

EVOLUTION OF TITLES OF KUSHAN RULER

SHAYMARDANOV AZAMAT ZOKIROVICH

Doctoral student of Termiz State University

Abstract: The political situation of the period after the collapse of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom was reflected in the works of many researchers. In scientific literature, this problematic period is very well covered, first of all, in Greco-Roman and, moreover, in Chinese literature. According to the Chinese traveler and historian Zhang Jian', the Yueji tribes, defeated by the Huns, now move southward, conquer Dahya (Bactria) and settle on the northern side of Gui-shui (Amu Darya). After a certain period of time, the Yuechi confederation split into five parts, each of which was headed by a nomadic tribal elder - a tribal chief with the title of Yabgu.

Keywords: *title, yabgu, si-hou, xi-hou, shanyuy, the great kushan clan, the great king, paonanopao, karalraggo, kanishka, king of kings.*

Introduction

The political situation of the period after the collapse of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom was reflected in the works of many researchers. In scientific literature, this problematic period is very well covered, first of all, in Greco-Roman and, moreover, in Chinese literature. According to the Chinese traveler and historian Zhang Jian', the Yueji tribes, defeated by the Huns, now move southward, conquer Dahya (Bactria) and settle on the northern side of Gui-shui (Amu Darya). After a certain period of time, the Yuechi confederation split into five parts, each of which was headed by a nomadic tribal elder - a tribal chief with the title of Yabgu.¹

The titles of the rulers are king of kings, son of god: Maharajasya Mahatasya Kushanasa Kaphasya devaputrasya shows that he was raised to the title, this title indicates the existence of lands belonging to the Indian ethnos in the Kushan Empire. Titles of Kushan rulers include Iranian, Indian and Greek titles.

According to ancient Chinese sources, the Kushan rulers, who united the five Yuechi tribes, were mentioned in the Chinese titles "si-hou" and "xi-hou" used by other nomadic tribes of Central Asia². These titles were given by the well-known numismatist scientist A. N. Zograf suggests that the title is equivalent to the title "shanyuy" used by the rulers of the Huns and other nomadic tribes of Central Asia. However, many scholars consider the title "Shanyuy" equivalent to "Yabgu" - the title of the rulers of nomadic tribes³.

¹ Ртвеладзе Э.В. Древние монеты Средней Азии. Из литературы. Г. Гусьяма нашриёти. Тошкент. 1987 г. 10-бет.

² Э.В.Ртвеладзе. История государственности Узбекистана. Т. Ўзбекистон нашриёти. 2009 й. 338-бет.

³ Narain A.K. The Five Yabgus of the Yechehih // India. History and Thought. P. 176-177; Verma T.P. The Evolution... P. 58-60.

MAIN PART.

There are different views on the interpretation of the ethnic origin of this title. Some scholars believe that the title "Yabghu" has a Turkic origin, while others believe that it refers to the Sak-Khotan language, that is, the eastern Iranians who later became Turkic⁴. English scientist G. Bailey also stated in his scientific research that this title is etymologically derived from the Iranian language and means "leader"⁵.

When we study the Chinese written sources, we can learn that the rulers of the land of Kan (Sogd) from the House of Zhao, carried titles of Aramaic-Kushon origin. However, the reasons for the emergence of titles of Aramaic origin spread over the vast areas of the Central Asia between two rivers remain unknown. We can say that the spread of Aramaic titles may have been related to the spread of the Aramaic script and language, which was the official language and script of the tribes, as in Iran during the Achaemenid era.

The titles of Kushan kings include titles typical of ancient Iran, India, Greece, and Ancient Turkic. With the establishment of a large centralized state by Kudzula Kadphiz, on coins he was called the great king, the king of great kings:

1. *Maharayasa mahatasa Kushana Kujula Kaphsa "Kujula Kara Kapa, of the great Kushan clan, the great king."*
2. *Kujula Kara Kapsasya maharajasa rajatirajasa "Kujula Kara Kapa, great king, king of kings."*
3. *Maharajasya rajarajasya devaputrasya "Kujula Kara Kapsa, great king, king of kings, son of the god."*

Kudzula Kadfiz, the founder of the Kushan kingdom, was not only the great king of the Kushans, but also called the king of kings and the son of God. The deification of royal power takes place, and its origin is recognized as divine. Kudzula's title "king of kings" is a result of Iranian or Greek tradition, while "son of god" is a title widely used among Indian emperors. B.N. Mukherjee points out, the "Kushons" were officially called "devaputras", although the term "devaputra" was known in India even before the Kushons, without exception, but we believe that devaputra was not used as a branch title before this. In our opinion, the religious title of devaputra was connected with the formation of similar concepts of maaana formed in that period.

Vima Takto, the son of Kujula Kadphiz, recites only Greek titles, while his grandson Vima Kadphiz ("king" and "king of kings, great savior") or the more complex Indian titles: "great king, king of kings, owner of the world, faithful to Maheshvara, defender of the faith" also received.

In the second period of the reign of Kadphiz I, royal titles of Indian origin appear: "maharaja" - great king, "rajatiraja" - king of kings⁶.

⁴ Bailey H.W. Languages of the Saka // Handbuch der Orientalistik. Bd. 4. Leiden, 1958. P. 136; Кляшторный С.Г. Древнетюркский рунические...С. 111; Frye R.N. Some Early Iranian Titles // Oricus. V. 15. Leiden, 1962. P. 356-358.

⁵ Litvinsky B.A.,1967 b, p. 36.

⁶ Chattopadhyay B. The Age...P.28.

A more prestigious and important title of the Kushan kings appears during the reign of Kadphis II. During his time, after conquering the territories of North and Central India, the Yuechi state becomes a rich and powerful state.

Kadphis II also retained the traditional Greek title of Basileus Basileon. At the same time, the ancient Mathur Indian script used the Iranian title "Shahi" for the Kushan ruler for the first time. Later we see that this title was used in ancient Bactrian as "Shao" (king) or "Shaonano Shao" (king of kings) for all Kushan branches from Kanishka I to Kanishka III⁷.

In addition, in a number of epigraphic inscriptions, Kadphis II is mentioned under the title "Devaputra", i.e. "son of heaven". This title was given by orientalist E. According to Thomas and a number of other scholars, Kadphis II derives from the title "Sons of Heaven", which was considered the title of the ancient Chinese Han emperors⁸. At the same time, Mukherjee does not rule out Greek and Archaic influences here. In addition, Kadphis II in other epigraphic sources, as well as on coins, is "maharaja rajatiraja, sarvaloga ishvara, mahishvara" that is, the king of kings is the ruler of the world⁹ it becomes clear that he accepted the title.

A stone tablet written in Bactrian script, found in 1993 in the village of Rabatak in the Baghlan province of Northern Afghanistan, is of particular importance in illuminating the history of the Kushan period. These texts contain information about administrative and social terms, titles and other titles, which made it possible to identify new, previously unknown features of the Kushan political system. The first mention of the name of Kanishka's grandfather Vima Takto in the Rabatak dynastic temple was a sensation for the science of history. Until then, we know that among the Kushan coins there were coins with the name of an unnamed king Soter Meges. But do these coins belong to Vima Takto or Vima Kadphis? That was the problem. We believe that the unnamed royal coins belong to Vima Takto. Because there are coins minted in the name of Vima Kadphis. If so, then why did Vima Takto issue money in the name of a nameless king instead of minting coins with his own name? This issue will remain a problem for the time being. Another important aspect of the Rabatak inscription is that the Kushan king Kanishka states that he and his ancestors are of Aryan origin. This information is a very important fact for the ethnogenesis of the Uzbek people. These epitaphs are written as KO?OYLO KADPHISO PAO – King Kudzula Kadphis, where the word king appears in the Bactrian title PAO.

Currently based on Rabatak inscriptions, Vima Tak[to] or Saddashkana¹⁰ King Soter Meges, who is considered to be the same person, received the Greek title "vasilevs vasileon" (king of kings). The same Greek titles were retained by his successors Vima Kadphis and Kanishka¹¹.

During the Vima Tak[to] period, the southern regions of Uzbekistan were included in the empire. This area has an important place in the history of the Kushan state, it was a border

⁷ Ртвеладзе.Э.В. Титулы правителей государств и владений в Средней Азии в начале I тыс. до н.э. – III-IV вв. н.э. Ўзбекистон нашриёти. 2009 г. 342-бет.

⁸ Mukherjee B.N. Imperial cults in the Kushana empire // India and Central Asia // - Tashkent, 2000 y. 69-70-бет.

⁹ Э.В. Ртвеладзе, Д.А. Алимова. Узбек давлатчилиги тарихи. Тошкент: Академнашр, 2021. 358-бет.

¹⁰ Sims-Williams N., Cribb J. A New Baktrian... P. 97-99; Mukherjee B.N. Imperial Cults in the Kushana Empire // India and Central Asia. Tashkent, 2000. P. 69; Fussman G. L. Inscriptions de Rabatak. La Bactriane et les Kouchans // La Bactriane au Carrefour des routes et des civilisations de l'Asie Centrale. Paris, 2001. P. 251-293.

¹¹ Ртвеладзе.Э.В. Титулы правителей государств и владений в Средней Азии в начале I тыс. до н.э. – III-IV вв. н.э. Ўзбекистон нашриёти. 2009 г. 343-бет.

area under the leadership of the Bactrian karalraggos (chiefs of the border regions) and a strong defensive wall was built¹².

Unlike his predecessor Kadphis II, Kanishka I, who preferred Bactrian and Hindu traditions, relied on Bactria for his administrative, religious, and linguistic policies. Among other things, he carried out reforms to change the state language, which was confirmed based on his data from epigraphic and numismatic sources, which is now also confirmed by the texts of the Rabotak inscription¹³.

All rulers from Kanishka I to Kanishka III bore ancient Bactrian titles such as "Shao" (king) and "Shaonano shao" (king of kings)¹⁴. In Surkhkotal inscriptions Kanishka I ancient Bactrian title "Bago Shao" means "god king" and "Bago Pouro" with the same meaning as Hindi devaputra - titles that emphasize the divinity of his origin as the son of God are also recorded in Surkhkotal texts¹⁵. Deification of the ruler, even equating him with gods, was also present in Kushan rulers. B.N. Mukherjee suggests that the Kushans may have inherited this tradition from the Arshakites, particularly in the practice of making the ruler look like grooms and moon deities. But in our opinion, the Kushans took a copy of the practice of deification that was characteristic of the rulers of China, India, and Ancient Bactria. We can compare the title "Bago Pouro" with the Indian title "devaputra" (deva-god, putra - son, i.e. son of god). We think that, like the Bactrian Kawis, he wanted to express himself as the owner of religious and secular authority through the title.

In the Rabatak inscriptions found in Afghanistan, the Kushan ruler Kanishka I is expressed in the title "BŌGO STORGO KANĒPKE KOΦANO ... ΦAONANO ΦAO I BAGOPOORO" i.e. "King Kanishka Kushan, King of Kings"¹⁶. Similar titles in Sanskrit inscriptions include rajatirajasa ma[ha](tasa) tratarasa...devaputrasa vazeṣkasa guṣanasa¹⁷ or "rājātīrāja devaputro Kāniṣko" for short¹⁸ Kanishka I and his successors also ruled by adopting his title and deifying their personality. Kanishka I is referred to as 'mahārāja rajatīrāja dēvaputra shāhi Kāniṣka', meaning 'King Kanishka, son of heaven'¹⁹.

An inscription on a bulla in the Ashmolean Museum is even more interesting. V. Livshits read the inscription on the bull as "Moon - Kanishka" and the child of the king of India, while V. Henning believes that the name "Oi-Kanishka" is the full name of the great Kushan king who was the viceroy of Takharistan before his accession to the throne²⁰. Kanishka is mentioned in the bull under the title of Yabgu. He had this title until his accession to the throne, when he was the prince of Tokharistan. Yavgu means leader, leader and prince in nomadic peoples. While Kanishka I bore Greek titles in the early period of his reign, they do not appear at

¹² Пугаченкова Г.А., Ртвеладзе Э.В. Северная Бактрия – Тохаристан. Очерки истории и культуры. Ташкент, 1990. С. 44-49.

¹³ Sims-Williams N., Cribb J. A New Bactrian... P. 78.

¹⁴ Henning W.B. The Bactrian Inscription. BSOAS. 1960. Vol. XXIII. Pt.

¹⁵ Ртвеладзе Э.В. Титулы правителей государств и владений в Средней Азии в начале I тыс. до н.э. – III-IV вв. н.э. Ўзбекистон нашриёти. 2009 г. 344-бет.

¹⁶ Sims-Williams N., Cribb J. A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great // Silk Road Art and Archeology. № 4. - Kamakura, 1996y. 156-бет.

¹⁷ Reisch E. Baktrionoi / Paulys Real-Encyclopedie – Stuttgart, 1896. – BD.257-бет.

¹⁸ Lüders 1961: § 97.

¹⁹ Gupte 1924. 10-12-бетлар; Agravala 1949, 108-бет;

²⁰ Э.В. Ртвеладзе, А.Х. Хасанов, Е.Б. Абдуллаев. Қаймғи Ўзбекистон цивилизацияси: давлатчилик ва ҳуқуқ тарихидан лавҳалар. Тошкент нашриёти. 2001 й. 121-бет.

all in Indian titles, neither in coins nor in texts from other sources. He accepted the Bactrian title PAONANOPAO - king of kings, officially declaring himself to belong to the Iranian (Orion) world. In a written source found near Isapur (India), Vasishka, like Kanishka, received the title "mahārāja rājatirāja dēvaputra shāhi Vasishka", that is, "king Vasishka, the son of the sky", the famous scholar Luders wrote in his work²¹.

Epigraph scientist A.H. Dani in his scientific research, Dani studied the three-line stone inscriptions written during the reign of the Kushan king Vaikheska, and stated that in these inscriptions his father Kanishka II carried the royal title "Kaysara"²². The scholar also reads the name Maharaja Uvima Kadhatphisa in the famous rock graffiti of Hunza²³. It is possible to compare the information on this inscription with the title "maharaja" which is often found in Kushon numismatic sources.

Along with these titles, in the epigraphic inscriptions of the Kushon period, Khoadeo (in Surkhkotal and Dilbarjin), which became the Old Persian title of Khva-tavya, i.e. single ruler, the title of Shao, which is similar to the word king, is represented in the inscriptions of Surkhkotal²⁴. This title in the form of xdn/o was widely used in the regions of Bactria and Takharistan until the 8th century²⁵.

This state was divided into certain satraps, whose rulers were completely dependent on the Kushan kings. In addition, the Kushan kingdom had separate border provinces similar to margraves. Above them stood the military commanders with the title of "kanarang", which is called "karalrago" in Bactrian. The current Surkhandarya region was probably such a region²⁶. Based on the information of Surhkotal, the advisory council of the ruler, which consisted of officials and nobles, included military commanders (kanarang)²⁷, we see that they have become important in the military and political life of the country.

In the inscriptions of Surkh-Kotal, the name Nokonzok appears in the Bactrian language with the title "karalraggo" (head of the border region), while in the inscriptions of Rabotak, it is karalraggo Shadaf²⁸ name is recorded. B. Henning's scientific research suggests that this title was the same as the title of "kanarang", i.e., a military commander guarding the border, carried by the ruler of the eastern part of the Sassanid state (bordering Central Asia)²⁹. This title spread widely

²¹ Luders 1912, № 1417; Agravala 1951, 136-bet;

²² Dani, A. H., *ibid.* p.114, no.89.

²³ Dani, A. H., The Sacred Rock of Hunza, *Journal of Central Asia*, No.8 (2): 1985, pp. 5-124.

²⁴ Ртвеладзе.Э.В. Титулы правителей государств и владений в Средней Азии в начале I тыс. до н.э. – III-IV вв. н.э. Тошкент нашриёти. 345-бет; Sims-Williams N. A Note on Bactrian Syntaxis // *IF*. 1973. Bd. 78. P. 98; Лившиц В.А., Кругликова И.Т. Фрагменты бактрийской монументальной надписи из Дильберджина // *Древняя Бактрия*. Вып. 2. М., 1979. С. 102-103.

²⁵ Лившиц В.А. К открытию бактрийских...С. 67-69; Ртвеладзе Э.В. Денежное обращение в Северо-Западном тохаристане в раннем средневековье // *Городская культура Бактрии – Тохаристана и Согда*. Ташкент, 1987. С. 120-131.

²⁶ Ртвеладзе Э.В., А.Х.Хасанов, Е.Б.Абдуллаев. Қаймғи Ўзбекистон цивилизацияси: давлатчилик ва ҳуқуқ тарихидан лавҳалар. Тошкент нашриёти. 2001 й.56-бет.

²⁷ Frye R. *Heritage of Central Asia from Antiquity to the Turkish Expansion*, Princeton, 1996. P.143

²⁸ Sims-Williams N., Cribb J. A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great. P. 78-79.

²⁹ Henning W.B., 1965 b, p. 81.

in Central Asia - it was also carried by the viceroys of the Samarkand estate in the early Middle Ages³⁰.

This type of border region probably corresponds to the territories of the present-day Surkhan oasis. The paucity of information in the source does not allow us to determine whether this title is compatible with the status of "satrap". (KANISKI NAMO KIPDO) was given the name. V.A. According to Livshits, the temple in Surkh-Kotal was also called Victorious Kanishka (KANISKI OANINDO). Perhaps, like Shudiya Nokonzok and Sharaf, he was a high-ranking official of the Kushan administration, a karalraggo of Northern Bactria.

The Indian governors of the Kushan kings had "raja", "navhapati" and other Indian titles. There was also the title "kshatrapati" - "satrap", which was carried by regional governors belonging to the Kushan royal family³¹.

During the Kushan period, the second person in the central government apparatus after the "king of kings" was an official with the title of "buzurg framandar". The title "Vasork Framandar" is written on a marble seal found in India in Kushan script in the style of "vasork-framandar". This title is famous for the Sassanid period. This title was held by persons from the ruling clan or representatives of the most noble families. "Buzurg is a foreigner" his position corresponds to the post of "minister" in the Muslim era and "prime minister" in Europe. However, I.M. Diyakonov uses the word framandar in early medieval Sogdian texts to mean "keeping order", "ruler of the royal household"³² translates as.

In the Kushan Empire, which inherited the system of division into satrapies from the Greco-Bactrian state, the title "satrap" was applied to certain categories of officials. The surviving information about satraps in an Indian written source dating to the reign of Kanishka I testifies to Kushan administrative relations. In this source, the titles "satrap" and "great satrap" are mentioned. The title "Satrap of Satraps" was probably equivalent to the Parthian title "Satrap of Satraps"³³. The power of the satrapy ruler of the Kushan Empire was significantly less than the powers of the satrap during the Achaemenid period. This is explained, first of all, by the much smaller territory of the satrapy, compared to the satrapy in the Achaemenids or Alexander's empire. The Greco-Bactrian governor of the satrapy was limited not only in the political sphere, but also in the financial sphere: despite the abundance of numismatic materials, we hardly find independent coinage in the Kushan satrapies.

According to the meaning of the "Prayer" in Rabatak and the texts in it, it was built in memory of the previous Kushan kings, as evidenced by the inscriptions on their statues. The temple is intended to raise the fame of Kanishka and his deeds to heaven at the same time. One of his figurines is "Kaniski Vanindo" of the Victorious Kanishka³⁴ the existence of the text is a clear proof of this.

³⁰ Ibid, pp. 77-78.

³¹ ГОЛАМРЕЗА ДЖАВАДИ. ИСТОРИЯ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОГО УПРАВЛЕНИЯ В ИРАНЕ И СРЕДНЕЙ АЗИИ В ДРЕВНОСТИ. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук. Душанбе - 2004. С. 109.

³² М.М. Дьяконов. Очерк истории древнего Ирана. М., 1961. С-299.

³³ Э.В. Ртвеладзе, Д.А. Алимова. Узбек давлатчилиги тарихи. Тошкент: Академнашр, 2021. 290-бет.

³⁴ Schulumberger D., Le Berre M., Fussman C. Surk-Kotale en Bactrienue. V. I – III. Paris, 1983; Sims-Williams N., Cribb J. The New Inscription... P. 73-141.

Seals now kept in the Hermitage (Moscow) and British (London) museums provide us with additional information about the titles and positions of the Kushan period, as well as the advanced state administration apparatus. The name of the owner and the title "Khazarrukht" are written on the seal, If we take this title in terms of form and content, it can be seen that it corresponds to the title of "Khazarpat" "captain of a thousand warriors" of Achaemenids and Sasanians. During the Achaemenid period, a person with this title was the commander-in-chief of the royal army. Based on these seal texts, we can conclude that the Kushan title "Khazarrukht" had the same meaning, that is, the commander-in-chief of the troops of the Kushan Empire.

By the second half of the 3rd - 4th centuries AD, when the Kushan state was in crisis, titles such as "shao" and "hoadeo" were preserved in some places in a slightly changed form, in the form of "shayo" and "khdeo", but these titles retained their former importance. was completely lost. Rulers with this title often ruled over small territories, such as Shao Gobozi and Shao Rogoz(iko) in northern Bactria³⁵ It is proved by written sources that the rulers of such regions accepted this title³⁶. The process of losing the former importance of the title continued in the early Middle Ages. However, R. In his scholarly works, Girshman believes that although the Kushan Empire has lost its former importance, the titles of rulers have retained their value. Based on this opinion, Samudragupta shows that the Kushan kings are remembered with the status of "sons of heaven" and "king of kings" in the stone inscriptions made in Allahabad³⁷.

In the 3rd-4th centuries AD, in almost all regions of Central Asia between the two rivers, the ancient Aramaic titular MR'Y and MLK' were used for the rulers, and in rare cases, as in Khorezm, they were called by the double combination MR'Y MLK' (MRAY MLKA) and "king" has the title of ruler. Only Bukhara and northern Tokharistan were excluded. Copper coins minted in the Bukhara oasis of the 4th century AD use the very old title k`w` (kava) with the image of an altar³⁸.

CONCLUSION.

If we pay attention to which language the titles and titles of the rulers of the ancient states and territories of Central Asia belonged to, they have different linguistic origins depending on different circumstances, in particular, the political dominance of a certain state and local cultural traditions: ancient and middle Persian, Aramaic, Greek , Bactrian, Hindi, Sak-Khotan, Sogdian, and possibly ancient Turkic languages are observed. This shows how complex and diverse the historical process of the formation of states and territories in Central Asia between the two rivers was, and which ethnic groups took an active part in it.

REFERENCES:

³⁵ Rtveldze E.V. A Bactrian Seal bearing the name of an unknown king(?) from Chaghanian // Circle of Inner Asia Art. Issue 18. London, 2003. P. 12-15.

³⁶ Ртвеладзе.Э.В. Титулы правителей государств и владений в Средней Азии в начале I тыс. до н.э. – III-IV вв. н.э. Ташкент нашриёти.346-бет.

³⁷ Б. Г, Гафуров. ИСТОРИЯ ИРАНСКОГО ГОСУДАРСТВА И КУЛЬТУРЫ. ГЛАВНАЯ РЕДАКЦИЯ ВОСТОЧНОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ Москва 1971.225-226 бет

³⁸ Лившиц В.А., Луконин В.Г. Среднеперсидские и согдийские...С. 170.

1. Ртвеладзе Э.В. Древние монеты Средней Азии. Из литературы. Г. Гусьяма нашриёти. Тошкент. 1987 г.
2. Э.В. Ртвеладзе. История государственности Узбекистана. Т. Ўзбекистон нашриёти. 2009 й.
3. Narain A.K. The Five Yabgus of the Yechehah // India. History and Thought. P. 176-177;
Verma T.P. The Evolution... P. 58-60.
- Bailey H.W. Languages of the Saka // Handbuch der Orientalistik. Bd. 4. Leiden, 1958. P. 136;
4. Кляшторный С.Г. Древнетюркский рунические... С. 111;
5. Chattopadhyay B. The Age... P. 28.
6. Ртвеладзе Э.В. Титулы правителей государств и владений в Средней Азии в начале I тыс. до н.э. – III-IV вв. н.э. Ўзбекистон нашриёти. 2009 г.
9. Mukherjee B.N. Imperial cults in the Kushana empire // India and Central Asia // - Tashkent, 2000 y.
10. Э.В. Ртвеладзе, Д.А. Алимова. Узбек давлатчилиги тарихи. Тошкент: Академнашр, 2021.
11. Sims-Williams N., Cribb J. A New Bactrian... P. 97-99.
12. Mukherjee B.N. Imperial Cults in the Kushana Empire // India and Central Asia. Tashkent, 2000.
13. Fussman G. L. Inscriptions de Rabatak. La Bactriane et les Kouchans
14. Пугаченкова Г.А., Ртвеладзе Э.В. Северная Бактрия – Тохаристан. Очерки истории и культуры. Ташкент, 1990.
15. Henning W.B. The Bactrian Inscription. // BSOAS. 1960. Vol. XXIII. Pt.
16. Reisch E. Baktrionoi / Paulys Real-Encyclopedie – Stuttgart, 1896.
17. Э.В. Ртвеладзе, А.Х. Хасанов, Е.Б. Абдуллаев. Қаймги Ўзбекистон цивилизацияси: давлатчилик ва ҳуқуқ тарихидан лавҳалар. Тошкент нашриёти. 2001 й.
18. Dani, A. H., The Sacred Rock of Hunza, Journal of Central Asia, No.8. 1985.
19. Лившиц В.А., Кругликова И.Т. Фрагменты бактрийской монументальной надписи из Дильберджины // Древняя Бактрия. Вып. 2. М., 1979.
20. Ртвеладзе Э.В. Денежное обращение в Северо-Западном тохаристане в раннем средневековье // Городская культура Бактрии – Тохаристана и Согда. Ташкент, 1987.
21. Frye R. Heritage of Central Asia from Antiquity to the Turkish Expansion, Princeton, 1996.
23. Э.В. Ртвеладзе, Д.А. Алимова. Узбек давлатчилиги тарихи. Тошкент: Академнашр, 2021.
24. Б. Г. Гафуров. ИСТОРИЯ ИРАНСКОГО ГОСУДАРСТВА И КУЛЬТУРЫ. ГЛАВНАЯ РЕДАКЦИЯ ВОСТОЧНОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ Москва 1971.