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To the Question of the Origin of the Samanids К ВОПРОСУ О ПРОИСХОЖДЕНИИ БАХРАМА ЧУБИНА

Shamsiddin S. Kamoliddin*

Part 1. Bahram Chubin

Introduction

In the medieval history of Central Asia, as it is known, an important place had the Samanids dynasty, the numerous representatives of whom ruled during 9th – 10th centuries in the capital city of Bukhara and other cities and regions of Khorasan and Ma wara' an-nahr.¹ There are many historical data on the reign of the Samanids in textual sources, related political and economical situation, cultural life of that period. However, on the origin of the dynasty there are not so much details and remained very scanty and discrepant information. Although origin of the Samanids till now is surrounded by uncertainty², among large part of researchers dominated opinion that the Samanids dynasty was of the Persian origin³ and related to the Sasanids dynasty⁴, and this reflected in the works of other researchers⁵ and almost in all encyclopaedic editions.⁶ Therefore, determination of true and real origin of the Samanids is one of the most actual problems, both for the historical science of Uzbekistan and world oriental studies.

Information about the Samanids is available almost in all of the Arabic and Persian textual sources on the history of Central Asia of the pre-Mongol period⁷. There are many valuable data about the Samanids in the historical geographical and biographical works of the 10th – 12th centuries⁸, and other textual sources.⁹ There is information about existence of special work, devoted to the history of the Samanids dynasty – “Ta’rikh-i Al-i Saman” (The History of the House of Saman), but it is not preserved.¹⁰ Some important data about the Samanids is available in some of sources of the post-Mongol period. Many of them have great value, because they received from early sources, which are not remained.¹¹ There is a special work of Mirkh^wand, which was devoted to the history of the Samanids.¹² The valuable data about the Samanids dynasty

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present also rich numismatics of the Samanids, which are being documental sources, give many additions and corrections of information written in textual sources.

The ancestor of the dynasty Saman-Khudat for the first time appeared in the political arena of the Arabic Caliphate in early 8th century, when he arrived from Balkh to Marw to the court of the Arab governor of Khorasan Asad ibn ‘Abd Allah al-Qasri (al-Qushayri)¹³, adopted Islam under his patronage and named his son Asad in his honour. Later he took part with his son in the movement of Abu Muslim in Khorasan.¹⁴ His son Asad adopted Islam, may be for the second time, under the patronage of the Caliph al-Ma’mun¹⁵, while his residence was in Marw. The grandsons of Saman-Khudat, the sons of Asad – Nuh, Ahmad, Yahya and Ilyas took part in suppression of the revolt of Rafi‘ ibn al-Layth in Ma wara’ an-nahr.¹⁶ For that service al-Ma’mun before his departure from Marw to Baghdad ordered to appoint them as rulers of some regions – Samarqand, Ferghana, Shash, Ustrushana and Hirat.¹⁷

The family name of the Samanids dynasty was connected with name or title of their ancestor – Saman-Khudat, who was founder and owner of the settlement named Saman, situated, according to sources, in the region of Balkh¹⁸, or Samarqand¹⁹ or Tirmidh.²⁰ According to the folk tradition, origin of the Samanids connected with the village Somon-Burun (Sol-Burun) situated in the region of Balkh in the South-West of Dawlatabad²¹, or with the village Samangan, situated nearby of Tash-Kurgan.²² In medieval times settlements named “Saman” mentioned also in the regions of Bukhara, Rey²³, Isfahan²⁴, in province of Khuttalan²⁵ and even in India.²⁶ The abovementioned data show that place-name “Saman” was widely spread in medieval times, as inside of Central Asia, as outside of it.²⁷

Bahram Chubin

There is different information related the question of the origin of Saman-Khudat. According to some sources²⁸, he was descendant of the Sasanid *shahanshah* Bahram V Gur²⁹ or Khusraw I Anushirwan.³⁰ However, the most part of sources derive his origin from the Sasanids commander Bahram Chubin (second half of the 6th century)³¹, who was general of the Sasanid *shahanshah* Hurmasd IV (reigned in 579 – 590), and firstly was the *marzban* of Armenia and Azerbaydjan³², then of Rey and Khorasan.³³ There is also information that Bahram Chubin was the Turk of origin and originated from the Oghuz tribe, who were in the service of the Sasanids.³⁴

After the well-known victory of Bahram Chubin over the army of the Turks and Hephtalits in 588³⁵ Hurmazd³⁶ IV presented him Balkh city and all of Khorasan.³⁷ After Chol-Khaqan’s³⁸ murder his son Yil-Tigin³⁹ took cover in the fortress of Paykand.⁴⁰ Bahram Chubin lay siege to the fortress and forced him to surrender at discretion, and captured a great booty. However, he sent Hurmazd only a part of it, and the rest appropriated for himself. This provoked the anger of the *shahanshah* and he wiped him off his post.⁴¹ According to the Byzantine sources, after victory over the Turks Bahram Chubin leaved to Caucasus, where he was at war with the Byzantine army. In this war Bahram Chubin suffered defeat, and after that has been wiped off his post.⁴² However, Bahram Chubin refused to submit to Hurmazd and excited revolt against him in 590 in

Balkh.⁴³ Earlier he made treaty with the Turks and included into his army troops of Turkic volunteers. Then he set out with united army to Ktesifon, the capital of the Sasanids.⁴⁴ He supported also by most part of the local population.⁴⁵ Meanwhile the Persian aristocracy deposed Hurmazd IV and elevated to the throne his son Khusraw II Parwiz. Bahram Chubin entered with his army to Ktesifon and declared himself as *shahahshah*. He claimed that the Sasanids usurped throne of the Arsacids, and now he was reestablishing their right.⁴⁶ Khusraw II Parwiz leaved his capital and escaped to Byzantium to the court of the emperor Maurikius. After usurpation of the Sasanids power Bahram Chubin reigned during one or two years and minted some coins with his portret.⁴⁷ In 591 the united army of the Sasanids, supported by the Byzantine, Armenian and Georgian troops defeated Bahram Chubin near the river of Balarat in Armenia. Later he forced to escape from Iran to the land of the Turks and settled in Ferghana.⁴⁸ He became friend and adviser of the Turkic *khaqan* Barmuda⁴⁹ and married his daughter.⁵⁰ However, after some time he murdered by hired assassin sent by Khusraw II Parwiz.⁵¹

There is opinion that in all of this history the question is not about the Turkic *qaghan*, but about the Hephtalit ruler of Balkh, who had the Bactrian title *šawa* (king), and his son, who had the title *pariowk* (*parmowk*), the descendants of whom were the holders of the Nawbahar temple in Balkh – the Barmakids.⁵² In such case, Sawa-Shah and Chol-Khaqan, as Barmuda and Yil-Tigin, should be different persons, who were at war together against the Sasanids. If we will take into account that after defeat of the Hephtalits and the Turks in 590 the great part of Tokharistan occupied by the Sasanids' troops, Bahram Chubin could escape from the pursuit of them only outside of that country, more likely, to the North⁵³, i.e. to the “khaqan of Chin” of Firdawsi.⁵⁴ In our opinion, the new relative ties of Bahram Chubin, more likely, connected with Ferghana, where later lived his descendants, who considered themselves as “holders of royal blood”⁵⁵, and pretended to supreme power in the Sasanids' Iran.⁵⁶

These are all information about life and activity of Bahram Chubin, which are available in early medieval Byzantine, Armenian, Pahlawi, Arab-Islamic and other textual sources.

Arsakids

It is known, that Bahram Chubin pretended to be a descendant of the Arsakids from the noble Parthian family Mihran⁵⁷, and had second name Mihrbandak,⁵⁸ i.e. “slave of Mihr” (in the Armenian sources – Mihrevandak⁵⁹). According to another data, he was descendant of Bahram IV Kirman-Shah.⁶⁰ Bahram Chubin was son of Bahram Gushnasp⁶¹ (Jushanas⁶², Jushnas⁶³, Jashnas⁶⁴, or Hasis, son of Kuzak⁶⁵), who was *marzban* of Azarbaydjan⁶⁶ during the reign of Khusraw I Anushirwan (reigned in 531 – 579).

According to Byzantine sources, Varam, son of Bargusna (i.e. Bahram Chubin) originated from Razaken (Rey), from the house of Mirram (Mihran) of the Arsakid family. In the beginning of his career he served in the detachment of royal bodyguards of *shahanshah*, later he commanded group of horse cavalry, and took part in military

campaigns of Khusraw I Anushirwan to Babylon and Armenia. He became famous because of his feats of arms at war. Then he appointed as general commander of the Persian army and honored by high title “*darigbedum* of the king’s table”.⁶⁷

Origin of the Parthian Arsakids connected with nomadic tribes belonged to circle of the Skith tribes⁶⁸ known by common name *Dahae*.⁶⁹ The *Dahae* tribes mentioned also in ancient Persian inscriptions as one of tribes of the *Saka* confederation inhabited in the basin of Lower Sir-Darya River and in the 3rd century BC moved to the South to the Parthian borders.⁷⁰ According to Greek sources, Arsak was man of poor origin and professed robbery.⁷¹ Then he became leader of the nomadic tribe named *Parn*, which was part of the *Dahae* confederation. This tribe roamed along the Okh River identified with modern Tedjen River in the South of Turkmenistan⁷², or with dry channel of Kalif Uzboy.⁷³ In the 3rd quarter of the 3rd century BC the *Parns* united under their command some of other nomadic tribes, seized power in Parthia, mixed with local sedentary population and accepted ethnic name of the Parthians.⁷⁴ There is opinion, that *Parn* is not ethnic name, but social term, and firstly meant certain age group of young not married warriors.⁷⁵ After coming to power in Parthia the Arsakids did not interrupt their ties with nomadic steppe, but on contrary, actively maintained close contacts with nomads by way of political treaties and marriages, more over, some of the Arsakids were emphasized their origin from the nomadic tribes.⁷⁶ On the coins of the Arsakids more often described sitting man in cloth of nomad, holding a bow in his stretched right hand.⁷⁷ The process of formation of states in zones of close interaction of nomads and sedentary population always was proceeded by active participation of nomads, who usually formed base of military forces of those states.⁷⁸

According to Sebeos, Arsak was “son of the king of the T’etal (i.e. Hephtal) people in Bahl-Shahastan in country of the Kushans, and all of the peoples of the East and North submitted him”.⁷⁹ The same author in another place mentioned “the king of the T’etal people” and meant the Turkic *qaghan*, who was at war against Bahram Chubin.⁸⁰ Armenian sources testify existence of not only the Iranian and Armenian Arsakids, but also the Kushan and Massaget Arsakids.⁸¹ Toponymic materials of the Antic sources allow to suppose that fall of the Greco-Makedonian conquerors power was accompanied by penetration into the territory of Central Asia, Iran and Caucasus of the nomads, some part of whom were Turkic speaking tribes.⁸²

Data of Armenian sources show that the Kushans, Chionits and Hephtalits were tribes relative to each other, and before they were a part of “the great Saka Horde” – the Massagets, who were on early stages of their ethnogenesis mixed with Hunn tribes.⁸³ According to later sources, the Saka-Parthian tribes were genetically close to circle of the Kushan nomadic tribes.⁸⁴ Basing on the abovementioned data, it might be supposed, that among the tribes, which were a part of the confederation of the nomadic ancestors of the Arsakids, without a doubt, could be the Turkic tribes. There is opinion, that the Parthians (*parth* – *pard*) firstly were the Turks, who later mixed with the Iranian population of Central and Front Asia. The ethnonym *parth/pard/bard* etymologized from the ancient Turkic word meant “rich” and remained until now in the toponymy of Caucasus (Barda) and the basin of Kama River (Bardim).⁸⁵ According

to Firdawsi, Bahram Chubin was ruler of Barda and Ardabil.⁸⁶ In medieval times mentioned a town named Barda‘a⁸⁷, and a mountain named Arsak in Azarbaidjan.⁸⁸

In this case should be marked, that the meaning of the social term *Parn* corresponds with supposed original meanings of the term *Turk*⁸⁹, which originated from the word *tur-kun* (*tar-qan*) with the meaning “age class of young not married warriors”.⁹⁰ In such case, the term *Parn* might be Iranian calque of the Turkic social term *Turk*. The name of Arsak etymologized as *kh^war* (sun) and Saka (tribe), i.e. “sun of the Saka”.⁹¹ For the word *sak* (*saka*) supposed etymology from the ancient Iranian verb *sak* – “to go, flow, run”, and from it: *saka* – “running, swift, vagrant, nomadic”.⁹² Basing on the above mentioned data, for these two words might be supposed also another etymology: for the first one – from the Turkic word *ar* – “man”⁹³, and for the second one – from the Turkic verb *sak* (*saq*) – “to awake, guard”, and on its base *sak* – “awake, alert” and *sakči* – guard, guardian”⁹⁴. In such case, the name Arsak might mean “head (leader) of the Saka”, i.e. the tribes, which were guarding the borders of the Akhemenids Empire.⁹⁵

Balkh

Thus, the Parthian ancestors of Bahram Chubin in origin were descendants of the Central Asian nomads⁹⁶, but after fall of the Greco-Makedonian power the city of Pahl or Bahl (Balkh) became for them patrimony land. From Balkh were originated most part of the Parthian families from branch of the Kushanian Arsakids, including the family of Mihran, from which originated Bahram Chubin.⁹⁷ According to Mowes Khorenatsi, the first Parthian king Arsak resided namely in Bahl (Balkh), therefore his descendants settled in this city named Pahlaw or Pahlawuni: Karen Pahlaw, Suren Pahlaw, Ispahpat Pahlaw and others.⁹⁸ Sebeos also marked, that Balkh was the first capital city of Arsak⁹⁹ Later Balkh (Bactra) became capital of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. In the reign of the Kushans, according to the numismatic data, the Western Bactria entered to the sphere of influence of Parthia.¹⁰⁰ In the 5th century Balkh captured by the Chionites and Hephtalits. When the Sasanid *shahanshah* Ardashir escaped to India, he promised to return for the Arsakids their homeland named Pahlaw, their capital city Bahl and the whole country of the Kushans.¹⁰¹ The Chinese pilgrim Suang-Tsang, who visited Balkh in the 7th century, named it “small royal city”.¹⁰²

With the city of Balkh connected one of the ancestors of Bahram Chubin, named Milad, who was one of the Iranian heroes and athletes. He appointed as head of the kingdom while the king Kay-Kawus departed for a war from Balkh to Mazandaran.¹⁰³ In the Tibetan document of the 8th century mentioned descendants of Bahram Chubin, who lived in Balkh.¹⁰⁴ In medieval times with the name of Bahram Chubin connected some of settlements in the region of Balkh. So, in the 12th century in the region of Balkh mentioned village named Chubinabad¹⁰⁵, and in the 10th century – village named Chubin situated on the way from Andkhud to Faryab in Guzganan.¹⁰⁶ It is possible that these settlements, or one of them, was patrimony land property of Bahram Chubin. In the 17th century in the region of Balkh mentioned village named Chuba-Yuzi, which irrigated by the channel Nahr-i Qut.¹⁰⁷

According to Pahlawi sources, Spandiat, son of Vishtasp, established in Bahl (Balkh) the flashing capital Nawazak and put there wonderful fire of Vahram.¹⁰⁸ It is possible that “the flashing capital Nawazak with wonderful fire of Vahram” was the Buddhist religious center Nawbahar situated in the environs of Balkh city, which turned by the Sasanids to the Zoroastrian temple.¹⁰⁹ Hereditary owners of Nawbahar and all of land properties belonged to this temple, as known, were the Barmakids, who owned large territory surrounding the Nawbahar monastery. They also were owners of large agricultural area (*rustaq*) named Rawan in Tokharistan.¹¹⁰ According to some data, the Barmakids were of the same origin as the Samanids.¹¹¹ The above mentioned data allow to suppose that after coming to power of the ‘Abbasids and beginning of the process of partial restoration of pre-Islamic law system the ancestor of the Samanids arrived from Ferghana to Balkh for presenting his rights on his part of property, which belonged before Islam to the family of Bahram Chubin¹¹².

Thus, the abovementioned data testify that Balkh city was homeland and capital of the Arsakids, and the last period of Bahram Chubin’s life in the Sasanids Empire connected with this city.

The Sasanids and the Turks

The Sasanids, as the Parthians, widely used military forces of neighbor “barbarian” tribes. There is some information about the Turks took part in military campaigns of the Akhemenids against their enemies.¹¹³ In the 4th century the Sasanids used the Chionits in the war against Byzantium. In 502 the *shah* Kavad united with the Hephtalits troops launched again campaign against Byzantium, and in 503 the Hephtalits were at war in the Caucasus against the Hunns. In 527 – 532 the Sasanids used the *Savir* tribes in the war against Byzantium. Khusraw I Anushirwan widely practiced also settlements of warlike tribes on the borders of the empire for making permanent covering forces against the nomads.¹¹⁴ One of the close people to Khusraw I Anushirwan in his court was Katulf, the Hephtalit of origin.¹¹⁵

It is known that Khusraw I Anushirwan married daughter of the Turkic *qaghan* named in Armenian sources as Kayen¹¹⁶ and in Persian sources – Qaqim-Khaqan¹¹⁷, who identified with Istami-Qaghan Dizavul.¹¹⁸ The same *qaghan* mentioned by Rashid al-Din as Kukem Yavkui¹¹⁹, by Abu-l-Ghazi – Kukem Bakui¹²⁰, and by at-Tabari – Sir Yabghu.¹²¹ Anushirwan unlike his predecessors refused ideas of religious fanaticism of prevailing orthodox Zoroastrianism, and hold policy of tolerance to the Christians¹²², followers of Mazdak and other religious trends. Besides, he was known by his enlightenment activity and made much efforts for development of secular science and culture.¹²³ Thanks to all these deserts he named Anushirwan “the Just” and “of Immortal Spirit”.¹²⁴ His successor on the Sasanids throne the Crown prince Hurmazd IV was in half the Turk, therefore he called “Turkzada”. He hold ruthless struggle against the Iranian aristocracy and priests, and peaceful policy regarding to the Christians and leaned on the people¹²⁵, great part of whom were the Hephtalits, Turks and other non-Persian peoples. Marriage of the Turkic princess and the Sasanid *shah* was mutually beneficial political step. The Sasanids were interested in such union for

having an ally against the Hephtalits, and the Turks – for making influence on the policy of the Sasanids. There is an opinion, that namely to that the supreme Turkic *qaghan*, who was relative of the Sasanids *shah*, goes back the genealogy of the Samanids dynasty¹²⁶, which in some sources goes back to Khusraw I Anushirwan too.¹²⁷ In early 9th century was known Arabic poet named Ishaq ibn Hassan al-Khurrami (died in 200/815-16) originated from Soghd, and he wrote in verses, that his father's name was Sasan, and Khusraw ibn Hurmazd (i.e. Khusraw II Parviz) and Khaqan were his cousins.¹²⁸

There are some indications that in the reign of Khusraw I Anushirwan certain period of time¹²⁹ were close relations between Iran and the Turks. So, Ibn Khordadbeh gave a legend, according to which, Khusraw built the cities Balandjar and Samandar in the lands of the Khazar Qaghanate.¹³⁰ Bahram Chubin also mentioned as founder of some cities in the lands of the Turks. According to a legend, Bahram Chubin established city named Sarir al-Dhahab (The Golden Throne), which was capital of the Turkic *qaghan*. The city situated in the Khazar's steppe in the North of Bab al-Abwab (Darband) and in later medieval times known as Saray Batu.¹³¹ Another legend attached him foundation of the city of Sarwast.¹³² These data allow for supposing that Bahram Chubin after his flight from Iran resided in the land of the Turks for a long time before he murdered by hired assassin. However, it would be happened not later than early 7th century, because he is not mentioned in 611, when the Turkic Jik (Zik, Shikh)-Qaghan, who came to the power, joined with the Hephtalits and gained great victory over the Sasanids, and occupied whole Eastern part of Iran till Rey and Isfahan.¹³³ Although later the Turks drew off their troops back to Amu-Darya River, they kept great role in subsequent history of the Sasanids Empire.¹³⁴ According to Chinese sources, murder of Khusraw II Parwiz (Ko-su-ho) and elevation to the throne of his son Shiruye (Se-li) provoked by Tun Yabghu-Qaghan.¹³⁵ Later the Sasanids *shahanshahs* became dirigible in hands of the Turkic *qaghans*.¹³⁶ In 629 after reign of Shiruye and his son Ardashir on the Sasanids throne had been elevated Khusraw Kharkhan (Kharmaz), son of Arslan, son of Boyunchur, who was one of the descendants of the Sasanids resided in the country of the Turks.¹³⁷

According to a legend, Khusraw I Anushirwan also founded a city in Ferghana, settled there people – one person from each house, and named that city “Har khane”.¹³⁸ The same legend given also in the complete version of Ibn al-Faqih's book¹³⁹, and in the late sources.¹⁴⁰ Stability of this legend indicates that in the reign of Khusraw I Anushirwan's really might be founded a colony of the Persians in Ferghana and settlement of certain part of the Iranian population. This supposition testified by information of at-Tabari, according to which Khusraw I Anushirwan after concluding a treaty with the Turks began military campaign against the Hephtalits¹⁴¹ and reached Ferghana, where settled his army.¹⁴² With Ferghana connected last period of Bahram Chubin's life after his flight to the Turks.¹⁴³

The last Sasanid *shahanshah* Yazdagird III (reigned in 632 – 651), who escaped from the Arabs, also settled in Ferghana¹⁴⁴. There is information in the additions of Bal'ami to the “History” of at-Tabari, that in 31/651 the Caliph ‘Uthman ibn ‘Affan

(reigned in 23 – 35/644 – 656) sent to Khorasan ‘Umar ibn ‘Uthman, who passed over Jayhun River and arrived to Ferghana. It is supposed that it was the first reconnaissance campaign of the Arabs aimed to find Yazdagird III there.¹⁴⁵ In early 8th century mentioned the Persians (‘Adjam)¹⁴⁶ lived in Ferghana and the land of the Turks¹⁴⁷. From the midst of the Persian settlers, probably, originated descendant of the Sasanids named Khusraw Harkhan (Harmaz), son of Arslan, son of Boyunchur, who lived in the country of the Turks, and in 629 with aid of the Arabs had been elevated to the throne of the Sasanids after Shiruie and his son Ardashir.¹⁴⁸

Chubin – Karga

It was supposed, that the second name of Bahram Chubin – “Chubin” or “Chubina” (Chobin, Chopin, Chupin, Jubin, Shubin, Chuba)¹⁴⁹, in Pahlawi of later Sasanids time had a meaning of “raven” (or crow)¹⁵⁰, and it was nickname of Bahram in the court slang of *shahanshah* Hurmazd IV (reigned in 576 – 590).¹⁵¹ In the geographical treatise of the second half of the 8th century, which was translated to Tibetan, among the Turkic tribes and peoples lived at that time in Central Asia mentioned the tribe named *gar-rga-pur*, which neighbored with the tribes *yan-ti* (the Kushans) and *he-bdal* (the Hephtalits).¹⁵² Judging to all data, in this text, more likely, the question is about peoples, who lived in Tokharistan, which was at that time a part of the Western Turkic Qaghanate. There is opinion, that the ethnonym *gar-rga pur* consists from two words: Turkic *gar-rga* (a raven)¹⁵³ and Persian *pur* (son), and first of them is calque of the Pahlawi word *chubin* (raven). It was name of the descendants of Bahram Chubin, who lived in Balkh, given them by the Turks.¹⁵⁴

Raven is central personage in the mythological images of the peoples of Siberia and Indians of the North America, where it appears as super ancestor, cultural hero or mighty *shaman*. In mythological images of peoples of the Middle East, North Africa, Europe and India in contrary raven represents as demonic personage and personifies misfortune and evil omen.¹⁵⁵ In the Sasanids Persia image of raven used often as symbol of hostile strangers.¹⁵⁶ For ancient Turks raven was symbol of rising Sun, which together with blue Sky personified the supreme God named Tangri.¹⁵⁷ Name, which appears raven could be given to such person as Bahram Chubin¹⁵⁸ only among people, in whose images this bird appeared as positive hero.¹⁵⁹

It is possible also that nickname of Bahram Chubin reflected his tribal belonging to abovementioned tribe of *kar-rga* (*karga*). One of Bahram Chubin’s ancestors named Chubin, son of Milad. He originated from the family of Anush¹⁶⁰ known as Ram.¹⁶¹ Consequently, “Chubin” might be family name of Bahram Chubin, which was Persian calque of his Turkic original “Karga”. The same Chubin, son of Milad, who was ancestor of Bahram Chubin in the 19th generation, in other sources named Kargin¹⁶², Kargin, son of Milad¹⁶³ and Gargin, son of Milad.¹⁶⁴ Gargin, son of Milad, had mentioned in “Shahnama” of Firdawsi among the knights and commanders of ancient Iranian king Kay-Kawus¹⁶⁵, and characterized as martial, brave, tried and tested in battles, fearless and proud hero¹⁶⁶, although he perpetrated treachery and betrayed his companion in arms to Afrasiab.¹⁶⁷ His father Milad also was one of the Iranian heroes

and athletes, he appointed as head of the kingdom while the king Kay-Kawus departed for a war from Balkh to Mazandaran.¹⁶⁸

There is opinion, that the name Gargin (Kargin, Karkin) originated from the Persian word *gurg* (a wolf), with which also connected name of the Iranian district of Gurgan.¹⁶⁹ However, writing of that name in some Persian sources (Karkin, Kargin) allows for supposing that it is namely the word *karga* or *kargin* with meanings of “raven” and “crow”, which might be original Turkic name or nickname of its holder, and later it was calqued by the Persians to *chubin* (*a*).¹⁷⁰ In ‘Shahnama’ of Firdawsi mentioned also commander named Karkuy, who was son of Salm with daughter of Zakhak.¹⁷¹ However, had he any relation to Bahram Chubin is not known, it is a question, which should be researched.

There is another opinion that origin of Bahram Chubin connected with some Turkic tribes of Central Asia.¹⁷² Among medieval nomadic tribes of Oghuz mentioned tribe (*el*) named Karkin (Qarqin).¹⁷³ Qarqin was name of legendary ancestor of the Oghuz tribes, who was, according to his genealogy, the fourth son of Yulduz-Khan, third son of Oghuz-khan¹⁷⁴, and name of another ruler of the Oghuz tribes – Qarqin Qonaq Alp.¹⁷⁵ According to a legend, name of Qarqin had a meaning “man, who satisfied a hunger of the people” or “hospitable”. His *ongon*, i.e. holy bird¹⁷⁶, was hawk or water eagle (*su berkuti*).¹⁷⁷ According to Persian dictionaries, name of Chubinak means “water bird” (*murgh-i obi*) or “bird of river” (*murgh-i daryoi*).¹⁷⁸ It seems that such coincidence of meanings of these names (Karkin and Chubinak) is not accidental, and it is very probable that one of them is calque of another.

This *ongon* (or totem) compared with sacred image of Burkut-Baba, in which interweaved features of ancient agricultural and shamanist deities. According to mythology of the Turks, Burkut-Baba was “master” of rain and drive on clouds with his lash, because of that occur thunder and lighting, which usually precede a rain.¹⁷⁹ This bird related with water or rain and is *ongon* of the Turkic tribe, might be also a crane, which lives in bogs and reservoirs, which are neighbor with agricultural lands.¹⁸⁰ According to folk tradition, the word *chubina* means namely “crane”.¹⁸¹ The Turkmens not long ago had a custom to sacrifice in dry years a kid for patron of rain Burkut-Ata identified with sacred image of “master of rain” – a grandfather, i.e. sacred ancestor Dede Korkut.¹⁸²

Basing on the abovementioned data, it seems to me that ancestors of Bahram Chubin were relatives with one of the Turkic tribes of Central Asia, *ongon* (totem) of whom was a bird – raven (crow), water eagle or a crane.¹⁸³ This tribe could be in ancient times part of tribal confederation of the Parthian Arsakids¹⁸⁴, and later like the Chionits, Kidarits, Hephtalits and Turks¹⁸⁵, was in the service of the early Sasanids¹⁸⁶ and later representatives of this dynasty.¹⁸⁷

Name of the Turkic family or tribe named Karga remained also in the historical and modern toponymy of Central Asia. So, in medieval times the settlement Kargali-Ilik mentioned in Khorasan.¹⁸⁸ Among Turkic tribes included into the Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, Bashkirs and other Turkic peoples, mentioned ethnonyms *kargin*¹⁸⁹, *kargar*¹⁹⁰ and *karga*¹⁹¹, names of which remained in the toponymy of Ferghana,

Kh^warazm, Zarafshan and Qashqa-Darya valleys¹⁹². In Tashkent in early 20th century was *mahalla* (quarter) named Kara-Karga situated in the region of present Sebzar. Among Turkic tribes included into the Uzbeks mentioned also ethnonym *burkut*¹⁹³, name of which later transformed to *burgut* and preserved in the present toponymy of Uzbekistan.¹⁹⁴ Names of tribal-family communities, connected with animals and birds, originated from patronyms, i.e. nicknames of ancestors, are widely spread especially in the toponymy of the Ferghana valley.¹⁹⁵

Conclusion

Thus, basing on the abovementioned data we can suppose that Bahram Chubin originated from ancient noble Turkic family, which was a branch of the Kushan or Massaget Arsakids. It was a part of Saka confederation of nomadic tribes of Central Asia, who put an end to power of the Greco-Makedonian conquerors in Parthia and found independent Parthian kingdom in the second half of the 3rd century BC.

The patrimonial land property of that family was in Bahl (medieval Balkh), from where were originated also some other descendants of the Arsacids, who reserved for themselves their high position during the reign of the Sasanids too. After capturing of Khorasan and other regions of Iran they mixed with local population, and part of them gradually lost their language and became similar with the Iranians. After capturing of Balkh by the Chionites and Hephtalits his family resided in Rey. However, they always kept in memory their nomadic origin, and had close relations with nomadic tribes, including the Turks.

The land property of Bahram Chubin himself situated in the Balkh region or in Guzganan, on the way from Andkhud to Faryab, established by him when he was *marzban* (*strap*) of Khorasan with residence in Balkh. His land property existed until the Arab's invasion and belonged to his descendants in Balkh. In the Islamic period it was known as Chubin or Chubinabad.

Bahram Chubin in the end of his life revolted against the Sasanids and claimed that their ancestor Sasan had usurped the throne of the Arsacids, and now Bahram is reestablishing their right. He concluded a treaty with the Turks, and included in his army the troops of the Turkic volunteers. Then he set out with united army and occupied the capital of the Sasanids – Ktesifon. He supported also by most part of local population. Bahram Chubin captured the throne of the Sasanids and declared their ancestor Sasan as usurper of the legal power, which, according to the law, was a right of the Parthian Arsakids, and he declared himself as legal successor of their throne. After usurpation of the Sasanids throne Bahram Chubin had reigned during one year, then forced to escape to the East – to the land of the Turks and became a relative of the Turkic *qaghan* after marriage on his daughter. The last residence of Bahram Chubin was, apparently, the Ferghana valley, where resided his descendants of his marriage with the Turkic princess – the ancestors of the Samanids. Saman-Khudat was descendant of Bahram Chubin in the fourth or fifth generation.

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Notes

- 1 See: Bosvort K.E. *Musul'manskie dinastii*, p. 145 – 147; Negmatov N.N. *Gosudarstvo Samanidov*.
- 2 Frye R.N. *The Samanids*, p. 136.
- 3 Bosworth C.E. *Samanids*, p. 1025; Belenitskii B.A. *Istoki samanidskoi tsivilizatsii*, p. 19 - 24; Browne E.G. *A Literary History of Persia*, pp. 207, 352, etc.
- 4 Khair al-Din al-Zirikli, vol. 1, p. 290; Gafurov B.G. *O prichinah vozvysheniya i padeniya Samanidov*, pp. 51 – 55.
- 5 Perry I. *Ethno-Linguistic Markers*, p. 118; Manz B.F. *Multi-ethnic Empires and identity*, p. 80; Golden P.B. *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, p. 192, etc.
- 6 *Samanids*, in: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 19, pp. 916 – 917; *Samaniden*, in: *Brockhaus die Enzyklopadie*, band 19, s. 75; *Samanides*, in: *Grand Larousse encyclopedique*, t. 9, p. SAL.
- 7 In such sources as “*Ta’rikh-i Bukhara*” by al-Narshakhi, “*Zain al-akhbar*” by Gardizi, “*Ta’rikh-i Yamini*” by al-‘Utbi, “*al-Kamil fi-t-ta’rikh*” by Ibn al-Athir, “*Ta’rikh-i Mas‘ud*” by Abu-l-Fazl Baihaqi, additions of Bal‘ami to the “*History of at-Tabari*” and others.
- 8 These are geographical works of al-Muqaddasi, al-Istakhri, Ibn Hawqal, “*al-Ansab*” by Abu Sa‘d al-Sam‘ani, “*Hudud al-‘Alam*”, “*al-Qand fi dhikr ‘ulama’ Samarqand*” by Abu Hafs al-Nasafi, “*Mu‘jam al-buldan*” by Yaqut al-Hamawi, “*al-Lubab*” by Ibn al-Athir etc.
- 9 For example, “*al-Athar al-baqiya ‘an al-qurun al-haliya*” (*The Chronology*) by Abu Raihan al-Biruni, “*Fada’il Balkh*” by al-Balkhi, “*Siyasat-nama*” by Nizam al-Mulk, etc.
- 10 Abu-l-Fazl Baihaqi, p. 175; *Khafiz-i Tanish ibn Mir Muhammad al-Bukhari*, part 1, p. 222.
- 11 Such sources as “*Bahr al-asrar*” by Mahmud ibn Wali, “*Ta’rikh-i guzida*” by Hamd Allah Qazwini, “*Habib al-siyar*” by Kh^wandamir, “*‘Abd Allah-nama*” by Khafiz-i Tanish, “*Oghuz-nama*” by Rashid al-Din, “*Waqf-nama*” of Isma‘il ibn Ahmad al-Samani, “*al-Nujum al-zahira*” by Ibn Tagri-bardi etc.
- 12 Mirkhond. *Histoire des Samanides*, 1845.
- 13 Abu Munzir Asad ibn ‘Abd Allah – governor of Jurjan in 98/716-17, then twice of Khorasan: in 106 – 109/724 – 728 and 117/735; deid in 120/737-38.
- 14 Khair al-Din al-Zirikli, vol. 1, p. 290; Frye R.N. *The Samanids*, p. 136.
- 15 In 182 – 198/798 – 812 he was governor of Khorasan with residence in Marw, and in 198 – 218/813 – 833 he was Caliph with residence firstly in Marw and from 202/817-18 in Baghdad.
- 16 Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ja‘far al-Narshakhi, p. 69.
- 17 Negmatov N.N. *Gosudarstvo Samanidov*, p. 18.
- 18 Hamzae Ispahanensis. *Annalum*, p. 237; Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ja ‘far al-Narshakhi, p. 132.

- [19](#) Shamsaddin Abu ‘Abdallah Mohammad ibn Ahmad al-Moqaddasi, pp. 337 – 338.
- [20](#) Semenov A.A. K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii Samanidov, pp. 3 – 11.
- [21](#) Salahetdinova M.A. K istoricheskoi toponimike Balkhskoi oblasti, p. 225.
- [22](#) Khakimov Z.A. Pamyatniki arkhitektury v Yuzhnom Uzbekistane, p. 153.
- [23](#) Abu Mansur al-Tha‘alibi. Yatimat al-dahr, pp. 219, 531.
- [24](#) Jacut’s geographisches wörterbuch, band 3, s. 13; Dictionnaire géographique, p. 297.
- [25](#) Rashid al-Din. Sbornik letopisei, vol. 1 (part 1), p. 218.
- [26](#) Giyasaddin ‘Ali. Dnevnik pokhoda Temura v Indiyu, p. 186.
- [27](#) *Saman* in Persian means “order”, “adjustment”, “prosperity”, “riches” etc. (see: Persidsko-russkii slovar, vol. 2, p. 13); the same meaning gives to this word a late legend on the origin of the Samanids (see: Semenov A.A. K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii Samanidov, p. 4). In the Chigil dialect of the ancient Turkic *saman* means “a straw”. See: Makhmud Koshgarii. Turkii so‘zlar devoni, vol. 1, p. 392.
- [28](#) Shamsaddin Abu Abdallah Mohammad ibn Ahmad al-Moqaddasi, p. 337 – 338; Jacut’s geographisches wörterbuch, band 3, s. 13.
- [29](#) Bahram Gur (Djur) – name of the Sasanid *shahanshah* Varahran V Gur (reigned in 420 – 43=8) used in the Islamic tradition. The Pahlawi name Varahran originated from the name of the Avestian god of victory Verethragna.
- [30](#) Khair al-Din al-Zirikli, vol. 1, p. 290.
- [31](#) Hudud al-‘Alam, p. 102; Abu-l-Kasim Ibn Haukal an-Nasibi, p. 468; Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ja‘far an-Narshakhi, p. 133; Mirkhond. Histoire des Samanides, p. 113, etc.
- [32](#) Abu Hanifa al-Dinawari, p. 81; Gumilev L.N. Drevnie tyurki, p. 126. Nizam al-Mulk named Bahram Chubin “vazir” of the Sasanid *shahanshah* Khusraw II Parviz (reigned in 590 – 628). See: Siaset-name, p. 75.
- [33](#) Macoudi. Les prairies d’or, p. 213; Harmatta J., Litvinsky B.A. Tokharistan and Gandhara, p. 369.
- [34](#) Gumilev L.N. Drevnie tyurki, p. 162; Inoyat Allah Rizo. Iron va Turkon, p. 152.
- [35](#) As a result of the war the Turkic Qaghanate lost its former power and disintegrated to two parts – the Eastern and the Western Qaghanates. See: Harmatta J., Litvinsky B.A. Tokharistan and Gandhara, pp. 368 – 369.
- [36](#) This name in the Arabic sources written in form Hurmuz or Hurmuzd, and in the oriental studies it used in form Hormizd. This name originated from the name of the supreme god of the Zoroastrian panteon Akhura Mazda, therefore, we used it in form Hurmazd.
- [37](#) According to the Pahlawi sources, Spandiat, son of Vishtasp, established in Bahl (Balkh) the flashing capital Nawazak and put there wonderful fire of Vahram. See: Markwart J. A Catalogue of provincial capitals of Eranshahr, p. 10.
- [38](#) This *qaghan* identified with El-Arslan, who was son of Tardu-Qaghan (Qara Churin) and the grandson of Istami-Qaghan. Narshakhi mentioned him as Shir-i Kishwar (see: Frye R.N. The History of Bukhara, p. 108, n. 28); in the Chinese sources he mentioned as Yang-su dele (Tegin), in the Arabic sources – as Shaba or Shiyaba, in

the Persian sources – as Sawa-Shah or Sawkh (see: Gumilev L.N. *Drevnie tyurki*, pp. 115, 132). He identified also with Asilan-Dagan (Arslan-Tarkhan) of the Chinese sources. See: Chavannes E. *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue*, p. 149; Zuyev Yu.A. *Rannie tyurki*, p. 200.

[39](#) He mentioned in the Chinese sources as Nili, in the Persian sources – as Parmuda or Narmud (see: Validi Togan A.Z. *Üümüni Türk tarihina giriş*, s. 72). With him connected penetration of the Buddhism to Bukhara and building of the Buddhist temple in Kashmir. See: Staviskii B.Ya. *O mezhdunarodnyh svyazyah*, p. 115.

[40](#) According to Firdawsi, this fortress named Avaza. See: Abu-l-Kasim Firdousi. *Skazanie o Bahrame Chubine*, p. 68.

[41](#) Macoudi. *Les prairies d'or*, t. 2, pp. 213 – 214; Abu Hanifa al-Dinawari, pp. 84 – 85.

[42](#) Feofilakt Simokatta, pp. 77 – 80. However, about this battle of Bahram Chubin we know only from the data of the Byzantian and Pahlavi sources, which used Firdawsi. Medieval Arabic and Persian sources didn't say anything about feat of Bahram Chubin from the Byzantines (see: D'yakonov M.M. *Ocherk istorii drevnego Irana*, pp. 315, 413, n. 195); It was supposed that in this story meant the war, which took place in Caucasus between the Persians and Khazars, supported by the Byzantines (see: Pigulevskaya N.V. *Vizantiya i Iran*, p. 81), and commander, which was at war with them was not Bahram Chubin, who at that time was still in Khorasan and not finished yet his battle with the Turks, but another commander also named Bahram (see: Gumilev L.N. *Bahram Chubin*, pp. 228 – 229). That commander might be the contemporary of Bahram Chubin – Bahram, son of Siyawush. See: Abu Hanifa al-Dinawari, p. 86; *The Farsnama of Ibnu'l-Balkhi*, p. 102.

[43](#) Harmatta J., Litvinsky B.A. *Tokharistan and Gandhara*, pp. 368 – 369.

[44](#) Number of the Turks in the army of Bahram Chubin should be numerous, because the sources mentioned, that with him departed a great number of the brave and warlike peoples of the East, and Khusraw II Parviz personally killed three of Turkic commanders, who were in the service of Bahram Chubin. See: Gumilev L.N. *Bahram Chubin*, pp. 237 – 239. Among prisoners of war were great number of the Turks, and Khusraw sent them to the emperor Maurikius as a victory gifts. On forehead of each of those prisoners was engraved the Christian Cross, which they “received from their mothers”. See: Feofilakt Simokatta, pp. 130 – 131.

[45](#) Guseinov R. *Siriyskie istochniki XII – XIII vv. ob Azerbaidjane*, p. 35.

[46](#) Shahbazi A.Sh. *Bahram VI Cobin*, p. 521.

[47](#) There are drachmas and dinars with his portrait and inscription “Varhran”. See: Göbl R. *Sasanian Numismatics*, s. 80; pl. 12, No. 203 – 204; Nöldeke Th. *Geschichte der Perser und Araber Zeit der Sasaniden*, s. 282.

[48](#) Gumilev L.N. *Bahram Chubin*, pp. 229 – 230.

[49](#) *The Tarikh-i guzida*, p. 121. According to al-Dinawari, *khaqan* honoured him, built a city and a palace for him and for his people. When Bahram Chubin in a fair duel killed brother of the *khaqan*, who was his ill-wisher, the *khaqan* raised his position for more high degree. See: Abu Hanifa al-Dinawari, pp. 98 – 102.

- [50](#) He saved life of the *khaqan*'s daughter from the predatory animal (dragon-lion), which attacked her, when she went outside for a walk, after what the *khaqan* gave him his daughter and the kingdom. See: Macoudi. Les prairies d'or, t. 2, pp. 223 – 224; Abu-l-Kasim Firdousi. Skazanie o Bahrame Chubine, p. 302; The Tarikh-i Guzida, pp. 120 – 121.
- [51](#) Gumilev L.N. Drevnie tyurki, pp. 131 – 132; Usanova M. Ismoil Somonii waqfnomasi, p. 29.
- [52](#) The word *pariowk* (*parmowk*), which mentioned in the Armenian sources in a form *barmuka*, and in the Arabic sources – *barmuda*, etymologized from the Buddhist title *pramukha*. See: Harmatta J, Litvinsky B.A. Tokharistan and Gandhara, p. 371.
- [53](#) According to Firdousi, in case, if Sawa-Shah will not accept him under his patronage, Bahram Chubin planned to go to the South, to Hindustan. See: Abu-l-Kasim Firdousi. Skazanie o Bahrame Chubine, p. 295.
- [54](#) Abu-l-Kasim Firdousi. Skazanie o Bahrame Chubine, pp. 291 – 294.
- [55](#) Kamaliddinov Sh.S. Istoricheskaya geografiya, pp. 116 – 117.
- [56](#) It should be marked, that the medieval sultans of Shirwan also named themselves as the descendants of Bahram Chubin. See: Alisher Navoi, vol. 14, p. 204.
- [57](#) In the ancient Parthia except the Arsakids were 7 other noble families – Karen Pahlaw (in Nihawand), Suren Pahlaw (in Seistan), Ispahpat Pahlaw (in Gurgan), Spandiyat, Mihran, Zik and some others, who saved their high position during the Sasanid's reign. See: Feofilakt Simokatta, p. 93; D'yakonov M.M. Ocherk istorii drevnego Irana, pp. 195, 283.
- [58](#) Shahbazi A.Sh. Bahram VI Chobin, p. 519.
- [59](#) Ter-Mkrtychan L.H. Armyanskie istochniki o Srednei Azii. V – VII vv., p. 58.
- [60](#) The Tarikh-i Guzida, p. 120.
- [61](#) Shahbazi A.Sh. Bahram VI Chobin, p. 520.
- [62](#) Abu Raihan Beruni. Pamyatniki minuvshih pokolenii, p. 52.
- [63](#) Abu Hanifa al-Dinawari, p. 81.
- [64](#) Abu-l-Kasim Ibn Haukal an-Nasibi, p. 472.
- [65](#) Abu Sa'id Gardizi, p. 62.
- [66](#) Azarbaidjan – region in the North-West of Iran, located in the South of Caucasus Mountains and South-West of the Caspian Sea.
- [67](#) Feofilakt Simokatta, pp. 93 – 94.
- [68](#) Drevnie avtory o Srednei Azii, p. 90.
- [69](#) Pigulevskaya N.V. Istoriya Irana, p. 28.
- [70](#) Vainberg B.I. Etnogeografiya Turana, p. 207.
- [71](#) Marek J.Olbrycht. Parthia and Nomads of Central Asia, p. 73.
- [72](#) Drevnie avtory o Srednei Azii, p. 91.
- [73](#) Masson M.E. Narody i oblasti yuzhnoi chasti Turkmenistana, p. 8.
- [74](#) Nomadic population of Central Asia at that time was not similar, and consisted from conglomerate of tribes and peoples with different languages and cultures. See: Masson M.E. Narody i oblasti yuzhnoi chasti Turkmenistana, pp. 9, 19 – 20.

- [75](#) Trever K.V., Yakubovskii A.Yu., Voronets M.E. *Istoriya narodov Uzbekistana*, vol. 1, p. 91.
- [76](#) Marek J.Olbrycht. *Parthia and Nomads of Central Asia*, p. 98.
- [77](#) Lapshin A.G. *Dinasticheski kul't Arshakidov*, pp. 80, 86.
- [78](#) Paul J. *The State and the Military – a Nomadic Perspective*, p. 59.
- [79](#) Ter-Mkrtychan L.H. *Armyanskie istochniki o Srednei Azii V – VII vv.*, p. 40.
- [80](#) *Op. cit.*, p. 57.
- [81](#) *Op. cit.*, p. 48.
- [82](#) The data of the Chinese sources allows supposing that nomads of Central Asia divided into two large groups: the first lived in the steppes of the North and North-East of the Caspian Sea, and others – in the mountainous regions to the East of the Amu-Darya River. See: Aliev K. *K voprosu o nomadah Srednei Azii*, pp. 176 – 179.
- [83](#) Trever K.V. *Kushany, khionity i eftality po armyanskim*, pp. 132, 143.
- [84](#) Zakharov A.O. *Baktriya v I v. n.e.*, p. 23.
- [85](#) Zekiyev Mir Fatih. *On ve Orta Asya*, s. 425 – 432.
- [86](#) Abu-l-Kasim Firdousi. *Skazanie o Bahrame Chubine*, p. 22.
- [87](#) Abu Sa'd 'Abd al-Karim ibn Muhammad as-Sam'ani, vol 2, pp. 137 – 138.
- [88](#) *Dictionnaire géographique*, p. 25, 87.
- [89](#) Kononov A.N. *Opyt analiza termina "turk"*, p. 43.
- [90](#) In opinion of S.P.Tostov, the term *turk* firstly used namely in such meaning, and later its meaning "the age class of the armed youth" gradually had been broaden: the troop – the military leader – the tribal aristocracy – patriciant – suzerain – the supreme ruler – the collective name of all Turkic speaking peoples. See: Tolstov S.P. *K istorii drevnetyurkskoi sotsial'noi terminologii*, pp. 80 – 81.
- [91](#) Trever K.V., Yakubovskii A.Yu., Voronets M.E. *Istoriya narodov Uzbekistana*, vol. 1, p. 91.
- [92](#) Golden P.B. *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, pp. 46 – 47.
- [93](#) The ancient Turkic word *er* besides its main meaning "man", used also as "head", "leader", "chief" etc. See: Clauson G. *An Etymological Dictionary*, p. 192.
- [94](#) Clauson G. *An Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 803 – 806.
- [95](#) The name Arsak, as the ethnonym Sak (Saka), firstly mentioned in the time of Akhemenids.
- [96](#) Existence of the Kushan branch of the Arsakids indicates that the *Parn*, as other *Dahae* tribes, were relative tribes with the Kushans, which like the Sogdians, originated from nomadic tribes of the Central Asian steppes. See: Marshak B.I. *K voprosu ob istokah sogdiiskoi kul'tury*, pp. 61 – 63.
- [97](#) Trever K.V. *Kushany, khionity i eftality po armyanskim istochnikam*, pp. 138 – 139, 141.
- [98](#) Ter-Mkrtychyan L.H. *Armyanskie istochniki o Sredney Azii V – VII vv.*, p. 38.
- [99](#) *Op. cit.*, p. 40.
- [100](#) Zakharov A.O. *Baktriya v I v.*, p. 22.
- [101](#) *Op. cit.*, p. 44.
- [102](#) Jullien S. *Memoires sur les contrées accidentaux*, 1, p. 29.

- [103](#) Firdousi, Shah-name, vol. 1, p. 360; vol. 3, pp. 114, 117, 404.
- [104](#) Gumilev L.N. Drevnie tyurki, p. 162.
- [105](#) Abu Sa‘d ‘Abd al-Karim ibn Muhammad al-Sam‘ani, vol. 2, p. 348.
- [106](#) Shamsaddin Abu ‘Abdallah Mohammed ibn Ahmed al-Moqaddasi, p. 347.
- [107](#) Salahetdinova M.A. K istoricheskoi toponimike Balkhskoi oblasti, p. 225.
- [108](#) Markwart J. A Catalogue of provincial capitals of Eranshahr, p. 10.
- [109](#) In the Bactrian document from Tokharistan, dated 525 of the Bactrian era (757) vihara (the Buddhist monastery) and the Zoroastrian temple were mentioned together, like such terms as *dahma* (cemetery) and *to cremate* (the Indian ceremony), what testify on the variety of the religions and religious practice inside of that region before coming of Islam. See: Sims-Williams N. Novye baktriiskie dokumenty, p. 9.
- [110](#) Abu-l-Kasim Ibn Haukal, p. 428; Jacut’s geographisches wörterbuch, band 2, s. 272; Mahmud ibn Wali. More tain, p. 58.
- [111](#) Mahmud ibn Wali. Bahr al-asrar fi manaqib al-akhyar, f. 315 V (referenced from: Rešideddin Oguznamesi, s. 111).
- [112](#) According to the law of the Sasanids Empire, after death of head of family every member of his family, including the women became members of other families, had his part of inheritance, which was his own property. See: Perikhanyan A.G. Obshestvo i pravo Irana, pp. 195 – 225.
- [113](#) As it is known, in ancient times the Turks, who had rich traditions in the art of war, served as fired labourers in the armies of different countries. According to the Armenian sources, the Turkic troops were a part of the army of the Akhemenid king Kir (see: Ter-Mkrtichyan L.H. Armyanskie istochniki o Srednei Azii VIII – XVIII vv., p. 66); according to the document from the ancient city Yet (Egypt), written in Ivrit, military campaign of the Ahemenids to Egypt, which took place in the 5th century BC, was headed by the Kh^warazmian commander named Dragman, son of Kharchin. See: Meyer Ed. Der Papyrusfund von Elfantine, s. 28; Velidi Togan A.Z. Ümümi Türk Tarihine giriş, s. 416, n. 124.
- [114](#) D’yakonov M.M. Ocherk istorii drevnego Irana, p. 312.
- [115](#) Trever K.V., Yakubovskii A.Yu., Voronets M.E. Istoriya narodov Uzbekistana, t. 1, p. 141.
- [116](#) Ter-Mkrticnyan L.H. Armyanskiye istochniki o Sredney Azii V – VII vv., p. 57.
- [117](#) The Farsnama of Ibnu’l-Balkhi, pp. 24, 94, 98.
- [118](#) Boboyorov G.B. Markazii Osiyoda VI – VIII asrlarning ikkinji yarimidagi siyosii etnik jarayonlar, p. 28.
- [119](#) Fazlallah Rashid ad-Din. Oguz-name, p. 94.
- [120](#) Kononov A.N. Rodoslovnaya Turkmen, p. 69.
- [121](#) Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari, ser. I, p. 1966.
- [122](#) Anushirwan entertained greatest contempt for the Christians, because of his son Anusha-zadh, who was of his Christian wife, espoused faith of his mother, and revolted against him. However, in spite of that, he did not showed hostile regard to the Christians, and provided them all necessary conditions. See: Browne E.G. A Literary History of Persia, pp. 136, 168, 181.

[123](#) He invited in 532 from the Byzantium to his court the Neo-Platonist philosophers, who made translations of the philosophic and scientific works from the Greek and the Syriac to the Pahlawi, and he was founder (about 550) of the first university in Iran, located in Jundi-Shapur (Khuzistan) for learning philosophy and medicine. These traditions were continued later in the times of the ‘Abbasids, when was founded the Islamic Academy of Sciences (Bait al-hikma) in Baghdad. See: Browne E.G. A Literary History of Persia, pp. 167, 305, 419.

[124](#) The nickname Anushirwan in Pahlawi means “of Immortal Spirit” (*anushak-ruban*). See: Browne E.G. A Literary History of Persia, p. 107, 135.

[125](#) Pigulevskaya N.V. Vizantiya i Iran, pp. 84 – 85.

[126](#) Velidi Togan A.Z. Oguz destani, p. 112.

[127](#) Khair al-Din al-Zirikli, al-A‘lam, vol. 1, p. 290.

[128](#) Browne E.G. A Literary History of Persia, p. 267.

[129](#) Before worsening of relations after unsuccessful embassy of the Turks headed by the Sogdian Maniah to the court of Khusraw I Anushirwan.

[130](#) Abu-l-Kasim ‘Obaidallah ibn ‘Abdallah Ibn Khordadbeh, p. 123.

[131](#) Mahmud ibn Wali. More tain, p. 41.

[132](#) The Tarikh-i guzida, p. 121.

[133](#) There are two seals with Pahlawi and Turk Runic inscriptions, where was fixed the name of this *qaghan*, in the collection of the Sasanid seals of Forughi (Iran), and also the medallion with a portrait in profile and Pahlawi legend with his name. It is supposed that the seal was minted for administration of the captured territories, and the medallion – for celebration of his victory. See: Harmatta J., Litvinsky B.A. Tokharistan and Gandhara, p. 369.

[134](#) Beginning of that process, which in our opinion, was purposeful, should be considered in the reign of Khusraw I Anushirwan, who married daughter of the Turkic *qaghan*.

[135](#) Chavannes E. Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turks) occidentaux, p. 171.

[136](#) Velidi Togan A.Z. Ümümi Türk tarihina giris, s. 73 – 74.

[137](#) The Farsnama of Ibnu’l-Balkhi, pp. 24, 109.

[138](#) Op. cit., p. 30; in Persian *az har khane* means “of each house”.

[139](#) The same legend mentioned by Zakariya Qazwini, whose source was the book of Ibn al-Faqih. See: Demidchik V.P. “Geografiya”, p. 122.

[140](#) Mahmud ibn Wali. More tain, p. 64; Muhammad Nadjib Bekran, p. 51; ‘Abd ar-Rashid al-Bakuwi, p. 96, etc.

[141](#) This event took place in 554. See: Trever K.V., Yakubovskii A.Yu, Voronets M.E. Istoriya narodov Uzbekistana, t. 1, p. 129.

[142](#) Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari, ser. I, p. 899.

[143](#) Gumilev L.N. Bahram Chubin, pp. 229 – 230.

[144](#) Istoriya khalifov, f.1R.

[145](#) Djalilova R.P. Nekotorye dopolneniya Bal‘ami, p. 7.

[146](#) In the work of at-Tabari in this place written: “one of the non-Arabs (‘adjam) from Khorasan said... See: Istoriya at-Tabari, p. 159.

[147](#) Istoriya khalifov, f. 167V.

[148](#) The Farsnama of Ibnu'l-Balkhi, pp. 24, 109.

[149](#) This name mentioned in textual sources in different forms: Chobin, Chopin, Chubin, Chupin, Djubin, Shubin, etc. In the late sources there is also the form Chuba. See: Azimov Sh. Gosudarstvo i pravo Samanidov, pp. C. 26, 158, 160.

[150](#) Wolf F. Clossar zu Firdousis Schahname, s. 301; Inoyat Allah Rizo, Iron va Turkon dar ruzgor-i Sosoniyon, p. 148 – 152. In the New Persian the word *chubin* means “wooden”, and *chubina* means “a crane” (see: Persidsko-russkii slovar, vol. 1, p. 480); for a crow in Persian uses the word *kulag* or *zagan*. See: Russko-persidskii slovar, p. 91.

[151](#) Firdousi. Le livre des rois / Ed. J.Mohl, vol. 6, p. 654 – 655.

[152](#) Gumilev L.N. Drevnie tyurki, p. 162; Abdukholiq Abdurasul oghli. Turkii khalqlar, pp. 72 – 77.

[153](#) In the Old Turkic *karga* meant “a raven” or “a crow”. See: Drevnetyurkskii slovar, p. 426. In the modern Turkic languages use the forms *kurgun* (a raven) and *karga* (a crow). See: Russko-turetskii slovar, p. 103

[154](#) Gumilev L.N. Drevnie tyurki, p. 162.

[155](#) Melitinskii E.M. Voron, p. 245.

[156](#) There is a story, in which the Arab king talked to Khusraw I Anushirwan, that “the ravens have taken their land”; the *shahanshah* asked him: “Which ravens, those of Abyssinia or those of India?” and the Arab king said: “The Abyssinians”. See: Browne E.G. A Literary History of Persia, p. 179.

[157](#) The description of the Red Raven in form of eagle with extended wings put on the tiara of the ancient Turkic prince Kul-Tigin. See: Zuev Yu.A. Rannie tyurki, pp. 24, 226.

[158](#) Image of Bahram Chubin remained in the memory of the people as a hero, and even in the Sasanids time about him was composed the people’s historical roman “Bahram Choben-namak” (“The history of Bahram Chubin”) in Pahlawi. Later it was a base for legends about Bahram Chubin, which mentioned in the books of the Arabic and Persian authors. See: Browne E.G. A Literary History of Persia, p. 108; D’yakonov M.M. Ocherk istorii drevnego Irana, pp. 20, 316.

[159](#) Such famous hero like Bahram Chubin, about the feats of whom the legends was composed, could not be named by this name among the people, in imagination of whom a raven personified demonic creature, which pointed to hero a misfortune and evil omen. For history of the transformation of Bahram Chubin’s image to a figure of the apolictic hero of people’s epos, see: Czegdely K. Bahram Cobin, pp. 21 – 43.

[160](#) According to a legend, the Anush was name of one of the first people in the Earth, who was son of Shith and grandson of Adam (see: Abu Hanifa ad-Dinawari, p. 3). Khusraw I Anushirwan nicknamed *anushak-ruban*, what means in Pahlawi “of the Immortal Spirit”. His son of his Chriatian wife named Anusha-zadh, i.e. the descendant of Anusha. See: Browne E.G. A Literary History of Persia, pp. 107, 135, 181, 168. The same name had ancestor of the Kh^warazmshahs dynasty Anush-Tigin Garcha’i (ruled

in 1077 – 1097). See: Buniyatov Z.M. Gosudarstvo Khorezmshahov-Anushteginidov, p. 223.

[161](#) Macoudi. Les prerres d'or, t. 2, p. 213.

[162](#) Usanova M. Ismo'il Somoniy waqfnomasi, p. 27.

[163](#) Abu Sa'id Gardizi. Zain al-akhbar, p. 62.

[164](#) The Tarikh-i guzida, vol. 1, pp. 94, 120.

[165](#) Firdousi. Shah-name, vol. 1, pp. 353, 355, 390, 399, 403, 413, 419, 442, 448, 450.

[166](#) Firdousi. Shah-name, vol. 3, pp. 29, 82, 114, 117, 198, 214, 360, 436 etc.

[167](#) Bertel's E.I. Istoriya persidsko-tadjikskoi literatury, pp. 225 – 226.

[168](#) Firdousi. Shah-name, vol. 1, p. 360; vol. 3, pp. 114, 117, 404.

[169](#) Op. cit., p. 639, editor's note. In such case the name Gurgin should mean "possessor of the lupine character", "fierce", "perfidious", "truculent", etc. (in English: gargantuan). The same writing has the word *gargin*, which in Persian means "scabby", "mangy", "nasty", etc. See: Persidsko-russkii slovar, vol. 2, p. 392.

[170](#) There is opinion, that the word chubin (a) means "like a spear" (see: Shahbazi A.Sh. Bahram VI Cobin, p. 519), or "the wooden", i.e. "possessor of a cudgel". Among four subjects on the metops, characterizing the dynastic cult of the Arsakids, there is a picture of a baton (cudgel), which was determined as "religious symbol and dynastic sign". See: Lapshin A.G. Dinasticheskii kul't Arshakidov, p. 80.

[171](#) Firdousi. Shah-name, vol. 1, pp. 216, 217; vol. 4, p. 149.

[172](#) Inoyat Allah Rizo. Iron va Turkon, p. 152.

[173](#) Kononov A.N. Rodoslovnaya Turkmen, pp. 68, 72.

[174](#) Fazlallah Rashid ad-Din. Oguz-name, pp. 65 – 66; Kononov A.N. Rodoslovnaya Turkmen, pp. 50 - 51 (in the text: p. 31).

[175](#) Kononov A.N. Rodoslovnaya Turkmen, p. 78 (in the text: p. 79); op. cit., p 78 (in the text: p. 79).

[176](#) According to the Shaman mythology of the Turk-Mongol peoples, the ongon personified spirit of died ancestors of totemic (wolf, bear, horse, etc.) or anthropomorphic origin. See: Mify narodov mira, vol. 2, p. 255 – 256.

[177](#) According to Rashid ad-Din, the ongon of all of four sons of Yulduz-Khan was a bird named *tawshanjil*, i.e. a hawk (see: Fazlallah Rashid ad-Din. Oguz-name, p. 66), and according to Abu-l-Ghazi, – white falcon, a buzzard, a raven and golden eagle. See: Kononov A.N. Rodoslovnaya Turkmen, p. 53.

[178](#) Inoyat Allah Rizo. Iron va Turkon, p. 150.

[179](#) Mify narodov mira, vol. 1, p. 195.

[180](#) Brem A.E. Zhizn' zhivotnyh, vol. 2, p. 205.

[181](#) Persidsko-russkii slovar', vol. 1, p. 480.

[182](#) Tomb of Burkut-Ata situated in the environs of Ashgabat and in past it was a sacred place of cult for local population. See: Zhirmunskii V.M. Oguzskii geroicheskii epos i "Kniga Korkuta", pp. 169 – 170.

[183](#) It is known that after passing of time the ongon of tribes could be changed, what sometimes was connected with changes of political situation (entering to a new confederation, change of a power etc.). Besides, the ancient Turkic word *kargha* had

not only meaning of “crow” or “raven”, but used in more wide meaning for any other birds with black color. See: Clauson G. An Etymological Dictionary, p. 653.

[184](#) As it is known, in ancient times the Turks, who had rich traditions in military training, were served as wage warriors in the armies of many countries. According to the Armenian sources, the Turkic troops were a part of the army of the Akhemenid king Kir (see: Ter-Mkrtychyan L.H. Armyanskiye istochniki o Sredney Azii VIII – XVIII vv., p. 66). According to the document from the remains of ancient town Yet (Egypt), written in Ivrit, military campaign of the Akhemenids to Egypt, hold in the 5th century BC, headed the Khwarizmian commander named Dargman, son of Kharchin. See: Meyer Ed. Der Papyrusfund von Elfantine, s. 28; Zeki Velidi Togan A.Z. Ümümi Türk Tarihine giriş, s. 416, n. 124.

[185](#) According to some data, the homeland of Bahram Chubin was in Ma wara’ an-nahr. See: Mukhtorov A. Somoniyon: zamon va makon, p. 38.

[186](#) From the data of textual sources and numismatic is known, that Khorasan, which was a part of the Sasanids Iran at least beginning from the 4th century AD was inhabited by the Chionits, Kidarits and Hephtalits, who confessed the Zoroastrianism and served to the Sasanids for defence of the Eastern borders of the Sasanids Empire. Therefore it is not out of question, that Bahram Chubin could inherit his splendid military faculties from his ancestors in Khorasan (see: Feofilakt Simokatta, pp. 36, 77, 102, 106, 130, 159 etc.). According to the Islamic tradition, ancestors of the Hephtalits, as of the Turks, were originated from Yafath, son of Nuh (Jacut’s geographisches wörterbuch, vol. 4, p. 999; Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari, ser. I, pp. 211 – 212). In medieval sources genealogy of the pre-Islamic local kings (*muluk at-tawa’if*) of Balkh, where lived Bahram Chubin, also originated from the same Yafath, son of Nuh. See: Ibn Wadhih qui dicitur al-Ja’kubi, vol. 1, p. 179.

[187](#) The Sasanids widely used practice of enlist of services of military forces of the allied “barbarian” tribes, such as the *Chionits* in the 4th century AD, the *Savirs* in the war of 527 – 532 with Byzantium). Khusraw I Anushirwan was widely practiced also foundation of settlements of the warlike tribes inside the borders of his empire for making permanent covering forces against the nomads. See: D’yakonov M.M. Ocherk istorii drevnego Irana, p. 312.

[188](#) Kononov A.N. Rodoslovnaya Turkmen, p. 77 (in the text: p. 77).

[189](#) Sultanov T.I. Opyt analiza traditsionnyh spiskov 92 “plemen ilatiyya”, p. 167.

[190](#) Aliev K. K voprosu o nomadah Srednei Azii, p. 178.

[191](#) Karmysheva B.H. Ocherki etnicheskoi istorii, pp. 97, 213, 216.

[192](#) Karga – villages in the *tuman* of Kagan of the Bukhara region and in the *tuman* Uzbekistan of the Ferghana region; Kok-Karga and Kargali – village in the *tuman* Narpay of the Samarqand region, Ola Karga – village in the *tuman* Yakkabag of the Qashqa-Darya region, Kargalar – villages in the *tumans* Gurlan and Hazarasp of the Kh^warazm region, Karga-tepa – village in the *tuman* Khatirchi of the Samarqand region, Karga-owul – village in the *tuman* Bulunghur of the Samarqand region, etc. See: Koraeв S. Geofrafik nomlar ma’nosi, p. 168; Okhunov N. Joy nomlari ta’biri, pp. 70 – 71.

[193](#) Sultanov T.I. Opyt analiza traditsionnyh spiskov 92 “plemen ilatiyya”, p. 167.

[194](#) Burgut – villages in the *tumans* Vabkent and Ghijduwan of the Bukhara region, in the *tumans* Payarik, Pakhatakor and Khatirchi of the Samarqand region. See: Koraev S. Geofrafik nomlar ma‘nosi, p. 40.

[195](#) For example, Khakkalar (The Magpies), Tulkilar (The Foxes), Toshbaqalar (The Tortoises), Kargalar (The Crows), etc. See: Gubaeva S.S. Patronimiya v toponimii Ferganskoi doliny, pp. 28 – 37.

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