 on the language Dārī (simplified Fārsī) has been translated the “Book of Sindbād”, and circa 452/1060 it was transferred on Fārsī. It is supposed, that this transfer has been made not from the ‘Arabian, but directly from the Pahlavi language [Frye 1967: 72]. In 340/951-52 the Khurāsānian *dihqān* Abū Mansūr Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Tūsī has led a translation of some texts of the old Irānian epos from the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) on the New Persian (Fārsī), which were used subsequently by the poets Daqīqī and Firdawsī [Bosworth 1968: 40].

The *wazīr* Abū ‘Alī al-Bal‘amī by order of the *amīr* Mansūr ibn Nūh (ruled in 350 – 365/961 – 976) has translated on the Fārsī the historical work of al-Tabarī “Ta’rīkh al-Rusul wa-l-Mulūk” (the History of Prophets and Kings) and his work “Djāmi‘ al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur’ān” (Full Collection on the Interpretation of the Koran) [Bosworth 1978: 74; Djalilova 1991: 6 – 17]. The majority of these translations were carried out at the board of the last *amīrs* of the Sāmānids dynasty, which was explained that “people became lazy in studying of the ‘Arabian language” [Frye 1967: 71]. All of these authors paid an attention to the pre-Islāmic history and were not interested in the Muslims dynasties to which was attributed a relationship with the Old Persian kings [Bartold 1971: 284]. At the same time in Fārsī were translated also the best samples of the classical ‘Arabian poetry [Frye 1967: 71]. In the second half of the IV/X century in the New Persian (Fārsī) was written the geographical work “Hudūd al-‘Ālam” (“the Regions of the World”). It is supposed, that, it also has been translated from the ‘Arabian language because it was written in the same style with the compositions of the so-called “ ‘Arabian” geographers of the III – IV/IX – X centuries [Hudūd al-‘Ālam].

The earliest literary works in prose written in the New Persian (Fārsī) have appeared only in the end of V/XI century. To such works concern the composition “Maqāmāt” by Abū Nasr Mishkān which was the main secretary of Mahmūd Ghaznawī, and the composition “Mudjalladāt” by his pupil Abū-l-Fadl Bayhaqī [Bosworth 1978: 64, 75].

The earliest of the scientific works which have reached us written in Fārsī is the work on pharmacology by Abū Mansūr Muwaffaq ibn ‘Alī al-Harawī, which has written his work in Harāt for the Sāmānid *amīr* Mansūr ibn Nūh (ruled in 350 – 365/961 – 976)[247]. On the New Persian (Fārsī) are written some of the proceedings of Abū ‘Alī ibn Sīnā (died in 428/1036-37) [Irisov 1980: 131]. Onework of Abū Rayhān al-Bīrūnī (died in 440/1048-49), which is called “al-Tafhīm li Awā’il Sinā‘at al-Tandjīm” (“the Management in Bases of Art of an Astrology”), has reached us both on the ‘Arabian, and on the New Persian (Fārsī) languages. Which of them wasthe primary it is not known [Bosworth 1978: 71].

At the court yard of the Ghaznawids, which were continuers of state and cultural traditions of the Sāmānids [Bosworth 1968: 36 – 37], proceeded activity of such Persian speaking poets as ‘Unsurī, Manūchehrī, Asdjadī, Farrukhī, Ghadā‘irī, etc. [Nizāmī: 57; Bertels 1988: 8 – 12]. According to some information, even Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznawī himself composed verses on the New Persian (Fārsī) (‘Awfī) [Bosworth 1966: 89]. To him also is attributed the authorship of the composition in al-Fiqh, written in Fārsī

[247] Its manuscript has been copied in 447/1055-56 [Frye 1955: 142].

(H.Khalīfa) [Bosworth 1978: 70]. His brother Ismā'īl wrote compositions in prose and verses and acted with speeches in literary circles [Ibn al-Athīr IX: 54]. It is possible to assume, that he wrote in the New Persian though it is informed nothing on language of his products and performances. The poets Farrukhī and Daqīqī have received popularity during his service at the court yard of the *amīrs* of Chaghāniyān [Rtveladze 1983: 177]. The V/XI century in general was "the Golden Age" of the Persian literature which has received development at the board of the Ghaznawids [Bartold 1971: 285].

At the court yard of the Qarā-Khānids in Samarqand there has begun the career of the poet Zahīr al-Dīn al-Fāryābī [Frye 1967: 72]. The big fan of poetry was Khidr ibn Ibrāhīm Tamghāch-Khān which has collected round himself remarkable poets from all ends of Mā warā' an-nahr, Farhgāna and other areas of Central Asia [Nizāmī: 77]. In 522/1128 at the board of the Qarā-Khānids in the New Persian (Fārsī) has been translated "Ta'rīkh Bukhārā" ("the History of Bukhārā") by Abū Bakr al-Narshakhī, written on the 'Arabian language for the last Sāmānid *amīr* Mansūr ibn Nūh (ruled in 387 – 389/997 – 999) [Kamaliddinov 1997: 112 – 113].

The Persian literature continued to develop at the court yardsof almost all of the Turkic dynasties of the pre-Mongol time[248]. Even at the board of the Mongols which leaned in the gained countries on cultural traditions of the local people, the dynastic histories and other works were written mainly in the New Persian (Fārsī) [Toshov 2004: 17].

One of the earliest proceedings written on Fārsī, is medical encyclopaedia by Abū Bakr Rabī' ibn Ahmad al-Akhawayn al-Bukhārī, the pupil of al-Rāzī copied in 478/1185-86, and also "Andarz-Nāma" ("the Book of Recipes") copied in 483/1090-91 presumably in Ghazna. The letter of these two monuments is very archaic and in the development stands between the Kūfic and the Persian *Naskh*. It considerably differs from writing of the Western Irān and was characteristic only for east Khurāsān, and subsequently had a wide circulation among the Türks of Kh^{w}ārazm, Bulgharia of Volga and Golden Horde [Frye 1955b: 142; 1955a: 67, 71, 73 – 74]. The language of "Andarz-Nāma" also is rather archaic and contains much Middle Persian (Pahlavi) relicts. In it

[248] So, at court yard of the Qarā-Khānids and Saldjūqids proceeded activity of avariety of the Persian speaking poets [Nizāmī: 57]; at the board of the Ghaznawids have been written such works as "Zain al-Akhbār" by Gardīzī, "Ghurar Akhbār Mulūk al-Fārs" by al-Tha'ālibī, "Ta'rīkh Mas'ūd" by Abū-l-Fadl Bayhaqī, etc. At the board of the Saldjūqids have been written "Saldjūq-Nāma" by Zahīr al-Dīn Nishāpūrī and "Rāhat al-Sudūr wa Āyat al-Surūr" by Rāwandī, "Siyāsat-Nāma" by Nizām al-Mulk, etc.

there is also a number of miniatures with the images of people and animals [Frye 1955b: 140, 142 – 143].

As "Shāh-Nāma», so "Kalīla and Dimna", in their maintenance represented a manual to kings about ways of management. Both of them go back to the Sāsānids tradition which spiritual culture has been revived via the 'Arabian language [Meisami 2000: 363]. However, would be not correct to consider, that all Persian speaking authors were ethnic Persians or representatives of Irānian speaking people. The Persian literature has been created by joint efforts of many people inhabited in a large territory from coast of the Mediterranean Sea to India that caused to its extraordinary riches, a variety and wide geographical distribution[249]. The New Persian (Fārsī) language has resulted from merge of the Irānian and Semitic cultural traditions and has incorporated as "rationalism and prosaic nature" of the Persians, and the refined poetry of the 'Arabs that has led subsequently to appearance to the public of the outstanding literary monuments written in Fārsī, to which cannot be compared any of the literary monuments which have reached us of the pre-Islāmic Irān[250]. Such masterpieces of the world literature of early Islāmic period could not appear to the public on the basis of cultural traditions of only one people, and have been created thanks to the synthesis of cultural traditions of the various people.

The New Persian literature has made the big impact on culture of the Turkic people and has found the reflection in their literature. Soon after writing of "Shāh-Nāma" by Firdawsī the Türkic poem "Qutadghū Bilig" has been written by Yūsuf al-Balāsāghūnī. Many characters of the Irānian epos, as for example, Siyāwush, Bahrām Chūbīn, Bahrām Ghūr, Abū Muslim, became common for Türks. The legendary king of Tūrān Afrāsiyāb has been identified with the legendary king of the Türks Alp Er Tungā [Bosworth 1968: 44].

If in the sources of the literature written in the New Persian were standing the Türks (Abū Nuwās al-Khāqānī, Abū-l-Taqī al-'Abbās ibn Tarkhān, etc.) they for certain played not last role in its subsequent development too. So, from data of Firdawsī it is known, that in collecting of the pre-Islāmic Irānian epos have also participated "*dihqāns* of Chāch" [Bartold 1971: 405 – 406]. At the court yard of the Sāmānid *amīr* Nasr ibn Ahmad (ruled in 301 – 331/914 – 943) proceeded activity of a number of the Persian

[249] The national Irānian literature started to develop after X/XVI century and distinct forms accepted only in the XIV/XX century [Bertels 1988: 262 – 263].

[250] It is known, that from the time of the Sāsānids Irān does not remain any outstanding literary monument [Bartold 1971: 249].

speaking poets [Nizāmī: 57], some of which, for example, Abū-l-Hasan ‘Alī Aghadjī, judging by their names, were ethnic Türks [Köprülü zade: 20]. Among numerous Turkic speaking poets which served at the court yard of the Qarā-Khānids, some, for example, Nadjībī Farghānī, also could be the ethnic Türks [Nizāmī: 57]. In the XII century in Shīrwān (Ādharbaydjan) proceeded activity of one more Persian speaking poet of the Turkic origin – al-Khāqānī, who consideredhis poetry more perfect, than poetry of the Central Asian poets, such as ‘Unsurī, Rūdhakī, Mu‘izzī and Sanā’ī [Bertels 1988: 263 – 265]. The well-known Turkic philosopher Abū Nasr al-Fārābī (IV/X c.) composed also verses in ‘Arabian and Fārsī[251]. Fine verses in Fārsī were composed alsothe Turkic speaking poets of later time, such as Nizāmī Gandjawī, Fuzūlī, Alī-Shīr Nawā’ī, Zahīr al-Dīn Muhammad Bābūr, Zīb al-Nisā’ and many others.

The Turkic governors did not aspire to introduce Turkic language in the life of the countries which subjected to them. They did not use it even as a court language that could raise further its role as administration language. On the contrary, they used at their court yard the ‘Arabian, and even more Persian languages [Frye, Sayili 1945: 308]. The Türks the first began to use the New Persian (Fārsī) in office documentation along with the ‘Arabian [Bartold 1971: 253]. When the Sāmānid *amīr* Ahmad ibn Ismā‘īl (ruled in 295 – 301/917 – 914) has again made language of official papers the ‘Arabian, he has displeased the Turkic guards and he has been killed by the own *ghulāms* [Bartold 1963: 300; Treadwell 1991: 142]. If the ‘Arabian language had for the Islāmic world the same value, as the Latin in Europe the value of the New Persian can be compared to value of the French and Italian taken together [Bartold 1971: 256]. The Türks who in the first centuries of Islām were at the head of many areas of the Calīphate were conductors of ideas of the Irānian revival and influence of the New Persian (Fārsī) language[252]. One of the earliest epigraphic monuments written in Fārsī in the territory of Central Asia is the inscription on the northern mausoleum of Ūzkand of 546/115-52 and also inscriptions on the mausoleums of others Qarā-Khānid governors [Masson 1971: 77 – 84]. By the V – VI/XI – XII centuries, i.e. the epoch of the Qarā-Khānids, are dated also the earliest gravestone epitaphies written in Fārsī [Masson 1953: 27; Zhukov 1956: 30 – 32; Dodkhudoeva 1981: 164 – 168].

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[251] In the composition “Madjma‘ al-Fusā’a” by Rizā-Qulī Hidāyat have remained two *rubā‘ī*, which author was Abū Nasr al-Fārābī [OO 1978: 12, 21].

[252] Even in the Mamlūks Egypt when this country was not in any political dependence from Persia, the Türks acted in a role of conductors of the Irānian culture and in the government the ‘Arabian terms were gradually replaced with the Persian [Bartold 1971: 256; Frye 1965: 230].

The New Persian used far not by all people and the Sāmānid governors encountered resistance as from rebellious landowners’ aristocracy (Abū ‘Alī Chaghānī, Abū Mansūr Tūsī, etc.), and from the Turkic nobility (the Sīmdjūrids). In 405/1014-15 the main *wazīr* of the Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznawī has ordered to use in official correspondence only the ‘Arabian language instead of the Fārsī. At the board of the Ghaznawids the position of the ‘Arabian language was higher, than at the board of the Sāmānids [Frye 1967: 73]. In the middle of the IV/X century in Gūzgānān have been written the work of Ibn Farīghūn “Djawāmi‘ al-‘Ulūm” (“Collection of Sciences”) in the ‘Arabian language, which the author has presented to the Muhtādjids governor of Chaghāniyān Abū ‘Alī Chaghānī.

After that begins the period of wider use of the New Persian language for a writing of historical works [Meisami 2000: 359]. In 353/964 the *wazīr* of the Sāmānid *amīr* Mansūr ibn Nūh Abū ‘Alī al-Bal‘amī has translated to Fārsī the historical work al-Tabarī. Later in Fārsī was written geographical work “Hudūd al-‘Ālam” (“the Regions of the World”) by unknown author. In 346/957-58 Abū Mansūr Ma‘marī has written in Nishāpūr the first version of “Shāh-Nāma” in Fārsī in prose, etc.

It is known, that Abū ‘Alī al-Bal‘amī was in close relations with the Turkic military leaders and was at war together with them against the Daylamits of Djurdjān [Ibn al-Athīr VIII: 46 – 49]. His father, Abū-l-Fadl al-Bal‘amī, was the descendant of the ‘Arab named Bal‘amān, who arrived to Khurāsān together with armies of Qutayba ibn Muslim [al-Sam‘ānī II: 292]. He has been appointed as *wazīr* with the support of the Turkic military leader Alp-Tigīn and he was not dared to make anything “without his permission and his council” [Bartold 1971: 483]. It is supposed, that exactly Abū‘Alī al-Bal‘amī was the main initiator of distribution of the New Persian among the Turkic elite and actively promoted process of intensive ethno-cultural rapprochement of the Türks and the Persians, taking place at the board of the Sāmānids. With that end in view he has translated to the Fārsī the historical work of al-Tabarī and his “Tafsīr”, that has played an important role in formation of new Turkic-Persian culture [Meisami 2000: 363, 367].

The use sphere of the New Persian (Fārsī) during an epoch of early Calīphate has been still rather limited, and it was used, mainly, only in office and the literature. Therefore in it there was much of the ‘Arabian loans. Besides, there was more a simple language the Dārī, used in a court life of governors which unlike the Fārsī contained much less ‘Arabian loans. But this language was used only in oral tradition and almost had no written use [Frye 1967: 71 – 72]. In Irān even the official tax lists were conducted by the Persians still half a century after the ‘Arabian gain in the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) language [Bartold 1971: 364]. Even in the office affaires the New Persian (Fārsī) language was used rather limited.

At the board of the Sāmānids as well as the Buwayhids, all official correspondence with Baghdād and other governors was conducted in the ‘Arabian language [Bosworth 1978: 61]. The written official ‘Arabian language was the language of the ‘Arabs of Khurāsān, constructed in the Koranic style and based on a dialect of the Meccan tribe al-Quraysh [al-Moqaddasī: 32]. There was also the oral official ‘Arabian language formed in al-Kūfa and al-Basra at the board of the ‘Abbāsids and a little differed from the first. Besides, there were used various ‘Arabian dialects [Frye 1970: 131]. If the ‘Arabs possessed a merit in making a wide circulation of the Fārsī language in the east, the Persians in turn also possessed a merit in preservation of a classic language of the ‘Arabs and its wide distribution in the east [Frye 1970: 134].

The written official ‘Arabian language differed also from the literary ‘Arabian language. One of the Sāmānids *wazīrs* al-Iskāfī, though was weak in private correspondence, but was considered as the outstanding master of the state correspondence – it was so subtle at that time differed [Yakut V: 331; Metz 1966: 96, 204]. Official language of the Qarā-Khānids as well as the Sāmānids there was an ‘Arabian. It is known, that the secretary (*dabīr*) of the first Qarā-Khānid governor Bughrā-Khān was the ‘Arab named Muhammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Kātib [Nizāmī: 53]. The ‘Arabian was the unique language which used not only in the state correspondence, but also in the religious and legal literature, a science and philosophy [Frye 1967: 70]. It was used widely by religious figures (*al-‘ulamā’*), literators (*al-udabā’*) and scribes (*al-kuttāb*) [Frye 1970: 131]. The account of taxes, rent documents, receipts and obligations, correspondence with the centre of the Calīphate – all of these were conducted and written in the ‘Arabian language [Krachkovsky 1952: 46]. All inscriptions on the coins of the Sāmānids and other dynasties of Central Asia were written exclusively in the ‘Arabian language. In the exact sciences also was used, mainly, only the ‘Arabian language. Abū Rayhān al-Bīrūnī, whohas familiar with a lot of languages, preferred to

write in the ‘Arabian, having noticed, that an abuse in the ‘Arabian for him is lovelier, than a praise in Persian. He wrote that the Persian language is not adapted for a science and suits only for stories of Khusraw and night fairy tales. Mahmūd Ghaznawī despite his hatred to the ‘Arabian language, said, that thanks to translations into ‘Arabic, books on a science of the Greeks and the Syrians became accessible to Muslims who have started also to use them and to be improved in sciences [Bīrūnī 1974: 138].

The earliest samples of the ‘Arabian writing in Central Asia are coins, *dirhams* which were minted at first only in Marw and Nishāpūr in 76/695-96 with strict Kūfic letter [Krachkovsky 1952: 87]. Among the Sogdian documents from the Mugh mountain of the beginning of VIII century AD there is a letter of al-Dīwāshtī (Devashtich) to the‘Arabian *amīr* al-Djarrāh, written in the ‘Arabian language on a skin [Krachkovsky, Krachkovsky 1934: 52 – 90]. At the excavation of different sites of ancient settlements in the territory of Central Asia has been found the set of fragments of the ‘Arabian inscriptions on ceramics of the end I – II/VII – VIII centuries [Annaev 1979: 48 – 49; Belenitsky, Isakov 1969: 38 – 41; Rtveladze 1981: 465; Semeonov 1985: 25 – 26] and gravestone monuments of the III – IV/IX – X centuries with the ‘Arabian inscriptions [Masson 1956: 3 – 13; Buriakov, Feodorov 1985: 57 – 59; Mandelshtam 1960: 31 – 34]. One of the early monuments of this type is a gravestone (*qayrāq*) devoted to the son of Sipah-Sālār of the Calīph ‘Umar ibn al-Khattāb in Samarqand which is dated IV/X century [Dodkhudoev 1981: 38] In the gorge Ilan-Say on the northern slope of the Aghaliq mountains of Qarā-Tigīn are found rock paintings of the III/IX – beginning of IV/X centuries written in the ‘Arabian language [Masson 1982: 48 – 51].

The poetry at the board of the Sāmānids also was mainly the ‘Arabian speaking [Abdullaev 1984; al-Tha‘ālibī 1976; Bosworth 1978: 69] and partially bilingual, and it was by all means translated from the Fārsī to the ‘Arabian. The poets and scientists of Central Asia composed also the al-Hadīths in verses[253]. The Sāmānid *amīr* Nasr ibn Ahmad (died in 279/892-93) transferred the al-Hadīths [al-Sam‘ānī VII: 13] and composed verses in the ‘Arabian language [Ibn al-Athīr VII: 180]. The poetry on the Fārsī of the Sāmānids period has been copied from the classical ‘Arabian poetry which, in turn, was based on poetic canons of the ancient Greeks [Frye 1967: 70 – 71]. Numerous finds of ink devices of the end of III/IX – the first half of IV/X centuries in Samarqand testify to wide circulation of literacy in the cities of Central Asia during III – IV/IX – X centuries [Stavisky 1960: 280].

[253] So, Abū Hafs ‘Umar al-Nasafī has transferred into verses “al-Djāmi‘ al-Saghīr” (the Small Collection) by Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Shaybānī (died in 189/804-05) [al-Sam‘ānī V: 487].

The Ghaznawids *amīr* Ismā'īl ibn Sabuk-Tigīn has wrote literary products in prose and in verses, took part and acted in scientific meetings [Ibn al-Athīr IX: 54]. In Balkh has remained the tomb of poetess Rabī'a al-Balkhī who lived in the IV/X century [Mukhtarov 1982: 23].

Local Languages and Cultures

Compositions on history and the literature as well as during subsequent times were written on the New Persian (Fārsī) language by copyists and bureaucrats and have been intended only for limited circle of courtiers [Frye 1967: 72]. Therefore it has originally received the name Dārī, i.e. the court language. Partially it was used also in a religious life of the local residents of Central Asia, who have accepted Islām. Language distribution of the Fārsī not everywhere proceeded equally. Originally it began to extend in Sughd – mainly, only in Samarqand and Bukhārā where has been concentrated the basic part of immigrants from Irān (Persia) and al-'Irāq. In other places, for example, in Tukhāristān, this language up to V/XI century had no wide circulation and was not clear for local residents. In 411/1020-21 when thearmy of Mahmūd Ghaznawī have made a campaign in Ghūr, he has been compelled to communicate with local population via the translator [Bosworth 1968: 35]. To the Ghaznawids belongs a leading role in joining of Tukhāristān and other areas which gravitated earlier to culture of India, to the cultire of Khurāsān and in distribution there of the New Persian (Fārsī) languge and culture [Bosworth 1968: 39].

Meanwhile, other more considerable part of local population of Central Asia openly or secretly continued to profess pre-Islāmic cults[254] up to the Mongolian gain [Usmanova, Dresvianskaya 1973: 473; 1974: 22 – 23; Lunina 1987: 98 – 110; 1988: 56 – 64]. Among them have been still widespread the Turkic, Sogdian and other local languages, and the Sogdian language still in IV/X century was widespread among the population of Bukhārā [Ibn Haukal: 490; Frye 1967: 70 – 71], and as a written language it continued to be used by the Türks who professed fire worshipping[255] still in IV – V/X

[254] The followers of al-Muqanna', "people in white clothes", hid their belief, adhering outwardly Islām [Bīrūnī 1957: 217].

[255] About extending of the Zoroastrianism and other forms of a fire worshipping among the Türks of Central Asia testify numerous data of written sources [Materialy 2003: 46, 57; Yakut: 77) which prove to be true by data of the archeology [Pugachenkova 1949: 57 – 77; Nerazik, Rappoport 1959: 128 – 142; Kozenkova 1961: 250 – 260]. See also: Kamoliddin 2004: 4 – 9.

– XI centuries [Djumagulov 1982: 25 – 31] whereas the Türks-Nestorians used the Turkic language on the basis of the Syrian writing [Djumagulov 1971]. The dynasty of the al-Ikhshīdhs of Samarqand continued to exist still in the III/IX century and the settlement Rīwdad in which there were their palaces [al-Istakhrī: 321] was their residence. Rīwdad was the centre of the *rustāq* Māymurgh which in pre-Islāmic time made the property of the Sogdian kings who have constructed there the abovementioned palaces, which were standing still in the IV/X century [Smirnova 1970: 52]. In the Isyq-Kūl hollow have been found the Buddhist monuments with inscriptions on a Sanskrit which are dated V – VI/.XI – XII centuries [Paikova 1981: 79; Djumagulov 1982: 48]. On site of ancient settlement Talghar (medieval Talkhar) located near Almaty is found stone spinning device of the III – IV/IX – X centuries with the Runic and Greek-graphic inscriptions [Vasiliev 1976: 235]. In Wāshdjird and Qubādiyān in the first centuries of Islām there was a special alphabet on which have been written books [al-Sam'ānī: 576R]. In this information, obviously, meant the letter of the Greek origin [Livshitz 1953: 23]. On site of ancient settlement Sārigh are dug out vessels with Uighūr inscriptions which are dated III – V/IX – XI centuries and were left by the Türks who professed the Christianity [Tenishev 1964: 146 – 149]. In the same place have been found gravestone inscriptions written on bricks by the Syrian alphabet, which was dated V/XI century. In the mountain gorge Terek-Say located near Tarāz, and also in Tarāz and Balāsāghūn the Uighūr texts have been found [Bernshtam 1948: 107]. In the gorges Kulan-Say and Terek-Say located in 7 – 8 km to the north from Talas in Kirgizstan have remained set of rock inscriptions of IV – V/X – XI centuries written on the Sogdian language, which were left by the Turkic governors and notable persons, who, judging of their names, were not Muslims [Djumagulov 1982: 25 – 31].

On site of ancient settlement Ak-Tobe in the Chu valley (near to medieval Tarāz) has been found out the nimbus of a vessel of the III/IX century with a scratched Sogdian inscription, according to which this vessel with wine has been presented to the governor named 'Alim-Khān 'Abbās (*''lymxn'' p's*). It is supposed, that it was the Qarluq governor, who has accepted Islām, ruled in this part of the Chu valley [Livshits 2004: 208 – 210]. A Sogdian inscription on a nimbus of a vessel (III – IV/IX – X centuries) from a site of ancient settlement Pokrovka (district of Kant) located in 10 km to the North-West from a site of ancient settlement Krasnaya Rechka (Qizil-Su) has been devoted to the governor named Alp-Bilgā [Livshits 2004: 139].

Near to present settlement (*qishlaq*) Frinkent in the field of Samarqand there is a cemetery with burial places of bones in vessels (all more than 200 vessels), which functioned prior to the beginning of the VII/XIII century [Grigoriev 1939: 144 - 150].

In the necropolis of ancient Tarāz (Djambul) in the Yetisū region are found out burial places in terracotta ossuariums (VII – IX centuries AD). The custom of a burial place in ossuariums, which belonged to the Central Asian Türks and Sogdians, has been superseded in Tarāz during the Qarluqs period (IX – X centuries AD) by burial places in vessels and crypts. Such ceremony of a burial place continued to exist in cities of the Talas and Chu valleys much longer, than in the central part of Mā warā' an-nahr [Rempel 1957: 102 – 110].

In total it is dug out more than thousand vessels in 15 various places of Central Asia – areas of ancient Margiana, Sughd, Chāch, Ustrūshana, Farghāna and Yetisū region. Separate burial places in vessels and the whole cemeteries with vessels burial places have been found in the territory of Southern Kazakhstan (Awlie-Ata, Tik-Turmas, Sasyq-Bulaq, Djambul), in the region of Tashkent (Telaw, Angren), Samarqand (Frinkent), Bukhara (Kiyu-Mazar and Lavandak), Khudjand (Shahristān), Dushanbe (Aruk-Taw, Tulkhar), Wakhsh (Kafir-Kala), Surkhan-Darya (Dalvarzin-Tepa), Kh^{w}ārazm (Kalaly-Gyr), Turkmenistan (Bayram-Ali), Kirgizstan (Krasnaya Rechka, Ak-Beshim) and in the Farghāna valley (Isfara, Yangiabad). All these burial places are dated in the limits from the beginning of the new era (AD) up to beginning of the VII/XIII century. The burial places in vessels have existed much long period of time interval, than other kinds of the ossuariums. If, for example, oval and rectangular ossuariums lived up to the II – III/VIII – IX centuries, the vessels as a kind of a funeral urn occured still in the VII/XIII century [Masson 1953: 100; Kozenkova 1961: 250 – 260].

In the Yetisū region the Christian community existed up to the middle ofthe VII/XIII century [Nikitin 1984: 128]. In 17 km to the southwest from the settlement (*qishlaq*) Aywadj in the district of Shahar-Tuz on the right coast of Amu Darya is opened the cave temple of the Nestorian Christians, which functioned during the V – VII centuries AD, and the XI – XVI centuries AD. The majority of premises has been decorated by the sculptures sitting on the sūfas that is characteristic not for east, but for the western Christianity [Atakhanov, Khmelnitskiy 1973: 202]. In the III – IV/IX – X centuries adherents of different faith and foreigners in the Calīphate were much educated than the Muslims and the 'Arabs. The consciousness by foreigners of their cultural superiority

has caused in the Muslim world a number of the nationalist currents united under the general name *al-Shu'ūbiyya* [Bartold 1966: 152].

On sites of ancient settlements Ak-Beshim (Balāsāghūn), Chon-Kazak (Djul) and Krasnaya Rechka (medieval Sārigh), which dated within VIII – XII centuries AD, are opened fragments of paintings and the painted sculpture of the Buddhist character [Bernshtam 1941: 88, 95; Trudy 1950: tab. XI, XII, XXI, LXXVII)].

The Kh^{w}ārazmians still in the V/XI century continued to celebrate the Zoroastrian and other pre-Islāmic holidays of their ancestors [Bīrūnī 1957: 256 – 258].

On site of ancient settlement Qubā in layers of the IV – V/X – XI centuries have been found a silver Christian cross [Raimkulov, Ivanov 2000: 160 – 161]. In the V/XI century in Kh^{w}ārazm are mentionrd the al-Ghuzz tribes, which professed the Christianity [Bīrūnī 1957: 290; Bīrūnī 1974: 413; Demidchik 1977: 112].

Among inhabitants of settlements in the area of Nasaf in the Middle Ages secretly continued to remain cultural and spiritually-religious traditions of pre-Islāmic cults of Sughd. So, at the excavation on medieval site of ancient settlement Sary-Tepa-2 in the district of Kamashi of the Kashka-Darya area was discovered a house sanctuary of fire with the cult altar, which functioned during VIII – IX centuries AD [Usmanova, Dresvianskaya 1973: 473]. On sites of ancient settlements of the III – VI/IX – XII centuries in the Kashka-Darya valley in a considerable quantity have been found the hearthes and ceramic supports to them – the attributes, which are connected with a cult of fire [Lunina 1988: 56 – 64], and also painted ceramics of special cult appointment with images of a tree, birds, frogs, snakes and the solar signs which are connected with cults of ancestors, fertility, the moon, the sun, the female beginning, etc. [Lunina 1987: 98 – 110].

House sanctuaries and secret microtemples of fire functioned throughout all of the Middle Ages when the pagan beliefs were under an interdiction and developed only in a house life. Only after the Mongolian gain necessity for house chapels has disappeared, because the Mongols did not pursue any religions and with identical respect concerned all cults. Therefore in VII/XIII century in settlements, apparently, began appear openly large-scale sanctuaries which were transformed subsequently in the *chirāgh-khāna* [Usmanova, Dresvianskaya 1974: 22 – 23]. Same secret house Zoroastrian sanctuaries in the III/IX and the next centuries, apparently, functioned also in other cities and settlements of the Southern Sughd, such as Nasaf, Nakhshab, Shīrakath, Kasba, Rukhsīn, Utshund, etc. in which have located descendants of pre-Islāmic Turk-Sogdian aristocracy and spiritually-religious elite.

In the IV – V/X – XI centuries in Nasaf were lived a group of transmitters of the al-Hadīth with a *nisba* al-Rāhibī (الراهبي), which concerned the higher ancestor who lived in the IV/X century and he was *rāhib* (راهب), i.e. the monk, the Christian or the Buddhist [al-Sam'ānī VI: 59].

In the IV/X century in Samarqand legally functioned the Manichaean community consisted of 500 persons [Ibn al-Nadīm: 337], which members named the al-Sabī [Bīrūnī 1957: 211 – 212]. Therefore the 'Arabian geographer al-Muqaddasī in the IV/X century noticed that among population of Sughd in informal conversation were used many different languages [al-Moqaddasī: 262]. In Samarqand on the squairs there were sculptural images of horses, bulls, camels and the wild goats, cut out of a tree [Ibn Haukal: 365; Shishkin 1963: 189]. In the IV/X century in a settlement named Wazkard (وزكرد) located in the district of Shāwdār in the region of Samarqand existed the Nestorian church and a monastery with cells for monks [Ibn Haukal: 498; Zaleskaya 1972: 57]. On site of ancient settlement Pandjikent has been found the Syrian inscription of the Christian maintenance [Paikova 1981: 46 – 47].

In Ustrūshana a lot of time after establishment of Islām some people continued honouring of idols in the special sanctuaries [at-Tabarī III: 1309]. The population of the Pamir Mountains in III – IV/IX – X centuries continued to practise former religions. So, in Wakhān half of population was made by idolaters named *Wakhī* which had their temple. Other half of population of Wakhān was made by the pagans named *Gabrakān* which worshipped to fire [Hudūd al-'Ālam: 121]. In a valley of river Gunt is opened a farm stead with a house sanctuary, which *sūfa* and hearth made on a design are similar with a temple in the settlement (*qishlaq*) Zong. On materials of excavation the farmstead is dated X – XII centuries AD [Bubnova 1977: 560]. In the region of Kābül and Zabūlistān up to the X century AD continued to worship to god Zun or Zhun which absolutely differed from other gods as of the Zoroastrianism, so of the Buddhism [Bosworth 1968; 54].

Survivability and influence of local culture is traced not only in preservation of languages and writing, but also in monetary minting. In the middle of the VIII century AD in Sughd were issued coins of local governors of the old sample on which patrimonial *tamgha* and Sogdian inscriptions were combined with the 'Arabian [Smirnova 1963a: 58 – 42; 1963: 47 (№ 797, 798); 1961: 62 – 67; 1981: 415 (№ 1660, 1661 – 1666, 1667 – 1670, 1671 – 1673, 1674 – 1675, 1676); Ernazarova 1979: 118 (№ 188 – 189)] and after that when in 134/751-52 the 'Arabian writing has been entered as official, release of the Sogdian coins stopped at all, and instead of them began minting

of copper *falses* in the general calīphale sample [Smirnova 1979: 61 – 68; 1963: 47 – 48 (№ 797 – 814, 815 – 902, 903 – 910, 911 – 915, 916 – 928, 929 – 963); 1981: 420 (№ 1677 – 1681, 1682 – 1683, 1684 – 1685); Ernazarova 1979: 117 (№ 183 – 184, 185, 186 – 187)]. However, in Bukhārā along with coins of the general calīphale type continued issue of coins (*dirhams*) "on the old sample", i.e. the 'Abbāsids imitations of pre-Islāmic *drachmas* of the Bukhār-Khudāts with a portrait of aking surrounded by the Sogdian and the 'Arabian inscriptions[256]. Depending on quantity of silver or copper in their structure, differed three kinds such *dirhams* which were called *al-Ghitrīfiyya*, *al-Muhammadiyya* and *al-Musayyabiyya* [Ibn Khordadbeh: 68; Narshakhī: 37 – 39]. Silver coins of this type which were called also as collectively "black *dirhams*", were issued up to beginning of V/XI, and copper *dirhams* were circulated much longer – to the middle of VI/XII century [Davidovich 1960: 109; Feodorov 1973: 75 – 82; 1971: 123 – 124].

In Kh^{w}ārazm still in V/XI century people continued to use the Kh^{w}ārazmian language and writing[257]. In Kābul and Ghazna circa 300 – 351/912 – 962 were issued silver 'Arab-Hephtalite *dirhams* with the image of a horseman and inscriptions of the Buddhist maintenance written on Kharoshti [Mitchiner 1977: 132]. In the separate cities which were subjected to the Sāmānids, were issued the coins with an image of the Muslim governors that at that time was not allowed in other parts of the Calīphate.

It is considered, that in IV/X century the Sogdian language has been superseded in Central Asia by the New Persian (Fārsī) language [Bartold 1963a: 121]. However, such conclusion, most likely, mismatches the validity as, first, carriers of the Sogdian language were not only the ethnic Sogdians, but also the Türks; secondly, the Sogdians carefully protected itself from a mixing with the Persians, and their language from influence of the New Persian (Fārsī). Therefore subsequently the basic part of the Sogdian people assimilated with the settled Türks with whomthe Sogdians already were in close ethno-cultural interrelations which had a history of many centuries-old. As to the New Persian (Fārsī) language outside of the Sāmānids court yard it has been

[256] There are known such coins which were issued by deputies of the Calīphs al-Mahdī (ruled in 158 – 169/775 – 785) and al-Amīn (ruled in 193 – 198/809 – 813) [Smirnova 1963: 45 – 47, 49 (№ 13 – 16, 17 – 19); Ernazarova 1979: 113 (№ 153, 154); 1978: 133]. The Copper imitations to these *drachmas* known as the *dirhams* "al-Ghitrīfīyya", "al-Muhammadīyya" and "al-Musayyabīyya", were in use in Bukhārā and Sughd up to the VI/XII century [Smirnova 1963: 37; Davidovich 1981: 33 – 36].

[257] Ya'qūb Djandī, which had been sent by the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh Ma'mūn ambassador to Ghazna, has written to the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh a letter on the Kh^{w}ārazmian language [Baihaqī: 808 – 809].

extended along with the ‘Arabian language, mainly, only among the ‘Arab-Persian immigrants.

The Turkic Language

In the linguistic literature the most ancient forms of Turkic languages are called as proto-Turkic, and their carriers – the pra-Türks, and the history of formation of these languages is closely connected with a family of so-called the Paleo-Asiatic and the Yenisey languages [Dulzon 1971: 26]. In Turkic languages have remained numerous traces of the most ancient language layer, which was a general for Central Asia and Caucasus, and going back to an epoch of a primitive-communal system. And these traces have remained in those parts of speech which concern the basic dictionary fund of language (for example, names of parts of a human body) and, as a rule, are not borrowed from other languages [Tolstov 1978: 8 – 9]. The newest toponymic and linguistic researches allow to assume, that in the II millennium BC carriers of the Dravidian languages lived in aclose vicinity with carriers of proto-Turkic languages [Musaev 1984: 148 – 153], and their communications have been broken off by invasion of the Indo-Aryan newcomers [Iskhakova 1999: 251 – 255]. Carriers of proto-Turkic and proto-Yenisey languages, according to toponymics, till the end of the I millennium BC occupied a considerable part of territory of Central Asia and accepted the most active participation in formation of the Altay-Hunn conglomerate of people as its kernel [Yailenko 1988: 133]. In some Turkic languages of the European part of Russia (Bulghar, Khazar, Chuvash), Siberia (Yakut) and the Far East have remained traces of the proto-Turkic language extended during the most ancient times in a southern part of Central Asia. These relicts specify in stay of far ancestors of carriers of these languages in the remote past in the south of Central Asia, and on their subsequent resettlement on the north [Togan 1981: 22].

The Old Turkic Runic writing developed on the basis of proto-writing of steppe nomads in ideogramma-*tamgha* forms [Bazylkhan 2004: 268], the pictural fund of which was ancient enough and existed at the nomads more than thousand years. In the VI century AD the Türks along with the Sogdian alphabet used a kind of not italic letter (Rezes), limited on functions which was one of early prototypes of the Old Turkic Runic writing [Kliashtorny 2004: 28]. The earliest samples of the Turkic Runic writing which

were found in the territory of Central Asia, concern to the V – VI centuries AD [Malov 1959].

The Old Turkic Runic writing has also similarity to the old-German runes which used in III century AD. Such similarity is not casual, and reflects cultural contacts of that period. Almost at same period of time sequencely were appeared different kinds of writing: old-German runes in the III century AD, Armenian and Georgian letters in the IV – V centuries AD and Old Turkic Runic writing in the V – VI centuries AD [Musaev 1984: 131]. An early variant of the Runic letter has not received the state support in the First Turkic Qaghanate, in which the official language was the Sogdian [Kliashtorny. Livshitz 1971: 121 – 146], but had distribution among the Khazars in the Bulgharia of Volga [Kliashtorny 1987: 47]. The Türks of the Central Asia already in the V – beginning of the VI centuries AD used the Runic letters [Kliashtorny 1970: 83; Pigulevskaya 1941: 84].

Some data specify that else the ancient Hunns had their own writing. The poets Daqīqī and Firqawsī named *Sughdī* and *Chīnī*, i.e. the Turkic, among the known languages of their time except *'Arabī*, *Pārsī* and *Pahlavī* [Korogly 1983: 38]. Speaking about Old Turkic writings of the time of the Chīn (Turkic) commander Ardjasp (middle of the I millennium BC) and the Khionits (III – IV centuries AD), they named it the *Khatt-i Yabghū* (خط بیغو), i.e. "The Letter of Yabghū" [Firdousī VI: 74; Korogly 1983: 165]. In a king's barrow of the Saka burial ground of the V century BC in a valley of the river Isyk near Almaty has been found a silver bowl with an inscription written by the unknown letter [Akishev 1978: 59] which has been read on a basis of the Old Turkic Runic alphabet [Amanjolov 2002: 217 – 221]. Some of the Runic inscriptions in the Eastern Europe, Black Sea Coast and on Caucasus, which concerned to the Hunns epoch, testify to presence of writing and written Turkic language of the Hunns which after disintegration of the Hunn empire in the I century AD have been presented as well by two basic written languages: the East Hunn and the Western Hunn. The west Hunn language in the subsequent the old Turkic epoch participated in formation of languages and writings of the Bulghars, the Khazars, the Avars and the old Hungarian, and the East Hunns language – in formation of the Old Oghuz, Old Uighūr and Old Kirghīz languages and writings [Baskakov 1981: 23].

Numerous findings of monuments of the old Turkic Runic writing in extensive territory testify to extraordinary wide circulation of literacy among ancient Türks [Vasiliev 1980: 53 – 59; 1981: 23 - 24; Kyzlasov 2003: 72]. The Runic inscriptions are fixed not only on a skin, memorable stones, rocks, sculptures, "balbals", coins and

household subjects, but also on the seals that is an indicator of high level of Turkic culture during an epoch of the early Middle Ages [Alyilmaz 2004: 177 – 179]. Mass findings of the Runic inscriptions in the Farghāna valley, including in a combination to the 'Arabian inscriptions are documents of high literacy of the native Turkic speaking population of Farghāna [Bernshtam 1956: 58]. In Central Asia in the cultural point of view the Türks, in particular, the Christian and the Buddhist Uighūrs, were the most dangerous contenders at first of the Sogdians, and then the Muslims, which in the V century AD have reached considerable degree of culture [Bartold 1963a: 47]. Unlike the Türks the Uighūrs have accepted in the VIII century AD the Manichaeism as their official ideology, they have refused alsthe Runic letters, having passed to the writing created on a basis of the Sogdian alphabet [Kriukov, Maliavkin, Sofronov 1984: 70].

The 'Arabian poet al-Djāhiz (III/IX c.) noting aspiration of the Türks to accumulation of knowledge, has wrote: "... and the knowledge of horses and the weapon, and a wareness concerning people, the countries, sciences, districts, times, cunnings and all of that is necessary and useful for him..." [al-Djāhiz: 39]. The Turkic literary language already in the VI – VII centuries AD has reached high degree of development to what testify the monuments of the Old Turkic writing, which have reached us[258]. There are numerous fragments of compositions in written Turkic language such as so-called "Irq Bitig" ("Book of the Fortune-telling"), "The Book of Songs", "the Book of Cry", and also compositions of the Buddhist, the Manichaean and the Christian maintenance [Yazberdiev 1995: 252 – 267]. Samples of high poetry, which has resulted Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī in his dictionary "Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk" ("the Dictionary of the Turkic languages"), as well as poetic work "Qutadghū Bilig" by Yūsuf Khās-Hādjib, testify that the Old Turkic literature had very old history [Korogly 1980: 171]. The earliest samples of Turkic poetry are the Old Turkic Runic monuments, in particular inscription of Kül-Tigīn which represented a text constructed in the form of a poetic narration. As one of the most ancient literary monuments in Türkic can be considered "Huastuanift" ("A Cofession Pray of the Manichaeans"), which was translated from the Sogdian in the V century AD [Stebleva 1963: 160; 1969: 125 - 133]. In the inscriptions of this book is fixed the name of its composer, Yolyg-Tigīn which it is possible to consider as the first Turkic writer, which name is known to us [Malov 1951: 35; Zhirmunsky 1968: 81]. In the VII century AD in the China of the Tang dynasty where people were able to

[258] The Manichaean confession pray, which has reached us, is written by such pure Turkic language which then seldom meets in compositions written in Turkic language during the Islamic period [Bartold 1966: 242; Malov 1951: 108 – 220].

appreciate a fine and to love a far, there was a fashion on all Turkic – clothes, dishes, a house requisite, and especially music, poetry and dances [Ismailov 1984: 180].

The metrics of a verse of some products of the Chinese poetry of the Tang dynasty time finds out influence of Turkic national songs. Turkic language had a wide circulation among the Chineses and in VII century AD in China has been composed the Turkic-Chinese dictionary "Tou-kiue-Iuy" ("the Turkic speech"), which was accessible to serious scientists [Shefer 1981: 48]. Absence of any mentions of existence in China of the Sogdian-Chinese dictionary specifies that a language of international dialogue between the Sogdians and the Chineses was the Turkic.

The latest samples of the Old Turkic Runic writings from Mongolia and East Turkistān concern to the middle of the X century AD [Kliashtorny 1960: 173 – 175]. During the VII – VIII centuries AD in the East Turkistān along with the Runic alphabet started to be in use the Uighūr alphabet constructed on a basis of the Sogdian letters, which was extended also in Central Asia. Actually it was not the Uighūr, but the alphabet of the sedentary Türks of Central Asia, which later developed in the East Turkistān. The "Uighūr" alphabet was used at the board of the Turkic dynasties of Central Asia as a court writing [Mansuroglu 1964: 81]. At the board of the Qarā-Khānids, the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāhs, the Tīmūrids and the Shaybānids some compositions written in Turkic languages were transferred from the 'Arabic letters to the Uighūr letters[259]. In the state office of the early Ottoman rulers in Istanbul in the beginning of the X/XVI century were copyists, which were able to write in the "Uighūr" alphabet. The "Uighūr" writing continued to be used among the Türks who have not accepted Islām of China up to the XII/XVIII century [Mansuroglu 1964: 81].

In the composition "Durar at-Tidjan wa Tawārīkh Ghurar al-Zaman" («Pearls and Dates of the Glorified People") by Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh ibn Ay-Bek al-Dawādarī (VIII/XIV c.) there is indication that Abū Muslim was originated from the Oghuz Türks of Khurāsān[260] and stored in his library the manuscript of "Oghuz-Nāma" which he has received by right of succession from his ancestors. Earlier it was a property of Buzurg-Mihr Bakhtagān, the *wazīr* of the Sāsānids Shāhān-Shāh Khusraw I Anūshīrwān (reigned in 531 – 579 AD) and then it has been translated from the Turkic language into

[259] For example, in the Uighūr letter are written some copies of such compositions as "Hibat al-Haqā'iq" by Ahmad al-Yügnakī (III/IX c.), "Qutadghū Bilig" by Yüsuf Khās-Hādjib (V/XI c.), "Oghuz-Nāma" (VIII/XIV c.), etc.

[260] On his data, Abū Muslim was a descendant of a certain governor named Bakhtū-Khān (i.e. Bakhtagān).

the Middle Persian (Pahlavi)[261]. In the III/IX century the book has been translated into the ‘Arabian language by the Syrian-Nestorians scientist Djibrīl ibn Bakhtīshū [Köprülü 1976: 25 – 26, 249 – 251; Korogly 1976: 38]. These data allow to assume that the Sāsānids showed the big interest to culture of the Turkic people making a part of the population of their empire, and were engaged in gathering, studying and translation of their literary works on the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) language [Yazberdiev 1995: 171 – 172; 255 – 256].

For propagation of Islām among local population along with the New Persian (Fārsī) language was used also the Turkic. So, blind poet Adīb Ahmad ibn Mahmūd al-Yūgnakī, which came from settlement Yūghnak in the region of Samarqand, has written a poem of the educational-instructive maintenance in Turkic language which was called “Hibat al-Haqā’iq” (“the Gift of Trues”). The composition has been devoted to an explanation of morals and ideology of Islām to the simple uneducated layers of the Turkic population on clear for them simple Turkic language with reduction of examples from the al-Hadīths and the *al-āyāts* of the Koran[262]. An exact time of a life of Ahmad al-Yūgnakī, which was one of the earliest Turkic speaking poets of Islāmic time, it is not known. Time of his life is defined by different researchers on various: IV – VI/X – XII centuries [Malov 1951: 31], V – VI/XI – XII centuries [Baskakov 1960: 171], VI – VII/XII – XIII centuries [Köprülü 1925: 255 – 257; Mahmudov 1972: 8], and even IX/XV century [Scherbak 1961: 27 – 28]. Our researches on this question, based on the data of “Kitāb al-Ansāb” by Abū Sa‘d al-Sam‘ānī, allow to assume, that Ahmad al-Yūgnakī lived in the end of II/VIII – beginning III/IX century in Baghdād and has written his work in the end of his life in Samarqand [Kamoliddin 2005: 93 – 104; 2007: 141 – 153][263].

There are data, that in the board of Mansūr ibn Nūh (ruled in 350 – 365/961 – 976) along with translation of the “al-Tafsīr” by al-Tabarī from the ‘Arabian to Fārsī, which carried out by Abū ‘Alī al-Bal‘amī, have been carried out also the first interpretation of the text of the Koran in Turkic language by the Turkī of the tribe Arghū from Ispīdjāb. In the next centuries from this translation have been made copies on the Oghuz dialect, which was close to the language of the Kh^{w}ārazmian Türks. Some copies of this

[261] Other copy of “Oghuz-Nāma” has been copied in VII – VIII/XIII – XIV centuries by the Uighūr alphabet from more ancient manuscript written in IX – X centuries AD and it has been found in the Turfan oasis [Scherbak 1959; Aydarov 1971: 40].

[262] In total in work the author has used more than 20 of the al-Hadīths [OMA 2003: 195 – 223].

[263] For more details about polemic discussion around this question see: Khudjanova 2001: 12 – 31.

translation are stored in the Suleymaniya library (Hekimoglu Ali Paša, Yazma Bagišlar, etc.) in Turkey. The first of them has been published in 1993 – 1996 in the Harvard University (USA) [Sagol 2002: 804 – 813; Yuce 2002: 795 – 596]. One more copy of this translation is stored in the Manchester John Rylands library (‘Arabic MSS 25 – 38)[264]. One incomplete copy with interlinear Turkic translation of the al-Tafsīr has been found in Karshi (Uzbekistan) and published in the Russian translation [Borovkov 1963: 4 – 5].

Thus, Islām propagation in Central Asia was conducted both on the New Persian (Fārsī) and in the Turkic languages. As a result of the colonisation policy of the ‘Arab-Persian conquerors only a small part of the local Sogdian and Bactrian population had been Irānized, more precisely, Persified[265] whereas the basic, considerable part of them, still for a long time kept their originality and subsequently assimilated with the Türks. These processes have found reflexion in the work of Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī which noticed, that in his time, i.e. in the beginning of the V/XI century, “there was a set of people which know only Turkic language and not any another, it was possible to find some people who know both the Turkic and the Sogdian, but there was no anybody who know only the Sogdian” [MK I: 335]. In other place he directly specified, that the Sughdāqs, i.e. the Sogdians are the people which have merged with the Türks [MK I: 336] and keep themselves from influence and mixing with the Persians [MK I: 65]. Meanwhile, in written sources there are no any indications that the Sogdians or any part of them had been assimilated with the Persians. Similar processes proceeded in Tukhāristān where a part of the Bactrians has mixed with the newcomers whereas their basic part assimilated with the Türks in the board of the Ghaznawids, who liquidated a power of the all local pre-Islāmic dynasties. The Irānian speaking Kh^{w}ārazmians completely assimilated with the Türks of Kh^{w}ārazm and did not mix with the conquerors. Therefore among them already in the VI/XII – beginning of the VII/XIII centuries almost were not Irānian speaking people.

In the first centuries of Islām the Turkic language has not been adapted yet for the ‘Arabian wrighting, and the Türks who have accepted Islām as well asthe Persians, wrote their works on the ‘Arabian and the New Persian languages. In the conditions of that time the composition written by the Turkic speaking author in his native language, could not has a success, and the work written in the ‘Arabian language extended on the all Islāmic world from Central Asia to Spain. Therefore representatives of local

[264] From existed 30 volumes remained 1145 sheets making 14 volumes [Sagol 2002: 812].

[265] As a result of the forsed marriages of the ‘Arabian and Persian immigrants with the Sogdian girls.

aristocracy willingly joined the ‘Arabian culture, learned the ‘Arabian language and together with the ‘Arabs ruled in the country. The generality of religion and writing even more strengthened positions of the ‘Arabian language in Central Asia and in Persia [Nadjip 1989: 148]. Abū Rayhān al-Bīrūnī has writen: “My native language is not adapted for a science. Therefore I have passed to the ‘Arabian and the Persian; in each of them I am a newcomer, hardly knowing them. Sciences of all countries of the world were translated to the language of the ‘Arabs, then they had been decorated and became pleasant to hearts, and the beauty of the language from them has extended on arteries and veins though each people consider a beautiful their own dialect [Bīrūnī 1974: 138].

The Türks and the Islāmic Culture

After a victory of the ‘Abbāsids, which came to power thanks to the support of the people of Khurāsān, raised the role of the “Khurāsānians”, the considerable part of which made the Central Asian Türks. In connection with increase of a role of the Türks in the political centre of the ‘Arabian Calīphate in the end of the II/VIII – the beginning of the III/IX centuries Baghdād became the centre of gravity also for representatives of the Central Asian intelligency [Bartold 1963a: 222], which aspired there, hoping to meet support of the fellow countrymen and relatives [Tskitishvili 1986: 95]. Already in the end of the II/VIII – the beginning of the III/IX centuries in Baghdād and other cities of the Near East lived the large groups of scientists in the al-Hadīth study and Islāmic lawyers from among the Türks who have accepted Islām to what testify their family trees and *nisba* “al-Turkī”[266] and “al-Khazarī”[267].

Such *nisbas* had, mainly the Türks who originated from nomad tribes of the Euroasian steppes. As to the settled Türks of Central Asia they had *nisbas* in a place of their origin: al-Farghānī, al-Shāshī, al-Kh^{w}ārazmī, al-Bukhārī etc. In medieval Baghdād there were the separate quarters which were called by names of their inhabitants: Rabad al-Kh^{w}ārazmiyya (suburb of the Kh^{w}ārazmians), Rabad al-Bukhāriyya (suburb of the

[266] Already in the end of II/VIII – beginning of the III/IX centuries in Baghdād were known such transmitters of the al-Hadīth and Islāmic lawyers of a Turkic origin as Abū ‘Abd Allāh Mansūr ibn Abū Muzāhim Bashīr al-Turkī, Bashshār ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Khādim al-Turkī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muhammad ibn Yūnus ibn Mubārak al-Turkī, Muhammad ibn Yūsuf al-Turkī, Abū Müsā ‘Isā ibn Kūh al-Baghdādī al-Turkī, Hammād ibn al-Mubārak al-Turkī, etc. [al-Sam‘ānī III: 43 – 44; Tskitishvili 1986: 89, n. 56].

[267] ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Isā al-Khazarī, Ahmad ibn Mūsā al-Baghdādī al-Khazarī, ‘Ayāsh ibn al-Hasan al-Baghdādī al-Khazarī, etc. [al-Sam‘ānī V: 111 – 112].

Bukhārians), Rabad al-Marāwiza (suburb of the Marwians), Rabad al-Sarakhsiyya (suburb of the Sarakhsians), etc. [Ibn al-Fakih 1968: 19, 22, 24].

One of the earliest Turkic scientists was the outstanding encyclopaedic scientist and poet Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak al-Hanzalī al-Marwazī (died in 181/797-98) which was the native of the Kh^{w}ārazmian Türks who have moved to Marw [Ibn Khallikān I: 248], had in his house huge library and has composed more than 14 works in the field of the al-Hadīth study, al-Fiqh, Sūfism, history, philology and al-Tafsīr [Sezgin 1967 I: 95]. The known military leader and official person Sīmdjūr al-Dawātī al-Kh^{w}ārazmī (ruled in 300 – 301/913 – 914 in Sīstān) was also known as a lawyer of the *al-Shāfi‘iyya* law school and a transmitter of the al-Hadīth [Treadwell 2000: 399, 402]. His descendants also were known scholars in the field of al-Fiqh and the al-Hadīth study [al-Sam‘ānī VII: 226 – 229].

Known transmitter of al-Hadīth was Muhammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Tarkhān (died in 333/944-45) from Balkh [Radtke 2001: 52]. The transmitter of al-Hadīth Ishāq ibn Takīnak al-Hamīdī was the client the *amīr* al-Hamīd al-Sāmānī [al-Sam‘ānī IV: 231].

One of the first Muslim historians, the author of the work on general history, Abū Dja‘far Muhammad ibn Djarīr al-Tabarī among his informants named the historian named Tarkhān [at-Tabarī II: 1504], and Hammād ibn al-Mubārak al-Turkī, who lived accordingly in the first and the second half of the II/VIII century [at-Tabarī III: 276 – 280, 392, 429, 443]. The large distribution among the Türks has received the Sūfism, the Mistic-Ascetic direction of Islām which has arisen in the middle of the II/VIII century. One of the earliest followers of this direction was the native of Farghāna Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Mūsā al-Wāsitī (died in 320/932), had education in Baghdād, and then lived in Abīward and Marw [al-Sulamī: 302 – 307]. The *nisba* of the known mystic Abū Bakr al-Khallādj, probably, concerned to the ethnonym Khalach [Mokeev 1981: 60 – 61].

In the III/IX century the circle of Turkic scholars, the natives of Central Asia, which were known at first in the ‘Arabian, and then also in the all Muslim world, considerably increased thanks to activity of the so-called *Bayt al-Hikma*, i.e. the Islāmic Academy of Sciences, which functioned in the board of the Calīph al-Ma’mūn. A considerable part of scholars of this scientific institution the largest in the Islāmic world, as is known, made the natives of Central Asia, including the Central Asian Türks who were known not only in the field of the humanities, such as the ‘Arabian linguistics, the literature,

history, philosophy, the al-Hadīth study, jurisprudence, etc.[268], but also in the field of the exact sciences, such as the mathematics, astronomy, chemistry and geometry[269]. One of the Turkic military leaders in his speech which he said at the court yard of the Calīph al-Mutawakkil, speaking about inhabitants Mā warā' an-nahr, has marked: "There are no on the earth of outstanding art from (the area) of the literature, philosophy, the account, geometry, music, art, jurisprudence, knowledge of traditions in which you would not see the Khurasānians, who are beating main (experts) and winning (known) scientists. We are strong in calligraphy and a scribe, religious study and al-Hadīths. All of Baghdād belongs to us. We are the educators at the palace of the Calīphs and we live together with the *wazīrs*. We are proud of our nobility, we compete and we rival in this with each other. We were born in palaces of our kings under the protection of our Calīphs we have received their education and followed their example. We do not know anybody except them and from others nobody knows anything about us" [al-Djāhiz: 64, 65, 69; Mandelshtam 1956: 27 – 28].

The most well-known scientist at the court yard of the Calīph al-Mutawakkil was Yahyā ibn Khāqān to which the Calīph on the receptions rendered special difference [al-Djāhiz: 266]. In the field of astronomy and other exact sciences has received popularity the Turkic scientist named Kutulmysh.

III – IV/IX – X centuries were the period of the higher blossoming of the 'Arabian geographical literature in which development took part also representatives of not 'Arabian people, such as Ibn Khordadhbeh, Ibn Rusta, al-Istakhrī, etc. [Krachkovsky 1957]. At this time the geographical science developed also among the Turkic scientists. The 'Arabian geographer Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Idrīsi among the geographical works written in III – IV/IX – X centuries which he used, along with works of such

[268] For example, Abū-l-Hasan 'Alī ibn al-Hasan ibn Tarkhān, Abū Bakr Ahmad ibn 'Alī ibn Maghdjūr ibn al-Ikhshīdh, Abū Sabuk-Tigīn Dastardār, Abū-l-Fadl ibn Tūlūn, Abū Nādjih al-Tūlūnī, Abū-l-Hasan Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn Ashnās, Abū-l-Tayyib ibn Ashnās, Abū-l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ibn Amādjūr, Abū-l-Hasan 'Alī ibn Wasīf Khushknak, Ibn Abū-l-Sādj, Abū Yahyā Zakariyyā ibn al-Sādjī, Hibat Allāh ibn Khāqān, Abū Nasr Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Uzlīgh ibn Tarkhān al-Fārābī, Mahmūd al-Kh^{w}ārazmī and many others [Ibn al-Nadīm I: 20, 35, 43, 71, 125, 139, 156, 171, 173, 204, 228, 280, 355, etc.; Bagirova 1987: 93].

[269] For example, Abū-l-Fadl 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Wasī' ibn Turk al-Khuttalī al-Hāsib, al-'Abbās ibn Sa'īd al-Djawharī, Abū-l-Barza al-Fadl ibn Muhammad ibn Wasī' al-Khuttalī, Abū-l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ibn Amādjūr al-Turkī al-Harawī, Abū-l-Hasan 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Amādjūr al-Turkī, Abū-l-Hasan 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl al-Djawharī, al-Khāqānī al-Munadjdjim, Ahmad ibn 'Umar ibn Yūsuf al-Fārābī, Abū Ahmad ibn Chatlagh-Tigīn, Madjd al-Afādil 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Turkī, etc. [Matvievskaya, Rozenfeld 1983: 46, 53, 107, 128, 226, 255, 323; Bīrūnī 1963:. 287, 322; Bagirova 1987: 80].

geographers as al-Mas‘ūdī, al-Djayhānī, Ibn Khordadhbeh, al-Ya‘qūbī, Qudāma ibn Dja‘far, etc., mentioned also the work (*al-kitāb*) by Khanakh ibn Khāqān al-Kīmākī written in the ‘Arabian language, which has not reached us [al-Idrīsī: 5]. There is an opinion, that the historical-philological work “Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk» (the Dictionary of Turkic Languages) by Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī (V/XI c.), which included also rich materials of geographical character, has been written on the basis of the work “Dīwān al-Adab” by other known Turkic philologist Abū Ibrāhīm Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī (died in 350/961-62) [Brockelmann 1937: 195 – 196; MK I: 16].

The Türks, having rich literary traditions of the pre-Islāmic time [Tursun 2002: 343 – 358], composed also fine verses in the ‘Arabian language and have brought the huge contribution to development of the ‘Arabian linguistics. One of the earliest ‘Arabian speaking poets of Turkic origin was Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak al-Marwazī (died in 181/797-98). One more poet of a Turkic origin which has written verses in the ‘Arabian language, was the known politician and the philologist, the author of numerous works Abū Muhammad al-Fath ibn Khāqān ibn Ahmad ibn Ghartūdj (died in 237/851-52), which served at the court yard of the Calīph al-Mutawakkil, and then has been appointed as the governor of Syria. He had a big private library which was one of the richest libraries of that time [al-Ziriklī V: 331]. The bibliographer of the IV/X century Ibn al-Nadīm noticed that he was the descendant of the pre-Islāmic kings and named him among 3 most passionate bibliophiles of the III/IX century, along with the poet al-Djāhiz and *al-faqīh* Ismā‘īl ibn Ishāq [Ibn an-Nadīm I: 116]. Among the numerous compositions of the known Turkic philosopher Abū Nasr Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Ūzligh ibn Tarkhān al-Fārābī al-Turkī (died in 339/950-51) there was also a treatise “Kalām fī-l-Shi‘r wa-l-Qawāfī (the Word about poetry and rhymes) about poetic art and rules of the ‘Arabian poetry, and the work “Kitāb fī-l-Lughāt” (the Book about Languages) on the linguistics, which did not lost its value till now [Fārābī: 59].

Verses in the ‘Arabian language composed also the Turkic transmitter of the al-Hadīth and the lawyer from al-Shāsh Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn ‘Alī al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī (died in 365/975-76), which has composed for the Calīph al-Mutī‘ li-llāh *al-qasīda* as the answer to the Byzantian emperor Nikiforos II Fokas [Sezgin 1967 I: 498]. One more known ‘Arabian speaking poet of the IV/X century from the Turks of al-Shāsh was Abū Muhammad al-Hasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Mitrān al-Mitrānī al-Shāshī [al-Tha‘ālibī 1976: 147 – 157]. The known ‘Arabic speaking poet Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-‘Abbās ibn Muhammad ibn Sūl al-Kātib al-Sūlī (died in 243/857-58) which was great-grandson of Sūl-Tigīn, the pre-Islāmic Turkic king of the area of Djurdjān in Khurāsān [Ibn al-

Nadīm I: 150]. The Turkic philologist from Khʷārazm Mahmūd al-Zamakhsharī (467 – 538/1075 – 1144) along with works on grammar and linguistics has written also some poetic products, such as "Dīwān al-Zamakhsharī", "al-Qasīda al-Ba'ūdhiyya wa Ukhrā fī Masā'il al-Ghazzālī", "Sharh Abyāt Kitāb Sībawayh", "Maqāmāt al-Zamakhsharī", etc. [Rustamov 1971: 12 – 15]. In the Egypt of the Mamlūks were talented poets from among the Türks, who composed fine verses in the 'Arabian language [al-Kholī 1962: 30].

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Yūsuf al-Baraqī al-Khʷārazmī (IV/X century) from Khʷārazm was the founder of a scientific clan in Bukhārā, which representatives were known at the board of the Sāmānids and the Qara-Khānids. In particular, his elder son Abū Bakr Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Baraqī al-Khʷārazmī (died in 376/986-87) was known al-Sūfī, the lawyer, the philologist, court poet of the Sāmānid *amīr* Nūh ibn Mansūr and the teacher of the literature of the well-known scholar Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā. The second son of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Khʷārazmī – Abū Hafs 'Umar ibn Muhammad al-Baraqī al-Khʷārazmī also was known al-Sūfī, the lawyer and the poet. The grandson of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Khʷārazmī – Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Baraqī al-Khʷārizmī (V/XI century) was the Supreme judge of Bukhārā, then the main *wazīr* of the Qarā-Khānids Khāqān Tamghāch-Bughrā-Khān Ibrāhīm (ruled in 444 – 460/1052 – 1068) and later became the governor of Bukhārā. His grandson was the known transmitter of the al-Hadīth, the lawyer, the philologist and the poet and had honourable prorank Sharaf al-Ru'asā'. His *nisba* al-Baraqī, by the data of al-Sam'ānī, originated from a word *barah* (برہ), that in the Fārsī means "a lamb", and he had used it because earlier he was engaged in trade of lambs [al-Sam'ānī II: 162 163].

In the composition of al-Sam'ānī under the *nisba* "al-Sūlī" is resulted the biography of the known scientist and poet from Baghdād Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Yahyā ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās ibn Muhammad ibn Sūl al-Kātib al-Nadīm al-Sūlī al-Shatrandjī (died in 335/946-47 or 336/947-48), who belonged to ancient and to noble family of the Sūlids which were descendants of Sūl-Tigīn, the pre-Islāmic Turkic king of Djurdjān. Many representatives of this clan were professional *al-kātibs*, i.e.

secretaries and scribes, and also known scientists, poets and *al-wazīrs*[270]. According to Ibn al-Nadīm, he lived in Baghdād and was the known scientist in the field of *al-adab.* At first he was the court teacher in the childhood of the Calīph al-Rādī[271] and subsequently became his *al-nadīm*. Besides he was also *al-nadīm* of the Calīph al-Muktafī[272], and then – of the Calīph al-Muqtadir[273]. He was very clever, noble and valorous person, a skilful player in chess and nobody could be equal to him [Ibn al-Nadīm I: 150]. For this he has been nicknamed by a special *nisba* "al-Shatrandjī", i.e. the Chess master [Ibn Khallikān I: 508]. Among his compositions is mentioned special work devoted to chess – "Kitāb al-Shatrandj" (the Book the Chess) [Ibn al-Nadīm I: 156].

In our opinion, Ibn al-Nadīm, the author of the fameus bibliographic work "al-Fihrist", could the descendant, to be exact the grandson of this *nadīm*, i.e. Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Yahyā al-Sūlī. In that case, his family tree should look in the following form: Abū-l-Faradj Muhammad ibn Ishāq ibn Muhammad ibn Yahyā[274] ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās ibn Muhammad ibn Sūl al-Sūlī known as Ibn al-Nadīm. In favour of this statement say the facts of continuity of scientific[275], professional[276] and other interests[277]

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[270] He was the descendant in the fifth generation of the pre-Islāmic Turkic governor of the area of Dihistān in Khurāsān – Sūl-Tigīn in the line of his son Muhammad who has taken root in Baghdād [al-Sam'ānī VIII: 110 – 111].

[271] The 'Abbāsid Calīph al-Rādī ruled in 322 – 329/934 – 940, al-Sūlī has devoted to his biography one of his compositions [as-Sūlī 1935].

[272] The 'Abbāsid Calīph al-Muktafī ruled in 289 – 295/902 – 908.

[273] The 'Abbāsid Calīph al-Muqtadir ruled in 295 – 320/908 – 932.

[274] In this link in which inaccuracy already specified G.Flugel [Ibn al-Nadīm I: XI], instead of name Ishāq, probably, should be name Yahyā to that does not contradict also the similar writing of both names in the 'Arabian letter.

[275] The circle of interests of both scientists covered, mainly, the humanities, namely, history of a pre-Islāmic epoch and history of Islām, the 'Arabian philology, poetry, a historiography, theological sciences and, at last, genealogy, the biography of scientists and the bibliography. Ibn al-Nadīm to a certain extent could be the continuer of these traditions and receive the rich knowledge in these areas of a science using huge library of the grandfather, Ibn al-Sūlī, which could get to him by a right of succession. Ibn al-Nadīm resulted data only about those books which he saw personally by his eyes or about which existence he had information from a reliable source [Fuck 1971: 896].

[276] Both of them were natives of the environment of close professional circles – *al-kātibs* and *al-warrāqs*. Many representatives of the family of the Sūlids including Muhammad ibn Yahyā al-Sūlī, in an initial stage of the career were court *al-kātibs*, i.e. copyists and scribes, and then became known scientists, poets and government officials at the court yard of the 'Abbāsids. Ibn al-Nadīm could not become known scientists and reach high position in a society, as Ibn al-Sūlī. However, it is impossible to exclude that it

of these two persons, testifying that both scientists were not of the ‘Arabian origin[278]. It is not contradicted also to the time of a life of the both scientists[279].

In the field of the ‘Arabian linguistics are known works of such Turkic philologists of the epoch of the Sāmānids from Fārāb as Abū Ibrāhīm Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī (died in 350/961-62) and Abū Nasr Ismā‘īl ibn Hammād al-Djawharī (died in 393/1002-03). The philological work of al-Fārābī “Dīwān al-Adab fī-Bayān-Lughat al-‘Arab wa Mīzān Kalām al-‘Arab” widely used other known Turkic philologist Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī (V/XI c.) at the composing of his well-known dictionary of the Turkic languages “Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk”. One more known Turkic philologist and poet from Fārāb was Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā ibn Ahmad al-Fārābī (IV/X – beginning of V/XI c.), who composed a book on lexicon of the ‘Arabian language “al-Masādir fī-l-Lugha” (The Sources in the Language). In total in sources are resulted data more than about 200 of the ‘Arabian speakings poets and philologists of Central Asia of the epoch of the Sāmānids, many of which, undoubtedly, were ethnic Türks [Kamaliddinov 1993:148 – 154].

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could be connected with those persecutions and a distress in which there was the last in the end of his life after power change in Baghdād that should be reflected also in destiny of his descendants.

[277] Chess entered into a circle of interests of both scientists: Ibn al-Sūlī himself was the skilful chess player and has written a special composition devoted to this game: “Kitāb al-Shatrandj” (“the Book of Chess”). Ibn al-Nadīm also has devoted to chess one of sections of his composition.

[278] In the first centuries of powerof the ‘Arabian Calīphate among the intelligency which has accepted Islām of the not ‘Arabian people of the gained countries has been extended a movement *al-Shu‘ūbiyya*. Representatives of this cultural-political movement (from the ‘Arab. *shu‘ūb* – the people, i.e. other people), which arisen in the middle of II/VIII century in the environment of the Irānian and Turkic intelligency, denied claims of the ‘Arabs for a supervising role in cultural and sometimes, also in a political life of the countries of Islām. To this movement, in the absence of direct instructions or statements, it is possible to define an accessory of some scientists on variety of signs, including, on their heightened interest to studying of history and culture of a pre-Islāmic epoch, and also history of the various heretical currents, oppositional to the orthodox Islām. All these signs are observed also at the both scientists.

[279] The difference in time of a life of both scientists makes about 50 years that approximately corresponds to a difference in time between two generations: Ibn al-Sūlī has died in 335/946-47, and Ibn al-Nadīm – in 385/995-96. It is supposed, that Ibn al-Nadīm was born approximately in 325/936-37 [Fuck 1971: 895]. Hence, when Ibn al-Sūlī has died, he was about 10 years old.

The first works in Turkic language have been composedin the ‘Arabian alphabet still in the III/IX century. The original of an aforementioned poem of Ahmad al-Yūgnakī “Hibat al-Haqā’iq” (“Gift of the Trues») as it is supposed, has originally been written in the beginning of the III/IX century by the Uighūr alphabet, and in the subsequent time it has been copied by the ‘Arabian letters[280]. Separate Turkic words were already used as a comparative material in works of some of the ‘Arabian speaking authors of the end of the III/IX century. So, the known transmitter of the al-Hadīth Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muhammad ibn ‘Alī al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī (died in 320/932) has written his work “Irshād al-Tālibīn” (the Manual for the Pupil) in the ‘Arabian language which last chapter represents the ‘Arab-Persian-Turkic dictionary [Omonturdiev 2000: 54 – 57]. In the middle of the IV/X century was conducted the first interlinear translation of the text of the Koran on the Kh^{w}ārazmian-Turkic language which has been carried out by order of the Sāmānid *amir* Nūh ibn Nasr (ruled in 331 – 343/943 – 954) [Bartold 1963a: 244, n. 7; Borovkov 1963; Yuce 2002: 794].

The Ghaznawids as well as the Sāmānids, in state affairs widely used the ‘Arabian and Persian languages, but, nevertheless, in a daily life they remained the Türks. The basis of the army of the Ghaznawids made the Turkic *ghulāms*, and, addressing to them, as Sabuk-Tigīn so Mahmūd and Mas‘ūd spoke with them in Turkic [Baihaqī: 71, 148, 244, 264, 340, 354, 433, 469, 507, 522; Bosworth 1962: 220]. The closest person of Mahmūd Ghaznawī was his *ghulām* named Ayāz ibn Aymak, which have been sung also in the Persian literature [Bosworth 1966: 90 – 91]. In the board of Mas‘ūd Ghaznawī the Türks made a considerable part of population of Ghazna and other cities of Khurāsān and Tukhāristān. They prevailed not only among military men of army, but also among the court officials serving at the court yard of the Ghaznawids. The basic part of house servants was made also by the Turkic mail and femail slaves. Therefore already at the board of the early Ghaznawids in Ghazna has been extended the Turkic

[280] As the poet was blind, the initial variant of his composition which is written in the second half of the II/VIII – beginning III/IX centuries, has been written down by a person who has know the Turkic letters well, probably, by his father Mahmūd al-Yūgnakī, which was the military person and did not know the ‘Arabian writing, and know only the Turkic reading and writing. Subsequently the work, possibly, has been copied by the ‘Arabian letter by his son Ahmad (or Muhammad) al-Yūghnakī, which being transmitter of al-Hadīth, should was already freely read and write in the ‘Arabian [al-Sam‘ānī: 603 V].

poetry which was especially more popular among the people and influenced on the court poetry of the Ghaznawids [Bosworth 1962: 53; Bosworth 1968: 39, 40, 43].

The Turkic language, undoubtedly, well learned also Abū Rayhān al-Bīrūnī, but he preferred to write his works in the ‘Arabian language because he considered that his language was not adapted for a science [Bīrūnī 1974: 138]. Abū ‘Alī ibn Sīnā also well learned set of languages, including the Turkic [Akhvlediani 1966: 29; Ibn Sinā: 19].

The first historical works in Turkic language in the ‘Arabian letters which are a historical poem “Qutadghū Bilig” (the Knowledge which brings a happiness) by Yūsuf Khās-Hādjib (462/1069-70) [Yūsuf Khās-Hādjib 1971] and “Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk” (the Dictionary of the Turkic Languages) by Mahmūd al-Ḳāshgharī (466/1073-74) [MḲ 1960 – 1963] have been written in the V/XI century at the board of the Qarā-Khānids.

One of three manuscripts of “Qutadghu Bilig” has been written by the Uighūr letter. On the coins of the Qarā-Khānids of the IV – V/X – XI centuries were represented short inscriptions with the Uighūr letters which transferred names and titles [Kochnev 1993: 14], that testify that in their possession except the general Islāmic (‘Arabian) alphabet was used also the Uighūr [Bartold 1963a: 46; Feodorov 1971: 165]. Some of manuscripts of such compositions as “Oghuz-Nāma (VI/XII c.), “Muhabbat-Nāma” by al-Kh^{w}ārazmī (VIII/XIV c.) [Scherbak 1959], “Mi‘rādj-Nāma” of an unknown author of IX/XV century also have been written by the Uighūr letter that testifies that this letter was used in Kh^{w}ārazm along with the ‘Arabian during the IV – IX/X – XV centuries, and probably even some earlier[281]. The original of the Uighūr version of the “Oghuz-Nāma” from Turfān has been written in the III – IV/IX – X centuries [Aydarov 1971: 40]. The Uighūr alphabet continued to be used by the Türks along with the ‘Arabian throughout all of the Middle Ages up to the X/XVI century [Nadjip 1965: 617].

The Saldjūqid Türks were on lower degree of culture, than the Qarā-Khānid Türks, and before acceptance of Islām they had no their own writing. They have come to power not in the head of the Khāns dynasty, but under the command of their Beks, i.e. the small local rulers, and began to name themselves “Shāh” and “Sultān” [Bartold 1963a: 130]. Therefore in their board they leant, mainly, on the Irānian cultural traditions. But they have paved the way to the further development of the Turkic literature in the central part of the ‘Abbāsids Calīphate.

During the V – VIII/XI – XIV centuries the Turkic language had a wide circulation in al-‘Irāq, Egypt and Syria. In particular, in the Egypt of the Mamlūks period the Kopts, which have accepted Islām, knew the Turkic very well [al-Kholī 1962: 30]. The Qīpchāq

[281] For more details about all of these works see: Yuce 2002: 793 – 803; Sagol 2002: 804 – 813.

language in Egypt carried out a role of the state language, and almost all of the business and diplomatic correspondence was conducted on it [Myuhamedova 1973: 13]. In the beginning of the VII/XIII century the centre of literary activity in Turkic languages has moved for some period of time from Central Asia to Egypt [Nadjip 1965: 620]. By this time there is felt a big requirement for studying of the Turkic language and necessity for different dictionaries and manuals.and variety of the Turk-'Arabian and Qīpchāq-'Arabian dictionaries. There are about ten of such dictionaries which has reached us made by the 'Arabian philologists for the Mamlūk governors in Egypt and Syria[282], and also manuals on studying of Turkic language[283] and works on the literature, military science, Islamic jurisprudence[284]. To the same number concerns also the Latin-Persian-Qīpchāq dictionary named "Codex Comanicus", made in 1303 AD by the Italian and German missionaries in Crimea [Nadjip 1989: 86].

The high development the Turkic literature has received at the board of the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāhs. In the VI/XII century has been written the dictionary "Muqaddimat al-Adab" (the Foreword to the Literature) by Abū-l-Qāsim Mahmūd ibn 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī (died in 538/1143-44) for the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh Atsyz (ruled in 521 – 551/1127 – 1156)[285]. At the same time has been written the poetic collection named "Dīwān-i Hikmat" (Collection of Wisdoms) by the Turkic poet-mystic Kh^{w}ādja Ahmad Yassawī (died in 561/1165-66) [Pylev 1997: 56 – 80]. In the beginning of the VII/XIII century for the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn has been composed the philological work "Tibyān al-Lughat at-Turkī 'alā Lisān al-Qanghly", devoted to the language of the Türks of a tribe Qanghly, which author was Shams al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Qays al-Rāzī, who was the native of the Oghuz Türks of Rey [Muhamedova 1973: 14]. At the same time in Syria has been written the work named "Bulghat al-Mushtāq fī-l-Lughat at-Turk wa

[282] For example, "Kitāb Tardjumān-i Turkī wa 'Arabī" (642/1244-45) by Khālid ibn Muhammad ibn Yūsuf from Konya, whether "Kitāb al-Idrāk li-Lisān al-Atrāk" by Abū Hayyān al-Andalusī (died in 745/1344-45), "Kitāb Khulyat al-Insān wa Hilbat al-Lisān" by Ibn Muhanna, "Kitāb Tardjumān-i Turkī, 'Adjamī, Mughulī wa Fārisī" by the unknown author, "Kitāb al-Tuhfat al-Zakiyya fī-l-Lughat al-Turkiyya" by the unknown author, "al-Qawānīn al-Kulliyya", etc. [Ermers 1999: 15 – 43; ID 1978: 9 – 11; Nadjip 1965: 617 – 625; 1989: 83 – 86; Muhamedova 1973: 12 – 14.

[283] "al-Durrat al-Mudiyya fī-l-Lughat al-Turkiyya" by Abū Hayyān [Nadjip 1965: 624].

[284] To such works concern the Turkic tranlation of the poem "Shāh-Nāma" by Firdawsī, composition named "Khulāsa" on military science by the unknown author, "Irshād al-Mulūk wa-l-Salātin" on the Islamic jurisprudence.

[285] At first this work represented the 'Arab-Persian dictionary, and then under the request of the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāh Atsyz has been processed by the author into the 3 languages dictionary–'Arab-Persian-Turkic [Nadjip 1965: 617; Islomov 2002: 3 – 4].

Qīfdjāq" by other Turkic philologist Djamāl al-Dīn Abū Muhammad 'Abd Allāh al-Turkī [Muhamedova 1973: 14]. One of the earliest art poetic products in Turkic language of the Islāmic time is the poem "Qissa Yūsuf wa Zulayhā" by the poet 'Alī (beginning of the VII/XIII c.) which plot goes back to the Koranic and the Biblical legends [Nadjip 1989: 57].

Number and political power of the Türks in the Islamic society promoted to development of their national consciousness thanks to what has appeared Islāmic literature in Turkic language. Already in the beginning of the VII/XIII century Turkic language in essence was the third literary language of the Islamic world along with the 'Arabian and the Persian[286]. Muhammad ibn Mansūr Marwarrūdhī (early VII/XIII c.) has noticed, that the Turkic language is the most good and influential after the 'Arabian [Marwarrūdhī: 92]. By this time in a political and cultural life of the Islamic society has raised the role of Kh^{w}ārazm and the Kh^{w}ārazmian-Turkic language which has been extended not only in Kh^{w}ārazm, but also in areas of the Northern Khurāsān adjoining to it, the East Caspian region and the Northern Aral region[287], and in VII – VIII/XIII – XIV centuries it became a written literary language in the extensive territory including Kh^{w}ārazm, the lands of the Golden Horde, Crimea and even the Mamlūks Egypt [Bodrogligeti 1987: 43 – 66; Nadjip 1989: 244; Yuce 2002: 794]. To this period of time concern such literary monuments which have reached us of the Kh^{w}ārazmian-Turkic literature, as "Qisas al-Anbiyā'" by Nasr al-Dīn al-Rabghūzī (710/1310-11), "Muhabbat-Nāma" by al-Kh^{w}ārazmī (754/1353-54) [Kh^{w}ārazmī 1961], "Khusraw and Shīrīn" by Qutb (742/1341-42) [Zayackowski 1958], "Dīwān" by Sayf-i Sarāyī (793/1390-91), which is known also as "Gulistān bi-t-Turkī" (i.e. "Gulistān in Turkic")[288], "Nahdj al-Farādīs" by Mahmūd ibn 'Alī (760/1358-59), "Irshād al-Mulūk wa-l-Salātīn" by Barq al-Faqīh (789/1387), "Munyat al-Ghuzāt", "Kitāb Baytarat al-Wāsil", "Mu'īn al-Murīd", "Mi'rādj-Nāma" and "Miftāh al-'Adl" by unknown authors[289] and others. All of them are written by the 'Arabian letter, and one copy of the

[286] Authors of that time have contrasted to the 'Arabian "eloquence" and the Persian "wit" the Turkic "truthfulness", owing to more simplicity and affinity to a life of a syllable of the Turkic literary products [Bartold 1966: 245].

[287] Distribution of the Kh^{w}ārazmian-Turkic language in these territories has been connected with state formation of the Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāhs and increase of a role of Kh^{w}ārazm in the second half of the VI/XII – beginning of the VII/XIII centuries [Buniyatov 1986: 118 – 128].

[288] There are some manuscripts of this composition which are stored in the library of the University of Leiden in Holland [Fazylov 1966: 6].

[289] From them it is published only "Nahdj al-Farādīs" [Nehcu'l-Feradis].

"Muhabbat-Nāma" [Scherbak 1959], also as one copy of "Mi'rādj-Nāma", are written by the Uighūr letter that testifies that this letter was used in Kh^{w}ārazm along with the 'Arabian in the VII – VIII/XIII – XIV centuries, and probably even earlier[290].

Turkic language has made strong impact not only on the Islāmic culture, but also on the actually 'Arabian culture whereas the 'Arabian language and culture could not occupy dominating position in Central Asia. In the Middle Ages among the big number of place names of Central Asia the 'Arabian took an insignificant place and could not supersede local names of the rivers, mountains, areas and cities whereas in the west, in Asia Minor, many place names were Turkisized, having superseded the Semitic names [Schanzlin 1936: 282, 284].

In Central Asia the Turkic literary language was not only language of literary works, but was also language of interethnic dialogue, carrying out a role an interdialect as means of a dialogue between the settled people and nomadic tribes of the region [Kasymova 2004: 273].

* * *

Thus, during an epoch of the 'Arabian Calīphate the Türks took an active participation in a cultural life of the Islāmic society. The epoch of the Islāmic Renaissance is characterised by merge of various cultural traditions, first of all, the 'Arabs and the Persians. Not less important role in this process belonged also to the Turkic people. Blossoming of the Islāmic science and culture passed under the sign of activization of the "Turkic penetration" not only in Central Asia, but also in the all Forward and Middle East. This in many respects explains the subsequent addition of the Turk-Persian synthesis, and also induces to pay attention to a role of the Türks in development of an Islāmic science and culture.

The Turkic people even before acceptance of Islām were under a cultural influence of their nearest neighbours, the Irānians and with their assistance accepted the Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism. Especially strong cultural influence on the Türks rendered the Sogdians with which they were in close ethno-cultural contact, that it is accepted to name the Turk-Sogdian symbiosis. As a result of these natural processes of interference and rapprochement of these two people the Sogdians were completely assimilated among the settled Türks of Central Asia and East Turkistān.

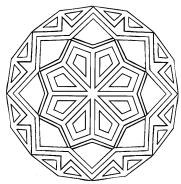
[290] In more details about all of these works see: Yuce 2002: 793 – 803; Sagol 2002: 804 – 813.

At the beginning of the literature on the New Persian (Fārsī) language were standing not the Persians and the Sogdians, but the ‘Arabs and the Türks making a part of the population of the Sāsānids Irān. Development of the Persian literature and the culture, begun at the court yard of the Irānian Saffārids, has been continued at the court yards of the Turkic governors – the Sāmānids, Qarā-Khānids, Ghaznawids, Saldjūqids and Kh^{w}ārazm-Shāhs, which patronised the best representatives of the Persian poetry. The New Persian literature has made the big impact on the culture of the Turkic people and has found the reflexion in their literature.

Turkic governors did not aspire to introduce Turkic language into the life of the countries which were subjected to them. They did not use it even as a court language that could raise further its role as administration language. On the contrary, they used at the court yard the ‘Arabian, and even more the Persian languages. The Türks the first began to use the New Persian (Fārsī) language in office affairs along with the ‘Arabian.

The Turkic language then has not been adapted yet for the ‘Arabian drawing though separate Turkic words were used as a comparative material in works of some ‘Arabian speaking authors of the end II/VIII – beginning of III/IX centuries. There are also the data, which allow to assume, that the first literary work in Turkic language in the the ‘Arabian letter has been composed not in the V/XI century as was considered earlier, but in the first half of the III/IX century.

The Sāmānids after joining of Khurāsān and the most part of Irān to their possession wished to look original rulers for the subordinated areas of Central Asia and Irān. Therefore they aspired to show their Irānian origin, and by all means, wished to be the Persians, who erecting their clan to the epoch of the Sāsānids. Being followers of a Turkic direction of the *al-Shu‘ūbiyya* movement, they, being guided by a private rule of division of fields of activity in the ‘Abbāsids Calīphate, have created all conditions for prosperity of the Islāmic culture on the New Persian (Fārsī) language.



CONCLUSION

Complex research of the medieval written sources in total with data of archeology, numismatics, ethnography and other adjacent historical sciences allow us to come to the following conclusions:

There are sufficient bases to assume, that Bahrām Chūbīn, was the native of circle of the Oghuz Türks of Tukhāristān (Balkh), which were in the military service at the Sāsānids and received superficial Irānization.

The high ancestor of the Sāmānids, Sāmān-Khudāt, was descendant of Bahrām Chūbīn in the fourth or fifth generation from his marriage with the daughter of the Supreme Turkic Qaghan El-Tigīn (Parmūda), having a residence in Bukhārā. El-Tīgīn was also the founder of a dynasty of the Turkic Yabghū of Tukhāristān. Fārghāna with which has been connected the last period of life of Bahrām Chūbīn was the native land of the ancestors of Sāmān-Khudāt. The birthplace of Sāmān-Khudāt was Chāch where his father Djabbā-Khān some time was the governor.

At the same time Sāmān-Khudāt on a parent line via El-Tigīn (Parmūda) and El Arslān (Shīr-i Kishwar) has been connected by family relations with representatives of Sāsānids dynasty – Khusraw I Anūshīrwān and his son Hurmazd IV Turkzāda, which were entered in relationship with the Türks.

Before acceptance of Islām Sāmān-Khudāt just as his ancestor Djabbā-Khān and the Turkic Qaghans, professed Manichaeism. He carried the Turkic name Arquq and the Buddhist-Manichaean name Sāmān. On the Turkic custom, he braided the hair in a long plait, for what he has been nicknamed Kākuldār. As well as his father Djabbā-Khān, he carried a title Yabghū (Djabghū) which was a dynastic title of the Turkic governors of Tukhāristān.

Occurrence of Sāmān-Khudāt on a political arena of the ‘Arabian Calīphate has been connected with cultural-political movement *al-Shu‘ūbiyya*, which arisen in Khurāsān in the first half of II/VIII century, i.e. on the eve of a political propaganda in advantage of the ‘Abbāsids which basic motive power along with the Persians was made the Oghuz Türks of Khurāsān. It is possible to put him in one number with such known figures of that time as the pre-Islāmic governor of Djurdjān Sūl-Tigīn and the large encyclopaedist scholar ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak al-Marwazī, which also were natives of the Oghuz Türks of Khurāsān and served to the ‘Arabian conquerors.

Descendants of Sāmān-Khudāt have continued a line of their ancestor and, closely co-operating with the ‘Arabian conquerors, accepted active participation in suppression

of revolts of local population rised against the ‘Arabs, and then in administration and government affairs. The Sāmānids, having come to a power with a help of the ‘Abbāsids and being their proteges, were active conductors of their policy in Central Asia. They became zealous fighters for belief and waged continuous “sacred” wars against so-called “infidel” Türks, i.e. those Türks who were enemies of Islām. The early Sāmānids were deeply religious and had close relations with clergy. As the Islām took root into the environment of the Türks in most cases via the Persian language, in a religious life of the local Turkic population of Central Asia began to increase the role of the New Persian (Fārsī) language on the basis of the ‘Arabian letter.

The Sāmānids have not casually chosen Bukhārā as their capital because there had a residencetheir ancestors El Arslān (Shīr-i Kishwar) and El-Tīgīn (Parmūda) before becoming the Supreme Turkic Qaghan. The historical-linguistic analysis of data of historical toponymy of the Bukhārā oasis shows, that Turkic names are one of the most ancient in this territory that, in turn, testifies that the Türks lived there from an extreme antiquity, making a part of local settled population. Name of the city of Bukhārā originated from a Turkic word *buxar* that means “a Buddhist temple”. Origin of this name has been connected with construction in VI century AD of the Buddhist-Manichaean temple, the founder of which was the Turkic governor of Bukhārā El-Tigīn (Parmūda), son of El Arslān (Shīr-i Kishwar).

During an epoch of the early Middle Ages the population of the Bukhārā oasis was made by the settled Türks and the Turkisized Sogdians. The Türks possessed not only the political and administrative power, but also made a considerable part of the urban population of Sughd. Therefore already during an epoch of the early Middle Ages the population of cities was bilingual. The Sogdians not only genetically, but also on their culture were very close to the local Türks with whom they entered to mixed marriages. The ‘Arabian gain, undoubtedly, has influenced an ethnic situation in Central Asia and has led to some reduction of local population as a result of mass destruction and the compelled resettlement of a part of the Sogdians and Türks out ofborders of the ‘Arabian Calīphate and settling on their place of newcomers of immigrants and colonizers of the ‘Arabian and Persian origin. However, data of some sources testify that after the ‘Arab-Persian invasion not all of the Türks have left their lands and movedto the east as it was supposed earlier, but on the contrary, having accepted Islām, they were increased both in quantity, and on the influence in a society. In the III – IV/IX – X centuries the basic part of the urban and sedentary-agricultural population of

Central Asia as well as earlier, made the Türks, and also the Turkified Sogdians, Kh^{w}ārazmians and Bactrians.

After joining of Khurāsān and most part of Irān to the possession of the Sāmānids the last tryed to look original fathers for the subordinated areas of Central Asia and Irān, aspired to show their Irānian origin, and by all means, wished to be Persians, erecting their clan to the epoch of the Sāsānids. Therefore they have created all conditions for prosperity of the Islāmic culture in the New Persian (Fārsī) language.

At the same time, the Sāmānids did not forget about their Turkic origin that is traced on all extent of board of this dynasty. Almost all their environment in the capital city Bukhārā, i.e. big dignitaries who served to the Sāmānids, politicians and military leaders, were the Türks. The majority of the provincial governors appointed by the Sāmānids in the areas which were subordinated to them also made the Türks. Many of the Sāmānids entered with them to the family relations. The Sāmānids have allowed to the Oghuz Türks to move into a vicinity of Bukhārā, hoping on their support in a difficult moment for themselves. Therefore the last people who have assisted to the Sāmānids after their loss of the power in Bukhārā were the Oghuz Turks who considered them as their governors.

The government system of the Sāmānids has been constructed on the sample of the ‘Abbāsids which in turn was constructed on the basis of state traditions of the Sāsānids. The government system of the Sāmānids represented the accurate and perfect system which comprised the most advanced achievements of that time in the field of statehood. However, because the term “statehood’ is a concept legal, its definition also should be based on the rules of a law. From the point of view of the legislation the government system of the Sāmānids as well as their board, cannot be considered as the independent state. Hence, the board of the Sāmānids in Central Asia should be considered not as the independent sovereign state, but as board of a dynasty of the local governors appointed by Baghdād as deputies, and spending rather independent internal policy, using certain powers with which they were allocated by the ‘Abbāsid Caliphs. Formally the ‘Abbāsids Calīphate has stopped its existence only with the Mongolian gain and represented confederation of the Islāmic countries united under the nominal power of the Calīphs of Baghdād though after 334/945-46 the real power in Baghdād was at first in the hands of the Buwaihids, and since 448/1056-57 – of the Saldjūqids.

In an epoch of the‘Arabian Calīphate the Türks took an active participation in a cultural life of the Islamic society. The epoch of Islāmic revival is characterised by merge of various cultural traditions, first of all, of the ‘Arabs and the Persians. Not less

important role in this process belonged also to the Turkic people. Blossoming of the Islamic science and culture passed under the sign of activization of “Turkic penetration” not only in Central Asia, but also in the all Forward and Middle East. This in many respects explains the subsequent formation of the Turk-Persian synthesis, and also induces to pay attention to a role of the Türks in development of the Islāmic science and culture.

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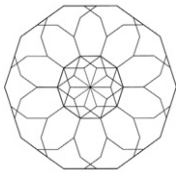
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The higher ancestor of the Sāmānids, Sāmān-Khudāt as well as his ancestors was a native of circle of the settled Türks of Central Asia which had ancient traditions of agricultural and urban culture. Descendants of ancient and medieval sedentary-agricultural and urban Turkic speaking population of Central Asia were known in the beginning of XX century AD under the name "Sart" and differed both from nomadic Turkic speaking people, and from the settled Irānian speaking people of Central Asia [Kamoliddin 2004: 63 – 64]. After the administrative-territorial division, which has been carried out by the Bolsheviks in 1924, they have made a basis of the modern Uzbek people [Kamoliddin 2004: 34 – 41]. Hence, proceeding from the data set forth above, we with good reason can consider, that the board of the Sāmānids dynasty in Central Asia should be considered as an integral part of history of statehood of the Uzbek people.



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ABBREVIATIONS

Literature

АО – Археологические открытия

АР – Автореферат

АРТ – Археологические работы в Таджикистане

БЧ – Бартольдовские чтения

ВДИ – Вестник древней истории

ДП – Документы на половецком языке

ДТС – Древнетюркский словарь

ЗВОРАО – Записки Восточного отделения императорского Русского археологического общества

ИМКУ – История материальной культуры Узбекистана

КИ – Культура и искусство

КСИИМК – Краткие сообщения о докладах и полевых исследованиях Института истории материальной культуры

МИА – Материалы по истории и археологии

МИСЦА – Материалы по истории Средней и Центральной Азии

МИКК – Материалы по истории киргизов и Киргизии

МИТТ – Материалы по истории туркмен и Туркмении

МКТ – Материальная культура Таджикистана

НАА – Народы Азии и Африки

НС – Нумизматический сборник

НСА – Народы Средней Азии и Казахстана

НЦА – Нумизматика Центральной Азии

НЭ – Нумизматика и эпиграфика

ОВ – Ономастика Востока

ОНУ – Общественные науки в Узбекистане / Ўзбекистонда ижтимоий фанлар

ОСА – Ономастика Средней Азии

ПАС – Пехлевийско-персидско-армяно-русско-английский словарь

ПВ – Проблемы востоковедения

ПКИ – Памятники культуры и искусства

ППВ – Памятники письменности Востока

ПРС – Персидско-русский словарь

ПС – Палестинский сборник

ПТКЛА – Протоколы заседаний и сообщения членов Туркестанского Кружка любителей археологии

РПС – Русско-персидский словарь

РТС – Русско-турецкий словарь

СА – Советская археология

СВ – Советское востоковедение

СДГМ – Согдийские документы с горы Муг

СКСО – Справочная книжка Самаркандской области

СНВ – Страны и народы Востока

СОН – Серия общественных наук

СОФ – Статистический обзор Ферганской области

СТ – Советская тюркология

СЭ – Советская этнография

СЭС – Среднеазиатский этнографический сборник

ТД – Тезисы докладов

ТК – Топография кладов

ТС – Тюркологический сборник

ЧРС – Чувашско-русский словарь

ЭВ – Эпиграфика Востока

AA – Arabskiy Anonym

AEMA – Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi

AI – Annales Islamologiques

AI – Arxeologicheskie Issledovaniya

AOASH – Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae

BE – Brochaus die Enzyklopadie

BGA – Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum

BSOS – Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (London University)

BSOAS – Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

CAC – Cahiers d'Asie Centrale

CAJ – Central Asiatic Journal

CHI – The Cambridge History of Iran

CHIs – The Cambridge History of Islam

CRS – Chuvashsko-Russkiy Slovar

DA – Drevnie Avtory

DTS – Drevnetiurksky Slovar

EA – Etnicheskiy Atlas

EB – Encyclopaedia Britannica

EI – The Encyclopaedy of Islam

EIran – Encyclopaedia Iranica

ERS – Ethnic and Racial Studies

GLE – Grand Larusse encyclopedique

GMS – Gibb Memorail Series

HCCA – History of Civilizations of Central Asia

HJAS – Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies

IA – Islam Ansiklopedisi

ID – Iziskanny Dar

IJCAS – International Journal of Central Asian Studies

IJMES – International Journal of Middle East Studies

IK – Istoriya Khalifov

IS – Iranian Studies

ITED – Islam tetkikleri Enstitusu Dergisi

JAOS – Journal of the American Oriental Society

JRAS – Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

JTS – Journal of Turkish Studies

KD – Kniga Deyaniy

KI – Kultura i Iskusstvo

MIKK – Materialy po Istorii Kyrgyzov i Kyrgyzstana

MK – Koshghariy, Mahmud

MN – Mify Narodov

MO – Manuscripta Orientalia. International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

MS – Manuscript

MW – The Moslem World

NC – The Numismatic Chronicle

NE – The National Encyclipaedia

NS – Novaya Stranitsa

NSA – Narody Sredney Azii

OH – Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte

OMA – O'zbek Mumtoz Adabiyoti

OO – Oshskaya Oblast

OO – Orta Osiyolik

PFEH – Papers on Far Eastern History

PhD – Philosofy Doctor

PKI – Pamiatniki Kultury i Iskusstva

PRS – Persidsko-Russkiy Slovar

PS – Pehleviysko-Persidsko-Armiano-Russko-Angliyskiy Slovar

RPR – Russko-Persidskiy Slovar

RTS – Russko-Turetskiy Slovar

SF – Sogdiyskie Fragmenty

SI – Studia Iranica

SO – Statisticheskiy Obzor

SOF – Statisticheskiy Obzor Ferganskoy Doliny

SOP – Studies Oriental Pedersen

TA – Turk Ansiklopedisi

TK – Topografiya Kladov

UMA – Uzbek Mumtoz Adabiyoti

VIR – Vseobshaya Istoriya Religiy

VT – Vostochny Turkestan

ZDP – Zhivopis Drevnego Pendjikenta

Institutions

АН – Академия наук

ГИМ – Государственный Исторический музей

ГЭ – Государственный Эрмитаж

ИВ – Институт востоковедения

ИИА – Институт истории и археологии

ИИАЭ – Институт истории, археологии и этнографии

ИНА – Институт народов Азии

ЛО – Ленинградское отделение

МГУ – Московский Государственный университет

НБУ – Национальный банк Узбекистана

НУУз – Национальный университет Узбекистана

ООН – Отделение общественных наук

РАН – Российская Академия наук

РК – Республика Казахстан

СААЭ – Советско-афганская археологическая экспедиция

САЭ – Семиреченская археологическая экспедиция

СССР – Союз Советских Социалистических Республик

СО – Сибирское отделение

ТашГУ – Ташкентский Государственный университет

ТАЭ – Таджикская археологическая экспедиция

ЮТАКЭ – Южно-Туркменистанская археологическая комплексная экспедиция

AGS – The American Geographic Society

ANS – The American Numismatic Society

BSOAS – Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

IACAS – International Association of Central Asian Studies

NBU – National Bank of Uzbekistan

NUUz – National University of Uzbekistan

RIIAS – Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies

UNESCO – United Nations Economical Scientific Cooperation Organization

TRANSLITERATION

Ā ā – long vowel *a* (‘Arab. *alif*)

Ī ī – long vowel *i* (‘Arab. *yāy*)

Ū ū – long vowel *u* (‘Arab. *wāw*)

ō – long vowel *o*

ē – long vowel *e*

dh – interdental sound (‘Arab. *dhāl*)

q – hard consonant sound (‘Arab. *qāf*)

gh – hard consonant sound (‘Arab. *ghayn*)

th – interdental sound (‘Arab. *thā*)

kh – hard consonant sound (‘Arab. *khā*)

‘ - ‘Arab. ‘*ayn*

’ - ‘Arab. *hamza*

č – *ch*

h – soft sound (‘Arab. *hā*)

χ – Greek., hard consonant *x*

δ – Greek., interdental sound between *d* and *z* (like the ‘Arab. *dhāl*)

ŋ – Greek., the sound which gives combination of *n* and *g*.

γ – Greek., hard consonant *gh*

š – sh (‘Arab. *shīn*)

ž – zh

APPENDIX

Sources of the Sāmānids Family Tree

Sources,
which Traced Origin of the Sāmānids to Bahrām Chūbīn

1. Abū Ishāq al-Fārisī al-Istakhrī (IV/X c.). "Masālik al-Mamālik" ("The Ways of the Countries").

2. Abū 'Alī Bal'amī (IV/X c.). Preface to the Persian Translation of "Ta'rīkh al-Tabarī" ("The History of al-Tabarī").

3. "Hudūd al-'Ālam" ("The Regions of the World") by unknown author of IV/X century.

4. Ibn Hawqal (IV/X c.). "Sūrat al-Ard" ("Configuration of the Earth").

5. Shams al-Dīn al-Muqaddasī (IV/X c.). "Ahsan al-Taqāsīm ilā Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm" ("The Best Division in Knowledge of Climats").

6. Abū Bakr Dja'far ibn Muhammad al-Narshakhī (IV/X c.). "Ta'rīkh Bukhārā" ("The History of Bukhārā").

7. Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Hayy Gardīzī (V/XI c.). "Zayn al-Akhbār" ("The Best of Annales").

8. Abū Rayhān al-Bīrūnī (V/XI c.). "Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya 'an il-Qurūn al-Khāliya" ("The Monument Remained from the Passed Times").

9. Abū Hafs 'Umar al-Nasafī (VI/XII c.). "Al-Qand fī Dhikr 'Ulamā' Samarqand" ("The Sweet of Information about Scholars of Samarqand").

10. Abū Sa'd 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Muhammad al-Sam'ānī (VI/XII c.). "Al-Ansāb" ("The Genealogies").

11. Yāqūt al-Hamawī (VII/XIII c.). "Mu'djam al-Bildān" ("The Collection of Countries").

12. Ibn al-Athīr (VII/XIII в.). "Al-Kāmil fī-l-Ta'rīkh" ("The Complete Book in the History").

13. Djamāl al-Qarshī (VIII/early XIV в.). "al-Mulhaqāt bi-l-Surāh" ("The Additions of the Evident").

14. Hamd Allāh Qazwīnī (IX/XV c.). "Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda" ("The Select History").

15. Mīr^{w}khānd (IX/XV c.). "Rawdat al-Safā" ("The Garden of Purity").

16. “The Nasab-Nāma” (“The Genealogy”) of Ismā‘īl ibn Ahmad al-Sāmānī (XI/XVII c.).

Sources,
which Contain Data with Direct or Indirect Indications
on the Turkic Origin of the Sāmānids

1. Shams al-Dīn al-Muqaddasī (IV/X c.). “Ahsan al-Taqāsīm ilā Ma‘rifat al-Aqālīm” (“The Best Division in Knowledge of Climats”).

2. Abū-l-Fadl Bayhaqī (V/XI c.). “Ta’rīkh-i Mas‘ūd” (“The History of Mas‘ūd”).

3. Abū Sa‘d ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Muhammad al-Sam‘ānī (VI/XII c.). “Al-Ansāb” (“The Genealogies”).

4. Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar ibn Muhammad al-Balkhī. “Fadā’il-i Balkh” (“The Merits of Balkh”).

5. Hamd Allāh Qazwīnī (IX/XV c.). “Ta’rīkh-i Guzīda” (“The Select History”).

6. “Asahh al-Tawārīkh” (“The Trueast Annales”) of the unknown author (VII/early XIII c.).

7. Yāqūt al-Hamawī (VII/XIII c.). “Mu‘djam al-Bildān” (“The Collection of Countries”).

8. Ibn al-Athīr (VII/XIII c.). “Al-Lubāb fī Tadhkhīb al-Ansāb” (“The Pure in Classification of the Genealogies”) and “al-Kāmil fī-l-Ta’rīkh” (“The Complete Book in History”).

9. Rashīd al-Dīn (VII/XIII c.). “Oghuz-Nāma” (“The Book of the Oghuzes”) and “Djāmi‘ al-Tawārīkh” (“The Collection of Histories”).

10. Muslih al-Dīn Muhammad al-Lārī (IX/XV c.). “Mir’āt al-Adwār” (“The Mirror of Epochs”).

11. Hāfiz-i Abrū (IX/XV c.). “Madjmü‘a” (The Collection).

12. Ibn Taghrī-Bardī (IX/XV c.). Al-Nudjūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Misr wa-l-Qāhira” (“The Appeared Stars in the Kings of Egypt and Cairo”).

13. Kh^{w}āndamīr (X/XVI c.). “Habīr al-Siyar fī Akhbār Afrād al-Bashar (“The Favourite of the Biograpies in the History of the People”).

14. Hāfiz-i Tanish Bukhārī (X/XVI c.). “ ‘Abd Allāh-Nāma” (“The Book of ‘Abd Allāh”).

15. Mahmūd ibn Walī (XI/XVII c.). “Bahr al-Asrār fī Manāqib al-Akhyār” (“The See of Secrets on the Valours of the Devouts”).

16. Abū-l-Ghāzī Bahadūr-Khān (XI/XVII c.). “Shadjara al-Tarākima” (“The Tribal Tree of the Turkmens”).

17. “Sa‘diya” of the unknoun author (XI/XVII c.).

18. Ahmad al-Usturlābī al-Saghānī al-Tirmidhī (XI/XVII c.). “‘Ilm al-Nudjūm” (“The Astronomy”).

19. “Nasab-Nāma” of Ismā‘īl ibn Ahmad al-Sāmānī (XI/XVII c.).

20. The Medallion of Mansūr ibn Nūh al-Sāmānī (IV/X c.).

Family Tree of Bahrām Chūbīn[291]

Kayumars
!
Manisha
!
Farwak
!
Khushang
!
Askahd
!
Afrīdūn
!
Iradj
!
Kuzak
!
Doser Manuchehr
!
Arsatin
!
Wemam
!
Frwīn
!
Ikhshīn
!
Beshdad
!
Sadsad
!
Keshrad
!

[291] This family tree is resulted in the composition “Zayn al-Akhbār” by Gardīzī [Gardīzī: 62].

Fadan
!
Mihrān
!
Marzwān
!
Maras
!
Mīlād
!
Qarghīn
!
Safrasp
!
Djerdad
!
Kuzak
!
Shāsp
!
Bahrām
!
Sīm
!
Ferāwl
!
Fīr
!
Randjahān
!
Hadad
!
Bestar
!
Chār
!
Djām
!
Dirkar
!
Kardar
!
Anfian
!
Kuzak
!
Bahrām Hasīs (Gushnāsp)
!
Bahrām Chūbīn

Family Tree of Sāmān-Khudāt[292]

Bahrām Gushnāsp
!
!
Bahrām Chūbīn
!
!
Tughrul
(Shāwul)
!
!
Nūshrad
(Hawsh, Anūsh)
!
!
Tamghāch
(Tanghāth, Tamghāsp, Tamghārth, Tamghāt, Taghmāth, Taghān, Samtfghān)
!
!
Djabbā-Khān
(Djubā, Djimasyān, Djasīmān, Djīsmān, Djusmān, Hamītān, Hāmān)
!
!
Sāmān-Khudāt
(Sāmān-Yabghū, Arquq, Kākuldār)

[292] This family tree is resulted in the sources of IV/X – beginning of VII/XIII centuries (Ibn Hawqal, Bal'amī, al-Bīrūnī, Gardīzī, Abū Hafs al-Nasafī, al-Sam'ānī, Yāqūt al-Hamawī, Ibn al-Athīr). The author of "Hudūd al-'Ālam", Narshakhī, and some later sources (Hamd Allāh Qazwīnī, Mīrkh^{w}ānd, Kh^{w}āndamīr, etc.) named only Bahrām Chūbīn as the higher ancestor of Sāmān-Khudāt. Some important specifications to this genealogy contain in works of later authors – Rashīd al-Dīn, Mahmūd ibn Walī, Muhammad al-Lārī, al-Usturlābī, and in the composition "Sa'diya" of the unknown author.

Family Tree of the Sāmānids dynasty[293]

Sāmān-Khudāt
Balkh (first half of VIII c.)
!
Asad
Marw (end of VIII – beginning of IX c.)
!

Nūh	Ahmad I	Yahyā	Ilyās
Samarqand	Farghāna	al-Shāsh	Harāt
(204/819)	(204/819)	(204/819)	(204/819)

!

Nasr I	Исма‘ил I al-Mādī
Samarqand	Bukhārā
(250 – 279/864 – 892)	(279 – 295/892 – 907)

!
Ahmad II al-Shahīd
(295 – 301/907 – 914)
!
Nasr II al-Sa‘īd
(301 – 331/914 – 943)
!
Nūh I al-Hamīd
(331 – 343/943 – 954)
!
‘Abd al-Malik I al-Mu’ayyad (al-Rashīd)
(343 – 350/954 – 961)
!
Mansūr I al-Muzaffar (al-Sadīd)
(350 – 365/961 – 976)
!
Nūh II al-Ridā (al-Rashīd)
(365 – 387/976 – 997)
!
Мансур II
(387 – 389/997 – 999)
!
‘Abd al-Malik II
(389 – 390/999 – 1000)
!
Ismā‘īl al-Muntasir
(390 – 395/1000 – 1005)

[293] The complete genealogical tree of the Sāmānids clan consisted of 55 representatives [Zambaur 1927: 202].

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‘Al. – ‘Abd Allāh
A. – Ahmad
Ham. – Hammād
al-H. – al-Hasan
al-Hus. – al-Husayn
Ibr. – Ibrāhīm
Ish. – Ishāq
Ism. – Ismā‘īl
Mah. – Mahmūd
Man. – Mansūr
M. – Muhammad
al-Muz. – al-Muzaffar
Sul. – Sulaymān
Yah. – Yahyā
Yūn. – Yūnus
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