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Coins of Tokharistan with old Turkic titles

Abstract. The tamga signs and titles engraved on coins represent symbols of ruling dynasties and the states they had founded and were associated both with the territory where they ruled, as well as with their origin (ethnicity). In this regard of particular interest are Old Turkic tamgas and titles (“Qaghan”, “Yabghu” (?), “Tegin”, “Tarkhan”) available on the pre-Islamic Turkic coins of Tokharistan region (Southern Uzbekistan – Southern Tadjikistan – Northern Afghanistan) with Sogdian scripts. On the early medieval coins of Chach related to the Western Turkic Qaghanate (568-740), there are four types of tamgas – a lyre-shaped one with its varieties, a tamga in the form of two crossed swords, an anchor-form tamga and the diamond-form one, and the fact comes under notice that similar tamgas were engraved on the coins of the Northern Tokharistan of the epoch. Appearance of these tamgas and titles in the territory of Chach and Tokharistan in the Early Middle Ages is directly related to political activities of the Western Turkic Qaghanate and ethno-cultural processes which were taking place in Central Asia.

Keywords: Central Asia, Transoxiana, Tokharistan, pre-Islamic period, coins, turkic qaghanate, Sogdian script, old turkic titles, tamga signs, dynasties.

Introduction

In the Early Middle Ages, Tokharistan - one of the dozens of oases located between Amu Darya and Syr Darya and adjacent territories consisted of dozens of large and small dominions, including Termez, Chaghaniyan, Khuttal, Badakhshan, Balkh, Guzgan (Juzjan), Kumed (Karategin), Vakhsh, Qobadian and others.

The written manuscripts of this period show that Bactrian alphabet with Greek origin was used in Tokharistan. This is confirmed by coins, wall art, clothes, leather, ceramic and metal objects, and hundreds of Bactrian language documents found in northern Afghanistan.

At the same time, there are Sogdian scripts found in some of the earliest medieval coins of Tokharistan, which, by their nature, reveal many issues related to the history of the region. In recent years, the discovery of many ancient Tokharistan coins in Sogdian scripts with Turkic title require further research in this field. The main issues whether these coins belong to which governor and how they relate to historical events are especially relevant. According to their origin, we will introduce the by dividing it to the following groups and variations:

GROUP I. Countermarked coins (this group may conditionally be divided into the following variations):

Variation 1. Coins with title “Qaghan”



№ 1-2. Av. On the obverse of each 2 coins depicted the head of the Sassanid ruler wearing a crown with two wings facing to the right and a crescent moon and a sun image on it. Above the ruler's image, a Sogdian countermarked (printed) inscription $x'γ'n$ is depicted on the right of the coin. It is read as “Qaghan”. In the second coin, on the right of the ruler's image, some tracks of Pahlavi script are kept. On the left and down side of the image, there are printed Sogdian scripts, one of them is $x'γ'n βγγ$ read as “lord Qaghan” (the divine ruler) and the second one is $δšcy βγγ$, that means “divine Dish” or “Tish goddess”. **Rv.** The reverse of the coin depicts a fire in the middle and priests standing around it, with a five-pointed star and crescent on top of them. Storage: www.zeno.ru - # 216231, # 125612; Size: -, -; Weight: 3.34 g, 3.4 g.

Variation 2. With titles “Qaghan” and “Tegin”



№ 3-4. Av. On the obverse of both coins depicted the head of a Sassanid ruler wearing a two-winged crown, facing to the right in a very different form from the image of the ruler above. There are images of the crescent and the sun above it. There are Sogdian scripts on the right, left and down side of the ruler's image on the third coin. $δšcy βγγ$ is written on the right side, meaning “divine dish” or “Tish goddess”; $tky(n)$ on the left side is read as “Tegin”; $x'γ'n βγγ$ on the down side means “Divine Qaghan”. In the fourth coin, there are 4 printed scripts on each edges of the picture. They are: $x'γ'n βγγ$ “divine Qaghan” on the right top and $tk'yn$ “Tegin” on the left top as well as $δšcy βγγ$ on the right bottom and $k-nc$ or $k-c'n$ below the ruler's image. **Rv.** The reverse side of the coins features images similar to those on the coins above. See www.zeno.ru - # 125489, # 151335; Size: -, 25-29 mm; Weight: 3.6 g, 3.22 g.

Variation 3. Coins with title “Tegin”



№ 5-6. Av. On the obverse of the coins depicted the head of the Sassanid rulers, wearing a two-winged crown, facing to the right in a very different form from the image of the ruler above, and on it are images of the crescent and the sun. On the fifth coin, there are printed scripts on

the top, right and down side of ruler's image. On the top, the Sogdian inscription *tk'yn* is read as "Tegin"; *pyškwr* (its meaning is not clarified yet) is written on the right, and *dšcy βyy* on the down side. The printed scripts on the sixth coin read as: the *tk'yn* is "Tegin", *pyškwr(r)* (the phrase not clarified yet as the one on the fifth coin). **Rv.** The reverse side of the coins features images similar to those on the coins above. *See:* www.zeno.ru - # 203267; # 208970; Size: -, -; Weight: 3.45 g, 3.36 g.

Variation 4. Coins with titles "Tegin" and "Tarkhan"



№ 7-9. Av. On the obverse of the coins depicted the head of the Sassanid rulers, wearing a two-winged crown, facing to the right in a very different form from the images of the ruler above, and on it are images of the crescent and the sun. On the seventh coin, there are printed inscriptions on the top, right and left side of ruler's image. On the right, the inscription *tk'yn* is read as "Tegin", *βyy* on the left is read as "divine", and the other *trx'n* is read as "Tarkhan". The printed inscriptions on both sides of ruler on the eighth coin are followings: on the right *tk'yn* "Tegin", on the left *trx'n* "Tarkhan". 4 countermarked are placed on the ninth coin, above the ruler's image *trx'n*, which is read as "Tarkhan", on the right - *pyškwr* and at the bottom - *dšcy βyy* meaning "divine Dišči" or "Tish goddess". **Rv.** The reverse side of the coins features images similar to those on the coins above. *See:* www.zeno.ru - # 173012, # 28789, # 86936; Size: 27-5-28 mm, 30 mm, -; Weight: 3.15 g, 3.38 g.

Variation 5-6. Coins with phrases "divine Dišči" or "Tish goddess" and a title "ruler"





№ 10-11. Av. On the obverse of the coins depicted the head of a Sassanid ruler wearing a two-winged crown, facing to the right in a slightly different form from the image of the ruler above. On the top of the head, there are images of the crescent and the sun. The Sogdian inscription on the right side of the ruler's image on the tenth coin is read as *pyškwr(r)*; the bottom script is *dšcy βyy* meaning "divine Dišči" or "Tish goddess". On the eleventh coin, on the right side of the ruler's head, there is the word "Ruler" in the Bactrian script, and below it, there is the word

xwβ in Sogdian script meaning “Ruler” (reverse), and on the back of the ruler’s head there is a diamond-shaped mark. **Rv.** The reverse side of the coin has images similar to those on the coins above. *See:* www.zeno.ru - # 199529, # 43496; Size: 26-28 mm, 24.0-25.2 mm; Weight: 3.63 g, 2.68 g.

Variation 6. Coins with tamgas of Turgesh Qaghanate




№ 12-13. Av. The obverse of the coins depicts the head of a Sassanid ruler wearing a two-winged crown, facing to the right in a slightly different form from the image of the ruler above. There are the images of the crescent and the sun on the top. On the twelfth coin, there is Sogdian word *x’γ’n* which means “Qaghan”,  appears at the bottom of the ruler’s head. On the thirteenth coin, there are two marks like  on the right and left sides of the ruler’s head, and there is the inscription *dšcy βγγ* meaning “divine Dišči”/ “Tish goddess” below the ruler’s head. **Rv.** The reverse side of the coin has images similar to those on the coins above. Storage: www.zeno.ru - # 86937, # 86934; Size: -, -; Weight: -, -.

GROUP II. Local coins of Tokharistan rulers

(this group may conditionally be divided into the following variations):

Variation 1. Coins with the title “Farn khuvu” (the holy ruler) (reverse)



№ 14-15. Av. The obverse of the coin depicts the head of a ruler and a princess looking straight ahead, and above them are images of the crescent and the sun. **Rv.** On the back of both coins, there is Sogdian script around a tamga like . On the fourteenth coin, there is a Sogdian script written inversely. When looked by mirror, script on the right side of the tamga is read *prn* “farn” (bless), and on the left side – *xw(β)* (ruler). **Rv.** Although the fifteenth coin is written ordinary, the scripts on it are not fully preserved, that’s why we are reading the phrase on the right as *prnw-γ/k* (..) “farn...” (bless) and on the left *(x)wβw* (ruler). Storage location: personal collection, www.zeno.ru - #194336; size 19.5 mm, -; weight 0,6 g, -.


Variation 2. Coins with the title *prn xwβw* (“the holy ruler”) (right side)



16



17

№16-17. Av. The front of the coin depicts the head of a ruler and a princess looking straight ahead, and above them are images of the crescent and the sun. On the sixteenth coin, there is a Sogdian inscription written inversely under the both images. When looked by mirror this can be read like *tyw'r'k [xwβ]* “Tokhar ruler”(?) On the left side of the both images, there is the word *xwβ* (ruler) is written. **Rv.** On the back of sixteenth coin, there is a tamga  but no more scripts. On the back side of seventeenth coin, no picture is found. *See:* location: www.zeno.ru - # 27992 [1, p. 504]; Size: 23 mm , - ; Weight: 1.47 g. , -.

GROUP III. The coins of Tokharistan’s Yabghu

Variation 1. Coins with the word “farn” (bless)





18



19



№ 18-19. Av. On the obverse of the coins, there is an image of a ruler facing to the right and on the obverse (right) there is the word *prn* “farn” (bless) in Sogdian script. **Rv.** On the reverse side of the coins there is a tamga  /  of the same type as the coins of the Western Turkic Qaghanate, minted in the Chach oasis, and there is no inscription. Storage: www.zeno.ru - # 77536 , # 48390 ; Size: -, -; Weight: -, 1.3 g.

Variation 2. Coins with the title “Qaghan” (?)





20



21



№ 20-21. Av. The obverse of the twentieth coin depicts an image of the ruler, similar to the one in the above variation, but with a much different look, facing to the right, near his forehead. On the obverse (right) of it, there is a title *x'γ'n* (Qaghan) in Sogdian script. On the obverse of these coins, there is an image of a ruler facing the right in a figuratively close but very different look to the 18-19 coins, and no inscription is visible. **Rv.** The reverse of the twentieth coin depicts a tamga  of the Western Turkic Qaghanate, minted in the Chach oasis, and there is no inscription. The twenty first coin has a similar tamga  to the twentieth coin with a slight difference. The not-so-well-preserved Sogdian inscription around the tamga is now conditionally read as *prn* (*βγγ*) *x'γ'(n)* “divine blessed Qaghan”. Storage : www.zeno.ru - # 221945 ; # 179791 ; Size: 18 mm, 23 mm; Weight: 1.86 g, 1.5 g.


Variation 3. Anepigraphic coins (although, there are no inscriptions on the coins in this category, we have mentioned them here, considering that they have aspects that clarify some issues related to the Western Turkic Qaghanate).



22



23


№ 22-23. Av. On the right side of these coins, which have a round hole in the middle, there is a tamga  closely resembling the tamgas on the coins with the title *c'cynk xwβw tk'yn* “ruler of Chach, Tegin” minted in the Chach oasis. **Rv.** There is no sign or inscription on the reverse of the coins. Storage: www.zeno.ru - # 211559, #27691; Size: 24 mm; 25 mm. Weight: 1.85 g.; 4.2 g.

GROUP IV. Partly undiscovered coins.

Variation 1.



24

№24. Av. The observe of the coin depicts the tamga , similar to the pre-Islamic Termezshah's dynasty, with vertical Sogdian inscription on the right. Although the script is relatively well preserved, the question of exactly what the word (title or name) means remains open. This can be read as follows: *'rbwy/'wδwy/twδwn* “Tudun” (?)

Rv. On the reverse side of the coin there are three rows of Sogdian inscriptions, the middle of which reads *xwβw* as a “Ruler”. The inscription can be read in this way: *'w ... \ xwβw \ swnywk / cwrybk?* “...the ruler Churbek?” Storage : www.zeno.ru - # 117760; Size: 20.7-22.2 mm; Weight: 2.8 g.

Variation 2.

25

No. 25. Av. In imitation of Chinese coins, this coin has a rectangular hole in the middle and a sentence of three words in Sogdian script around it. The word on the left can be read *xwβw* “ruler”. Reading the rest is a bit difficult. The reverse of the coin, on the left side of rectangle hole, there is a tamga †, similar to the pre-Islamic Termezshah’s dynasty. On the right, there is a Sogdian inscription, written from the top to the bottom. This can be read as *prn* “*farn*” (bless). Storage : www.zeno.ru - # 57521; Size: 1.6g .; Weight: 17.7 mm.

Variation 3.


26

No. 26. Av. The right side of the coin depicts a round-faced, beardless ruler with hair down to his shoulders. **Rv.** On the reverse side of the coin, there is an emblem ☩ of the Hephthalite dynasty, and on the right side, there is a Sogdian inscription written vertically from top to bottom, which is read as *xwβ* “ruler”. Storage: www.zeno.ru - # 179790 ; Size: 24 mm ; Weight: 2 .7 g .

Study of Tokharistan coins with Sogdian inscription

The scope of scientific research on coins of Tokharistan is not very large. From the beginning of the last century to the present, Western scientists have researched more on the Bactria and Pahlavi (Middle Persian) inscriptions based on Tokharistan coins, and the country’s coins with Sogdian inscription are almost neglected. The relatively small number of coins of this type is also one of the main reasons of less investigation. R. Göbl, an expert on Tokharistan coins, briefly explained about coins with Sogdian inscriptions in his 1960s researches [2]. Well-known numismatist E.V. Rtveladze cites some Sogdian scripted coins along with Bactrian scripted ones in his research on pre-Islamic Tokharistan coins [3, c. 140-145; 4, c. 119].

E.V. Zeymal, who once conducted extensive research on Central Asian coins, also addresses this issue [5, c. 122-127]. V.A. Livshitz and L.S. Baratova are one of the earliest investigators of Sogdian scripted coins of the country, more precisely, Sassanid Iranian coins on which Sogdian script was later minted on the surface. They read some coin inscriptions as *x’γ’n* “Qaghan” and *tk’yn / tkyn* “Tegin” and connected them with the ancient Turks. They also read Sogdian inscription on some coins as *tšβ’n* and compared it to the Tish Goddess in the interpretation of ancient Iranian peoples [6, p. 81-82; 7, c. 21-26]. We identified a number of coins and read the word *tšβ’n* as *trx’n* “Tarkhan”, connecting it with the top Turkic Qaghanate titles. Our version was supported by well-known Iranist N. Sims Williams.

Once, we also read Sogdian inscription *prn* as “bless” on the 17-18 coins with the image of the ruler facing to the right on the front and the same tamga on the back with the same tamgas  as on the coins of the Western Turkic Qaghanate (see: Fig-1. 4) minted in Chach; and *prn xwβw* script as “divine ruler” on the double portrait coins. Almost at the same time, due to the occurrence of ancient Turkic titles and tamgas on both Chach and Tokharistan coins, we explained the minting of such coins in both countries, which were geographically far apart, in connection with the Turkic Qaghanate [8, c. 193; 9, c. 3-13; 10, p. 7, 12].

Last year, numismatist A. Musakaeva and archaeologist A. Berdimuradov wrote a special article on Sasanian coins with Sogdian inscriptions among the coins found in Sazagan (Pastdar-gam / Samarkand) and identified several new types of coins in this series. However, the question of how the occurrence of Sogdian inscriptions and Turkic titles in this series of coins is connected with historical events is left unexplained [11, c. 137-144].



1-расм. Ғарбий Турк хоқонлиги билан боғлиқ "жабғу" (1), "хоқон" (Чоч : 2-4; Фарғона: 7-9; Самарқанд: 10-12; Ўтрор: 13-15; Тўхористон: 17) ва "тегин" (5-6) тангалар

Fig. 1. Old Turkic coins of Central Asia with the titles “Jabghu” (1), “Qaghan” (Chach: 2 - 4; Ferghana: 7 - 9; Samarkand: 10 - 12; Otrar: 13 - 15; Tokharistan: 17), “Tegin” (Chach: 5 - 6)

Written specification of coins (orphography)









All the inscriptions on these coins are written in the first medieval type of the Sogdian script, which was widely used in the Sogd region and neighbouring Chach, Otrar, Ustrushna, Ferghana, Semirech'e, East Turkestan and Mongolia - in italics. Among them, ancient Turkic titles such as *x'γ'n* "Qaghan", *tk'yn* "Tegin" *trx'n* "Tarkhan"; Sogdian titles and epithets like *xwβ* / *xwβw* "ruler", *prn* "bless", *βγγ* "divine" are distinguished by being written clearly.

The inscription of the old Turkic titles on the above-mentioned coins, especially the title "Qaghan" (except for №20 coin) is almost identical to the inscription on the coins directly or indirectly related to the Western Turkic Qaghanate minted in Chach, Ferghana, Sogd (Samarkand) and Otrar (compare: Fig. 1. 4, 9-11, 13-15) [1, p. 341, 391-393; 4, c. 58, 78-86; 8, c. 40-52].

It should be noted that the ancient Turkic title "Tegin" is written differently on the coins of Tokharistan in the form of *tk'yn* and *tkyn*, as in the coins of Chach Tegins (605-750) (see Fig. 1. 5-6) [7, c. 21; 8, c. 40-41, 48]. The spelling of the ancient Turkic title "Tarkhan" is consistent with the spelling of this title in the Persian and Turkic scripts based on the Sogdian and later Arabic scripts (t-r-x-a-n).

Other contramark inscriptions on the coins of Tokharistan: *δšcy*, *pyškw*, *k-'nc* or *k-c'n(?)* and a number of words are among the phrases that have not yet been fully clarified.

Features of the images (iconography)








The images on the first group of printed (countermarked) coins are almost identical to the images of the various rulers on the Sassanid coins minted in Iran in the early Middle Ages, many of which are close to the image on the Peroz drachma. The second group of double-portrait Tokharistan (Chaghanian?) coins is completely different from them. Their form of drawing - eyes and facial features, hairstyle closely resembles to those of ancient Turkic coins, which were minted in the 6th-8th centuries in Chach, Sogdia, Otrar and Bukhara: images of a crescent moon with slightly narrowed or almond-shaped eyes, round face, relatively long hair, star or sun above their heads [see. 12, c. 418; 8, c. 11, 14, 18-19, 30; 13, c. 70-75]. Although the tamgas on the coins minted almost simultaneously in these 5 reigns are different (Chach -  /  / ; Sogd - ; Otrar -  / ; Bukhara - ; Tokharistan - ) , images of both the ruler and princess are slightly narrow-eyed, round faced, reminiscent of ancient Turkic (see. Fig 1. 1, 4, 13-15). It is noteworthy that these coins, some belonging to the Western Turkic Qaghanate (especially the Chach and Sogdian coins) and some to dynasties indirectly related to the Qaghanate, depict the ruler with long hair and no beard, and thus close to written sources [14, 47-58].

However, there are some specific aspects of the images on the Tokharistan coins. Firstly, although the moustache shape of the male image on these coins is similar to the images on the Termez coins, unlike the Chach and Sogdian coins, the Tokharistan coin does not depict a woman in a triangular cap. With these and other aspects, it is clear that the images on these coins belong to the early medieval Tokharistan fine arts.

The images of the ruler in the third group, facing to the right, are quite different from the ancient Turkic coins of Chach, Ferghana and Sogd. In this type of Tokharistan coins, a slightly narrowed eye and a round face are almost invisible. The rulers are more curly-haired, with a pointed nose. With these and other aspects, these images are reminiscent of the early medieval Tokharistan art (see. Fig. 1. 16-17).

The issue of tamgas on the coins of Tokharistan

In 5 of the above series of coins, there are distinctive tamgas. They are as follows:

- 1)  , 2)  /  /  , 3)  , 4)  , 5) .

Interestingly, 3 of these tamgas are almost identical to the tamgas on coins minted in Chach by the Western Turkic Qaghanate in the 6th-8th centuries, and when they are compared, the following similarities are observed:

◇ / ◊, 𐰇 / 𐰈, 𐰉 / 𐰊, 𐰋 / 𐰌 (Chach) - 𐰍, 𐰎 (𐰏 / 𐰐), 𐰑, ↑ (Tokharistan).

In our article on the similarity of tamgas on the coins of Tokharistan and Chach, the similarity between the following tamgas of Chach 𐰇, 𐰈, 𐰉, 𐰋 / 𐰌, ◇ / ◊ and the following tamgas of Tokharistan 𐰍, 𐰎, 𐰏, 𐰐, ↑, 𐰑 was emphasized [9, c. 3-13; 10, p. 5-20]. As well as, it was mentioned that one of the tamgas in the form 𐰇 and one of its variations (𐰈) has a close resemblance to the Ferghana coins (𐰒) with the title “Qaghan” in ancient Turkic and Sogdian inscription and the tamga of one of the minor kingdoms of Sogd – Panch coins (𐰓/𐰔).

In addition, we compared coins of the Western Turkic Qaghanate minted in Chach with the image of a two-humped camel on the front, ◇ / ◊ tamga and the inscription *prn βyy x'γ'n* “divine Blessed (owner) Qaghan” script in Sogdian on the back with the Tokharistan, more precisely Chaghanian coins with a double image (ruler and princess) on the front, the words *prn xwβw* “divine ruler” in Sogdian script next to a tamga 𐰍 on the back. Therefore, we concluded that there was a connection between these coins.

Interestingly, the appearance of a tamga 𐰍 and a Bactrian script among the inscriptions on the Sassanid Iranian coins (*see. zeno.ru - #20913*) shows that the Chaghanian rulers, like other Turkic dynasty rulers in Tokharistan, sought to ensure that the Sassanid coin was circulated in their territory.

In this regard, it should be noted that E.V. Rtveladze’s research in recent years has emphasized that the tamgas 𐰍, 𐰎, 𐰏, 𐰐, ↑, 𐰑 on the coins of the Guftan (Western Surkhandarya) dominion of Tokharistan are associated with the Turkic Qaghanate and the Turkic dynasties in this country [4, c. 119].

All three of the above-mentioned domains – Chach, Ferghana and Panch – are known from written and numismatic materials to have been ruled by Turkic dynasties that originated from the ruling family of the Turkic Qaghanate – the Ashina dynasty or Turkic dynasties closely related to them [15, p. 364-372; 8, c. 3435; 16, s. 210211, 224225]. The presence of Turkic titles and similar tamgas on the coins of these dynasties has its own historical basis. Hence, the fact that most of the tamgas on the coins of Tokharistan are closely similar to the tamgas of these kingdoms is also connected with the fact that the country was ruled by Turkic dynasties at that time.

At least among them, 𐰇 tamgaed coins are associated with the Tokharistan Yabghu dynasty, and 𐰍 tamga is probably associated with one of the largest rulers in Tokharistan - Chaghaniyan.





The basis of our claim is the close resemblance of both tamgas to the coins of the Western Turkic Qaghanate (Chach) with the title “Qaghan”. At that time, Tokharistan was under the control of another branch of the Western Turkic Qaghanate – Yabghu dynasty. In Chaghanian, however, the dynasty which originated from the Qaghanate, was in power [17, 6. 3-10; 18, 6. 15-17].


Tamgas (𐰉) on the coins found in Vakhsh has also its historical foundations. Coins with the title of *tk'yn / tkyn* “Tegin” minted by Chach Tegins (605-750) in the 7th-8th centuries also have a tamga 𐰉 similar to the above 22-23 coins [*see. 8, c. 40- 44*]. This tamga is a slightly modified version of one of the tamgas (𐰇) on the coins of the Western Turkic Qaghanate (Chach) (*see. Fig. 1. 1-3, 5-6*) [19, c. 356-357].

The fact that most of the coins in this category are found in the lands of the historical Vakhsh (Tajikistan) dominion allows them to be associated with the Turkic dynasty that ruled the area before Islam.

It is also worth noting that these tamgas (𐰉, 𐰊) bear close resemblance to the tamgas (𐰒) on the coins with the “Qaghan” title in the ancient Turkic-runic and Sogdian scripts, belonging to the Ashina dynasty of Ferghana, another branch of the Western Turkic Qaghanate (*see. Fig. 1. 7-8*) [20, c. 136-146]. According to Chinese and Arabic sources, Vakhsh and the nearby small

dynasties such as Shuman and Aharun (*today*. Dushanbe) were ruled by the Turkic dynasty during this period [21, p. 177; 22, 6. 10-11].

The tamga  on the Tokharistan coins, more precisely on the coins of the Termez dynasty belonging to this region, bears some resemblance to the tamga ( / ) on the coins of the Western Turkic Qaghanate titled *trδw x'γ'n* “Tardu Qaghan” and the second tamga  of the mentioned coins of Panch dynasty. However, this resemblance must be coincidental.

The occurrence of *x'γ'n* the title “Qaghan” or *dšcy βγγ* “divine Dišči”/“Tish goddess” in Sogdian script and a tamga  (see. Fig. 1. 12-13) is associated with the Turgesh Qaghanate (699-766) as a number of researchers have pointed out.






According to written sources, the Turgesh, one of the allied clans of the Western Turkic Qaghanate, replaced the Western Turkic Qaghanate in the first quarter of the eighth century and became the head of the Chach, Sogd, Bukhara and Tokharistan domains in the 30ies of the same century, marched against the Arabs and came to Tokharistan [23, s. 324; 24, c. 165-168]. This means that the Turgesh qaghans, like the Western Turkic qaghans, put their own tamga on the coins to ensure that the Sassanian coin was used in their territory.

When Balkh was the center of the Tokharistan Yabghu dynasty, most of the coins depicted the words *ybgw bhlk'n* “Yabghu of Balkh / Bactria = Yabghu of Tokharistan” in the Pahlavi script [2, s. 182-183]. It should be noted that although R. Göbl, who first studied the coins in this category, did not associate them with the ancient Turks, most researchers have suggested that these coins belonged to the Tokharistan Yabghu dynasty [23, s. 348-350, n. 140; 25, p. 367-401].

Historical foundations of the placement of Old Turkic titles on the coins of Tokharistan

So what exactly do the numismatic findings above have to do with historical realities?

Of course, the appearance of Sogdian inscriptions and Turkic titles in more than 10 kinds of coins can't be a coincidence. The fact that most of these coins are found in the southern regions of present-day Uzbekistan, in what is now Surkhandarya region and its environs, which were once part of the historical land known as “Tokharistan” or “Northern Tokharistan”, indicates where they were in circulation.

However, if the ruler's images and symbols on the coins belonged to Sassanid Iran, which was known as a major political force in the Middle East in the early Middle Ages, if the inscriptions on the coins is almost identical to the Sogdian scripts on the coins of the Sogdian Confederation, Chach and Ferghana, the oasis states between the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya in pre-Islamic times - how can this situation be clarified? Moreover, the titles (“Qaghan”, “Tegin”, “Tarkhan”) and tamgas (, , , ) on these coins are associated with the ancient Turks, especially the Western Turkic Qaghanate! Besides, what is the basis of the fact that the tamgas on the coins of the central government of Tokharistan (Yabghu dynasty) and a number of other rulers of the country (Chaghanian, Termez, Vakhsh, etc.) are almost identical to the tamgas minted in the Chach oasis? What historical realities are such similarities related to? Also, what about the appearance of the Hephthalite tamga in the form  on some coins with Sogdian inscriptions? (See. Coin №26).

Before delving deeper into such issues, let's take a look at the opinions expressed by experts on Tokharistan coins.

According to B. Marshak, an expert on Sogdian history, “The tradition of forging Sogdian inscriptions on Sassanian coins in Tokharistan dates back to the establishment of the Turkic Qaghanate. Earlier, during the Hephthalite period, official records in Tokharistan were kept only in Bactrian script. During the Turkic Qaghanate, when the country was under the control of the Tokharistan Yabghu dynasties, in the seventh century, the Sogdian phrase “Tokhari” (meaning “belonging to Tokharistan”) began to be written [26, s. 174; 27, p. 245-267; 5, c. 122-127].

When the Turkic Qaghanate took control of the country (Tokharistan), they allowed the Sassanid coins to be in circulation or affixed their own tamgas on them, confirming that they had a

higher exchange rate. On the Peroz coins, there are Sogdian phrases in the form of “Tegin” (Prince of the Turkic Qaghanate) and “Dešči Baghi”. Sometimes both titles come together on the surface of a coin. *Dešči* may be the name given to Sogdian officials who served the Turkic Qaghanate” [26, s. 174].

In addition to Marshak’s views, it should be noted that countermark coins depicting Peroz and other Sassanid rulers were found mainly in the ruins of the historical city of Tokharistan and its environs during the Hephthalite (420-565) and Turkic Qaghanate (552-744) [11, c. 137-144]. A certain part of the printed inscriptions is in Bactrian script, and a significant part is in Sogdian script, and consists mainly of such titles as “Qaghan”, “Tegin” and “Tarkhan”. The question then arises: “These titles were used in both the Hephthalite state and the Turkic Qaghanate, so to which kingdom can the inscriptions on these coins be associated?” As mentioned above, B. Marshak’s view that the Sogdian inscription on Sassanid coins in Tokharistan dates back to the establishment of the Turkic Qaghanate, and that during the Hephthalite period, official inscriptions in Tokharistan were kept only in Bactrian script, seems to be true. However, while acknowledging that the question of whether the Hephthalites used the Sogdian script has not yet been fully resolved, it should be noted that the Turkic Qaghanate made extensive use of this script. This is evidenced by the epigraphic findings with Turkic titles in Sogdian script found in Chach, Ferghana and Otrar (middle stream of the Syr Darya) which were ruled by the Turkic dynasties associated with the Qaghanate and Orkhon (Mongolia), Semirech’e (Southeastern Kazakhstan - Central Kyrgyzstan) which were the central regions of the Qaghanate [6, 69-102; 28; 29, c. 80-83].

The Turkic Qaghanate (552-744), which included dozens of different language-speaking countries in Central Asia and its environs, occupied a vast area stretching from the Far East to the north of the Black Sea, from the Ural Mountains to Northern India and Khorasan during its political heyday, used mainly ancient Turkic-Runic and Sogdian scripts in stationery and correspondence.

Bugut (Mongolia - 581), Ili (East Turkestan - 599) stone inscriptions; the titles *zpyw* “Jabghu”, *cpyw x’γ’n* “Jabghu Qaghan” and *x’γ’n* “Qaghan”, *twrk x’γ’n* “Turkic Qaghan” and the names *trδw x’γ’n* “Tardu Qaghan” (576-603) and *tw’n cpyw x’γ’n* “Tun Jabghu-Qaghan” (618-630) (see. Fig. 1. 1-4) [30, c. 98-102; 8, c. 7] in the Western Turkic Qaghanate coins minted in Chach/Tashkent; the occurrence of Sogdian expressions in some Tokharistan coins indicate that Sogdian was one of the main official languages in the Qaghanate [7, c. 21-23]. The Sogdian script was used not only by the supreme rulers of the Turkic Qaghanate for coinage, perhaps the Turkic dynasties associated with the Qaghanate in the Amu Darya – Syr Darya region and the adjacent oasis administrations also minted their coins with this script. This is evidenced by the fact that the inscriptions *tk’yn* “Tegin”, *tδwn* “Tudun” on the coins of Chach Tegins and Chach Tuduns; *x’γ’n* “Qaghan” on the coins of Ashina dynasty of Ferghana; and *’δpw twtwx x’γ’n* “Alp-Qaghan Tutuk” on the coins of Otrar Tutuks (7th-8th centuries) are all in Sogdian script (see. Fig. 1. 5-9, 13-15) [1, 341, 391-393; 4, c. 58, 78-86; 12, c. 198; 8, c. 40-52; 13, c. 98-100].

It should be noted that the first word in the printed script, *dšcy βγγ* or *δγcy βγγ*, is associated by some researchers with “Desi” or “Tish”, which was known as a deity in the ancient peoples of Eastern Iran, while a number of researchers associate it with the ancient Persian-Turkic title of “vessel” (Aftabači). In our opinion, the first view is relatively accurate, and in the early Middle Ages the idea of a deity with such a name was relatively widespread among the people of Sogd and Tokharistan.

In fact, it seems more logical to equate the word *dšcy* with the ancient Turkic word “vessel”, but the absence of such a title as a specific title during the Turkic dynasty requires scepticism [31, p. 205-292; 32, 6. 34-35].

Even if the question arises as to whether “there was probably such a title in the system of titles of the Turkic Qaghanate, but like a number of titles, it was not reflected in the written sources of its time”, how can it be explained that such a title, which should have been much lower in the

administration of the Qaghanate by position, was supplemented by the epithet $\beta\gamma\gamma$ “divine, lord”, which was often used at that time for a high-ranking official - Qaghan?

It should be noted that this epithet is depicted before the highest title - the name of the Qaghan ($\beta\gamma\gamma$ twn $x'\gamma'n$ “Divine Tun (elder) Qaghan”) and the name of the ruler ($\beta\gamma\gamma$ twn $cp\gamma w$ $x'\gamma'n$ “Divine Tun Jabghu-Qaghan”) on the coins of Western Turkic Qaghanate minted in Chach. However, this epithet is not depicted before the titles “Tegin” and “Tudun” on the coins Chach Tegins (605-750) and Chach Tuduns (640-750), which are indirectly related to the Qaghanate (see. Fig. 1. 4-6).

This is also the case with the contramarked coins in Tokharistan. In the 3-4 coins mentioned above, the words $\beta\gamma\gamma$ $x'\gamma'n$ “divine / Lord qaghan” and $\delta\check{s}cy$ $\beta\gamma\gamma$ “divine Desi / Tish” are depicted; and the opposite is true of the “Tegin” title, which is on the same coin as them.

So, it is unlikely that at a time when the princes and nobles, who held high positions in the Qaghanate, could not use this epithet in their titles, some official - the “vessel” might use this epithet and reflect it on the coins, even place the phrase “divine” before their titles like qaghans. On the contrary, according to the traditions of the time, the names of gods and Goddesses were depicted on coins (for example, in the Sogdian coins nn / nny “Nana” [1, 48-49, 233-255]).

Most Chinese chronicles, partly other Byzantine, Arabic, and Persian sources, indicate that the Turkic Qaghanate in the 560s conquered the oasis kingdoms from the Amu Darya – Syr Darya to Tokharistan (Chach, Ferghana, Ustrushana, Sogdia, Bukhara, Khorezm), and subjugated the oasis of Tokharistan, Kabul and a large part of Khorasan in the 580s. [33, c. 229; 34, s. 624; 35, c. 100-101].

The Arab historian Dinawari wrote the Sassanid’s and the Turkic Qaghanate defeated Hephthalites and divided their territories. As a result, the Turks seized Chach, Ferghana, Sogdia and Bukhara, while the Sassanid’s took over Tokharistan (Chaghanian, etc.) and Kabul [36, p. 229; 37, p. 482-483].

Chinese chronicles also mention that the Turkic Qaghanate appointed a “Tegin” to Sogd in the 580s, sent a tegin to Tokharistan, by the help of who controlled the adjacent territories [38, s. 88].

Although Tokharistan became part of the Turkic Qaghanate in the 580s, it was not until about 40 years later that a dynasty directly related to the Qaghanate was formed. According to Chinese written sources (mainly chronicles and Xuanzang’s travelogue), a representative of the Ashina dynasty, who ruled Tokharistan in the 620s on behalf of the Qaghanate, had the title of “Yabghu”. In other Chinese chronicles, about 10 rulers who ruled the country from these years to 750 are mentioned as “Yabghu”. It can be seen that for 130 years - from 620 to 750, the Turkic Yabghu, a branch of the Ashina family, dominated the country.

Chinese monk Xuanzang, who passed through the territory of the Qaghanate in the 630s, mentions that *Tu-ho-lo* (Tokharistan) consisted of 27 large and small kingdoms, each of which had its own ruler, and all of them were subject to the Yabghu of Tokharistan. He writes that at that time the Tokharistan’s Yabghu was *Datu she* (Tardu-Šad), who was the son of the Western Turkic ruler Yabghu-Qaghan (i.e. Tun Yabghu-Qaghan). The information that he called himself “Yabghu of Tokhar” is given in the ancient Turkic (Uyghur) translation of Xuanzang’s travelogue as follows: “*toxri yavγu ... m(ä)n tip ät öz-in /aγ/itu (?) söz-lädi*” [39, c. 68, 202].

Other Chinese chronicles also state that *Tu-ho-lo* (Tokharistan) consisted of 27 minor dominations, residence of which were based in *Ho* (Kunduz), and that they were subordinated to a ruler of the Ashina dynasty, *She-hu* (Turk. *Yabghu*) [33, c. 321].

Arabic sources mention that at that time, Tokharistan, which consisted of semi-independent rulers such as Balkh, Termez, Chaghanian, Khuttal, Kumed, Vahan, Shughnan, Qobadian, Vakhsh, Shuman, Akharun, Karran, Rub, Samingan, Shuburgan, Guzgan, Badghis was ruled by the Turkic Yabghu [40, c. 124]. Although the inclusion of Tokharistan into the Qaghanate took place a little later than the others, in the 580s, the control here was quite different.

In particular, for the Qaghanate, whose center of political governance was in the distant Semirech'e, there was a need for a certain political association that would unite all the minor dominions in Tokharistan and keep them obedient.

Thus, the political centers of the former Hephthalites Kunduz and Balkh became the base cities of the Qaghanate, and the qaghans began to place their deputies here from the earliest years.

So, around 590, supreme ruler of Tardu Qaghan (576-603) sent his son titled Tegin to rule over Tokharistan. Later, in 620 Tun Yabghu-Qaghan appointed his son Tardu-Šad to govern the region. From that time on until 750, Tardu-Šad (620?-630), Tegin-Šad (630-645), Ishbara Yabghu (645-650), Ashina U-che-bo (653-660), Kun? Ishbara Yabghu (670-680 (?)), Nadunili (700-720), Qutlugh Tun Tardu (720-730), Suleyman? Qara (Chin. *Shi-li-man Ko-lo* – 750), controlled the region and it left its mark [33, c. 321-322; 36, p. 155-158; 25, p. 373; 41, s. 138-139].

The fact that unlike Chach and Ferghana, which at that time were ruled by dynasties directly related to the Ashina dynasty, the rulers of Tokharistan controlled with the title of “Yabghu” indicates that this land was of special importance to the Qaghanate. The emergence of dynasties associated with the Qaghanate in most of the existing small dominions in Tokharistan is probably related to this. In particular, Termez, Chaghanian, Balkh, Badghis, Khuttal, Vakhsh, Vakhsh, Shuman, Akharun, Kumed, Qobadian and others were ruled under Turkic dynasties [42, c. 227; 43, c. 30-31; 22, 6. 10-11].



Tokharistan must be associated with the representatives of the Ashina dynasty. Several of the qaghans of the Semirech'e, after being defeated in their mutual throne disputes, took refuge in this land or tried to take the land under their influence. For example, the aspirations of chief rulers such as Sir Yabghu-Qaghan son of Tun Yabghu-Qaghan (631-633), Yuquq Dulu-Qaghan (638-642), *Elbi Ishbara Yabghu-Qaghan (641-642) and Qapghan-Qaghan (691-716), to Tokharistan are reflected in written sources [33, c. 284-285, 287; 43, s. 64].

In Tokharistan, more precisely in North Tokharistan – Chaghanian, neighbouring areas – Termez (?) and others, the presence of ancient Turkic and Sogdian titles on Sogdian scripted coins minted in the 7th-8th centuries is directly related to the activities of the Turkic Qaghanate. Also, the proximity of Northern Tokharistan to the historical Sogdia region, especially its close proximity to Southern Sogdia such as Kesh (Shahrisabz) and Nakhshab (Karshi), was a peculiar bridge in the spread of the Sogdian language here. In our opinion, this was due to the spread of the Sogdian language throughout Central Asia during the Qaghanate, and the fact that it served as an official language in several governments, as well as the important role of the Sogdian administration in the trade and economic life of the Turkic Qaghanate. The fact that the Sogdian script and language were widespread not only in Mongolia and Semirech'e, where Turkic-runic script was predominant, but also in the middle streams of the Syr Darya, Ferghana and North Tokharistan coincides with the period of the Turkic Qaghanate.

The fact that the Sogdian language and script were widespread in non-Sogdian areas shows that this language served as the main language of the Qaghanate and also as a *lingua franca* in the regions from Merv to Northern China and Mongolia. Bactrian language and script - one of the eastern Iranian languages based on the Greek alphabet, were used as an administrative language in the territory of Tokharistan during the Kushan Empire. The spread of the Sogdian script here was due to the annexation of these territories to the territory of the Qaghanate.

Conclusion

A significant part of the Tokharistan coins with Sogdian script is directly related to the Western Turkic Qaghanate (568-740) and a small part to the Turgesh Qaghanate (699-766). Also, most of the coins in this category belong to the Turkic and non-Turkic dynasties associated with the Qaghanate in Tokharistan. If the Sasanian coins bear the title “Qaghan” belong to the Western Turkic and Turgesh Qaghanates, coins with the titles “Qaghan” and “Tegin” are probably associated with the first rulers of the Qaghanate in Tokharistan (580-620) and the Tokharistan Yabghu (620-750), whose origins go back to the Ashina dynasty. It is also appropriate to associate the Tokharistan

coins, some of which have the  type of tamga, and some of which have the title of “Qaghan”, with the Yabghu dynasty. This means that the Yabghu of Tokharistan, whose origins go back to the Western Turkic Qaghanate, put this tamga on their coins, which can be called the “Ashina tamga”. At this point, we can say that when they minted their coins, they reflected the main title of the Western Turkic qaghans, or printed coins on their behalf, and in some cases were limited to a single tamga () , not a title. In addition, it is appropriate to connect the coins, some of which were minted with the title “Tegin” and some with the titles “Tegin” and “Tarkhan”, with the activities of the first rulers (Tegin) of the Qaghanate in Tokharistan and their assistants (Tarkhans).

To associate the rest of the Tokharistan coins with Turkic titles in Sogdian script and tamgas with the rulers of Chaghanian, Termez, Vakhsh, Qobadian and others, we rely on the fact that these coins bear close resemblance to the tamgas on the old Turkic coins minted in Chach, Fergana, and Sogd (Panch), and that Chinese, Arabic, and Persian sources state that most of them were ruled by Turkic dynasties.

This means, the Turkic Qaghanate, which initially founded its state in the Altai Mountains and the Orkhon (Mongolian) Plains and later extended its rule to such settled lands as Eastern Turkestan, the Amu Darya-Syr Darya, Khorasan, and North India, established coinage in contrast to several previous nomadic state associations. In doing so, it became acquainted with the Sogdian, Bactrian, Indian, and Pahlavi scripts, in addition to his own national script - the ancient Turkic runic. This is especially evident in the fact that the Sogdian script and language had an official status in the Qaghanate. This is also presented by the briefly above introduced Turkic coins of Tokharistan with the Sogdian inscription.

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Көне түркі титулдары таңбаланған Тохарстан теңгелері

Аннотация. Теңгелерде нақышталған таңбалар мен титулдар билеуші әулеттер мен олар негізін қалаған мемлекеттердің рәмізі болып, олардың билік құрған аумағымен және шыққан тегімен (этностық тиістілігімен) байланыстырылады. Бұл ретте Тохарстан аймағынан (Оңтүстік Өзбекстан – Оңтүстік Тәжікстан – Солтүстік Ауғанстан) табылған, соғды жазуы бар, исламға дейінгі түркі теңгелеріндегі көне түркі таңбалары мен титулдары ерекше қызығушылық тудырады. Батыс түркі қағанатына жататын (568-740) ерте ортағасырлық Шаш теңгелерінде таңбаның төрт түрі кездеседі: әртүрлі сипаттағы лира бейнелі таңбалар, айқасқан екі қылыш пішініндегі таңбалар, зәкір үлгісіндегі таңбалар және ромб тәрізді таңбалар; сондай-ақ, осыған ұқсас таңбалар сол дәуірдегі Солтүстік Тохарстан теңгелерінде кертiлгенi де байқалады. Шаш пен Тохарстан аумағында бұл таңбалар мен титулдардың ерте орта ғасырларда пайда болуы Батыс түркі қағанатының саяси іс-әрекетімен және Орталық Азияда жүзеге асқан этномәдени үдерістермен тығыз байланысты.

Кілт сөздер: Орталық Азия, Трансоксиана, Тохарстан, исламға дейінгі кезең, теңгелер, түркі қағанаты, соғды әліпбиі, көне түркі титулдары, таңбалар, әулеттер.

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Монеты Тохаристана с древнетюркскими титулами

Аннотация. Знаки и титулы тамги, выгравированные на монетах, представляли собой символы правящих династий и государств, которые они основали, и были связаны как с территорией, на которой они правили, так и с их происхождением (этнической принадлежностью). В этом отношении особый интерес представляют древнетюркские тамги и титулы («каган», «ябгу», «тегин», «тархан»), имеющиеся на доисламских тюркских монетах области Тохаристана (Южный Узбекистан - Южный Таджикистан - Северный Афганистан) с согдийскими письменами. На раннесредневековых монетах Чача, относящихся к Западно-Тюркскому каганату, есть четыре типа тамг - лираобразная с ее разновидностями, тамга в форме двух скрещенных мечей, тамга в форме якоря и ромбовидная тамга, а также замечен тот факт, что аналогичные тамги были выгравированы на монетах Северного Тохаристана той эпохи. Появление этих тамг и титулов на территории Чача и Тохаристана в раннем средневековье напрямую связано с политической деятельностью Западно-Тюркского каганата и этнокультурными процессами, происходившими в Центральной Азии.

Ключевые слова: Центральная Азия, Трансоксиана, Тохаристан, доисламский период, монеты, тюркский каганат, согдийский алфавит, древнетюркские титулы, тамги, династии.

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