

THE CENTRAL ASIAN TIES OF A TENTH-CENTURY MUSLIM RULER IN EGYPT

Jere L. Bacharach
University of Washington (Seattle)

The sultans who ruled Egypt and Syria between 648 AH/1250 CE and 792/1390 were born in Central Asia or were direct descendants of Central Asians. The earlier Tulunid dynasty (254–92/868–905) was founded by the son of a Central Asian named Tulun who had been brought into the Islamic world to serve in the ‘Abbasid caliph’s military as a *mamluk* (slave soldier). There is very little evidence that in either period these military rulers highlighted their Central Asian origins through titles or the use of symbols specifically tied to their family origins (Treadwell 2017, p. 37). An exception is the policies of one Muhammad ibn Tughj ibn Juff (323–34/935–46), the grandson of a Central Asian-born mamluk, who established rule over Egypt and Palestine of the dynasty known as the Ikhshidids (323–58/935–69).

Evidence to demonstrate Ibn Tughj’s memory of his family’s Central Asian origin can be found in two types of historical data. The medieval narrative sources record how Ibn Tughj sought from the ruling ‘Abbasid caliph in Baghdad an honorific title (*laqab*) at a time when holding a caliphal granted *laqab* was considered prestigious. What made his request unique was that he wanted the title, al-Ikhshid, a Central Asian pre-Islamic title. The first half of this article will analyze that story.

The second historical source is numismatic, that is, a coin struck by Muhammad ibn Tughj in Egypt. As the second part of this article will show, the coin includes a design which is uniquely Central Asian and is evidence that memory of symbols from a pre-Islamic Central Asian world survived in that of 4th/10th century Egypt. In analyzing this coin, we will first consider how one can (and cannot) use numismatic evidence.

Political Background

In 358/969, Sunni ‘Abbasid Egypt was conquered by the Fatimids, an Isma‘ili Shi‘ite dynasty. During the preceding 35 years Egypt, Palestine and occasionally other parts of Greater Syria was governed by one family (or its leading military figure) known as the Ikhshidids.

Al-Ikhshid, whose full name was Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Tughj ibn Juff, was the third generation of his family to serve the ‘Abbasid caliphate.¹ His grandfather, Juff, was among the mamluks imported from non-Islamic Central Asia, probably the Ferghana region. His father, Tughj, began his career in Iraq where Muhammad b. Tughj was born on 15 Rajab 268/8 February 882. Tughj went on to serve the Tulunid dynasty of Egypt and Syria. He held the governorships of Damascus, Tiberias, and Aleppo and was one of the most important Tulunid generals.² Muhammad b. Tughj gained his first administrative and military experience during this period, serving as governor of Tiberias for his father (Ibn Sa‘id 1899, p. 5).

In 292/905 the ‘Abbasid general Muhammad ibn Sulayman ended the Tulunid dynasty. Tughj successfully transferred his allegiance to Muhammad ibn Sulayman and was rewarded the governorship of Aleppo. This momentary change in fortune came to naught as Tughj’s new patron was arrested and charged with withholding tribute from the caliphal court. The general, Tughj, and his two sons Muhammad and ‘Ubayd Allah were all imprisoned (Ibn al-‘Adim 1951, p. 91; Ibn Taghri Birdi 1943/3, p. 135). Tughj died in prison in 294/906, while his sons were released shortly thereafter.

Political intrigues in Baghdad in 296/908 forced Muhammad ibn Tughj to flee to Syria, where he found a new patron.³ Within a year Ibn Tughj was in Egypt continuing in the service of the same man and later his son. His career took another step forward when another governor of Egypt made him governor of Amman and the region east of the Jordan River. Career opportunities continued to improve for him as he built up marriage alliances and political ties with key figures in Baghdad. He established a stronger administrative and military record with another stint in Egypt and then the governorship of Damascus. This line of progress culminated with his appointment as the governor of Egypt with a letter reaching Fustat (part of modern Cairo) on 7 Ramadan 321/31 August

933 to that effect. Muhammad ibn Tughj was in Damascus at the time and sent an agent to Egypt as his representative.⁴ Thirty-two days later, the 'Abbasid caliph named someone else as governor of Egypt and Muhammad ibn Tughj's first governorship ended without his ever entering the country.

In Baghdad, the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Qahir (320–22/932–34) was blinded and removed from office on 6 Jumada I, 322/29 April 934 and al-Radi (322–29/934–40) was proclaimed the new caliph. By 323/935 political and economic conditions in Egypt had reached an almost anarchical state. The troops of the appointed governor were rioting over their lack of pay; the homes of the financial minister were being looted; the son of a former governor was attempting to establish his own governorship; the populace of Fustat was suffering economic tribulations; and bedouin raids on agricultural settlements had increased. In the middle of the crisis, news of the appointment (or technically, reappointment) of Muhammad b. Tughj as governor reached Egypt. The promotion of the governor of Damascus was the result of his connections in Baghdad including important marriage ties (for details, see Bacharach 1975, pp. 592–94). The situation in Egypt deteriorated further before his arrival with a rebellion of pro-Fatimid military forces in Egypt calling upon the Shi'ite Caliph-Imam in North Africa for military aid.⁵ This time Muhammad b. Tughj went to Egypt with a contingent of his own troops.

Upon his arrival, Ibn Tughj quickly set about establishing his control. By the end of 324/November 936 Ikhshidid forces had effectively defeated the pro-Fatimid forces. Due to their own internal problems and the leadership in Egypt of Muhammad ibn Tughj and his effective successor, the African eunuch, Kafur, the Fatimids would not attack Egypt again until the country found itself facing serious political and economic problems in 358/969 (for an overview, see Lev 1988). To ensure continuity and stability within Egypt, Ibn Tughj accepted the former governor and treasurer into his administration and moved against raiding tribal groups and looters, making looting a capital crime. He then used the revenues coming into his hands to build up his own military forces. Arguing from silence is always dangerous but the lack of references to internal economic problems in Egypt during Muhammad b. Tughj's years as governor creates the impression that he was successful in establishing relative peace and prosperity.⁶

The title al-Ikhshid

One piece of evidence that Muhammad b. Tughj's sense of association with Central Asia was strong, although there is no evidence he ever went there, involves the elaborate title he sought for himself from his nominal

overlord, the Caliph al-Radi in Baghdad. In 326/938 Ibn Tughj asked the caliph for an honorary title (*laqab*), specifically for the *laqab* al-Ikhshid. The granting of a *laqab* was not unusual, but it was normally associated with a particular military or political event. For example, slightly earlier a eunuch and military leader in Baghdad received a *laqab* for his victory over the Fatimids. Another very important military family in Iraq, the Hamdanids, received their *laqabs* for their military actions on behalf of the 'Abbasid caliph, and the Buyids, another extended family but this time with Shi'ite tendencies, when controlling Baghdad forced the Sunni 'Abbasid caliph to award them their *laqabs*. Muhammad ibn Tughj did not receive his *laqab* al-Ikhshid for a specific military action, nor was he in a position in Iraq to force the caliph to award it. He acquired it through bribery, gifts, court connections, and possible threats to support the Shi'ite Fatimids in North Africa. Not only was the method by which Muhammad ibn Tughj acquired his *laqab* unusual, but also so was the title.

The most common *laqab* for powerful figures in the 'Abbasid world were formed by an appropriate descriptive noun, e.g. *Sayf* or sword, combined with *al-Dawla* (implying the State or, in this case, the caliph's government). Buyids, Hamdanids and even an earlier 'Abbasid wazir had *laqabs* in which the second part was *al-Dawla*, but Muhammad ibn Tughj did not. It is possible that the acquisition of a *laqab*, which included *al-Dawla* implied a relationship in which the individual was, theoretically, a defender of the caliph and the 'Abbasid caliphate. While Muhammad ibn Tughj fit the latter definition in his role as defender of Sunni lands against the Isma'ili Shi'ite Fatimids, he was not in Baghdad protecting the reigning caliph. Muhammad b. Tughj specifically requested the *laqab* al-Ikhshid that is, a title held by pre-Islamic Central Asian rulers.

When Ibn Tughj's request for this title reached the reigning 'Abbasid caliph al-Radi, the caliph asked his chamberlain what the term meant. He was informed that it referred to the "King of the Farghanians," just as other titles were applied to kings of other peoples (Ibn Sa'id 1899, p. 23; Ibn Taghri Birdi 1944/4, p. 237). The caliph then replied that as Muhammad ibn Tughj was descended from a Farghanian, that is from his grandfather Juff, "we will not be stingy with him on this account" (Ibn Sa'id 1899, p. 23). The wording in the chronicles suggests that it may have been a put-down by the caliph and his court (Bates 2001, p. 284). Muhammad b. Tughj was thus invested with this unique honorific title along with appropriate gifts from the caliph, and henceforth, was known as al-Ikhshid.⁷

The official designation of the title al-Ikhshid reached

Fustat in Ramadan 327/July 939 although unofficial word had arrived in the Egyptian capital at least nine months earlier (Bates 2001, p. 284; Al-Maqrīzī 1991, p. 131). Upon receiving official word, Muhammad ibn Tughj ibn Juff had his new title “al-Ikhshid” proclaimed from all the pulpits in his lands during the Friday noon sermon (*khutba*) and written on all his correspondence. It would be another three years, 330/942, before the title al-Ikhshid appeared on his coinage (see Bacharach 2006, pp. 43–54). Ibn Tughj’s widespread use of his new title reflects the importance and prestige 4th/10th century Muslim rulers in the lands from Egypt to Iran attached to acquiring a *laqab*. What made this governor of Egypt unique among all his contemporaries is that he sought a title associated with Central Asia and his specific family. Memory of the title could have easily passed down from his grandfather to his family to himself as part of the oral traditions of his own origins. His having knowledge of his biological Central Asian roots may be unusual but is easy to accept in a society where emphasis is on oral transmission. The availability of visual material tied to Central Asia would have been extremely limited, which makes the second example so rare.

Numismatic background

One of the most notorious assassinations in Western history is the murder of the Roman general Julius Caesar on the Ides of March (March 15) 55 BCE by Brutus and Cassius and a band of conspirators. Shortly thereafter a coin with an inscription and images was produced in Rome by Brutus [Fig. 1]. The obverse (heads) of the coin includes an image of Brutus and his title as Imperator which meant “honored military commander”. The reverse includes the date “Eid Mar” for the Ides of March with a cap between two daggers. It would be easy to interpret the images and inscriptions as a denunciation of Brutus and Cassius (the two knives) for murdering Julius Caesar, but a knowledge of Roman iconography would lead to the reverse conclusion. The “cap” on the coin is the Roman symbol of liberty, and the coin proclaims that the death of Caesar was done in the name of protecting “liberty” and the Roman Republic.



Fig. 1

It is often possible to read inscriptions on coins and describe images and geometric designs, but their meaning is dependent on understanding the historical and cultural world in which the coin was struck. This is true for all coins, and in that sense numismatics is an ancillary science where the interpretations are dependent on data from other fields such as history, art history, etc.

Coins associated with the Islamic world from the end of the 1st century AH /7th century CE to the 13th/20th can be grouped into four general categories. The vast majority are gold and silver coins struck by Muslim rulers which used Arabic script, included limited geometric designs, and lacked human and even non-human images and, it was claimed, followed Islamic law. Copper coins were considered a local currency and were not as restricted in what was included on the coins but tended to follow the same guidelines. A fourth category for which there was no term in the pre-modern Islamic sources constitutes commemorative or presentation pieces where none of the preceding rules applied. These issues could be in any metal, include unusual inscriptions and designs, and even human images. Whatever the unique circumstance involved in their production, memory of that event was quickly lost and almost never recorded in the narrative sources. The struck metal “presentation” object quickly became part of the circulating supply of money and was traded as if it was just like all the regular gold, silver and copper coins. One such presentation piece from 4th/10th century Egypt is the subject of what follows [Fig. 2].

A Numismatic Presentation Piece

This particular coin was first studied by the Israeli scholar Ariel Berman (1981). The obverse carries the caliph’s *laqab* “al-Radi billah” in the center, while the margin includes the *shahada* in the form “There is no deity except God, Muhammad is the Prophet of God.” The reverse margin identifies Misr as the mint, which was the name used for the mint in the capital (Fustat) as well as for the province of Egypt. The obverse center includes only one name, Muhammad. This has to be Muhammad ibn Tughj as he was the only governor of Egypt during the caliphate of al-Radi. The space above the name Muhammad [Fig. 3] is filled by a symbolic



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

device, which I originally considered some sort of a spade-like geometric design.

Based upon a limited but general knowledge I called the device illustrated in the design a *tamga* (Bacharach 2006, pp. 28–30).⁸ Discovering what this particular *tamga* represented illustrates the power of serendipity. Working from standard library sources and focusing exclusively on Eastern Mediterranean lands, that is the geographic areas where Muhammad ibn Tughj had been militarily and diplomatically active, I found a different design, labeled a *tamga*, which was known from the copper coinage of Ibn Tughj's most famous Turkish predecessor in Egypt, Ahmad b. Tulun (254-270/868-884). How contemporaries understood the meaning of that symbol is not known nor is its origin (Grabar 1957, p. 32; Treadwell 2017). The closest numismatic material from the Mediterranean world related to the *tamga* illustrated on the coin above was the large M found on Byzantine copper *folles*, but they ceased production by 831 CE (Grierson 1963, p. 68). Both the dating of the *folles* and the obvious differences in design make it unlikely that the Byzantine coin was a model or inspiration for Muhammad ibn Tughj's issue. At that point I concluded that the design was meaningful to someone and the memory of what it represented was lost before anyone recorded it in a text.

Shortly before submitting the final version of my manuscript on Ikhshidid coinage to the American University in Cairo Press I was in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, giving a series of presentations. After one lecture, Dr. Gaybullaboboyorov showed me a series of pre-Islamic copper coins from Samarkand, on which, to my amazement, was the model for Muhammad ibn Tughj's *tamga* [Fig. 4, on the left]. My astonishment only increased when Internet and library searches on this coinage revealed that the *tamga* design was Central Asian and relatively common.

According to one Russian scholar, the proper Chach (Tashkent) type are the coins with a characteristic "pitchfork-like" symbol on the reverse and an image or a bust of the ruler, or a lion with risen paw on the obverse (Brykina 1999). The same *tamga* was also used

Fig. 4



on a number of pre-Islamic coins minted in Samarkand while other designs, which served as *tamgas*, appeared on coins from Tashkent, Samarkand and other Central Asian pre-Islamic mints. Dr. Boboyorov informed me that the rulers of Chach did not use the title Ikhshid, but used other titles such as *Tegin* and *Tudun*. She then pointed out that the spade design *tamgas* on the coins of Chach can only be found on those minted by Turkic rulers.⁹ This information strengthens the argument that there were ties between the *tamga* used by Muhammad ibn Tughj and his family's Turkic roots in Central Asia.

Conclusion

Scholars have been able to establish the names of ten Ikhshids who ruled Samarqand from the mid-seventh to the mid-eighth century (see Zeimal' 1994). The title was also held by rulers of Chach/Shash (Tashkent) and the Ferghana Valley, the specific area from which Juff, Muhammad ibn Tughj's grandfather originated (Brykina and Gorbunova 1999). In the earlier periods the title was rendered on the coins by the Aramean heterogram MLK' and on later issues in Soghdian (Brykina 1999). How many could read these inscriptions more than a century after the Muslim conquests is questionable, but memory of the title must have been retained and transmitted from generation to generation. Otherwise how could a Muhammad ibn Tughj, a Turkic ruler in Egypt of Central Asian origin, have ever come up with a request for it from the caliph in Baghdad? Based upon medieval narrative sources, we do know that some at the 'Abbasid court in Iraq knew that the title "al-Ikhshid" was associated with pre-Islamic rulers in Central Asia, even if the caliph himself was ignorant. How many in al-Ikhshid's Egypt knew of the title's Central Asian origins and its association with governing? I am confident that for the vast majority of ruled Egyptians it was a meaningless title in a language other than Arabic. I also believe that some of al-Ikhshid's military who were themselves of Central Asian origin may have heard the title or of the title, but who they were and how many will never be known.

What is more amazing is that somehow a visual memory of that specific Central Asian *tamga* was carried to Egypt. Was a Central Asian coin or banner passed from Juff to his son to Tughj and then to his son with the proper Muslim name Muhammad, the future al-Ikhshid? We will never know how Muhammad ibn Tughj became aware of this specific *tamga* design and its association with rulers in Central Asia.

Since the presentation piece does not have the *laqab* al-Ikhshid inscribed on it, the coin must have been minted before 330/942 when the name *al-Ikhshid* was inscribed on all gold and silver Ikhshidid coins. But exactly in which year this particular presentation was struck cannot be determined. Unless some undiscovered narrative source appears which treats the issue, an extremely unlikely probability, we will never know which year the coin was issued.

Another important question which cannot be answered is for whom the coin was struck, this in contrast to our understanding of why the Brutus Ides of March coin was produced. Was the coin with its Central Asian *tamga* part of the gifts (bribes) sent to the Caliph al-Radi when Muhammad ibn Tughj requested the *laqab* al-Ikhshid? Was this a subtle message that Ibn Tughj understood that, just as this specific *tamga* was associated with pre-Islamic rulers from his ancestral homelands, the title he requested had the same association? Unfortunately, appropriate historical data are lacking to answer these questions. We can only conclude that the title al-Ikhshid and the coin with this specific *tamga* demonstrate how strong the memory of Central Asia was with Muhammad ibn Tughj, a 4th/10th century ruler of Egypt and the third of his line to reside far from his ancestral homeland.

About the author

A specialist in Medieval Islamic history and numismatics, **Jere L. Bacharach** is Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Washington (Seattle). His publications include *The Restoration and Conservation of Islamic Monuments in Egypt* (1995) and *A Middle East Studies Handbook* (1984). He is the co-author of the website enl.numismatics.org which is a complete bi-lingual catalog of 6,500 numismatic items in the Egyptian National Library, Cairo. E-mail: <jere@uw.edu>.

References

al-Kindi 1912

al-Kindī. *The governors and judges of Egypt or Kitāb al-‘Umarā’ wa-Kitāb al-Quzāt of al-Kindī: together with an appendix derived mostly from Raf‘ al-īṣr by Ibn Ḥaḡar*, ed. by Rhuvon Guest. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. 19. Leiden: Brill, 1912.

Al-Maqrīzī 1991

Aḥmad Ibn-‘Alī al-Maqrīzī. *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad Ya‘lāwī. 8 vols. Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islamī, 1991.

Bacharach 1975

Jere L. Bacharach. "The Career of Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid: A Tenth Century Governor of Egypt." *Speculum* 50 (1975): 586–612.

Bacharach 2006

_____. *Islamic History Through Coins: An Analysis and Catalogue of Tenth-Century Ikhshidid Coinage*. Cairo; New York: American Univ. in Cairo Press, 2006; second rev.

ed., 2015, available free at <<http://www.aucpress.com/images/9781617975202.pdf>>.

Bates 2001

Michael L. Bates, "The Expression of Nobility in the ‘Abbasid Caliphate, 218–334 H./833–945 C.E." [Working title: 12 January 2001; unpublished paper].

Berman 1981

Ariel Berman, "Additional Information on the Coinage of Egypt during the Governorship of Muḥammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid." *Israel Numismatic Journal* 5 (1981): 69–72.

Bianquis 1998

Thierry Bianquis. "Autonomous Egypt from Ibn Ṭūlūn to Kāfūr, 868–969." In: Carl F. Petry, ed. *Cambridge History of Egypt*, Vol. 1: *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Pr., 1998: 86–119.

Brykina 1999

G[alina] A. Brykina. "Chach." In: *Central Asia in the Early Middle Ages: Coins of the Region*. Tr. from *Sredniaia Aziia v rannem srednevekov’e*, ed. G. Brykina. Moskva: Nauka, 1999. On line at: <http://www.kroraia.com/ca/c_chach.html>, last accessed 16 November 2017.

Brykina and Gorbunova 1999

_____, and N. G. Gorbunova. "Ferghana." In: *Central Asia in the Early Middle Ages: Introduction to the history of the regions*. Tr. from *Sredniaia Aziia v rannem srednevekov’e*, ed. G. Brykina. Moskva: Nauka, 1999: 93–95, 104–111. On line at <http://www.kroraia.com/ca/eh_ferghana.html>, last accessed 16 November 2017.

Duri 1960

A. A. Duri, "Amīr." *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Vol. 1. Leiden: Brill, 1957: 439.

Grabar 1957

Oleg Grabar. *The Coinage of the Tulunids*. Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 139. New York: American Numismatic Society, 1957.

Grierson 1973

Philip Grierson. *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection* (3 vols. in 5. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1966–1973): Vol. 3 in 2 pts.: *Leo III to Nicephorus III 717–1081*.

Ibn al-‘Adīm 1951–1968

Ibn al-‘Adīm. *Zubdat al-Ḥalab min ta’riḫ Ḥalab*, ed. Sāmī Dahhān. 3 vols. Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1951.

Ibn Khallikān [1970]

Šams al-Dīn Ibn Khallikān. *Wafayāt al-a’yān wa anba’ al-zaman*. 2 vols. Bulag, 1299/1881; *Ibn Khallikan’s Biographical Dictionary*, tr. William MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols. London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1970; orig. ed. 1842–1871.

Ibn Sa‘īd 1899

‘Alī ibn Mūsa Ibn Sa‘īd, *Mughrib fi hula al-Maghrib*, 2 vols., Bk. 4. Knut L. Tallqvist, ed. Helsingfors-Leiden: Brill, 1899.

Ibn Taghrī Birdī 1943/3, 1944/4

Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrī Birdī. *‘Al-Nujūm ‘al-*

Zāhirah fi mulūk Miṣr wa-'al-Qāhirah. Vols. 3, 4. Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyah, 1943, 1944.

Lev 1988

Yaacov Lev. "The Fatimids and Egypt 301–358/914–969." *Arabica* 35/2 (1988): 186–96.

Treadwell 2017

Luke Treadwell, "The Numismatic Evidence for the Reign of Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn (254–270/868–883)," *al-Uṣur al-Wusta* 25 (2017): 14–40.

Zeimal' 1994

E[vgenii] V. Zeimal'. "The Circulation of Coins in Central Asia during the Early Medieval Period (Fifth–Eighth Centuries A.D.)." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, N.S., Vol. 8 [1994]. 245–67.

Notes

1. The most extensive biography of Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid is Bacharach 1975, from which most of the following is taken.
2. Details on the career of Tughj b. Juff can be found in Ibn Sa'īd 1899, pp. 4–11; Ibn Khallikān 1881/1970, 2, pp. 53–54, and in translation, 3, pp. 218–19; Ibn Taghrī Birdī 1943/3, pp. 235–44.
3. His new patron was Abu'l-'Abbas al-Bisam, and among Muhammad ibn Tughj's duties was carrying his master's hawk during the hunt (Ibn Sa'īd 1899, p. 7).

4. Beginning with reign of the Caliph al-Ma'mun, it was not uncommon for appointees to send representatives while they stayed in the capital (Duri 1957, p. 439).

5. A summary of these conditions can be found in Bianquis 1998, pp. 112–13. The seriousness of the Fatimid threat is downplayed by Yaacov Lev (1988, p. 193) who believes that the Fatimid expedition of 307/919 marked the last serious military attempt to conquer Egypt before 358/969. I believe that for contemporaries the possibility of the Fatimids invading Egypt or, at least, supporting rebellious factions in Egypt was very real and Muhammad ibn Tughj was able to use that potential threat to his advantage once he consolidated power.

6. There was a minor pro-Shi'ite revolt in Egypt in 330/942 while al-Ikhshid was in Syria. The revolt came to naught and did very little to upset the general tranquility of the period (Al-Kindi 1912, pp. 294–95).

7. There is a modern Egyptian analogy from the 19th century when the Ottoman governor of Egypt Isma'il [1863–1879 CE] bought his unique title Khedive from the Ottoman sultan.

8. Most scholars of Central Asia spell the word *tamga*, which I will use, rather than *tamgha*.

9. Personal e-mail 10 May 2006 from Dr. Gaybulla Boboyorov.