

The Oasis of Bukhara

Volume 2

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The Oasis of Bukhara

Volume 2: An Archaeological, Sociological and Historical Study

By

Rocco Rante
Florian Schwarz
Luigi Tronca



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Contents

Preface VII

List of Figures VIII

Introduction 1

Rocco Rante and Luigi Tronca

1 An Archaeological Pluridisciplinary Study 1

2 A Few Considerations regarding the Digital Humanities Approach 2

1 Archaeological Pluridisciplinary Activities 6

Rocco Rante and Luigi Tronca

1 Morphology of Cities 10

1.1 *The Tripartite Sites* 11

1.2 *The Bipartite Sites* 13

2 Paleodemographic Data within the Oasis 16

3 Chronology of the Oasis of Bukhara 17

3.1 *Phase 1* 18

3.2 *Phase 2* 19

3.3 *Phase 3* 22

3.4 *Phase 4* 24

3.5 *Phase 5* 26

3.6 *Phase 6* 27

4 Archaeo-Sociological Interactions: Network Analysis within the Oasis of Bukhara 28

4.1 *The Theoretical Background* 28

4.2 *The Methodological Background* 30

4.3 *Methods* 33

4.4 *Bipartite Sites and Tripartite Sites in Their Territorial Layout: Some Case Examples* 33

4.5 *Connections between Tripartite and Bipartite Sites* 35

4.6 *Connections between Tripartite Sites through Main Roads* 49

4.7 *Connections between Tripartite Sites through Watercourses* 55

2 Land behind Bukhara

Materials for a Landscape History of the Bukhara Oasis in the Long First Millennium 60

Florian Schwarz

1 Preliminary Remarks 60

2 Historical Framework 62

2.1 *Bukhara and Sogdiana: The Emergence of a Historical Landscape in Antiquity* 62

2.2 *The Achaemenid and Early Post-Achaemenid Record (Late 6th to 3rd Century BCE)* 62

2.3 *The Earliest Chinese Evidence (2nd Century BCE to 1st Century CE)* 64

2.4 *A Sasanian Presence in Bukhara?* 66

Excursus: Niumi/Numijkat/Nokmitan/Namit/Bukhara 69

2.5 *Rising above the Horizon of the Written Record* 72

2.6 *Post-Han Chinese Sources: 5th to 7th Century* 73

2.7	<i>From Sogdic to Early Islamic</i>	75
2.7.1	Elements of the Internal Structures of the Oasis	75
2.7.2	Tārīkh-i Bukhārā	77
2.7.3	Excursus: The Campaigns of Qutayba b. Muslim	80
2.7.4	Early Samanid Transformations	82
2.8	<i>The Early Islamic Record Up to around 1200 CE</i>	83
2.8.1	10th-Century Geographers	84
2.8.2	The Schematic Representation of the Districts and Main Irrigation Arteries in the Classical Islamic Sources	84
2.8.3	Districts and Towns according to 10th-Century Geographical Texts	87
2.8.4	The Oasis in al-Samʿānī's <i>Kitāb al-Ansāb</i>	89
2.9	<i>Mongol-Period Transformations</i>	92
2.10	<i>The Main Rivers and Administrative Districts in the Oasis</i>	92
2.10.1	Rūdh-i Bukhārā/Daryā-yi Kūhak/Ḥarām Kām/Daryā-yi Qarākūl (Lower Zarafshan)	92
2.10.2	Sluices, Bridges and Fords on the Zarafshan	93
2.10.3	Main Administrative Districts	96
3	<i>Gazetteer of Toponyms and Settlements</i>	101
3.1	<i>Afshāna and Kharmītan</i>	101
3.2	<i>Bānab/Bānāb</i>	103
3.3	<i>Chargh (Shargh) and Iskijkat</i>	104
3.4	<i>Kakhishtuvan</i>	108
3.5	<i>Khāma</i>	109
3.6	<i>Khujādā</i>	110
3.7	<i>Khunbūn (West)</i>	112
3.8	<i>Khubūn (East) = Kārak /Kārīk- Alaviyān</i>	114
3.9	<i>Kumijkat</i>	115
3.10	<i>Mughkān</i>	120
3.11	<i>Parkad/Barkad</i>	122
3.12	<i>Pinjan</i>	125
3.13	<i>Rāzmāz</i>	126
3.14	<i>Rāmish</i>	127
3.15	<i>Sivanj/Savinj</i>	128
3.16	<i>Tārāb</i>	132
3.17	<i>Ṭavāvīs</i>	134
3.18	<i>Vābkand</i>	136
3.19	<i>Vardāna</i>	137
3.20	<i>Varka</i>	141
3.21	<i>Zandana/Zandani</i>	142
	Conclusion	145
	Bibliography	147
	Index	157

Preface

This second volume devoted to the Bukhara excavations carried out by the Louvre Museum since 2009 is a continuation of volume 1, which was published in 2019. It bears witness to an innovative and broad approach to archaeology in this oasis along the caravan routes between China, India and Iran. From the very beginning, Rocco Rante inscribed the research program MAFOUB (French Archaeological Mission in Uzbekistan) in a broad territorial vision, integrating the whole oasis. It thus develops a global analysis of the territory and its evolution, which starts with a thorough study of the landscapes and its morphologies. It also maps the human occupations in small or large urban sites that evolved over time. The sequence considered is long, searching for data from pre-history to the Islamic period, sometimes including the time of Genghis Khan.

This original study continues in this volume, with the exciting collaborations of a historian (Dr Florian Schwarz) and a sociologist (Dr Luigi Tronca). The historical study of the toponyms of the oasis testifies to the considerable work that has gone into analysing the ancient sources of the geographers through the precious document of the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*. It allows Florian Schwarz to produce a

luminous critical analysis of the historical contributions from the pre-Achaemenid period to the Mongols, perceiving major historical phenomena in the simple evolution of toponyms. The quality of this philological and historical approach and work is evident in the completeness of this index.

Luigi Tronca's sociological study that is applied to the archaeology of the oasis territory is equally innovative. This method creates models of social interaction patterns using geomorphological studies. Through this theoretical analysis, he deduces exciting perspectives on the central and secondary cities: the coherence of the locations of cities such as Romitan or other centres of power in the delta between the main rivers of Zerafshan in the south and Khitfar in the north. He also poses hypotheses on the necessary stages of the caravans in their rhythm of travel, which also determined the development of urban sites between the major centres.

I am convinced that this work will become a reference tool for understanding the historical and topographical evolution of the Bukhara Oasis.

Yannick Lintz

Figures

- 1 Satellite image of the oasis' geographical context (© World_Imagery 2020) 7
- 2 Satellite image of the Bukhara Oasis (© World_Imagery 2020) 8
- 3 The Bukhara Oasis with all settlements and watercourses (© World_Imagery 2020; Rilievi srl; R. Rante) 9
- 4 The Bukhara Oasis with all settlements identified as tripartite, bipartite and unique tepe/single tepe (© World_Imagery 2020; Rilievi srl; R. Rante) 11
- 5 3D topography of Paykend (© Rilievi srl; R. Rante 2018) 12
- 6 Map with tripartite sites (© World_Imagery 2020; Rilievi srl; R. Rante) 13
- 7 Topography of site 0250 (© Rilievi srl; R. Rante) 14
- 8 Satellite view of Uch Kulakh (© Google Earth 2013) 15
- 9 The tripartite site and its administrative neighbours: bipartite sites and unique tepe (© World_Imagery 2020; R. Rante) 18
- 10 Settlement distribution in Phase 1 (© World_Imagery 2020; Rilievi srl; R. Rante) 19
- 11 Map with tripartite and bipartite sites, 1893 Map watercourses (© World_Imagery 2020; R. Rante) 20
- 12 Settlement distribution in Phase 2 (© World_Imagery 2020; Rilievi srl; R. Rante) 21
- 13 Map with tripartite and bipartite sites (© World_Imagery 2020; Rilievi srl; R. Rante) 21
- 14 Settlement distribution in Phase 3 (© World_Imagery 2020; Rilievi srl; R. Rante) 22
- 15 3D reconstruction of Ramitan in Phase 3 (© Lauren Sanchez; R. Rante 2018) 23
- 16 The site of Paykend in Phase 3 (© Rilievi srl; R. Rante) 24
- 17 Settlement distribution in Phase 4 (© World_Imagery 2020; Rilievi srl; R. Rante) 25
- 18 3D reconstruction of Ramitan in Phase 4 (© Lauren Sanchez; R. Rante) 26
- 19 Settlement distribution in Phase 5 (© World_Imagery 2020; Rilievi srl; R. Rante) 27
- 20 Settlement distribution in Phase 6 (© World_Imagery 2020; Rilievi srl; R. Rante) 28
- 21 Map showing the mentioned sites and their social network (© R. Rante 2020) 34
- 22 Two-mode network of tripartite (blue squares) and bipartite (red circles) sites (© L. Tronca 2020) 36
- 23 Simple graph of bipartite sites obtained by the bipartite sites-by-tripartite sites matrix (© L. Tronca 2020) 39
- 24 View of sites on SRTM map (© R. Rante 2020) 44
- 25 Simple graph of tripartite sites obtained by the bipartite sites-by-tripartite sites matrix (© L. Tronca 2020) 47
- 26 View of sites on SRTM map (© R. Rante 2020) 47
- 27 Simple graph of tripartite sites: distance of 0–36 kilometres (© L. Tronca 2020) 50
- 28 Simple graph of tripartite sites: distance of 0–50 kilometres (© L. Tronca 2020) 50
- 29 Map showing visible mentioned sites 54
- 30 Map showing natural canals and tripartite sites 55
- 31 Two-mode network of watercourses (blue squares) and tripartite sites (red circles) (© L. Tronca 2020) 56
- 32 Simple graph of watercourses obtained by the tripartite sites-by-watercourses matrix (© L. Tronca 2020) 57
- 33 Simple graph of tripartite sites obtained by the tripartite sites-by-watercourses matrix (© L. Tronca 2020) 57
- 34 Markets/Fairs in al-Bīrūnī and *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* (© F. Schwarz 2020) 77
- 35 Al-Narshakhī's settlement layers: overview (© F. Schwarz 2020) 79
- 36 Al-Narshakhī's settlement layers: oasis (© F. Schwarz 2020) 80
- 37 Qutayba's campaigns (© F. Schwarz 2020) 81
- 38 Schematic map of rivers after Iṣṭakhīrī (© F. Schwarz 2020) 87
- 39 Schematic map after al-Samʿānī (© F. Schwarz 2020) 91
- 40 Zarafshan with bridges (© F. Schwarz 2020) 94
- 41 Districts (© F. Schwarz 2020) 95
- 42 Map showing toponyms of gazetteer (© F. Schwarz 2020) 100
- 43 Digital Terrain Model of site 330 (Afshana?) © Rilievi srl, R. Rante 2020 102
- 44 Digital Terrain Model of Banab (site 0567) © Rilievi srl, R. Rante 2020 103
- 45 Digital Terrain Model of Khama (site 0012) © Rilievi srl, R. Rante 2020 109
- 46 Digital Terrain Model of Khujada (site 0149) © Rilievi srl, R. Rante 2020 111
- 47 Digital Terrain Model of Khunbun (site 0040) © Rilievi srl, R. Rante 2020 112
- 48 Map showing the location of Bamijkath (© F. Schwarz 2020) 117
- 49 Map showing Kumijkath ("Bamijkath") and its settlement environment (© R. Rante 2020) 118
- 50 Satellite view of Mughkan (site 271?) (© World_Imagery 2020) 121
- 51 Map showing the western tūmāns of the oasis (© F. Schwarz 2020) 122

- 52 Digital Terrain Model of Parkad/Barkad (site 0944)
© Rilievi srl, R. Rante 2020 123
- 53 Properties around Parkad/Barkad mentioned in the
vaqfiyyas CGA 323.1429 (1299 CE) and 1297 (1569 CE or
earlier) (© F. Schwarz 2020) 125
- 54 Digital Terrain Model of Pinjan (site 0275) © Rilievi srl,
R. Rante 2020 126
- 55 Digital Terrain Model of Ramish tepe (site 0059)
© Rilievi srl, R. Rante 2020 127
- 56 Digital Terrain Model of Sivanj/Savinj (site 0231) © Rilievi
srl, R. Rante 2020 129
- 57 Digital Terrain Model of Tarab (site 0043) © Rilievi srl,
R. Rante 2020 132
- 58 Digital Terrain Model of Vardana (site 0084) © Rilievi srl,
R. Rante 2020 138
- 59 Digital Terrain Model of Varka (site 0644) © Rilievi srl,
R. Rante 2020 142
- 60 Digital Terrain Model of Zandana/Zandani (site 0083)
© Rilievi srl, R. Rante 2020 143

Introduction

Rocco Rante and Luigi Tronca

1 An Archaeological Pluridisciplinary Study

This volume is the result of a strong collaboration between different specialists whose main objective is to build, or rebuild, the history of humanity during the pre-Islamic and Islamic epochs in the oasis of Bukhara. It follows and completes the first volume. In fact, while the first volume studies the archaeological evidence and topographical maps, of which the main issue is to have a new chronological and historical tableau covering 1,800 years, the second volume focuses on historical and socio-archaeological features in order to better understand the relationships between urban and rural populations within the oasis. These features are linked to robust archaeological evidence and are placed in a recontextualised historical framework. Through this, two questions arise: how can we connect the huge mass of data and sites within the oasis studied in the first volume to each other in order to have an idea of the social dynamics of an oasis in Central Asia? In which historical framework did these dynamics operated?

This work also wishes to present an innovative approach. Coming after the robust archaeological framework, the analysis of the urban network within the oasis, which connects all the previously determined sites, helps us to better define the activities in the field and also helps us to create the inner structure of the oasis, organising settlements through their concrete connections and not just through information found in ancient sources. The result clearly shows the significance of this approach, bringing to light a glimpse at the social features of the people who lived in the oasis. It leads us, moreover, to apprehend the meaning of “distribution” within the oasis, which not only concerned the distribution of settlements – thus heavily reliant, but not exclusively so, on geographical features – but also the population distribution within their respective settlements and then within the oasis.¹ This is the reason why, for example, the site of Iskijkat, which on the map seems to blend into the other settlements in an area of the oasis and so does not appear to be key, is shown to have been a potentially crucial point for caravans, joining routes and rivers, cities and villages. The archaeological discoveries “did not do anything else” other than validate and prove the data.

¹ For this purpose, see Rante and Trionfetti 2021.

This second volume is the product of a pluridisciplinary program around the oasis of Bukhara that began in 2009 under the aegis of the Louvre Museum in collaboration with the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Archaeological Institute of Samarkand and the Uzbek Academy of Sciences. The goal of this program is to study every aspect of the population and depopulation of the oasis, not only the archaeological ones but also the social, historical and environmental, and employing all possible approaches. The main interests of this investigation concern the “oasis space”, the oasis and water, then the urban and domestic spaces, and finally the socio-economic factors of the cities in the oasis. It also reconsiders the urban and the cultural phenomena in this region, approaching and comparing it in relation with the “khorasanian cities” and further away with the Iranians ones.

This book has two main parts, which constantly shared data in order to better define and explain the historical events: the first concerns archaeological pluridisciplinary activities, and we intend to present the field context through a regional and a topographical analysis followed by a study linked to social interactions using network analysis; the second one is a historical study, with a deep examination of all sources concerned. The two are linked by the same chronological span.

First, the archaeological and topographical aspects are presented and explained. Once the geographical and archaeological framework has been established, the paleodemographic features are presented, also demonstrating the solidness of the approach based on archaeological data rather than exclusively historical evidence. After this, we finish this part by presenting the spatial distribution and social links through the study of the interactions between settlements. This approach, which turns around the digital humanities (see below), permitted us to better identify the web of links between settlements within a historical framework to better apprehend the region's socio-economical features.²

² This study started several years ago in the framework of the research program regarding the oasis of Bukhara and an agreement of scientific cooperation between the Department of Time, Space, Image, Society at the University of Verona and the Louvre Museum, Department of Islamic Art. The study has been presented in the seminar *Analyse des réseaux sociaux. Dynamiques des échanges et interrelations sociales dans l'oasis de Boukhara*, organised by the Department of Islamic Art at the Louvre Museum in June 2017.

The historical study, which is the larger part of this volume, is dedicated to identifying and locating toponyms within the oasis in the first millennium CE. It was conducted through the study of the largest number possible of written sources referring to this geographical region. It is divided in two subparts: the first one regarding the historical framework, in which some main points are discussed; the second one regarding the gazetteer of toponyms.

The current study's pluridisciplinary approach, which can be naturally situated in the vast world of the digital humanities, is the fruit of a long collaboration conducted within the framework of the Franco-Uzbek Archaeological Mission in the Oasis of Bukhara (MAFOUB). Archaeological data have been shared with a historian and with a sociologist and discussed and compared with previous data, both archaeological and historical, in order to have the best results possible.

2 A Few Considerations regarding the Digital Humanities Approach

The link between structural analysis techniques – those used in social network analysis specifically – and the digital humanities has been fundamental to this research project and takes into account the characteristics of the data we collected and analysed in an effort to reconstruct the potential trade networks in the Bukhara Oasis.

But what is the link between social network analysis and the digital humanities? In order to suggest an answer to this question, we must introduce the concept of the digital humanities – in general terms at first and later as applied to social research and archaeology.

To introduce the subject of the digital humanities, we can begin with Roberto A. Busa's definition of "humanities computing" as explained in his foreword to *A Companion to Digital Humanities* (eds. Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens and John Unsworth 2004). Busa (2004:xvi) writes: "Humanities computing is precisely the automation of every possible analysis of human expression (therefore, it

is exquisitely a 'humanistic' activity), in the widest sense of the word, from music to the theater, from design and painting to phonetics, but whose nucleus remains the discourse of written texts."

These are Busa's thoughts on the origins of the digital humanities. In our efforts to retrace the history of this discipline, or area of study, we came across a rather interesting volume authored by Marin Dacos and Pierre Mounier (2014): *Humanités numériques: État des lieux et positionnement de la recherche française dans le contexte international* (Digital humanities: Current state and positioning of French research in a global context). In the introduction, the authors write:

"Humanité et numérique. Il serait facile d'énumérer tout ce qui semble les opposer: le livre contre l'écran; l'héritage contre l'innovation; l'interprétation contre le calcul; le temps long contre l'instantané. [...] Le « tournant numérique » concerne les humanités, certes, mais il concerne aussi désormais l'ensemble des domaines de l'activité humaine. Et cette situation nouvelle produit un choc en retour sur des disciplines qui ont précisément pour objet d'étudier l'homme dans la diversité de ses activités. De simple outil permettant d'améliorer l'efficacité de la recherche, voilà que le numérique occupe aussi une place comme objet même de la recherche!" (Dacos and Mounier 2014: 5–6)

They provide a very effective presentation and a fascinating discussion of Lou Burnard's reconstruction of the history of the digital humanities. Burnard (2012) identifies three distinct historical periods when computing – in a broad sense – was employed in the humanities:

1. The first is *Literary and Linguistic Computing*³ – the early days of the digital humanities. We can observe a strong link with Busa's definition that we just examined, as clearly explained by Dacos and Mounier (2014: 8): "il s'agit alors de s'appuyer sur la puissance de calcul des ordinateurs de l'époque pour automatiser la création d'index, le repérage de concordances et le calcul de fréquences". They are referring to Saint Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae* corpus, which was studied by Busa⁴ (*Index Thomisticus*),⁵ as well as to the automatic processing of languages and linguistic analysis based on statistical frequencies, which is connected to the analytical

This session was exclusively carried out on this subject and several experts assisted and discussed our results and methods. This event was the occasion to first present our theory and methodology about this topic. A further event was the seminar organised for the years 2017–18 by Fabrizio Speziale at the EHESS (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales), *La recherche sur le Moyen Orient et l'Asie du Sud au tournant numérique : modèles, défis et ambiguïtés*. Lastly, this project has also been mentioned several times by Rocco Rante in different lectures given at Yale University (2017), the University of Tokyo (2017), and Harvard University (2018). All these communications represented a strong field of discussions, further reflexions and corrections of our methodology as well as our objectives, leading us to this overview and synthesis presented here.

3 As the homonymous journal, later renamed Digital Scholarship in the Humanities.

4 Forerunner of this period, as early as the late 1940s.

5 The project can be accessed here: <https://www.corpusthomicum.org/>.

power of computers. This early period began in the 1960s and ended in the 1980s. According to Dacos and Mounier (2014: 10): “La première période de l'utilisation de l'informatique dans les recherches en sciences humaines est donc fortement dominée par des modèles quantitatifs et se caractérise par le développement d'analyses statistiques sur des sources textuelles pour l'essentiel.”

2. The second period is conventionally thought to start in the 1980s, the age of *Humanities Computing*. During this time, attempts were made to move away from the quantitative paradigm, as Dacos and Mounier clearly state and, we could also say, from the positivist or macro paradigm in sociology. Let us look once again at Dacos and Mounier and their interpretation of Willard McCarty's ideas:

“Ce qui l'intéresse, ce n'est donc pas la capacité de traitement statistique de grandes masses de données qu'implique le recours à l'informatique, mais plutôt la contrainte de désambiguïation et de formalisation inhérente à toute activité de programmation. Alors que la période précédente impliquait de la part du chercheur une bonne connaissance des théories et méthodes statistiques mais pas nécessairement des programmes informatiques permettant de les implémenter, la démarche consiste ici à comprendre, maîtriser, voire développer le programme informatique lui-même. Celui-ci n'est plus seulement un outil au service de la recherche, mais devient l'instrument d'une méthode de recherche particulière.” (Dacos and Mounier 2014: 10)

We believe this change of approach can be interpreted by sociologists as a change in the knowledge paradigm: we are no longer talking about knowledge of digital technology, confident that – in the form of statistical frequencies, for instance – it can provide researched facts, but rather knowledge that will, de facto, be interpretations of digital technology itself and of its models of construction for the subject under study, operatively determined by the logic of the software used.

Here is a fact that seems important for sociologists examining the concept of the digital humanities: while the first period was characterised by the macro or positivist knowledge paradigm of the classical sociologists Auguste Comte and Émile Durkheim, the second period was the age of the micro paradigm, or interpretation – in other words, Max Weber's *Verstehen*.

3. The third period is the age of the *Digital Humanities*. What is the distinctive, profoundly innovative feature of this period? The web, or internet, which in the mid-1990s began to significantly change the very essence of

computing in relation to the humanities. As Dacos and Mounier state (2014: 12–13): “Si le Web provoque une véritable révolution dans le domaine de ce qu'on appelle encore « humanities computing », c'est parce qu'il apporte une dimension qui lui manquait jusqu'alors : la communication. [...] Les médias sociaux (blogs, wikis, réseaux sociaux et outils de micro-blogging) sont de plus en plus massivement utilisés par les équipes de recherche. Des pratiques de communication relevant auparavant de la littérature grise ou de la conversation informelle, prennent progressivement un autre statut et contribuent à la conduite même des projets de recherche.” Communication also calls to mind far more complex sociological concepts: relations and networks. It is no coincidence then that Dacos and Mounier (2014) make a clear reference to network theory and its potential in studies related to the field of digital humanities. This potential is fundamentally different from the possibilities offered by literary and linguistic computing on the one hand and humanities computing on the other: it is based on relations identified by means of the web and the study thereof.

In terms of social science research paradigms, we are dealing with a relational or meso scenario: knowledge of the humanities through digital means that became substantially relation-based with the arrival of the web. This shows the importance of understanding relations using the work of sociologist Georg Simmel.

But what is knowledge of relations in sociological terms? And what, in general, might make it a useful analytical tool in the digital humanities field, in the field of archaeology in particular? As we will see later on in this volume, the term “social network analysis” is used to describe a set of research methods and techniques for studying relations between individuals or collective subjects (groups, organisations, cities etc.) and for analysing the social networks resulting from said relations. Social network analysis is based on a relational definition of social reality and could be very useful in many areas of human knowledge, as it can be applied to a large variety of fields in situations where social phenomena must be considered and analysed.

As Johanna Drucker, David Kim, Iman Salehian and Anthony Bushong clearly show in their 2014 publication *Introduction to Digital Humanities: Concepts, Methods, and Tutorials for Students and Instructors*, network analysis is recognised as a tool that can potentially be used in the digital humanities. The networks analysed in this field of study are obtained by reconstructing the relationships between elements within particular terms. “Good examples of networks are social networks, traffic networks,

communication networks, and networks of markets and/or influence” (Drucker et al. 2014: 53). After describing social network analysis as a fundamental characteristic of textual analysis, Drucker et al. (2014) turn to the subject of GIS (Geographic Information System) as applied to the field of digital humanities.

What is the link between archaeology and the digital humanities? And why have GIS and GPS (Global Positioning System) become such crucial references in terms of this link? Jeremy Huggett (2012) has remarked that the digital humanities are extremely text centred, and this distances them from the social sciences, where the text plays a less central role. The digital humanities are, broadly speaking, a practical concept. According to Huggett, the only archaeological computing-based scientific journal is *Archeologia e Calcolatori*, “and archaeology has a low profile within Digital Humanities journals” (2012: 91). Huggett’s article is important because it revisits the subject of digital archaeology, with the author emphasising that although dialogue between the two fields is possible, there is little of it. Huggett (2012) refers to the contribution of Patrick Daly and Thomas L. Evans (2006). According to Daly and Evans (2006: 3): “*Digital Archaeology* explores the basic relationships that archaeologists have with Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and digital technology to assess the impact that such innovations have had on the very basic ways that archaeology is performed and considered.” In other words, digital archaeology is “an approach – a way of better utilizing computers based on an understanding of the strengths and limits of computers and information technology as a whole” (ibid: 3).

This definition is very similar to that describing the “digital humanities”. Those working in the digital humanities field cite examples of the concept being applied to archaeology, often referring to the use and discussion of the possibilities offered by GIS. Here, we can also see a demonstration of the growing interest in virtual worlds within the field of archaeology. Huggett (2012: 94) maintains that: “If Digital Archaeology seems to be bypassing Digital Humanities in relation to text, Digital Humanities appears to be looking beyond Digital Archaeology in relation to GIS.” However, as Dacos and Mounier (2014) emphasise, the period of literary and linguistic computing, that is, the period of statistical frequencies, has in fact been surpassed by the period of humanities computing and finally that of the digital humanities, which brought the power and potential of the web to the humanities and social sciences.

Nevertheless, we agree with Huggett’s claim that historically GIS has acted as an intermediary between various

fields, and digital archaeology has further developed and improved this information system. When applied to archaeology GIS offers, first and foremost, the possibility of reconstructing three-dimensional virtual worlds and creating bitmaps via GPS.

Huggett (2012) calls for a stronger focus on spatial disciplines in the digital humanities; spatial disciplines view the study of spaces and places as a crucial element. The latest edition of the book by Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens and John Unsworth (eds., 2016), titled *A New Companion to Digital Humanities*, contains a chapter written by Todd Presner and David Shepard who look at GIS and GPS as analytical techniques in the fields of the digital humanities. We thus have witnessed a digital geospatial turn and the advent of the “Geohumanities”, as is evident from the increasing presence of spatial humanities within the digital humanities – the result of geography and the humanities intersecting (Presner and Shepard 2016). “Desktop-based GIS systems were primarily used to produce print maps, while web-based maps were intended for a (potentially) global audience. Static maps were replaced by dynamic, real-time, interactive animated maps, and at times, even immersive 3D environments” (ibid: 204). Moreover, as Presner and Shepard very clearly state (ibid: 201–2): “maps are always relational, from the moment that something is inscribed relative to something else”. This is the relational potential of GIS and GPS, which can be used to obtain latitude, longitude, altitude and local times in every part of the world with the help of web-based applications.

Enrique Santos Unamuno (2017) also discussed the spatial turn in the human and social sciences. He speaks of “Geohumanities”, which are closely connected to GIS. The subdisciplines of the *spatial humanities* and *digital cultural mapping* – digital humanities that employ GIS and GPS – offer the possibility of reconciling a quantitative approach to digital knowledge with a qualitative approach according to Santos Unamuno (2017).

These references to the concept of relation and moving beyond the dichotomy between the holistic, or macro, and the individualist, or micro, approaches to knowledge, which we find in arguments put forward by Presner and Shepard (2016) and Santos Unamuno (2017) on the subject of the use of analytical techniques in the spatial humanities, confirm that we made the right decision in choosing social network analysis to study connections and their structure in space.

In a publication authored by Anne Burdick, Johanna Drucker, Peter Lunenfeld, Todd Presner and Jeffrey Schnapp, there is already an explicit association between digital spatial analysis and social network analysis: “In the

late 1990s, projects began to appear that harnessed the digital to create visualizations, geospatial representations, simulated spaces, and network analyses of complex systems” (Burdick et al. 2012: 9).

Their work also contains an explicit association between digital spatial analysis and archaeology: “In disciplines such as anthropology, archaeology, and classics, researchers may produce millions of discrete data points over the course of a project, ranging from survey and excavation data to fieldwork documentation through integrated geographic information systems” (ibid: 57–58).

Thus, if the integration of archaeology and the digital humanities, as seen in digital archaeology for instance, occurs thanks to GIS and GPS – two analytical techniques in the field of spatial humanities that use the internet to reconstruct, for example, onsite relationship networks – then all that remains is to examine, as we will do in the text that follows, the broader subject of network analysis in archaeology.

Archaeological Pluridisciplinary Activities

Rocco Rante and Luigi Tronca

Since antiquity, the last part of the Zerafshan River has flown along a north-east/south-west main channel, and a dense network of irrigation is connected to it. Looking at a regional map or a satellite image (fig. 1), we can see that some of these canals come from paleochannels of the Zerafshan. The last part of the river's path, today an endorheic delta, corresponds to the Bukhara Oasis. It is currently oriented south-west, towards the Amu Darya, is framed by the Kyzyl Kum and the Kara Kum, and covers approximately 5,100 km² (fig. 2).

The climate of the Bukhara Oasis is arid, and it is a cold desert. The Zerafshan River is the only source of water for agriculture and human activities.¹ It originates 741 km upstream from Alai Mountain and the Zerafshan glacier in Tajikistan. Until the 1960s, the Bukhara Oasis only received water for irrigation from the Zerafshan River. In the beginning of the 1970s, a canal from Amu Darya to the oasis of Bukhara was created. At the end of the 1980s, the Bukhara Oasis started to face serious water-environmental problems, such as land salinity, water-logging (Abdullaev 2004) and anthropic pollution (Olsson et al. 2013). Seasonal flooding was a benefit and was never seen as a hazard. The climatic conditions mark an aridification of Central Asia for 3,200 years, as shown by Lioubimtseva et al. (2005). At present, the climate in Central Asia is defined as semi-arid.² In the Bukhara Oasis, annual precipitation approximately corresponds to 160 mm (Cariou 2002); the “dry-crop” is more or less unrealistic. Therefore, in this climatic framework, settlements in oases and irrigation have been necessary.

This geographical setting linked the region with the core Iranian lands to the south, with Khorezm and the nomadic regions to the north, and with China and the Far East. Throughout millennia the Zerafshan delta saw different kinds of human occupation, which always depended on water resources. According to the geomorphological and archaeological results obtained by and published in Rante and Mirzaakhmedov (2019), human occupations followed the landscape transformation, adapting behaviours to a

perennially moving situation. But “perennially moving” does not mean a transformation of the landscape that requires the population to incessantly change their living place. Population distribution, once arranged within the territory, developed in this framework, thus assuring the immovability of the settlement organisation, which only changed because of depopulation, towards the end of the medieval period. This social aspect is very important in terms of social and economic development, not only in the micro-oasis framework but also wider, in terms of long-distance trade commerce. In this context, the settlements of the oasis guaranteed a geographical stability that was beneficial especially, but not only, for economic interests. The results that have been obtained and the archaeo-economic studies give us data on a continuity of long-distance trade (fig. 3), permitting exchanges between Mediterranean and Far Eastern civilisations over a long period, which for the oasis of Bukhara starts in the 3rd century BCE and continues up until the present, through the new Chinese Silk Road.

There have been numerous investigations of the Bukhara Oasis.³ Here, wanting to avoid discussing all activities in the Bukhara Oasis before the 20th century, which could be better grouped as explorations than archaeological activities, some examples, however, can be mentioned. After the 16th and 17th centuries, when the investigations conducted by the “marchand-diplomate” (Gorshenina 2003: 32) were the best motif in the field, investigations, especially those in the 18th century, were pluridisciplinary. For example, the case of Alexander Fedorovich Negri (1784–1854), head counsel of the Russian embassy who was of Greek origins and who on 3 July 1820 was in charge of a diplomatic mission to Bukhara that aimed to conclude commercial agreements between St. Petersburg and Bukhara (Eversmann 1823). Alexander Fedorovich Negri's expedition in fact was comprised of specialists in different disciplines, of whom E.K. Meyendorff, V.D. Volkonsky, Timoteev, Tafaev and Artjukov were in charge of strategic observations and creating a map; E.F. Eversmann was the expedition's doctor, and K. Pander was its naturalist.

¹ For more detailed information about oases and the Zerafshan, see Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019; Fouache et al. 2016; and Rante, Fouache and Mirzaakhmedov 2016.

² See Francfort and Lecomte 2002.

³ Concerning the numerous explorations of and journeys to Central Asia from the Middle Ages to contemporary times, see the useful work by Gorshenina (2003).



FIGURE 1 Satellite image of the oasis' geographical context
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FIGURE 2 Satellite image of the Bukhara Oasis
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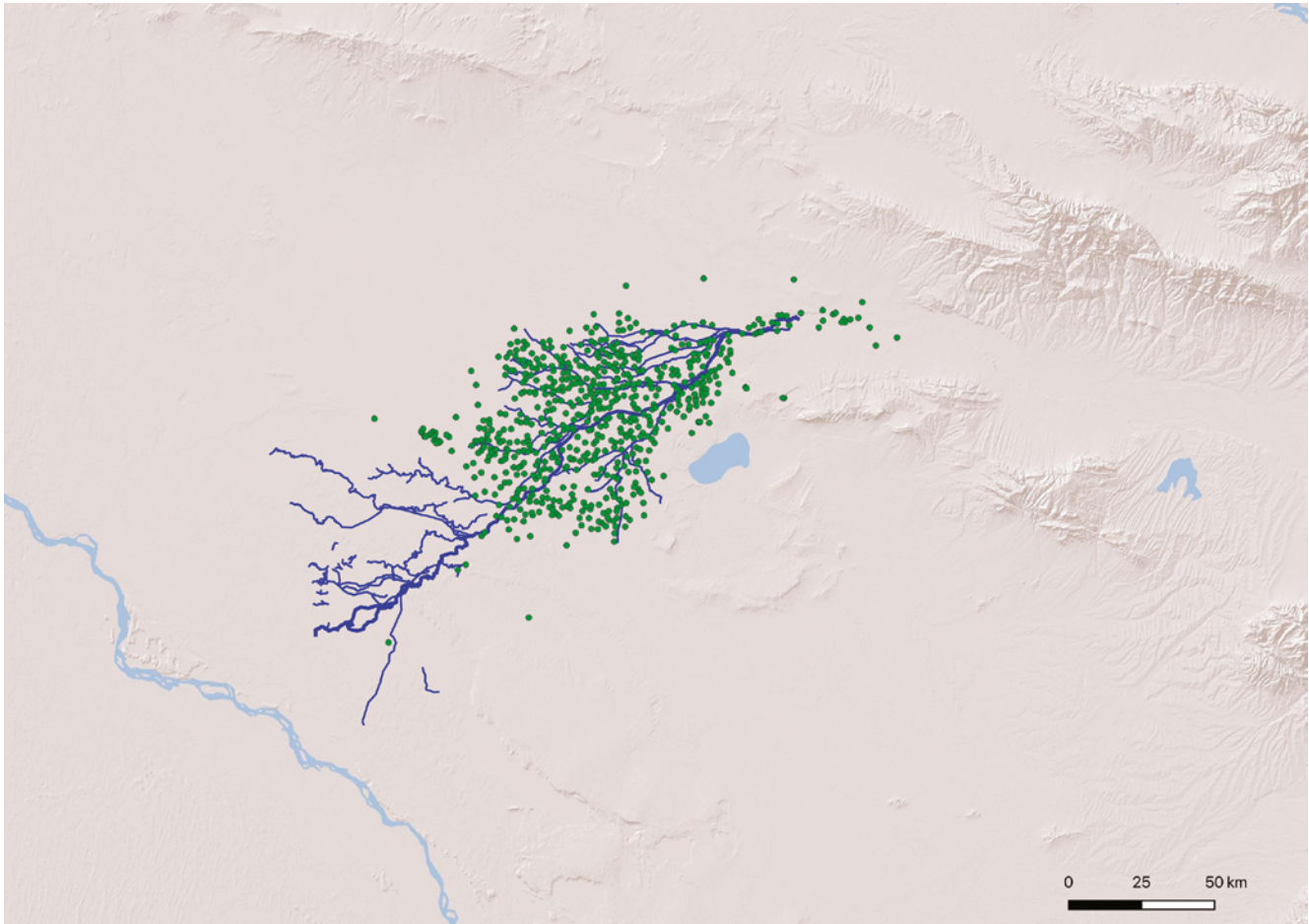


FIGURE 3 The Bukhara Oasis with all settlements and watercourses
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Another example is some of the first archaeological notes of the British diplomatic agent Alexander Burnes (1805–41), who was sent to Lahore in 1831 for diplomatic reasons and who then travelled into Hindu Kush, Bukhara and Persia and returned to London in 1833 (Burnes 1835). John Arrowsmith drew a geographical map based on his observations.

But one specific expedition marked the end of the epoch of diplomatic travellers. It was conducted by the military topographer Sitniakovskii, and today it still provides us with much information on administrative elements and gives important geographical and historical data on the oasis (Sitniakovskii 1899a and b).⁴

In the 1910s, L.A. Zimin investigated different areas of the oasis, focusing especially on Paykend, where he opened an excavation (Zimin 1913, 1914, 1915). Since the 1920s, investigations have been accompanied by deeper

surveys as well as excavations. Between 1920 and 1934 a survey and study for protecting the monuments of the oasis were organised by the Committee for the Protection of the Historical Monuments (Bukhkomstaris). Since the 1930s, these territorial investigations have finally passed into the hands of specialists and archaeologists (Shishkin 1963: 13–31).

The first large survey organised by Soviet archaeologists, under the aegis of the Hermitage Museum, was directed by A. Ju. Jakubovskii (1940a and b) in 1934. Since the 1950s, several studies can be mentioned because Soviet specialists were very active in Central Asia. Concerning surveys of the Bukhara Oasis, especially those focused on its hydrographic network, the study of Mukhamedjanov (1975 and 1978) should be referenced, followed by that of Adylov and Mirzaahmedov (2006). Other archaeological studies, especially that of Guljamov, Islamov and Askarov (1966), give further information on chronology. Beginning in 1937, Shishkin completed a vast survey, of the western area of the oasis in particular (Shishkin 1940). This archaeologist rapidly published the results, which consisted of

⁴ As Barthold reminds us (1981: 113, ns. 3, 6), Sitniakovskii also identified historical ruins.

topographic sketches of some historical sites as well as descriptions of monuments that he observed.

In 1985, the Archaeological Institute organised an expedition in this western area and recorded more than 80 monuments, which have been the object of a typological study (Mukhamedjanov et al. 1990).

More recently, two Italian missions engaged in territorial studies. The first one was directed by Bruno Genito (Genito et al. 2003: 73–74). The second one, directed by Chiara Silvi Antonini, is published in a volume dedicated to the excavation of the site of Uch Kulakh (Silvi Antonini and Mirzaakhmedov 2009: 43–180) and to a circumscribed survey of the Varakhsha area (Cerasuolo 2009: 189–210).⁵

The scientific program consists of several research axes, which were presented in the first volume. Among the different activities around this region, geomorphological study, archaeological excavation, the systematic survey of the region, topographic work, the study of the ancient landscape, ethno-archaeological study and the study of material culture, historiographical study and the analysis of the settlement social networks occupy an important portion. The latter two studies draw data from archaeological work in the field and from the finalised results.

Geo-archaeological activities in the Bukhara Oasis consist of different phases: a geomorphological survey of the territory, an archaeological survey of the settlements of the region, including extensive work on topography, and the excavation of the main sites.

The archaeological and geomorphological survey of the Bukhara Oasis was conceived of in three steps. The first one was to collect maps, ancient as well as recent, and all sorts of documents concerning this region. The second one was to conduct an archaeological survey, site by site, which also depended on the state of the previous data. The last step involved the digitalisation of all data, injecting them into a GIS model, the support for which was created previously. The first two operations are the substrate for the historical and socio-archaeological studies presented in this book.

The first cartographic tool is a geographical map permitting an initial check of the sites. Later, all sites were verified on other maps as well as in the field. The 1893 and 1989⁶ maps, as well as the most complete map representing the whole oasis in high resolution, have been very useful for establishing the evolutions and different situations of the oasis. While the latter has been beneficial for identifying the tepe of the oasis as well as the territorial evolution of the watercourse network, the former has been

helpful for recognising the oldest complete watercourse network and its limits, as well as the ancient toponyms.

1 Morphology of Cities

In this second volume, the topographies of some main cities will be newly presented in another context, where the settlements are investigated using a wider historical and sociological range. For this reason, some of the main concepts pointed out in the first volume are repeated here in order to fix our arguments and make it possible to read this volume on its own.

The investigation of ancient fields and settlements is a crucial task for an in-depth understanding of the geo-archaeological situation in which people settled, and also of its evolution. This examination covers the analysis of the geomorphological situation as well as the relief of the territory. This analysis was carried out following the geomorphological methods for analysing landscapes as closely as possible. An optimal procedure will guarantee a precise and correct understanding of the environment where peoples settled in the past.

The topographical analysis of a site consists in first determining the perimeter of the whole area to be studied; then, the topographer acquires geospatial points with the support of adapted instruments in order to model the morphology of the ground, which will show mounds, furrows, holes etc. This analysis helps us to read the surface of the ground and brings to light traces beneath the surface, which are often invisible to the naked eye.

This study belongs to the initial approach to the ground, which provides the tools for an initial understanding of the landscape. Later, archaeological activities will verify the data, explanations and interpretations, if needed, of the different traces.

The topographical work undertaken in the Bukhara Oasis since 2009 and published in 2019 inventoried 1,040 sites (fig. 4). It is important to stress here that “site” means every topographical phenomenon that can be identified. The term, therefore, does not specify any morphological or social characteristics. Moreover, it should not be confused with the term “settlement”, which, in contrast, refers to an active place of human occupation. For example, within the term “site”, it is possible to find a cemetery, while a cemetery is not mentioned within the category of a “settlement”. These features and details will be treated in an article published in volume 3 of *The Oasis of Bukhara* (Brill), where the category “unique tepe” or “single tepe” will be discussed. In earlier times, phenomena within this large group were classified as sites but did not fall within

⁵ Concerning this, see also Shishkin (1940: fig. 18).

⁶ The data for this map were collected between the 1950s and 1960s.

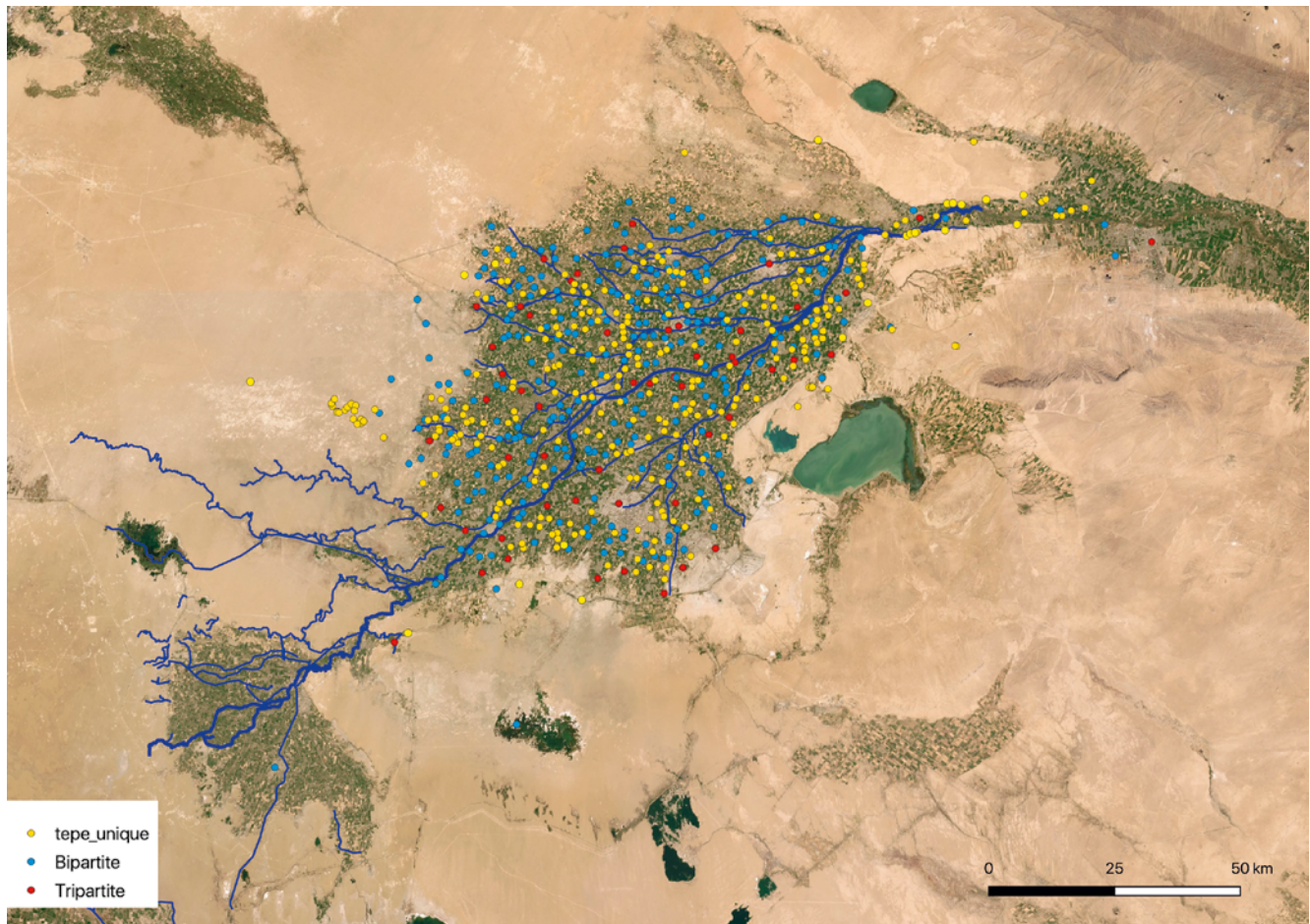


FIGURE 4 The Bukhara Oasis with all settlements identified as tripartite, bipartite and unique tepe/single tepe
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the main two categories of tripartite and bipartite sites. Thus, within this group sites that are isolated residences, forts, cemeteries and kurgans were mentioned.

The present analysis reflects the need to deeply investigate historical relationships between these settlements and their organisation within this vast region. To do this, we only considered the categories that can be grouped as “urban”, which are linked for social, economic and political reasons. The category “single tepe”, or “unique tepe”, often corresponds to a secondary residence or military building, and it has been preferable to consider it outside of this configuration. Through an accurate topographical study and analysis of human traces, it has been possible to categorise the cities and divide them into two categories: tripartite and bipartite (Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 27–35). The other sites within the oasis cannot be considered cities simply because they are missing urban peculiarities, such as a central governmental place and a lower city, sometimes called a village.

Finally, the urban and rural sites within the oasis correspond to 629 items: 53 are tripartite sites; 291 are bipartite

sites⁷; 270 are “unique tepes” (single tepes); and 15 are fortresses. There remains an additional 411 items corresponding to other sites around the oasis, open space pottery sites, unidentified and identified ruins, undated cemeteries and kurgans.

1.1 *The Tripartite Sites*

The tripartite sites are urban agglomerations consisting of three main parts: a citadel (the political centre), a shahrestan (village) and a suburb (fig. 5; for a video impression of Paykend, see <http://dx.doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.19152869>).

At this juncture, it is not possible to concretely identify every characteristic of each urban section. It is true that

⁷ The identified bipartite sites are slightly different from those in another study led in collaboration with Federico Trionfetti on archaeo-economic aspects. In this case, two items have been agglomerated with two others, reducing the total number of bipartite sites from 291 to 289. It answers a specific problem linked to the economic value of the sites, which is different from this current analysis in which all sites are considered to have as wide a social context as possible.



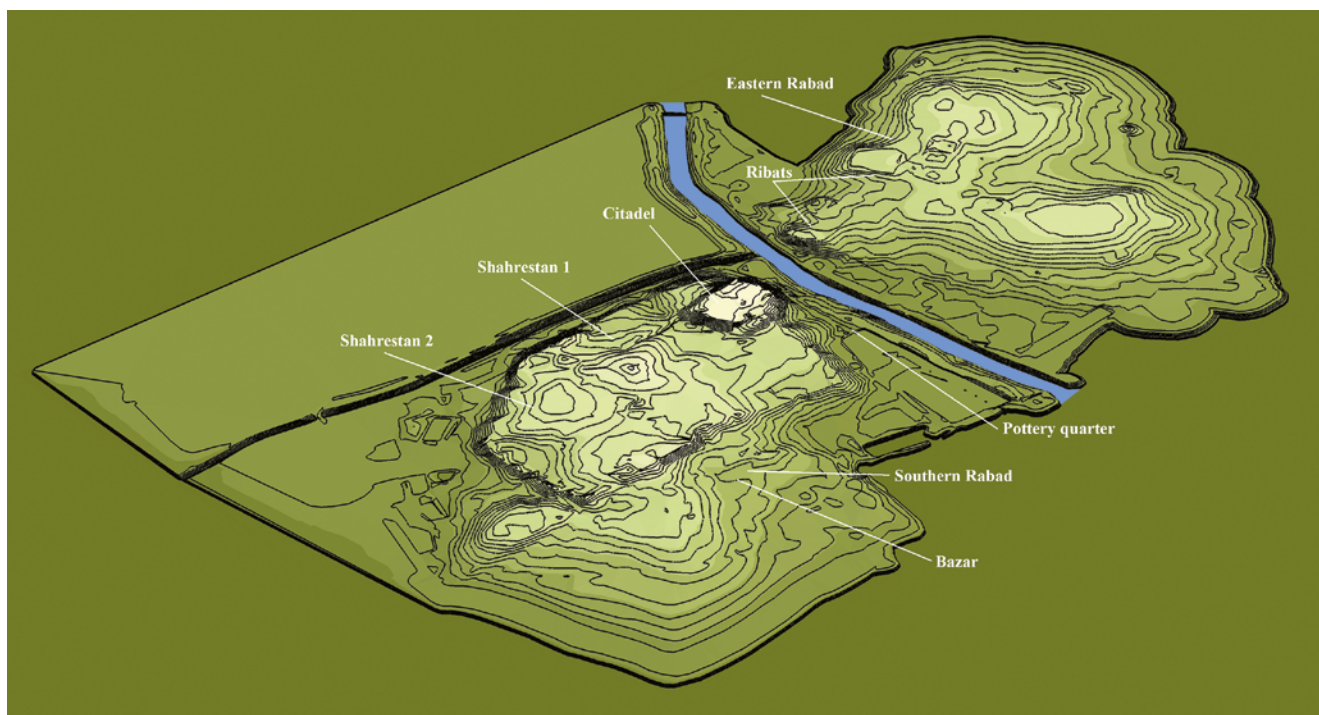


FIGURE 5 3D topography of Paykend
© RILIEVI SRL; R. RANTE 2018

markers characteristic of this or that urban entity exist, but in general, the earlier and recent excavations both brought to light complex features in each urban section, and it would be perilous to try and rigidly identify a group of markers exclusively for one section and not for the others. To establish this, it would be necessary to excavate all the sites. Thus, among the tripartite sites, their topographical composition has been the only feature considered for this initial identification.

The tripartite sites, according to our surveys, excavations and ceramic studies, cover a range of dates between the 3rd century BCE and the 15th–16th centuries CE (fig. 6).⁸

The tripartite urban organisational feature was acquired in the early medieval period, as has been stated at various times by some scholars (Barthold 1903: 8–9; 1966: 173–74). According to our excavation results, several cities within the oasis constitute a suburb, the origins of which dates back to the 5th century CE. This is, for example, the case with Ramitan where, as will be shown below, the unwalled western suburb presents substantial occupation over several hectares (for a panoramic aerial overview of Ramitan, see <http://dx.doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.19152869>). It is highly probable that inhabitants lived outside the walled cities before the 5th century. In fact, according to our investigations, there are traces of scattered habitats outside the fortifications dating back to the last centuries BCE, as in Ramitan or Kakishtuvan (for a

video impression of the site of Kakishtuvan, see <http://dx.doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.19152869>). Therefore, social entities confined to living outside the walled cities existed. It is probably only in the historical framework of the 5th century that, for demographic reasons, the city expanded outside the fortified limits and settled into more structured areas, with separate habitats and commercial or artisanal zones.

Although MAFOUB's recent excavations were carried out in five sites, several other earlier excavations were compared with them, and on occasion they were redirected, taking our results into consideration. Each material and element of data collected during the surveys has been compared with those from the excavations. Some surveyed material has been analysed with TL or physico-chemical processes to better determine their characteristics or chronology.

Finally, according to our results, 22 of the 53 tripartite sites were founded between the 3rd and 1st centuries BCE, but this absolutely does not exclude the idea that the other sites were also founded at the same time. The fact that no 3rd–1st centuries material has been found does not confirm that it does not exist. Only further excavations can complete this lacuna.

It is, however, important to stress that all 22 of the earliest foundations (3rd–1st century BCE) are characterised by a continuity of human occupation until the 15th and 16th centuries. It can therefore be attested that in this sample, and probably also in the others, the tripartite sites

8 The Timurid occupation was sporadic and temporary.



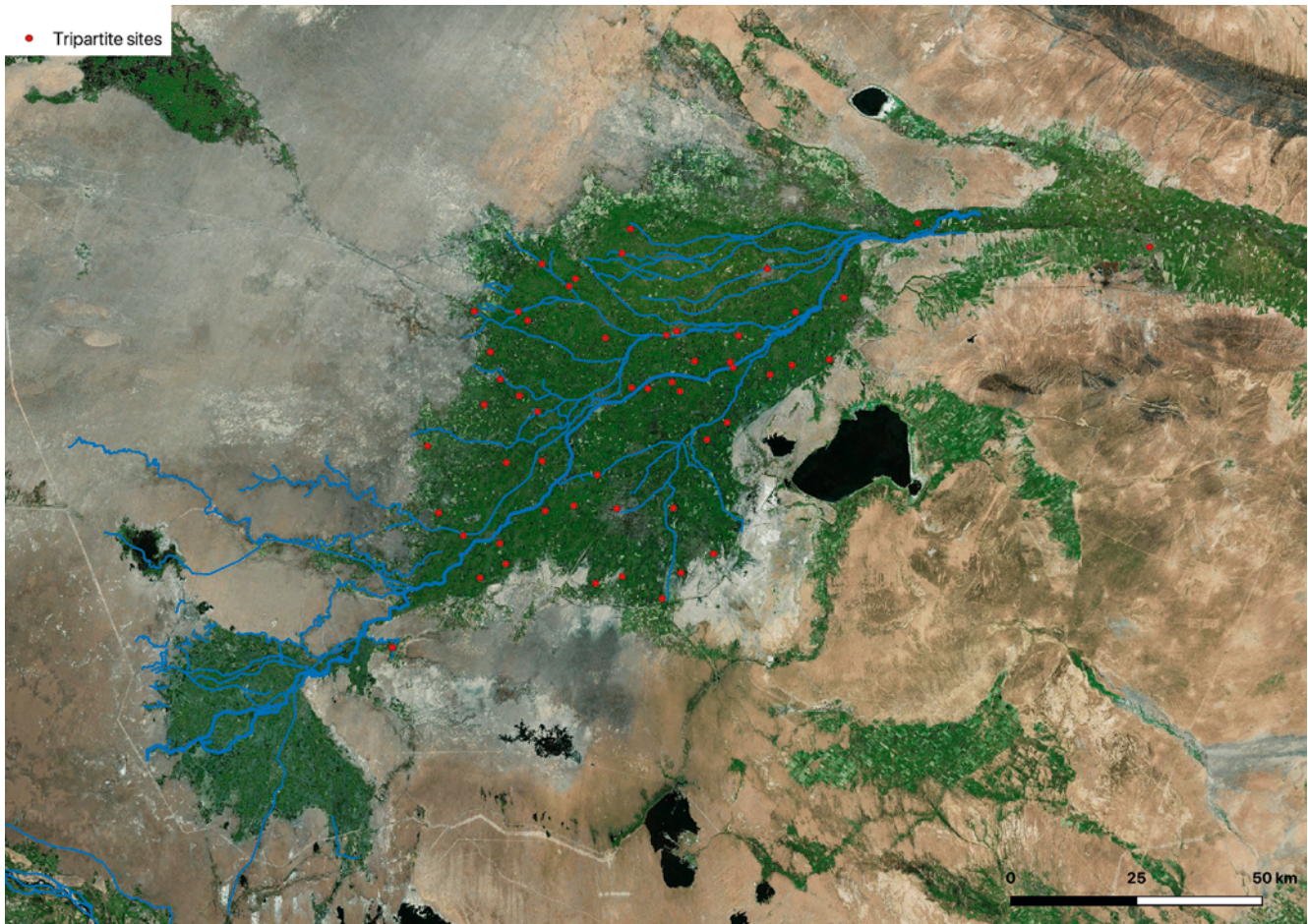


FIGURE 6 Map with tripartite sites
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represent the evolution of the earliest foundations within the oasis; or even that the tripartite character can be considered a chronological element. It can thus be stated that the tripartite sites are also the most ancient settlements within the oasis. As will be shown below, the connections between settlements and the water network give us further elements to corroborate this theory.

1.2 *The Bipartite Sites*

All the bipartite sites are composed of a citadel and shahrestan (fig. 7). In contrast to the tripartite sites, these cities did not present any suburbs where one could confirm the presence of artisanal or commercial activities. As far their size is concerned, it is not always the case that they are smaller than the tripartite sites. Important bipartite sites can, for example, be larger than some tripartite sites. This mainly depends on their geographical, and thus social, location. Globally, however, they do not cover more than 3–4 hectares.

The importance of these villages is not their rural context but rather the fact that they were not producer sites

or market places, and thus, for some of their needs, they were dependent on the tripartite sites. As will be shown, their chronology, identification and location are crucial elements for determining the antiquity and age of a main city or area.

The bipartite sites can be fortified, as is site 0165 near Varakhsha, or not, as is the case for the majority of sites within the oasis, as for example site 0250 near Ramitan. In this latter case, it does not mean the site was totally unwallled. In fact, each site in this category lacked defensive external walls, but the main buildings, especially on the citadel, were fortified. This structure was quite common in the oasis, as in the other category called “unique tepe”, among which Uch Kulakh is a good example (fig. 8).

Although it has been established that a bipartite site consists of two urban entities, a citadel and a shahrestan, and that it belongs to a rural framework where the oasis is rich, its morphology is nevertheless not always the same. First, its location depends on different elements, among which the landscape and its socio-geographical setting are the most important. The bipartite sites can

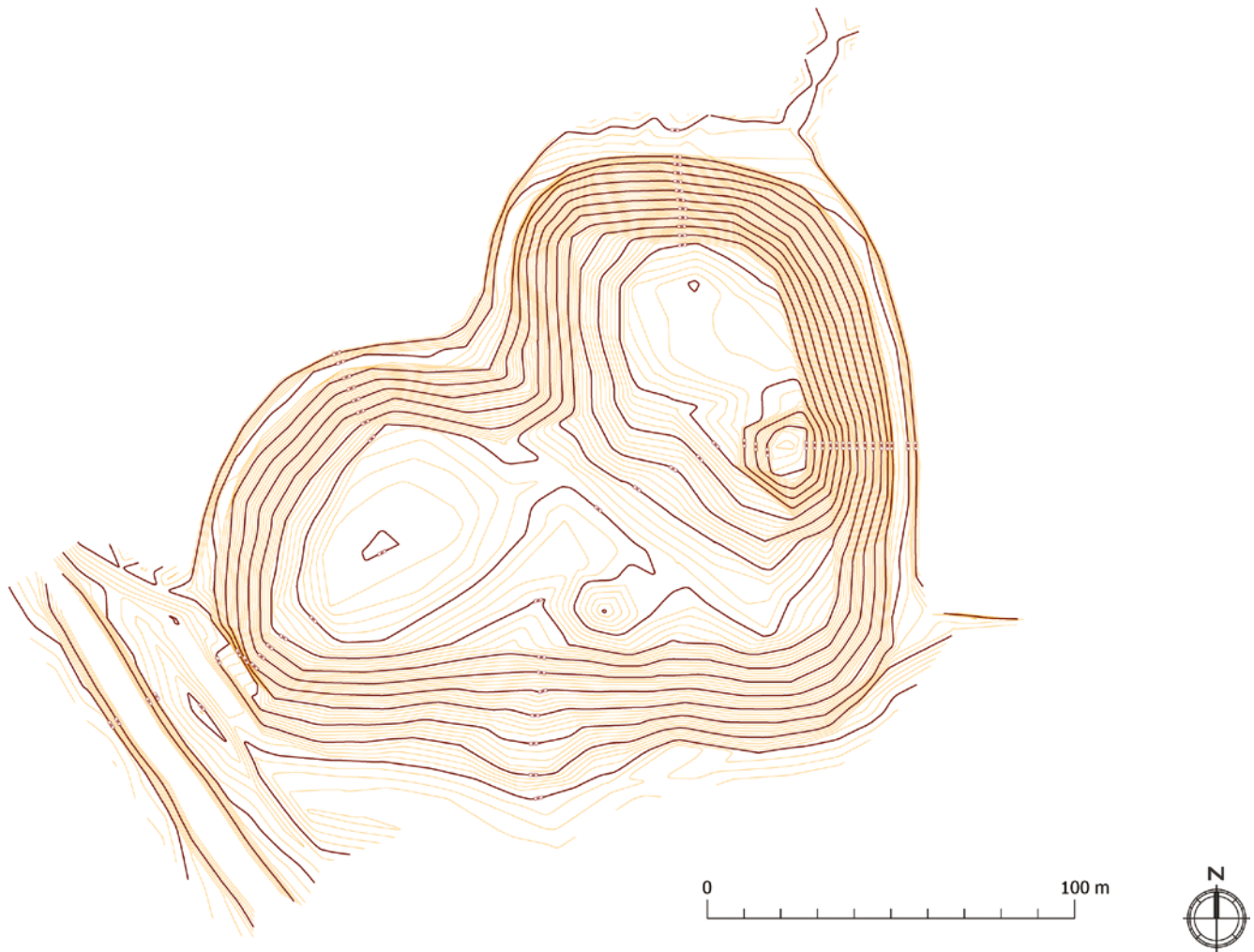


FIGURE 7 Topography of site 0250
© RILIEVI SRL; R. RANTE 2017

be considered economically dependent on the tripartite sites, which implies they were founded and grew around a main city. To be more precise, we are not stating that bipartite sites existed only thanks to the tripartite sites – their life depending essentially on the self-production of raw materials, such as milk, meat, fish, agricultural food and so on, and thus self-sufficient. Rather, since their foundation, their specific growth within the Bukhara Oasis is due to the socio-economic connections generated between them. This differs from the reasons related to their foundation, which were probably also dependent on sociopolitical factors, but this will not be treated here. In the last part of this volume, that is dedicated to a social network analysis, these connections will be explored.

Globally, from the morphological point of view, the structure of a bipartite site can be composed of: a citadel enclosed within a shahrestan, as in site 0483, which remains quite rare; a citadel attached to a shahrestan, as in site 0250, the most common example; or, a citadel divided

by its shahrestan, as in site 0045 or 0165. The shape of both urban entities is more difficult to perceive. The outline of the mound, in fact, does not represent the true profile of the architectural structure but of its destruction. Regarding the citadel, globally a quadrangular shape can be distinguished, even if a circular example is observed in tripartite site 0513. Among the quadrangular shapes, the citadel of sites 0250 and 0577, among many others, is easy to distinguish. More difficult to perceive is the case of site 0060, for example, where the citadel presents an almost circular shape but which according to the survey is clearly quadrangular. Here, the fortifications of the citadel are the same as the main building, the governmental one.

The current state of research indicates that the shahrestan is always unwalled, even if, here also, it is arduous to establish this feature purely from observing the mounds. The few bipartite sites investigated, and the comparisons with the others, show, however, an absence of fortified lower cities. Although no archaeological investigations



FIGURE 8 Satellite view of Uch Kulakh
© GOOGLE EARTH 2013

were carried out on this topic, it seems that the shahrestan grew up in front of the gate of the citadel. In fact, among the tripartite sites as well, evidence of fortified shahrestans is rare, as in the case of Ramitan, Paykend or Varakhsha.

In general, it is quite possible that after the erection of a fortified residence, small castle or fortified manor, people began to settle in front of the gate of the latter. Instead of trying to put forward a unique Central Asian character for the foundation and development of the shahrestan, as some great scholars have attempted in the past,⁹ in this specific context we only consider that there was a global demographic, and thus socio-economic dynamic, which engendered the constitution of a small entity, a village for example, at the foot of the ruler's residence, as has also been the case in other civilisations. This area later develops and is structured into an inhabited area, the shahrestan, which assumed different forms and sizes. In this precise context of bipartite sites, it seems that this part of the city was empty of any main administrative buildings, except if the site was a specific administrative structure. This kind of building was concentrated within the citadel,

⁹ On this topic, see the interesting and useful historiography by Tskitishvili (1971: 318–20).

if possible, or else within the limits of the closest main city – tripartite obviously.

The excavation and survey of different bipartite sites brought to light results that will considerably change the general framework relating to the oasis as it is known today, and probably also the Sogdiana. We will not attempt an overall reinterpretation of the geographical area here, as the data is still much too scarce. We will, however, take some of the data from the latest research and link these to a more general framework – also taking into account the tripartite sites.

Initially, we accepted and did not doubt the postulates advanced by great scholars, such as Marshak, Raspopova, Grenet¹⁰ and others, affirming the existence of an urban crisis in the Sogdiana from the end of the 4th century CE, or even later if one takes into consideration the beginning of the medieval period. In line with these postulates, we therefore accepted the possibility that in the Bukhara Oasis, after an earliest occupation now dated to between the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE (Rante et al. 2016), a massive human occupation characterised the end of the 4th century CE, which was also confirmed by several ceramic studies and comparisons (Buriakov 1991: 197–204).

¹⁰ Marshak and Raspopova 1990: 179–85; Grenet 1996: 367–90.

MAFOUB's interest in the area of Ramitan and the interactions between this main city and its neighbourhood led me to open an excavation in a bipartite site close to it. As we will discuss later, the aim of this investigation was to identify the whole sequence of human occupations and study the material brought to light in the narrow context of comparing it with Ramitan and its own material.

The chronological sequence brought to light shows that the bipartite site was founded in the 1st century CE.¹¹ The ceramics corresponding to these layers are different from earlier ones, where a red slip on a beige body and a black slip on a red body were the main characteristics, and they are very different from the following period, when the famous pottery with splash vertical slips appears. The ceramics of this period were mainly characterised by the presence of grey pottery, with the appearance of red-bodied pottery covered in a thin, very fragile black slip. The same typology of pottery has also been found in Ramitan.

It has been compared with other bipartite sites scattered within the oasis. Although it has been not possible to attentively compare it with all 291 bipartite sites, the substantial comparisons, in my view, left solid data with which to propose a historical interpretation. It seems, in fact, that after an earliest occupation between the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, a massive occupation of the oasis took place in the 1st century BC. It is in this period that a clear change in the pottery is observed. It does not mean that at the end of the 4th century no human occupation can be attested. However, regarding the Bukhara Oasis, it was not the first, and it seems also that it was not as massive as the earlier one. As will be shown below, this massive occupation and urbanisation is identifiable not only in the bipartite sites but also in the tripartite ones. Moreover, the results show that the 4th century CE represents a significant dynamic of expansion and reorganisation of the cities.

2 Paleodemographic Data within the Oasis

Once the morphology of the settlements was determined, our interest turned towards the inhabitants who settled there. Although it is ambitious to try to estimate the demographic tendencies within the Bukhara Oasis in the medieval period, some robust archaeological data supports simple calculations that can estimate this population.

A recent study (de la Vaissière 2017: 804–8) brought to light population estimations within different oases in eastern and western Central Asia; the same methodology has been employed in relation to the Bukhara Oasis. The ideas about and estimations of the population are suggestive, the demography interval corresponding to 360,000–690,000 and inclining much more towards the upper end (de la Vaissière 2017: 808), but in this section we approach the topic using a different methodology, leading us to an additional result.

The jarib, employed in the previously mentioned study, is a unit of weight we preferred to avoid employing.¹² Pertaining to the delineated area of study, it corresponds to the irrigated lands.¹³ Thus, from a purely archaeological point of view, we have analysed the global demography of the whole oasis, covering a total area of 5,100 km²,¹⁴ basing our discussion on robust data coming from solid structural evidence. In this specific case, we exclude the western area called Bash tepe because, although the surveys showed 10th-century material, the geomorphological analyses demonstrate that this area was under a slow aridification process, and the area was not as densely inhabited as within the oasis proper.¹⁵ Tenth-century material in a site, probably issued from seasonal occupations with a low density population, does not exclude aridification of the area, which started much earlier. Moreover, this settlement cluster seems to have been founded in the 3rd century BCE as fortress border, then it developed into a rural settlement, but it was rapidly abandoned during the 1st–2nd centuries CE, showing its ephemeral nature, which could have been generated by its climatic landscape.¹⁶

11 Radiocarbon analysis: conventional radiocarbon age (1980±30); calibrate date (95.4%) 45 cal BCE–77 cal BC (1994–1873 cal BP).

12 This is also one of the reasons why the measure of one jarib changes from country to country, confirming the extreme fluctuation of the agricultural goods, not only between the regions but also from year to year and from field to field.

13 De la Vaissière (2017) took into consideration the oasis wall perimeter, corresponding to an area of 3200 km². The Paykend area and the smaller oasis of Qaraqöl are thus omitted.

14 We take the opportunity to correct a mistake concerning the total area of the Bukhara and Qaraqöl oases occurring in the articles by Fouache et al. (2016) and Rante et al. (2016), where it wrongly appears as 1,333 km², while it actually corresponds to circa 5,100 km².

15 The area of Kum Sultan, south of the oasis, along the ancient arms of the Kashka Darya, shows the same type of geo-archaeological evidence. This area also suffered aridification, which characterised its seasonal occupation. In terms of the caravan route, it is unsurprising that sites such as Bash tepe or Kum Sultan presented sporadic occupations until the 10th century in an arid layout, since they were a station for caravans coming from Bukhara or from Paykend.

16 To eliminate any possible remaining doubt about the results, it is sufficient to compare the quantitative statistics coming from the study of ceramics belonging to the layers dated to the 8th and

The vast urban study on the sites within the oases of Bukhara and Qaraqöl has shown different typologies of urban agglomerations, which globally correspond to cities, villages and smaller isolated entities, such as fortified manors or residences. We therefore take into consideration the population corresponding to these urban entities: the demographic results are directly proportionate to the area of the urban agglomeration, except if we imagine a city where gardens and agricultural lands occupy more than the populated spaces. As calculated above for the economic analyses, 200 inhabitants per hectare for the tripartite and bipartite sites have been taken into consideration. For these two categories, we have excluded the economic and productive area, measured site by site in the field through the realisation of numerous topographies, as well as through satellite imagery (for a video impression of early Islamic Bukhara, see <http://dx.doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.19152869>). Regarding Bukhara at its maximal expansion, we calculate the population within the perimeter of the 10th century (circa 1,000 ha),¹⁷ brought to light from the study of ancient maps of the city and the topography of the city, although today it is completely covered by the modern city. Having traced the perimeter, it is surprising how it partially follows the modern urban network. Concerning the isolated entities, also called unique tepe, the population taken into consideration is 100 inhabitants per hectare, which is the largest trend we can calculate for this kind of structure. In this case, the 100 inhabitants per hectare also corresponds to the average between more populated residences or military garrisons and other less populated entities, such as manors, mills or agricultural structures.

Based on the data coming from archaeological excavations, surveys and satellite detections, the whole oasis presents a total inhabited area corresponding to circa 2,348.88 ha, and the estimated demography of the oasis corresponds to 318,159 inhabitants. If we present this estimation at the epoch corresponding to the beginning of high Bukhara development, thus with an area of circa 46 ha, the total inhabited area of the oasis corresponds to 1,394 ha and the total inhabitants within the oasis to 258,948. Through this calculation, although the average population of 200 in/ha or 100 in/ha can be discussed and disputed, the methodology presented here to estimate the demographic trend of the cities, and thus of the larger areas, is based on solid data consisting of urban

constructions and is in our opinion the best way to apprehend the demographic dynamics of a region.

3 Chronology of the Oasis of Bukhara

Before treating the historical material, it is necessary to establish the exact chronology of the human occupation within the oasis in order to have a general, solid framework from which to begin the following analyses. The recent discoveries of the Franco-Uzbek Archaeological Mission in the Oasis of Bukhara (MAFOUB) show that the origin of the majority of the tripartite sites dates to the 3rd–2nd centuries BCE (for a video impression of the historico-architectural sequence of Ramitan, see <http://dx.doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.19152869>). Their suburbs cannot be dated prior to the 5th century CE, although some earlier scattered habitats can be observed, as was previously mentioned. It has been observed that the tripartite sites were characterised by continuous human occupation from the 3rd century BC to the Mongol or Timurid periods. The tripartite sites, therefore, show a greater longevity in comparison to the other sites, which were in part contemporaneous, or else founded later. It might be that the presence of a suburb, and therefore the presence of a production and/or commercial area, inevitably extended the urban limits and, at the same time, gave the city further importance in comparison to other urban centres in terms of economic and social life. Considering this particular territory, it has been observed that this large irrigated region was divided into different administrative micro-districts around these main cities (fig. 9), or local capitals, and able to produce and make exchanges; the tripartite sites and the smaller bipartite sites, which seem to play the role of small urban agglomerations around a private residence or small city dependent on the main city. Unique tepe, constituting residences or fortresses also belong to this micro socio-economic system, although their function in this specific context has not been identified yet. Unique tepe, in fact, economically turned around tripartite sites, but it is possible they also had direct contact with bipartite sites, a dynamic which considerably enlarges the interactions and which we decided to treat at another time. In this particular case, it is therefore possible to determine the dynamic of the exchanges in terms of city connections between the tripartite producer cities and the smaller neighbouring bipartite cities.

Beginning with this framework, the settlement organisation of the tripartite sites represents the model we chose to use to identify and use to demonstrate the evolution of settlements. By means of regular archaeological surveys, and always in comparison with archaeological excavation data, a consistent increase in settlements within the oasis

9th centuries between the sites of the Bash tepe area and those within the oasis.

17 The area of Bukhara comprised between 46 ha, the period before the city's high increase, and 1,000 ha, corresponding to the maximum extension of the city under the Samanids, see Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 58, 259.



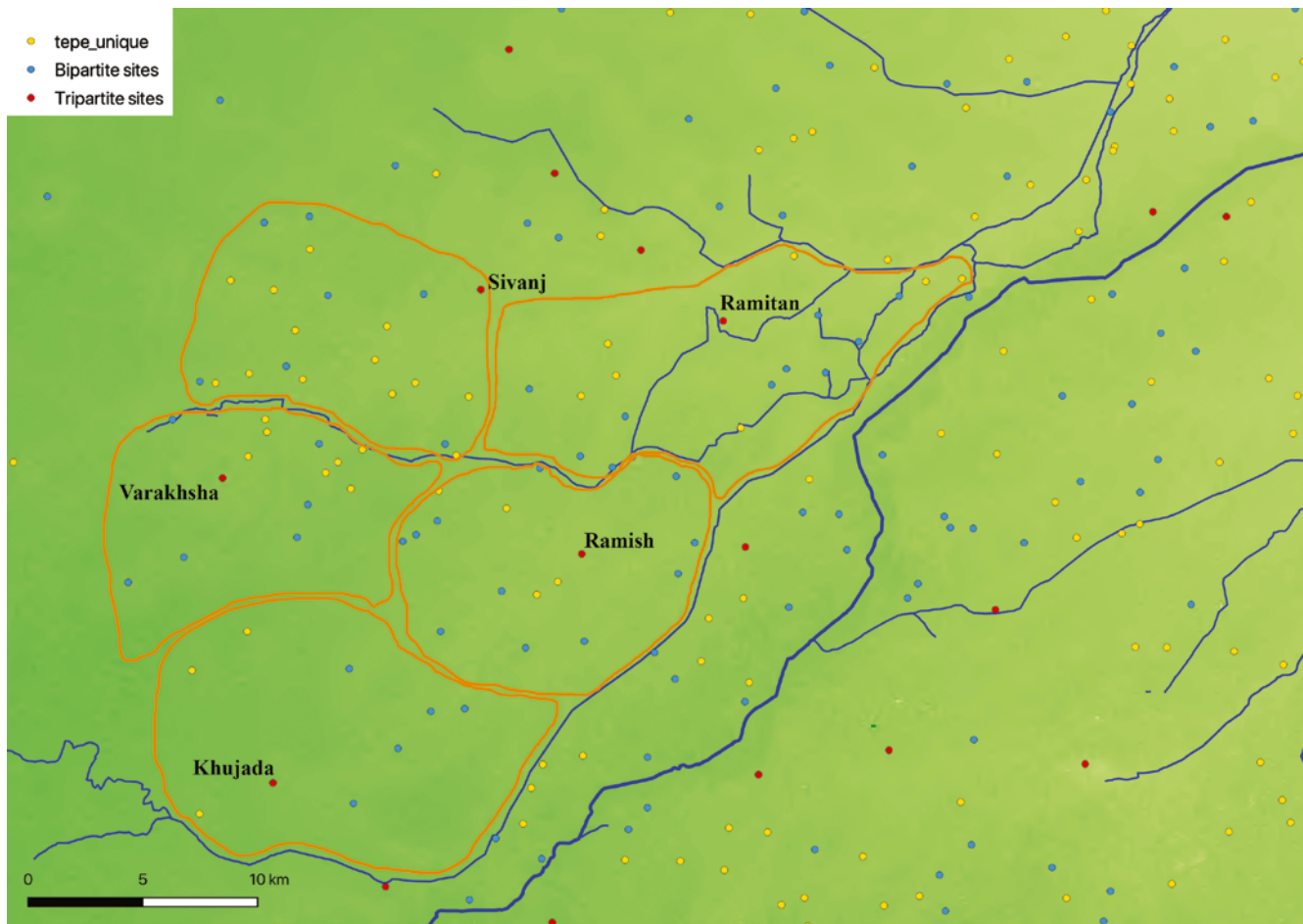


FIGURE 9 The tripartite site and its administrative neighbours: bipartite sites and unique tepe
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was observed. This dynamic was analysed and divided into different chronological phases.

3.1 Phase 1

The first phase dates to the 3rd–1st centuries BCE (fig. 10). During this epoch, settlements probably evolved from early unfortified occupations to a defended area, which later became the citadel.¹⁸ The territorial organisation shows a concentration of settlements near the main water channels, with a few exceptions: site 0231, which was probably supplied with water by canals coming from the upper Khitfar Ramitan channel, and sites 0003, 0005, Warka (0644), Tavovis (0751) and 0518. These latter two cases were certainly supplied with water by the canal called Kam-i Abu Muslim during the Islamic period, but probably not before, according to the recent geomorphological data. It is, however, certain that this canal has been interfered with too much today to really be able to

establish its antiquity. Moreover, at around the middle of its pathway, its watercourse follows the eastern path of the irrigated lands, which seems to suggest its human creation. Regarding sites 0003, 0005 and Warka (0644), their location bordering the southern limits of the oasis, as well as their fortified character, suggests a defensive role in order to protect themselves from incursions from the south and the south-east, from the Karshi Oasis. Their role as a stopover for caravans turning around at the oasis is also not excluded. The historical water network, which nevertheless is characteristic of the situation during the late Islamic period, shows several small canals supplying water to all these sites. In that earlier epoch, it is possible that this area was still irrigated by remains of the ancient Kashka Darya. In fact, this southern and south-eastern zone, where these sites were founded and grew, is characterised by the end of the alluvial layer, the Neogene relief to the south and the mountain range to the east. Therefore, the sites are located in a slight depression that on one side situates the sites nearer the water table and on the other situates them in a kind of “reservoir” where water coming

¹⁸ This has been proposed by our Uzbek and Russian colleagues in relation to Paykend (Mukhamedjanov et al. 1988: 8–17).

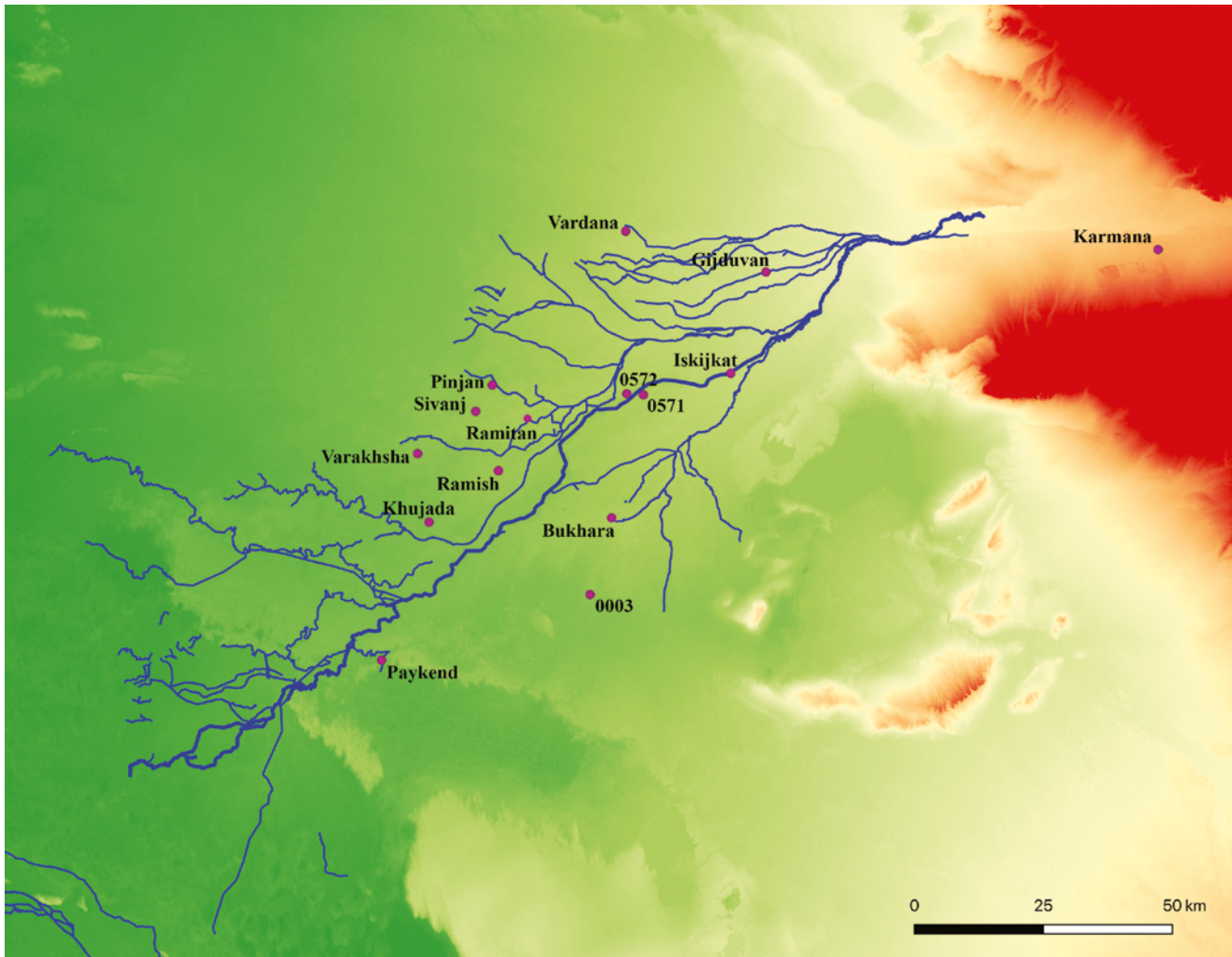


FIGURE 10 Settlement distribution in Phase 1
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from the oasis flows, coming to a stop upon reaching the relief. The site of Tavovis (0751) might also belong to this context, even if today it is difficult and perilous to have an exact idea about the point where the Kam-i Abu Muslim canal started its artificial path. It is probably much more realistic to identify this point around site 0518 (fig. 11).

It is therefore not a surprise to state – taking into account the water network during that epoch – that the greatest concentration of settlements is located along the Zerafshan, which flows in the middle of the oasis, and especially on the western side of the oasis, because of the density of its water channels.

3.2 Phase 2

The second chronological phase dates to the 1st–3rd centuries CE (fig. 12).

Over the course of these three centuries, a global reoccupation of the earlier sites has been observed, as well as the foundation of new sites, which later developed as

tripartite sites. But the major event in this period is the foundation of many other sites, which are located around these main ones and which developed as bipartite sites, already creating at that epoch a dense network of city connections and socio-economic interdependency. The impossibility of establishing complete and exhaustive, absolute date for all 291 bipartite sites encourages us to attempt a simulation of the global human occupation (fig. 13).¹⁹

In the western side of the oasis, at the limit of the irrigated area, the sites Barkad (0944) and 0320 developed close to the ramifications of the Khitfar Ramitan and Khitfar Zandana. In the heart of the oasis, the births of

19 The map displays a large-scale evolution from the 1st century CE to the 8th century CE. Concerning the methodology employed for studying this group of sites and their distribution within the oasis in this chronological phase, see Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 38.

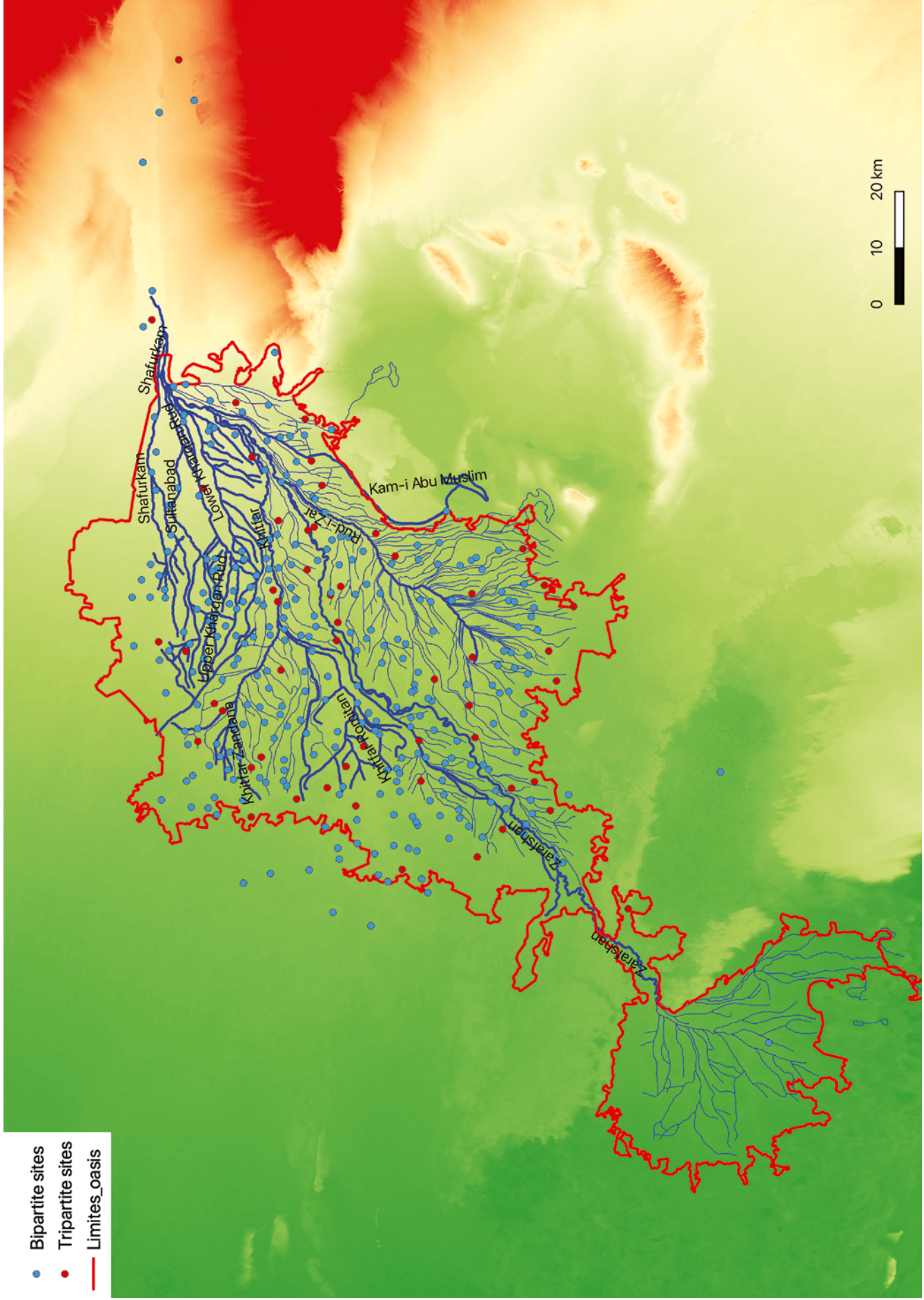


FIGURE 11 Map with tripartite and bipartite sites, 1893 Maps watercourses

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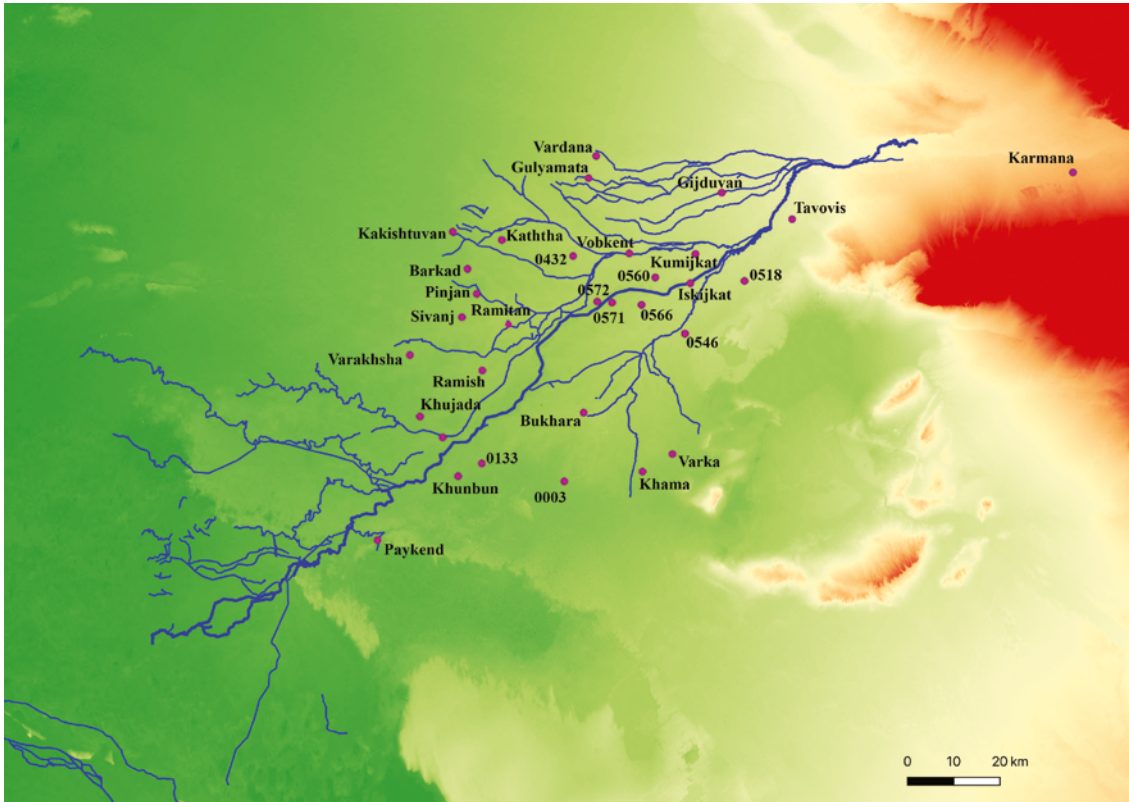


FIGURE 12 Settlement distribution in Phase 2
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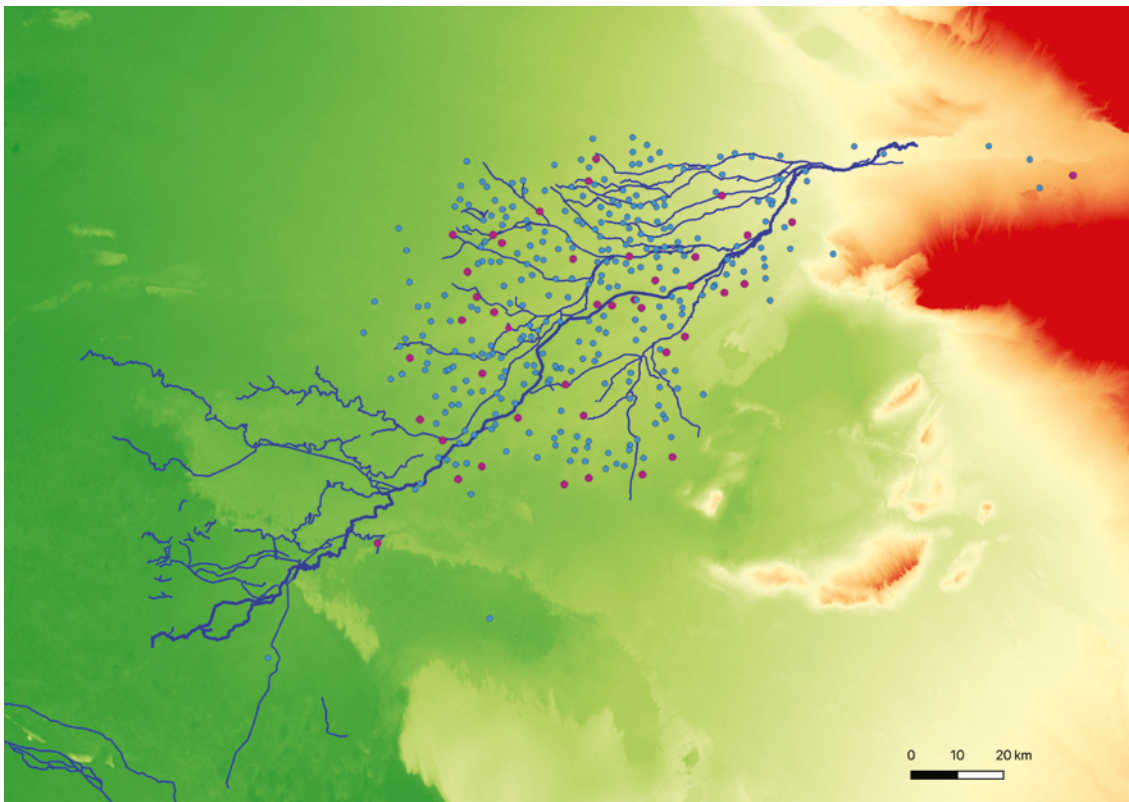


FIGURE 13 Map with tripartite and bipartite sites
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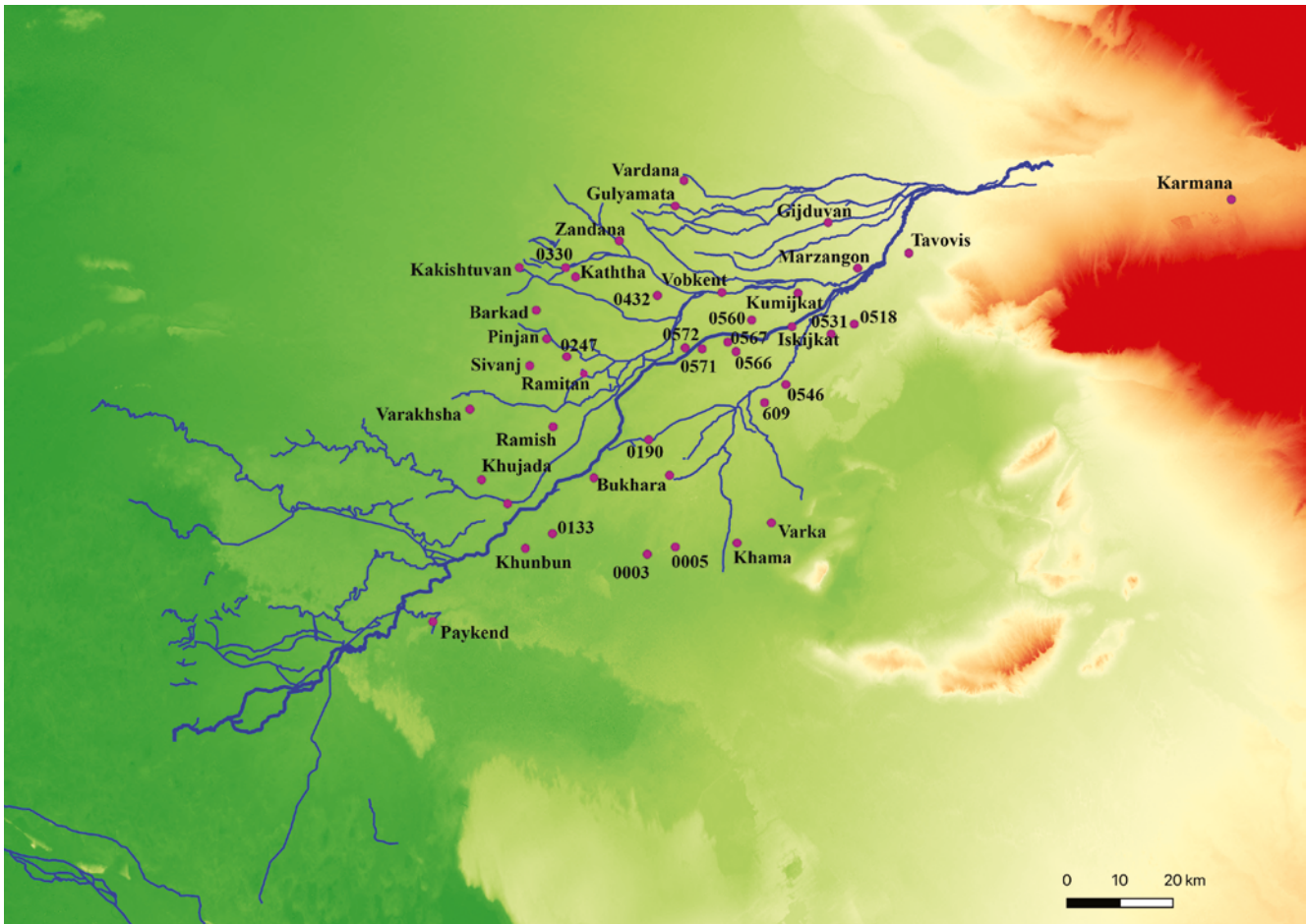


FIGURE 14 Settlement distribution in Phase 3
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site 0560 and Kumijkat (0090) have been observed, developing along major channels of the Zeravshan and Khitfar respectively. The sites Tarab (0043) and 0133 were founded in the south-western part of the oasis. The former is located at the point where the flow of the Tarab channel²⁰ totally changes its direction, turning towards the west. The latter is located at the end of the alluvial area and the beginning of the Neogene relief, just like sites 0003 and 0005. Both Tarab (0043) and 0133 are strongly fortified. From a global view, the sites Tarab (0043), 0133 and Khujada (0149), each one fortified, seem to constitute a defensive belt at the entry of the densely irrigated area. It is probable that this frontier was consolidated a few centuries later with the oasis wall, Kampirduval.

However, during that epoch, every settlement was defended by ramparts. Moreover, except for the agricultural settlements, in addition to the other buildings

constructed for ground or water exploitation, every residential settlement was characterised by defensive walls. It means that even if ramparts did not enclose cities or villages, they were erected to defend the residential buildings of every settlement.

3.3 Phase 3

The third chronological phase dates to the late 3rd – early 8th centuries CE (fig. 14).

It has been observed that exponential urban increase began some centuries earlier than indicated by previous research. The first part of this period corresponds to the erection of new urban fortified entities around an ancient fortified nucleus, shahrestan, which stressed a need to expand, and at the same time defend, the previous urban limits, which was certainly due to a demographic increase. Ramitan presents an interesting case study that will be examined in detail later (fig. 15).

The second part of this period is also marked by a number of fortified additions in different cities. The case of

²⁰ The watercourse has been conventionally called the “Tarab watercourse” because its path traverses the ancient site of Tarab.



FIGURE 15 3D reconstruction of Ramitan in Phase 3
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Paykend, as will be seen later, is highly emblematic and perfectly synthesises this dynamic with the foundation of shahrestan-1 in the 4th century and shahrestan-2 in the 7th century (fig. 16).

Moreover, in this epoch, some urban agglomerations were provided with well-conceived *extra muros* commercial, artisanal or simply domestic areas, the rabad of the Islamic period.²¹

In the heart of the oasis, the sites Marzangon (0089), Narshak tepa (0457) and Banab (0567) were founded along the two main watercourses of the oasis, the Zarafshan and the Khitfar, before the Khitfar forks. On the north-western side, at the end of the Khitfar Zandana and the northern arm of the Khitfar Ramitan, sites 0330, 0247, 0357, 0896 and Zandana (0083) were founded, confirming the importance of this area where caravans joined Khorezm. The significant urbanisation was probably also stimulated by this key geographical situation. On the opposite side, to the east, sites 0531 and 0609 confirmed the dynamic urbanisation on this border area of the oasis. Among the excavations of several tumuli around the oasis carried out by Obel'chenko (1992), a large proportion of them have been found in this eastern area beyond the irrigated

limits. Their location since the first centuries of our era confirms this eastern limit of the irrigated lands, as well as the urban organisation around this border. The site of Khunbun (0040) marks the importance of this south-west axis crossed by the Khorasan road once again. Site 0190 was founded in a junction zone between Bukhara and the western side; through it one could reach cities such as Ramitan, Ramish tepe and Varakhsha.

Quite well known by historians, this epoch is characterised by the massive occupation of populations coming from the north-east (Buriakov 1991: 197–204; Obel'chenko 1992: 90–98, 227–28; Zeimal 1983: 232, 250, 257; Grenet 1996: 370–72) and other regions (Grenet 2010). According to the absolute dates of the layers in different sites of the oasis, such as Iskijkat, Ramitan and Kakishtuvan, the pottery associated with this period should be dated to the 3rd century CE.²²

Moreover, in the Bukhara Oasis, this period is characterised by the foundation of new sites, as well as the extension of the ancient urban limits, rather than an urban crisis, as might have been observed in Bactriana or elsewhere in Sogdiana (Grenet 1996: 370). According

21 Regarding the *extra muros* areas, see the case of Ramitan (Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 183–93).

22 For more details on the pottery associated with these layers and the revisited historical point of view, see Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 47.



FIGURE 16 The site of Paykend in Phase 3
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to Jakubov (1988), the diffusion of a fortified habitat has also been observed in the Bukhara Oasis, where it is possible to divide it into two different categories: the fortified residences, which also constituted a village, becoming the bipartite sites, and those that remained isolated fortified residences.

This phase seems to be the key moment in the urbanisation of the oasis. Probably induced by the new strategic location on the now frequently traversed north-east passage of the Silk Road, in the oasis there was a massive settlement of populations coming from the northeast, which brought about the extension of the earlier cities and the building of new ones (for a video impression of a typical early Islamic dwelling in Paykend, see <http://dx.doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.19152869>).

3.4 Phase 4

The Islamic period, 9th–12th century (fig. 17), is characterised by a massive reoccupation of ancient settlements, and it would seem from the present state of research by no new foundations.

All the sites surveyed, with or without rabad, present evidence of pre-Islamic pottery, confirming an earlier occupation. Nonetheless, this period is characterised by an occupation that is proper for the Islamic presence in some sites. In fact, especially between the 9th and 10th centuries, some cities were partly depopulated or suddenly abandoned in order to move outside the ancient walls and found new entities around the central fortified nucleus, as happened in the case of Ramitan (fig. 18). As Hugh Kennedy so rightly observed: “Continuity of site did not mean continuity of urban topography” (2008: 104).

It should therefore be stressed that the dynamic of “no new foundations” referred to above only concerns the foundation of new Islamic cities outside the limits of previous urban agglomerations.

Although sociopolitical and religious factors must be taken into consideration,²³ this dynamic of depopulation

²³ Bulliet 1994: 67–70.



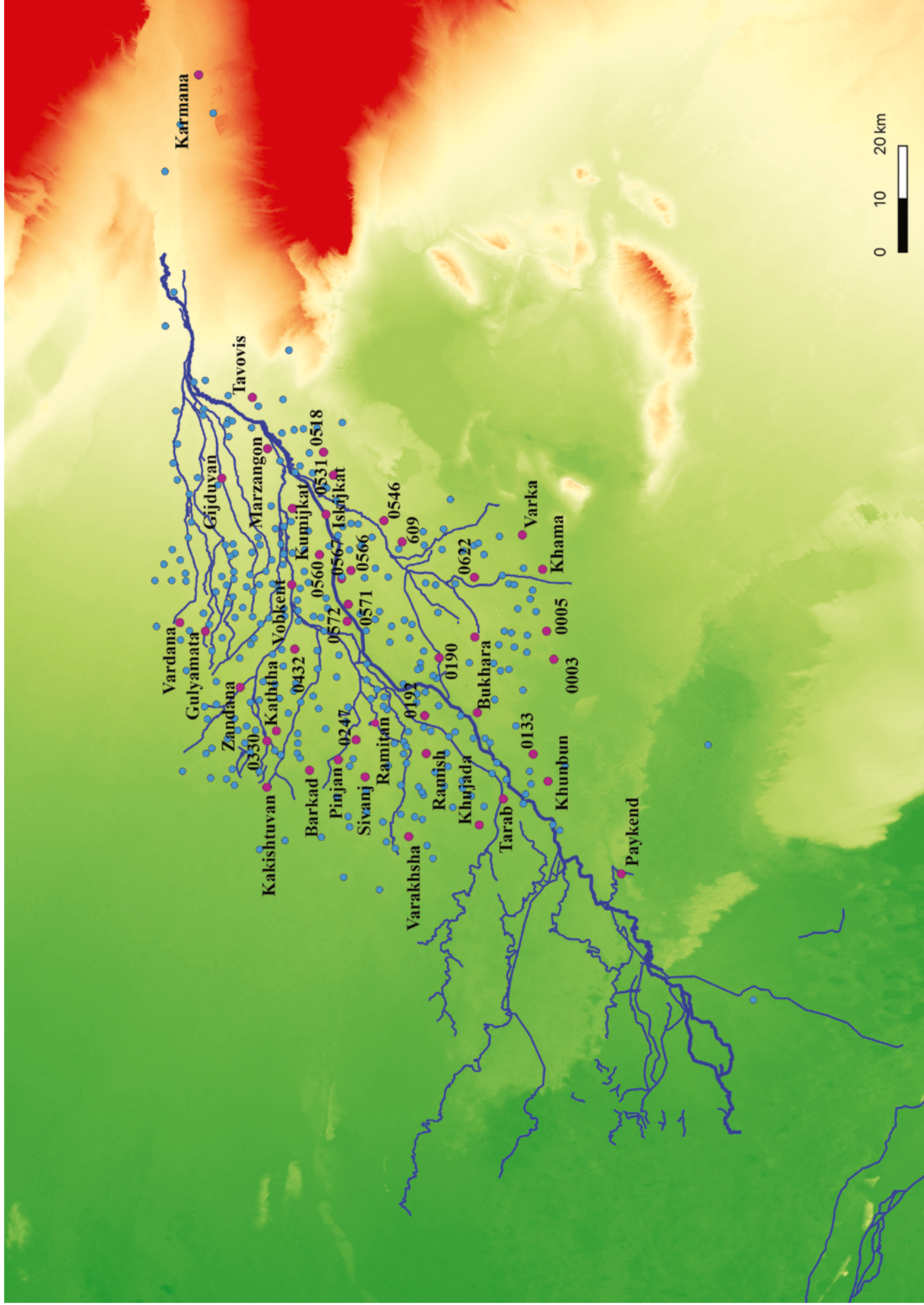


FIGURE 17 Settlement distribution in Phase 4
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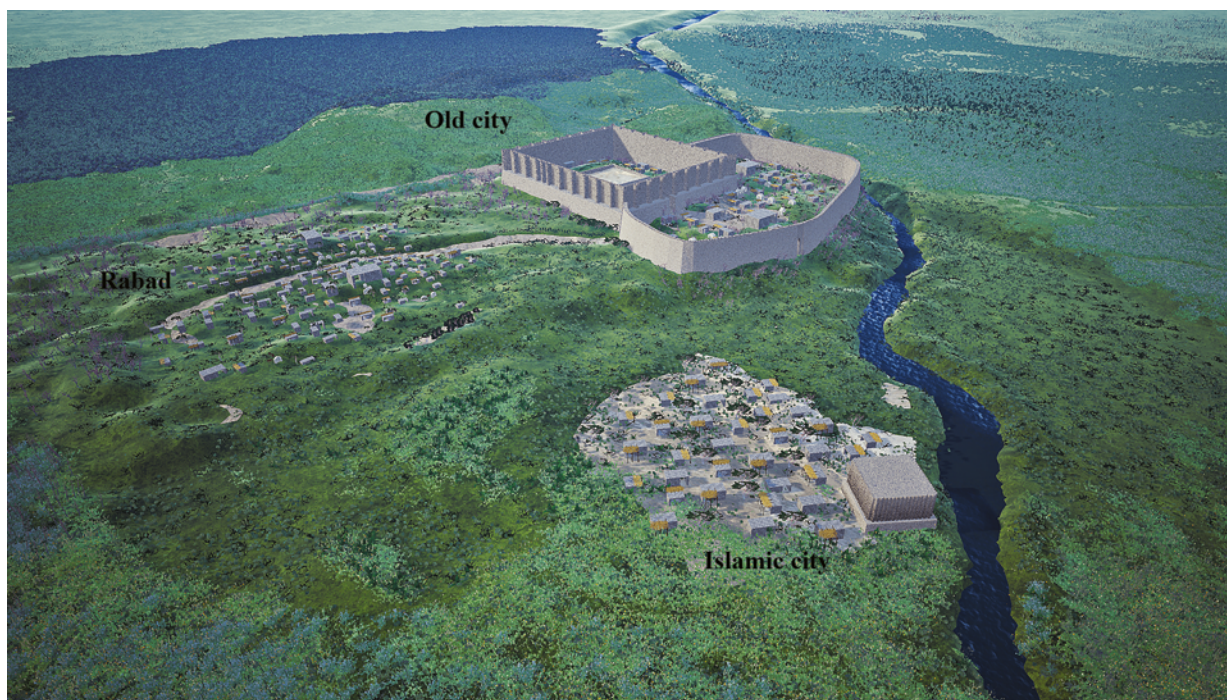


FIGURE 18 3D reconstruction of Ramitan in Phase 4
© LAUREN SANCHEZ; R. RANTE 2018

can also be linked to the difficulty of supplying the city with water and the problems attached to the conservation of the mud brick structures, as can be observed in two emblematic, albeit different, cases: Paykend and Ramitan (Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 47–50).

Finally, this long period was already marked, at least in its final stages, by some depopulation, which very quickly turned into abandonment. The best known example is Varakhsha, which presents pottery datable up to the 12th–13th century. This particular case seems to be the result of a scarcity of water flowing from the end branches of the Khitfar Ramitan. At a later date, the whole area of Varakhsha was abandoned because of the absence of water resources. The limit of the oasis is located 8 km to the east of Varakhsha. As can be clearly observed in the 1893 map, during that epoch the site is completely surrounded by steppe. It is only after the irrigation work carried out by the Soviet Union in the 1960–70s that the area was once more inhabited. Today, Varakhsha is situated between the irrigated lands and the steppe.

In the north-western part of the oasis, sites 0896, 0357 and 0247 seem to have been depopulated, and even quickly abandoned. Globally, nevertheless, this region remained populated enough. In the heart of the oasis, sites 0571 and Banab (0567) also seem to have been abandoned. It is interesting to observe that the eastern side of the oasis

presents several sites that were depopulated: 0531, 0546, 0609 and 0622, all founded along or very near the important Rud-i Zar flowing into Bukhara. It would not be difficult to imagine that for a variety of reasons, the people of these cities left them to reach and live in Bukhara, which since the 10th century had expanded notably in terms of territory and political-administrative influence.

3.5 Phase 5

By the 13th century (fig. 19), the following periods are once again marked by depopulation of the ancient cities, at times in favour of new settlements close by, which are easier to identify in the 16th century. The phase corresponding to the 13th–14th centuries is characterised by the first of the two periods of depopulation and abandonment. This period follows the one in the 12th–13th centuries, where a slow depopulation of the main sites of the oasis has been observed.

Marzangon (0089) in the north-eastern part, sites 0566 and 0432 in the core of the oasis, site 0330 in the far-western part and site 0005 in the south are observed to have experienced depopulation because of the absence of characteristic pottery.

Although this epoch coincides with important historical events, such as the Mongol and Timurid invasions, as well as with two climatic warmer periods in western

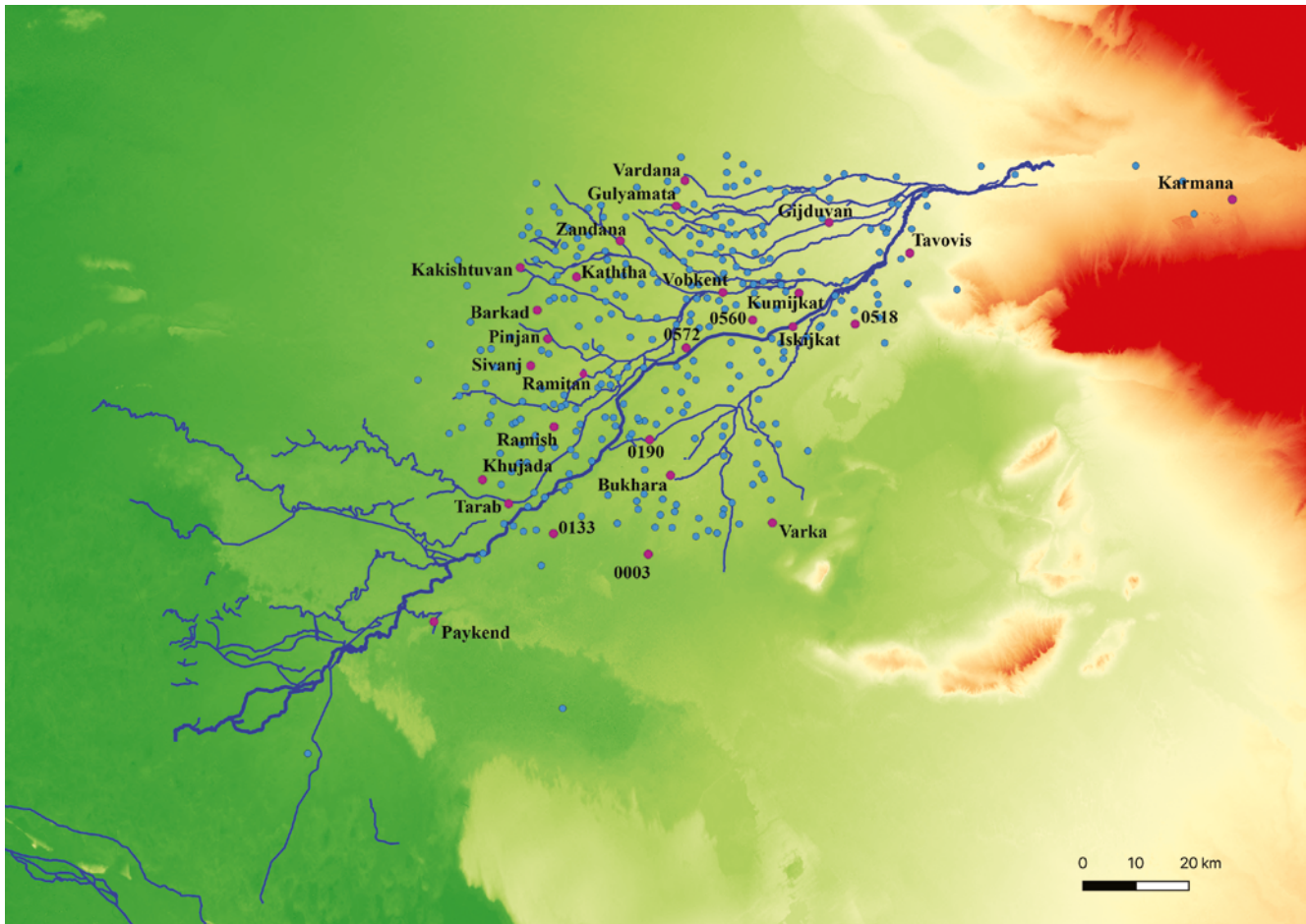


FIGURE 19 Settlement distribution in Phase 5
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Central Asia, it is not yet possible to globally or better identify the causes of this urban depopulation.

3.6 Phase 6

The last phase identified corresponds with the 15th–16th centuries (fig. 20).

This epoch marks the end of this depopulation phenomenon in the ancient tepe, which does not mean the total abandonment of the oasis because other occupations occurred around them, as observed above.

In the western zone of the oasis, Kakishtuvan (0317), Barkad (0944), Pinjan (0275) and site 0320 were abandoned; there is evidence that it had become extremely difficult to supply water from the ancient channels. In the core of the oasis, or better, along the course of the Zerafshan, Kumijkat (0090) and sites 0560, 0572 and 0190 seem to have been depopulated during this epoch, probably due to evidence of a high degree of water depletion in the

Zerafshan basin, as can clearly be observed at Iskiykat, where it seems that at this epoch the meanders of the main river lost their water capacity. In the eastern part, Tavovis (0751) and sites 0518 once again are marked by the depopulation of the ancient tepe. To the south, sites 0003 and 0133 also were depopulated during this epoch. Finally, outside the delta but still within the oasis, at least according to the written sources (Frye 1956), Karmana (0104) was also abandoned, and the inhabitants moved elsewhere, probably in the same area, which benefited from the passage of caravans linking Bukhara to Samarkand.

Although not recorded as a phase because no archaeological traces can really be distinguished, in the period between the 16th and 19th centuries all the tripartite sites mentioned were definitively abandoned, except, at least according to our latest research, Bukhara, Gijduvan and Vobkent, where the ancient tepe was absorbed by the new foundations.

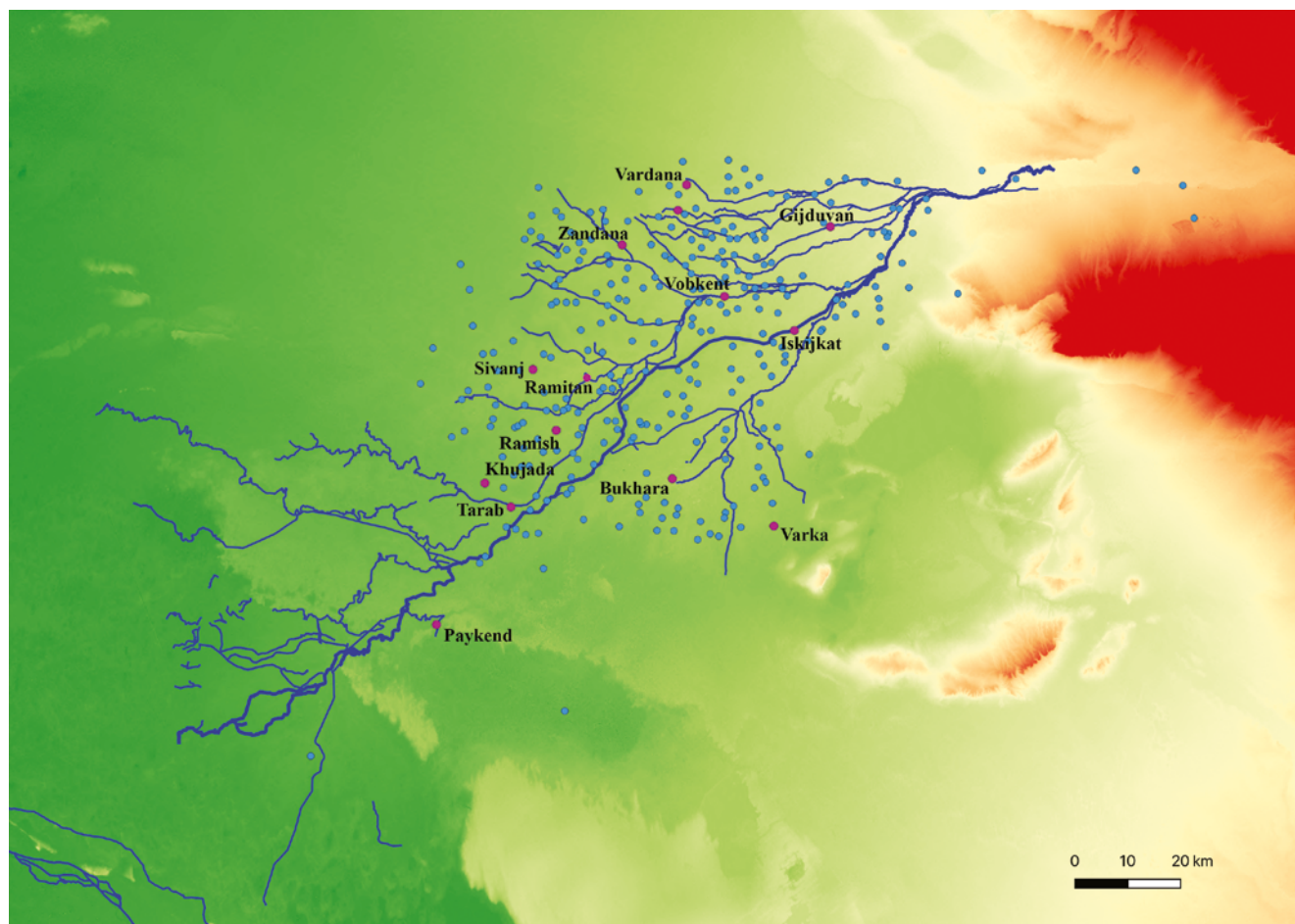


FIGURE 20 Settlement distribution in Phase 6
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4 Archaeo-Sociological Interactions: Network Analysis within the Oasis of Bukhara

Once the historico-archaeological context is fixed, one of the main interests has been to recognise and understand the relationships that linked the sites within the oasis. But, within such a mass of sites, how can we grasp and understand the reality of a set of social relations and networks? How do we define the best method for connecting every site and answer fundamental questions around the economic and social relations between people, cities, villages or fortresses? On the one hand, the categorisation of the sites described above has been crucial for determining the general social background of the oasis, in order to attest that the tripartite site is at the “centre” of a socio-economic system constituted of smaller sites, villages and other rural entities. Although historical sources give us much information about the oasis, which will be broadly presented below, they focus only on some main sites. We cannot, therefore, get a complete and complex tableau of the social structure of the oasis, which inevitably drove its economy, from the historical sources.

This is the reason why we employed network analysis, which, as will be demonstrated below, at least has the merit of leaving a wide tableau of information that can be subsequently verified in the field and through archaeological and cartographic surveys.

But, before turning to this analysis, the theoretical and methodological background needs to be given in order to better appreciate the results and apprehend the conclusions.

4.1 *The Theoretical Background*

Network analysis has been applied to a large number of scientific areas and academic fields, such as sociology, political science, economics, psychology, geography, anthropology, history, biology and archaeology, where recent research has been carried out in a very defined and clear manner.

Here, we are employing the adjective “social” to highlight the centrality of the social dimension – human interactions and relationship systems – in this research. We know that there is no unequivocal consensus about the definition of “reality”, or even about whether or not there is such a thing as “social reality”. To a certain extent,

sociology is the social science of great conundrums: micro-sociology versus macrosociology, qualitative research methods versus quantitative research methods. These differences can be reduced to a general dichotomy between social research paradigms, that is, methodological individualism and holism. In the words of Louis Dumont:

“il faut rappeler qu’il y deux sortes de sociologies quant à leur point de départ et à leur démarche globale. Dans la première, on part, comme il est naturel aux modernes, des individus humains pour les voir ensuite en société; parfois même on essaie de faire naître la société de l’interaction des individus. Dans l’autre sorte de sociologie, on part du fait que l’homme est un être social, on pose donc comme irréductible à toute composition le fait global de la société – non pas de ‘la société’ dans l’abstrait, mais chaque fois de telle société concrète particulière avec ses institutions et représentations spécifiques. Puisqu’on a parlé d’individualisme méthodologique pour le premier cas, on pourrait parler de holisme méthodologique dans celui-ci.” (1983: 11–12)

Here, we are looking at two distinct approaches to understanding, and more importantly, they are the two most common approaches in sociology. There is, however, a third way to examine the concepts “social” and “social reality”: the relational approach, which does not attribute social qualities to individuals or large social systems but rather to social interactions and, consequently, social networks (Di Nicola 1998; Degenne and Forsé 2004; Donati 2011). There are several variants of relational sociology; here, we discuss the “structural interactionism” introduced by Alain Degenne and Michel Forsé (2004). We will examine how this variant, which focuses on social interactions and networks, differs from methodological individualism and holism.

If, as Alain Degenne and Michel Forsé say, “l’individualisme méthodologique part des motivations individuelles pour recomposer par effet émergent la structure, alors que le holisme pense que cette tâche est tout à fait secondaire puisque les structures s’imposent aux individus” (2004: 9), then structural interactionism, through an analysis based on the relational nature of society, demonstrates “(i) comment la structure du réseau favorise (rend plus probable, détermine en un sens faible et non fort) le choix de telle ou telle action ou opinion et (ii) comment cette structure est aussi la résultante de ces choix individuels” (ibid: 13).

This explanatory approach to social phenomena can also be applied to the study of relationships between collective subjects, such as companies, associations, cities, nations and so on. Social interactions determine factors

that connect the subjects, or nodes (or vertices), of a network whose morphology, in turn, encourages particular actions. The relational structure is therefore a constraint and, at the same time, an emergent effect resulting from the actions of individual and collective subjects.

Thus, social network analysis can be used to approach social reality as a set of nodes and to examine the relationships between them. With the relation as the unit of analysis, the structure of social relations produces a network with a particular morphology. This network is both a constraint and an opportunity for its constituent vertices.

Through social network analysis, which uses graph theory and its terminology, social structures can be studied as structures of social relations. In simple terms, the points (potentially connected subjects) become nodes, and the connections between them lines – in the case of graphs and thus undirected networks (for instance, neighbourhood networks) – or arcs – in the case of directed graphs and thus directed networks (such as support networks).

Barry Wellman (1988) believes that resource distribution conditioned by social structures between individuals can be studied through structural analysis.

Through social network analysis, we can study ties between actors rather than the relationships between their classifications. Stanley Wasserman and Katherine Faust (1994: 4) said the following about social network analysis: 1. actors and actions are interdependent; 2. the connections between actors make it possible for resources to be passed along from one actor to another; 3. social structures both limit and provide opportunities for the actions of individuals; 4. structures are based on lasting models of relations between social actors. Social network analysis uses graph theory and its vocabulary to define its objects and concepts.

According to Linton C. Freeman (2004), social network analysis is an organic research paradigm because it provides an alternative to the individual as a unit of analysis and is an emerging discipline that has the capacity to bring together researchers from diverse fields of study. As an “organized paradigm for research”, Freeman (2004: 3) says that social network analysis possesses the following characteristics: “1. Social network analysis is motivated by a structural intuition based on ties linking social actors, 2. It is grounded in systematic empirical data, 3. It draws heavily on graphic imagery, and 4. It relies on the use of mathematical and/or computational models”.

We now come to another question: how is social network analysis applied to archaeology? In a seminal article, Tom Brughmans (2010) places special focus on the particularities of social network analysis in the field of archaeology. The concept of *thinking in terms of relationships* is the point of departure for the application discussed

by Brughmans, who invites readers to consider the great technical potential of social network analysis in order to determine how it can be applied to archaeology. Guided by the work of researchers from other disciplines – such as sociology and mathematics – archaeologists have, in certain instances, used social network analysis. However, in a sense, it is important to find an application specific to archaeology. Brughmans (ibid: 282) says that “archaeologists using network analysis should be aware of the possible diversity of quantitative approaches, the scale on which they work, their structural and interpretative implications, and the software available to execute them”.

Brughmans also states that, when it comes to archaeology, it would be inaccurate to speak exclusively of *social relationships* and social network analysis, as there are many connections that are not social, such as those between “pots with the same motifs” (ibid: 282). However, this idea is debatable: like sociology, archaeology is a scientific discipline that studies human actions and activities, and the study of relationships, first and foremost, requires researchers to always look for signs (“indicators” in sociological terms) of social ties. In this light, the presence of “pots with the same motifs” at two different sites is an indicator of interactions between these sites: for instance, of an exchange, gifting or a cultural or symbolic relationship, which in this case would involve the exchange of decorative techniques and/or of images for depicting the world.

Brughmans (ibid: 284) maintains that the following fundamental questions must be considered when seeking complex and critical network analysis in the domain of archaeology: 1. “The role of archaeological data in networks”, that is, in the creation and analysis thereof; 2. “The diversity of network structures, their consequences and their interpretation”; 3. “The critical use of quantitative tools”; and 4. “The influence of other disciplines, especially sociology”.

Freeman (2004) put forward that the idea of social network analysis as an emerging discipline seems to imply a scenario where the issue of a discipline-specific presentation of network analysis is less relevant. In line with Brughmans’ fundamental questions, indicators now become the central subject.

4.2 *The Methodological Background*

In the empirical sciences, an indicator is essentially a practical research problem. Many concepts studied by researchers – certainly in the domain of sociology (for instance, trust, social capital, social class and social stratification) – are too complex, general and abstract to

directly and univocally convert to properties and to operationalise. We must therefore find simpler, more specific concepts that researchers will be able to operationalise and that will provide indications of more general concepts, or, in other words, that will be able to serve as a semantic representation of those concepts.

Archaeology must first define these concepts as social relations and then look for indicators of these specific social relations.

Carl Knappett (2013a) edited a seminal publication on network analysis in archaeological methodology: the book changed the way social network analysis was perceived and also perhaps carried out in archaeology. In his introduction, Knappett (2013b: 4) states: “we do need to think carefully about how we define the nodes and links in a given network”. The actors are the nodes or the points in a graph, and the lines are the links making up a network, that is, the lines connecting points or nodes. Knappett emphasises that researchers using social network analysis do not have to delineate “boundaries, zones, or territories based on limited information” (ibid: 6). Networks can relate to physical spaces and/or connections, and social networks can be applied on any scale of analysis (ibid: 6). Network analysis overcomes the limitations of world-systems analysis and uses research techniques that can define elements of complexity in social reality. In the connection between archaeology and sociology, Knappett sees the path through which archaeology approaches social network analysis. He identifies problems and differences (ibid: 7–8): 1. sociologists study networks whose connections are by and large completely identifiable, while in archaeology the connections no longer exist; 2. connection networks studied by sociologists do not require physical distances to be taken into account, while in archaeology geographical networks may be of utmost importance and have to be examined through the collocation of nodes in physical space; and 3. archaeology recognises the central role of material culture and analyses networks resulting from nodes sharing elements and items associated with a specific culture.

When looking at social network analysis and the links between sociology and archaeology, the scenarios that emerge also require archaeology to use theoretical tools typically associated with sociology. Ray Rivers, Carl Knappett and Tim Evans (2013: 132) adopt a functionalist research strategy wherein “networks have functions” and where the structure of these networks tends to be optimal for said functions. In line with the views of Niklas Luhmann, Koji Mizoguchi (2013: 151) analyses “prestige goods” as “*symbolically generalized communication*

media". Emma Blake (2013: 205) discusses the connection between material culture, ethnicity and Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Anna Collar (2013: 224) draws on the difference between Mark Granovetter's weak and strong ties. Erik Gjesfjeld and S. Colby Phillips (2013: 281) use the "human behavioural ecology" approach.

Let us turn again to the question of indicators and more specifically indicators of interaction, given that the concepts of individual and collective subjects are, to some degree, broad enough for each specification – in both sociology and archaeology. Leif Isaksen (2013: 46–47) tried to define the transition involved in the operationalisation of subjects – nodes – and interactions/ties/relationships – lines – in archaeological network analysis. He discusses the difference between automatically and manually created networks, graphs of networks and connections with differently collected data; Isaksen also talks about the importance of considering how networks change over time, about information completeness – "absence of evidence is not evidence of absence" (ibid: 47) – about difference and about the need to integrate first- and second-hand data (books and texts discussing the interactions that need to be studied). Barbara J. Mills, John M. Roberts Jr., Jeffery J. Clark, William R. Haas Jr., Deborah Huntley, Matthew A. Peeples, Lewis Borck, Susan C. Ryan, Meaghan Trowbridge and Ronald L. Breiger (2013: 183) take an original approach to the subject of node operationalisation: a minimum size requirement for sites included in the network (number of rooms, for instance).

Using the publication edited by Knappett (2013a), we sought to classify the various relationship indicators used by social network analysis in the field of archaeological research. We identified six main categories:

1. Geographic and physical distance indicators
2. Indicators of object and material co-presence at studied sites or cities
3. Culture and material culture sharing
4. Simple gravity models/Cost-Benefit Analysis/Gift exchange (exchange and transfer of resources)
5. Documentary evidence about relationships
6. Second-level relationship indicators

In some cases, we were able to identify several sub-items. The following list contains examples of these indicators, accompanied by bibliographical references and quotes from the previously mentioned book edited by Knappett (2013a):

1. Geographic and physical distance indicators:
 - i. Indicators of distance and expected effects of distances: critical thresholds are determined by existing technology (maritime transport, land transport and so forth). Blake

(2013: 210) talks about the "introduction of the donkey [...] as a technological innovation" with the capacity to modify connections.

Terrell (2013: 25): "expected effect of geographic distance on social relations [...] when the threshold distance is 90 km or less".

Blake (2013: 212): "To analyse the data using social network methods I calculated the distances in kilometres between all the find spots, creating a mileage matrix in Excel. I then binarized those distances, so that sites that were 50 km or less apart from each other and had yielded the same type of object would have a direct tie (expressed in a matrix as a '1') and those either more than 50 km apart, or near each other but without the same object, would lack a tie (expressed in the matrix as a '0')."

ii. Known transportation routes:

Isaksen (2013: 64, chart 3.1): "Closeness and betweenness centrality of towns on all known transport routes and itineraries".

iii. Proximal Point Analysis:

Rivers et al. (2013: 134): "To adopt the very different viewpoint of Proximal Point Analysis (PPA), it may be that there is an optimal number of relationships between one site and its neighbours that can and need to be sustained properly, *independent* of site size and site separation. Most simply, we connect each site to its *k* nearest neighbours with outward links, for some small *k*. When the process has been completed, link direction is removed, to create an undirected final network."

2. Indicators of object and material co-presence at studied sites or cities:

i. Co-presence of ceramics:

Isaksen (2013: 54–55): "to establish the co-presence of ceramics and marble".

Mills et al. (2013): "The links or connections between sites draw on ceramic data" (ibid: 183); "we consider decorated and undecorated ceramics separately" (ibid: 184).

Gjesfjeld and Phillips (2013): "ceramic artefacts provide an archaeological dataset that allows for the evaluation of network relationships *within* the Kuril Islands" (ibid: 290); "The second set of networks is derived from archaeological evidence using the distribution of ceramic artefacts within geochemically defined source groups to represent ceramic exchange relationships" (ibid: 291).

ii. Co-presence of materials:

Isaksen (2013: 54–55): “to establish the co-presence of ceramics and marble”.

Sindbæk (2013: 80): “A network model to account for the distribution of steatite vessels”.

Mills et al. (2013: 184): “geochemically sourced obsidian artefacts”.

Coward (2013: 249): “In archaeological and especially pre-historic contexts, all interpretation, including that of the social interactions and structure of past societies, must be reconstructed via the material traces that such interactions may (but do not always) leave.”

Gjesfjeld and Phillips (2013: 291): “The second set of networks is derived from archaeological evidence using the distribution of ceramic artefacts within geochemically defined source groups to represent ceramic exchange relationships.”

iii. Co-presence of objects:

Sindbæk (2013: 78): “Cooking vessels carved from steatite are among the archaeological signatures which trace the expansion of Scandinavians into the British and North Atlantic islands in the Viking period (9th–11th centuries AD).”

Mills et al. (2013: 183): “using the distribution of a variety of different archaeological materials to reconstruct the social ties that influenced these distributions.”

Blake (2013: 210): “The bronze objects are selection of six well-attested types that are contemporary with the Aegean LH IIIB–C pots [...] These objects are: [...] dagger [...] flattened violin bow fibula with two bosses [...] sword”.

Coward (2013: 249): “In archaeological and especially pre-historic contexts, all interpretation, including that of the social interactions and structure of past societies, must be reconstructed via the material traces that such interactions may (but do not always) leave.”

Mol and Mans (2013: 314): “The second network analysis has a more specific spatial intra-site context that concentrates not on the act of exchange, but instead on the accumulation of objects in houses.”

3. Culture and material culture sharing:

Sindbæk (2013: 74): “the material affiliation implies that the potential for communication between these sites can

be regarded as slightly higher than between others, who do not share the same attribute”.

Mizoguchi (2013): “The interactions between the nodes in this era, reconstructed from the stylistic affinity and difference between the indigenous pots of the nodes and their exchange, were basically confined to adjacent nodes” (ibid: 158); “Network of rich jar burials” (ibid: 170, fig. 7.7.)

4. Simple gravity models/Cost-Benefit Analysis/Gift exchange (exchange and transfer of resources):

Rivers et al. (2013): “More relevant than site ‘size’ in the sense of resources (or carrying capacity) is site population which, when not requiring ‘imported’ resources to sustain the site, is a reflection of resource exploitation [...] carrying capacity as *input*, population as *output* [...] we have classified a site’s size as ‘small’, ‘medium’, or ‘large’ on the basis of archaeological evidence” (ibid: 136–37); “By ‘efficient’ networks we mean *actively* ‘optimal’ networks, seeking to maximize the benefits of exchange, while seeking to minimize their ‘costs’. In practice our networks are ‘almost optimal’ [...] This stochastic element distinguishes this model from the deterministic models discussed previously” (ibid: 141).

Blake (2013: 205): “These interactions between members of a group may take any number of forms, from face-to-face visits to exchanges of gifts to business transactions to acts of domination and violence.”

Mol and Mans (2013: 310–11): “The first network is based on observed artefact exchanges that took place between Amotopoans and their exchange partners outside the village during three months in the rainy season of 2008. The nodes in the network are actors both inside and outside of the village of Amotopo. The transaction of objects signifies relations between these actors and is visualized by the edges in the network.”

5. Documentary evidence about relationships:

Scholnick et al. (2013): “the inscriptions recorded on Classic Maya stone monuments as distinct expressions of political power” (ibid: 97); “This study uses epigraphic data from the Maya Hieroglyphic Database [...] over 40,000 glyph blocks were catalogued” (ibid: 103); “Subordination statements” (ibid: 110).

Collar (2013: 223): “In this chapter, I use the epigraphic data for the Jewish Diaspora to argue that, if the rabbinic reforms of Judaism were necessitated by the destruction wrought in Judaea, then this cataclysm also ‘activated’ the ethnic network of the Diaspora Jews.”

6. Second-level relationship indicators: these can only be defined after other indicators are determined and summarise the latter:

i. Indicators of sharing:

Sindbæk (2013: 87, fig. 4.4): “a single-mode (sites only) network in which links indicate two or more shared artefact types.”

ii. Relationship classification:

Scholnick et al. (2013: 106, table 5.2): “Classification schema of theme and contextual statements employing place-name glyphs [...] Antagonistic [...] Diplomatic [...] Dynastic lineage [...] Kinship lineage [...] Subordination [...] Neutral [...] Unknown”.

iii. Similarity/dissimilarity indices for manufactured products:

Mills et al. (2013: 185): “network relations between sites are indicated by ceramic similarity [...] This dissimilarity index is equivalent to the Brainerd-Robinson coefficient that is widely used in archaeology and has been argued to be particularly effective for comparison of counts of nominal categories”.

Coward (2013: 251):

“This research used a database of material culture from well-dated sites of these periods to establish indices of material culture similarity or closeness for each pair of sites (the nodes) dated to within the same 1,000-year ‘timeslice’. This measure of similarity was interpreted as reflecting the strength of the social relationship between the sites, which is seen both as structured by and structuring the gifting, trade, and exchange of individual items and/or the dissemination of the skills of manufacture and the practices and contexts in which items were used. These pair-wise measures of material culture similarity were used as the basis for adjacency matrices from which a number of network properties could be calculated for each 1,000-year network”.

4.3 *Methods*

The research project examining trade networks in the Bukhara Oasis is an example of a whole or full network analysis (Tronca 2013). The conditions of this research required the application of the first relationship indicator category, that is, geographic and physical distance indicators.

Here, we are using only tripartite and bipartite sites because they characterise the structure of the social relations, the other sites (“unique tepe” or “single tepe”) often corresponding to secondary residences, single residences

or fortresses. The intent is to understand the relations between the producer sites with services for the public and more rural, not producer sites.

The nodes are tripartite sites, which consist of a citadel, a lower town (village) and suburb (rabad for the Islamic period). Nodes can also be bipartite sites made up of a citadel and lower town only. These sites do not contain production or commercial areas.

Bipartite sites therefore needed tripartite sites for trade and to procure items produced and sold in the suburbs. On the other hand, bipartite sites were a very important part of the oasis’s trade network, as they supplied tripartite sites with raw materials for their own consumption, as well as for the suburbs, and thus for use in production at tripartite sites.

Below, we present three relational data analyses: the first deals with relationships between bipartite and tripartite sites through roads; the second looks at relationships between tripartite sites over longer distances through roads, coinciding with caravan journeys in and around the oasis; and the third examines relationships between tripartite sites through watercourses.

The analysis of the relational data was carried out using Ucinet 6 software (version 6.560) devised for social network analysis by Borgatti et al. (2002). All graphs were generated using Borgatti’s (2002) NetDraw software (version 2.158).

4.4 *Bipartite Sites and Tripartite Sites in Their Territorial Layout: Some Case Examples*

As previously stated, in the 3rd–2nd centuries BCE we observe significant settling and urbanisation in the oasis of Bukhara. It seems that the first settlements took place along the main watercourses of the delta as well as along the western and northern limits of the irrigated area, where watercourses flowed more slowly and where there was a need to protect the oasis. This occupation is mostly represented by the sites that become tripartite cities later on.

This territorial occupation did not halt from this time until at least the Islamic period, showing two major moments of urbanisation: the first one datable to the 1st century CE and the second to the 3rd–7th centuries CE. Without excluding the possibility of some Islamic foundations within the oasis, in this current stage of research, no purely and exclusively Islamic foundations have been identified. Every site that has been excavated and surveyed showed the presence of pre-Islamic materials.

The occupation dated to the 1st century CE corresponds with a massive migration of people coming from outside the oasis who joined and integrated with the populations that had settled there since the 3rd–2nd centuries BCE.

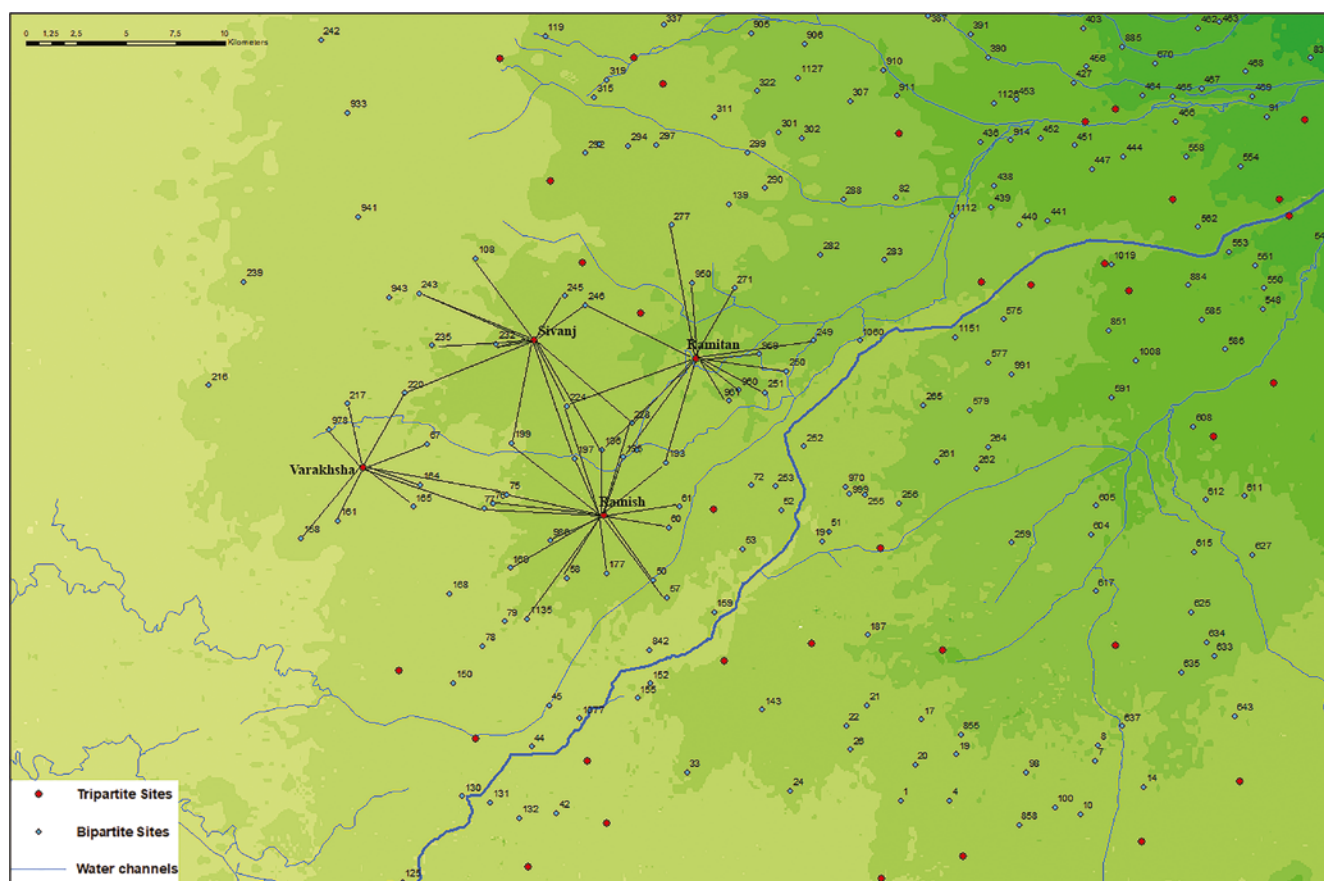


FIGURE 21 Map showing the mentioned sites and their social network
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The result is that since the 1st century CE, the main cities were surrounded by smaller sites, the bipartites, engendering new social dynamics that were taking place in a vast territory outside the tripartite site.²⁴ This territorial and administrative organisation is clear on the archaeological map, for example at sites such as Ramish tepe, Ramitan, Varakhsha and Sivanj (fig. 21).²⁵

The general division of these groups or social networks also depended on watercourses, which generated administrative entities (districts), as is also stated by 10th-century Arabic historians (Barthold 1981: 113–20).

In this context of a regional or local social network, through different field experiments, a radius of 7 km linking main cities with bipartite sites has been taken into consideration.²⁶ For example, using this framework,

Ramish tepe is linked to bipartite sites 0060, 0061, 0193, 0194, 0197, 0195, 0075, 0076, 0077, 0986, 0169, 0058 and 0177. The sites on the northern border, 0193, 0194, 0195 and 0197, can also be linked with another main city, Ramitan, meaning that it cannot be excluded that the bipartite sites were connected with several tripartite sites, this depending especially on distances and on services offered by the main city, also probably creating a kind of commercial competition between main producer cities. Khujada was connected with sites 0150, 0078, 0079, 1135 and 0168. Varakhsha was connected with sites 0978, 0067, 0164, 0165, 0161 and 0158. It is interesting to note that Varakhsha would have also been linked to a site located outside the irrigated limit to the west, site 0216, which concerns the links between the many fortresses along the exterior frontier of the oasis and the irrigated area.

Some way towards the north, site 0250 presents an emblematic case. It is at a distance of circa 5 km from the

24 As previously specified, one cannot add “tripartite” to a site before the late 4th–5th century CE because of the constitution of a structure’s suburb, the rabad of the Islamic period.

25 Bukhara presents a very different organisation, especially as a result of its huge development and the concentration of people from the 10th century onward.

26 The so-called “site catchment analysis”, involving estimation of the production capacity of the immediate environs of the site, is

considered to lie within an approximate radius of 5 km. In the context of the Bukhara Oasis, we consider 7 km the maximum radius because of the specific territorial division and also taking into account experiments in the field.

main city, Ramitan, and additionally, it is also included within the administrative limits of this district that were observed since the 10th century. As a bipartite site, it was not a producer and was not provided with markets, nor with other public services. It was a classic rural settlement, which essentially lived off its own food products. Moreover, the site is located in a zone that was originally swampy, later reclaimed, but in which the water table is situated very close to the surface, even still today. It is quite probable that the site also lived off fishing, as indeed it still does. In essence, part of its products were exchanged or sold, and the population was supplied with any secondary products in the markets. The excavation of this site has shown the presence of a specific stocking pottery produced in Ramitan, usually impossible to produce at home, found directly in kilns that were brought to light in the southern suburb. This is a pottery type produced following a precise method, with specific decorative motifs,²⁷ and following a precise assembly. The study of this pottery, especially of its fabric and typology, confirmed the commercial and social exchange dynamics between these sites. This custom had surely been observed since the 4th century, but it probably also existed earlier. Current research has brought to light only pottery production dated to the 4th–5th centuries in Ramitan, and it is therefore at the moment impossible to attest to such a practice before that date.

In this context, all other sites around Ramitan have been intensively surveyed. Petrographic analyses demonstrated that the fabrics identified within the whole oasis changed little, the Holocene alluvial substrate mostly covering the whole area studied. But, some specific decorative motifs employed in Ramitan, the firing technique and the comparisons with other materials, such as the glass, show close connections between these bipartite sites and the main city.

It is interesting to note that the western-most tripartite site, Sivanj (0231), shared this large area with Ramitan, mostly supplying the western villages. The other main sites, 0247 and 0275, also shared this area, probably connecting the north-western sites, although it is possible that their development, and thus their “tripartite status”, mainly depended on the socio-economic power of Ramitan. This would mean that Ramitan directly propelled their economic increase, thus creating a kind of “bridge” towards the north-western-most sites, as with site 0108 for example. It is very probable that these latter two sites were not provided with the same services from

Ramitan, which in this case remained a central socio-economic power in a network of bipartite and smaller tripartite sites. The distribution of bipartite sites around a main site was highly organised, primarily driven by the landscape and sociopolitical factors rather than developed through economic factors.

4.5 *Connections between Tripartite and Bipartite Sites*

Let us now look at the first network analysis. We obtained the geographic coordinates (latitude and longitude, specifically) of 53 tripartite and 291 bipartite sites. Using the Ucinet 6 software (Borgatti et al. 2002), we calculated the straight-line distances between all the sites, creating a matrix of distances in kilometres. Square and symmetric with respect to the diagonal that connects the upper left corner to the lower right corner, the matrix is made up of 344 rows and 344 columns (the total number of sites taken into account); each row and column – following the same order – has a corresponding node in the oasis space.

This matrix was used to determine an adjacency (or one-mode) matrix. In this case, it is a square, symmetric, binary matrix with the number 1 appearing between two nodes no more than 7 km apart; where the distance is more significant, the number between the nodes is 0. This distance explains the existence of potentially preferential trade routes, particularly those connecting bipartite and tripartite sites.

As the objective of this first analysis was to examine connections between bipartite and tripartite sites, we obtained a matrix, which is a reduced version of the previous matrix, with bipartite sites appearing in rows and tripartite sites in columns.

If, in terms of potential networks, we view every tripartite site as an opportunity for an indirect trade route between bipartite sites, we can obtain a two-mode network (see fig. 22). Using this complex model, we can identify and extrapolate information: we identified bipartite sites that have more opportunities to participate in the activities of different markets – namely, sites 0441 and 0558, which are potentially connected to seven tripartite sites. There are also 42 nodes that are disconnected from tripartite sites when this connection analysis criterion is applied (table 1).

If we look at the geographical distribution of the sites within the oasis, this data is perfectly coherent. In fact, sites 0441 and 0558 are in a geomorphologically central and crucial area that is characterised by the spreading of three major watercourses: Zerafshan, Khitfar and Tarab. This area is therefore occupied by a dense network of sites, tripartite, bipartite and other smaller ones. Moreover,

²⁷ The most frequent cases were vertical black splash motifs along the wall of jars (*khums*).

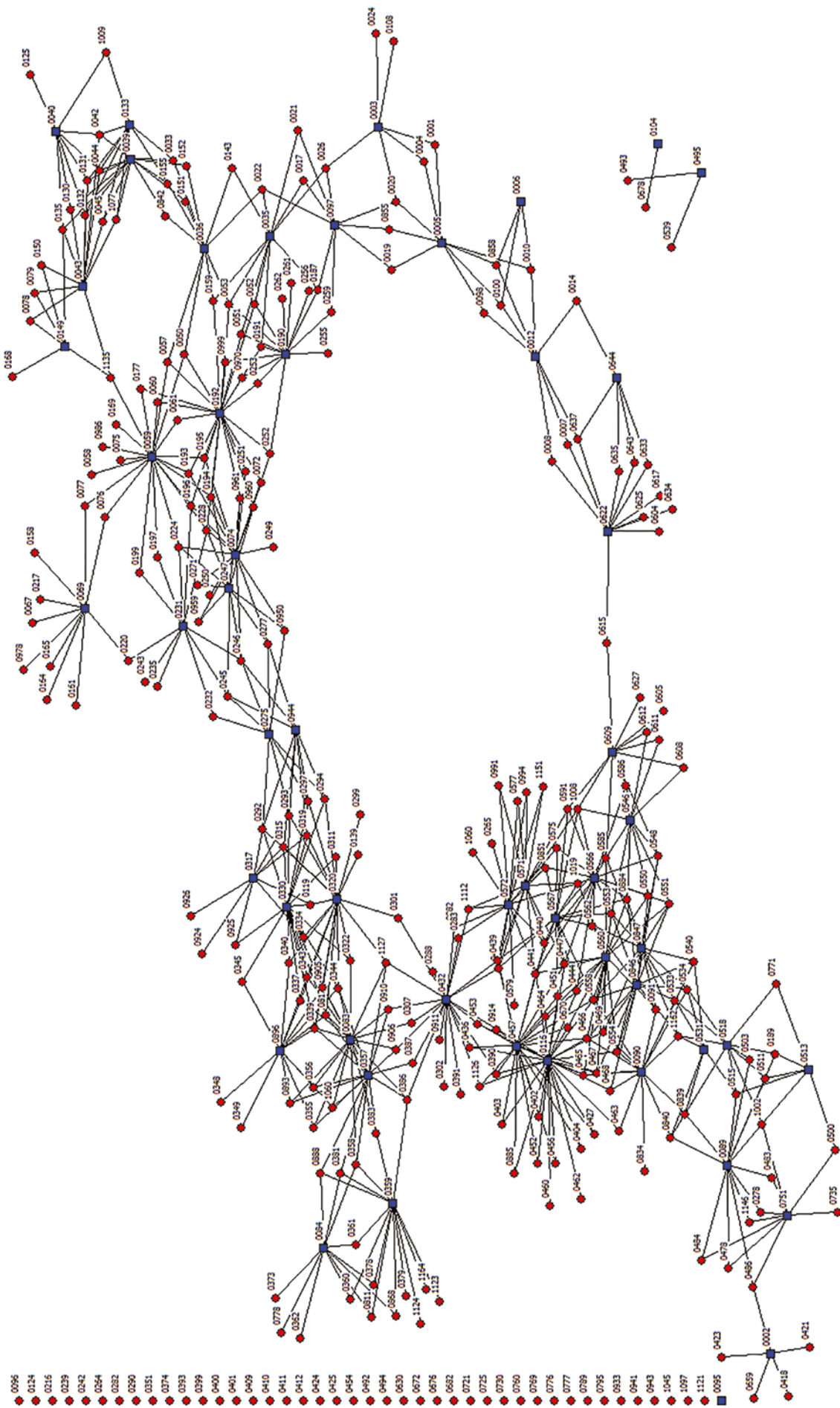


FIGURE 22 Two-mode network of tripartite (blue squares) and bipartite (red circles) sites
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TABLE 1 Number of tripartite sites connected with any bipartite site

Bipar- tite site	N° of tripar- tite sites	Bipar- tite site	N° of tripar- tite sites	Bipar- tite site	N° of tripar- tite sites	Bipar- tite site	N° of tripar- tite sites	Bipar- tite site	N° of tripar- tite sites	Bipar- tite site	N° of tripar- tite sites	Bipar- tite site	N° of tripar- tite sites	Bipar- tite site	N° of tripar- tite sites				
0441	7	1162	5	1002	4	0390	3	0019	2	0360	2	0925	2	0262	1	0911	1	0492	0
0558	7	0042	4	1127	4	0436	3	0021	2	0361	2	0959	2	0265	1	0924	1	0494	0
0447	6	0044	4	0010	3	0453	3	0060	2	0378	2	0970	2	0288	1	0926	1	0630	0
0553	6	0053	4	0020	3	0464	3	0061	2	0387	2	0991	2	0299	1	0978	1	0672	0
0585	6	0091	4	0022	3	0468	3	0072	2	0402	2	0994	2	0302	1	0986	1	0676	0
0884	6	0131	4	0026	3	0486	3	0076	2	0403	2	0999	2	0348	1	1060	1	0682	0
0228	5	0132	4	0033	3	0511	3	0077	2	0404	2	1009	2	0349	1	1123	1	0721	0
0246	5	0135	4	0045	3	0586	3	0078	2	0427	2	1146	2	0362	1	1124	1	0725	0
0292	5	0194	4	0050	3	0637	3	0079	2	0452	2	1151	2	0373	1	1164	1	0730	0
0293	5	0196	4	0051	3	0670	3	0082	2	0456	2	0024	1	0379	1	0096	0	0760	0
0339	5	0224	4	0052	3	0858	3	0098	2	0463	2	0058	1	0391	1	0124	0	0769	0
0344	5	0245	4	0057	3	0888	3	0143	2	0478	2	0067	1	0418	1	0216	0	0776	0
0438	5	0277	4	0100	3	0893	3	0150	2	0483	2	0075	1	0421	1	0239	0	0777	0
0439	5	0294	4	0119	3	0906	3	0151	2	0484	2	0108	1	0423	1	0242	0	0789	0
0440	5	0297	4	0130	3	0910	3	0152	2	0500	2	0125	1	0460	1	0264	0	0795	0
0444	5	0315	4	0155	3	0914	3	0177	2	0503	2	0139	1	0462	1	0282	0	0933	0
0466	5	0319	4	0159	3	0950	3	0197	2	0577	2	0158	1	0493	1	0290	0	0941	0
0467	5	0337	4	0187	3	0960	3	0199	2	0608	2	0161	1	0539	1	0351	0	0943	0
0469	5	0343	4	0189	3	0961	3	0220	2	0611	2	0164	1	0579	1	0374	0	1045	0
0533	5	0358	4	0191	3	1077	3	0232	2	0612	2	0165	1	0604	1	0393	0	1097	0
0534	5	0386	4	0193	3	1112	3	0251	2	0615	2	0168	1	0605	1	0399	0	1121	0
0548	5	0451	4	0195	3	1126	3	0253	2	0633	2	0169	1	0617	1	0400	0		
0550	5	0465	4	0252	3	1135	3	0259	2	0635	2	0217	1	0625	1	0401	0		
0551	5	0515	4	0322	3	1060	3	0271	2	0643	2	0235	1	0627	1	0409	0		
0554	5	0540	4	0334	3	0001	2	0278	2	0771	2	0243	1	0634	1	0410	0		
0562	5	0575	4	0340	3	0004	2	0283	2	0811	2	0249	1	0659	1	0411	0		
0817	5	0591	4	0355	3	0007	2	0301	2	0842	2	0250	1	0678	1	0412	0		
0905	5	0839	4	0356	3	0008	2	0307	2	0855	2	0255	1	0735	1	0424	0		
1008	5	0840	4	0381	3	0014	2	0311	2	0868	2	0256	1	0778	1	0425	0		
1019	5	0851	4	0383	3	0017	2	0345	2	0885	2	0261	1	0834	1	0454	0		

TABLE 2 Number of bipartite sites connected with any tripartite site

Tripartite site	N° of bipartite sites	Tripartite site	N° of bipartite sites	Tripartite site	N° of bipartite sites	Tripartite site	N° of bipartite sites
0116	28	0846	17	0247	11	0040	8
0457	25	0090	16	0518	11	0531	7
0192	23	0571	15	0546	11	0003	6
0320	21	0847	15	0609	11	0149	6
0432	21	0190	14	0622	11	0513	6
0059	20	0359	14	0069	10	0002	5
0560	20	0896	14	0005	9	0644	5
0330	19	0039	13	0097	9	0006	3
0074	18	0089	13	0133	9	0495	2
0083	18	0043	12	0275	9	0104	1
0357	17	0035	11	0317	9	0095	0
0566	17	0036	11	0751	9		
0567	17	0084	11	0944	9		
0572	17	0231	11	0012	8		

although site 0558 covers an average area, probably due to its close proximity to the main city of Vobkent (0116), site 0441 boasts an extended area in comparison to the other bipartite sites.

The two tripartite sites that are best connected to bipartite sites are Vobkent (0116), which is connected to 28 bipartite sites, and Narshakhi tepe (0457), which is connected to 25 bipartite sites. These two tripartite sites are very close to each other, approximately only 2 km apart. From a structural point of view, we have probably identified an important centre of production and trade in the oasis. And based on the same type of connection, the tripartite site 0095 appears to be isolated from the bipartite sites (see table 2).

In this specific case, given their close proximity, this phenomenon is seen when looking at a unique site or area encompassing both sites 0116 and 0457; note that both are in a region of the oasis crossed by the main watercourses. Moreover, this region was crossed by one of the main caravan roads, chronologically probably a later one; however it was important and permitted a high development of the sites all around.

We can identify the more central bipartite and tripartite sites within their respective networks. We can therefore consider tripartite sites as links between bipartite sites, and vice versa: the preceding matrix can thus be understood as a case-by-affiliation (or two-mode) matrix that shows relationships between cases – in this case bipartite sites – and affiliations – in this case tripartite sites. We created a square and binary adjacency matrix for bipartite and tripartite sites, respectively. In these matrices, the

number 0 indicates that there is no connection between two nodes, and the number 1 appears where there is at least one connection. In the case of the bipartite site network (fig. 23), the density (Wasserman and Faust 1994) of this simple graph – that is, the number of actual connections divided by the number of possible connections in a simple graph containing 291 nodes – when expressed as a percentage, as decided for this volume, it is equal to 6.90%. There are 43 isolated bipartite sites and 2 components – “Within a component, all points are connected through paths, but no paths run to points outside the component” (Scott 2000: 101).

The analysis of the degree of nodes (Degree) (Wasserman and Faust 1994) or, for any node, of the number of node contacts, or lines, enables the identification of the most-connected bipartite sites – namely, 0438, 0439 and 0441, which are all connected to 54 bipartite sites (table 3). This level of the degree of centrality equals a normalised degree (nDegree: range 0–1) of 0.19. The analysis of betweenness centrality (Betweenness) (Freeman 1979) – which is also expressed as a percentage (nBetweenness) and can measure the ability of each node to act as an intermediary between pairs of other nodes, via the shortest path, or geodesics, between them (Wasserman and Faust 1994) – shows site 1127 to be the central-most bipartite site, with a normalised betweenness centrality of 11.39%, followed by site 0301 with 10.27% (table 4). These two sites are separated by a small distance of approximately 3 km. There are thus different nodes that are locally or globally central.

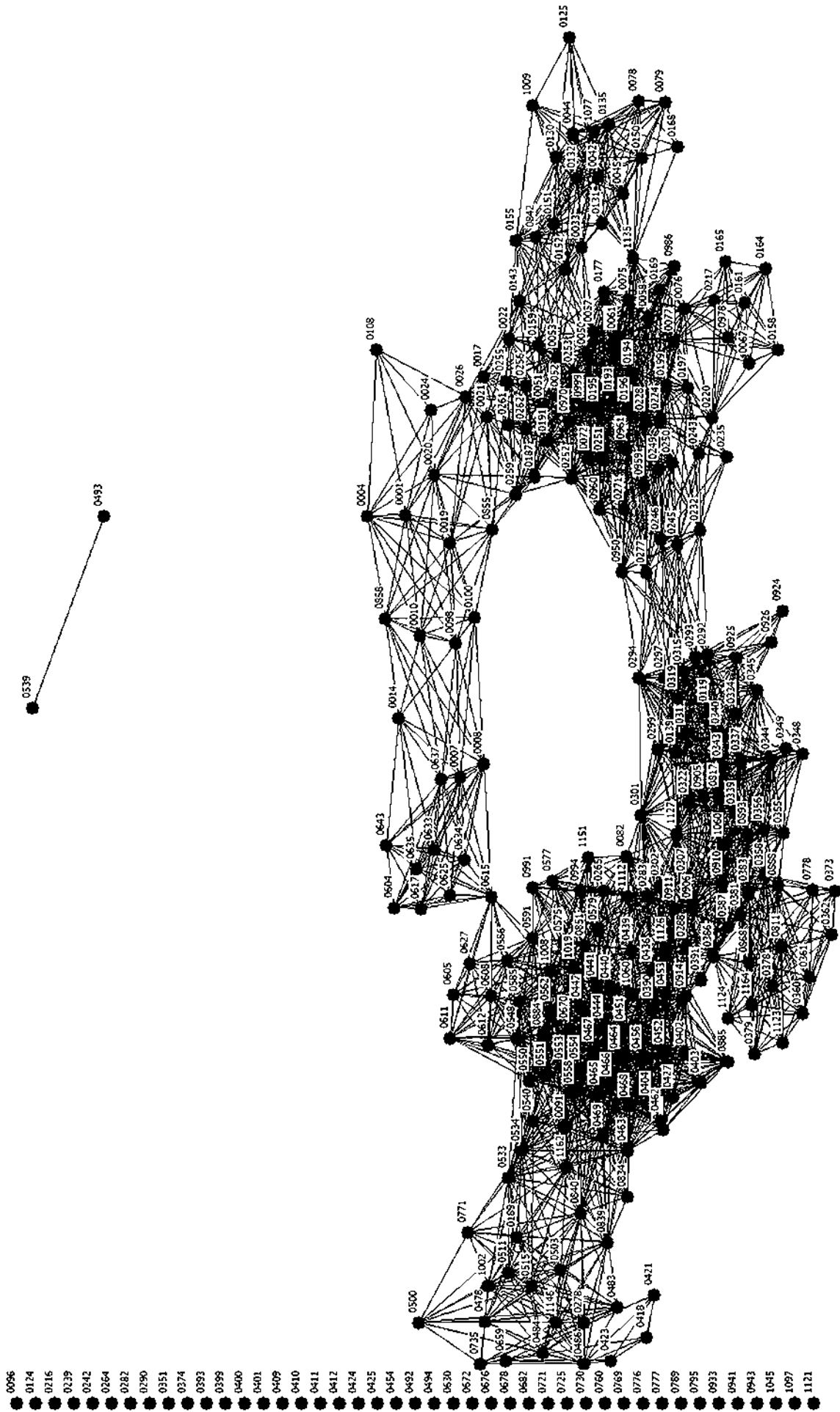


FIGURE 23 Simple graph of bipartite sites obtained by the bipartite sites-by-tripartite sites matrix
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TABLE 3 The level of centrality of bipartite sites connected by the tripartite sites: Degree and nDegree (range 0-1)

Bipartite site	Degree	nDegree	Bipartite site	Degree	nDegree	Bipartite site	Degree	nDegree	Bipartite site	Degree	nDegree	Bipartite site	Degree	nDegree
0438	54	0.19	0670	38	0.13	0387	32	0.11	0077	27	0.09	0615	20	0.07
0439	54	0.19	1019	38	0.13	0591	31	0.11	0294	27	0.09	0911	20	0.07
0441	54	0.19	0339	37	0.13	0960	31	0.11	0297	27	0.09	0925	20	0.07
0558	50	0.17	0344	37	0.13	0961	31	0.11	0315	27	0.09	0033	19	0.07
0447	49	0.17	0817	37	0.13	1008	31	0.11	0319	27	0.09	0058	19	0.07
0440	47	0.16	0905	37	0.13	1135	31	0.11	0460	27	0.09	0075	19	0.07
1127	47	0.16	0224	36	0.12	0072	30	0.10	0462	27	0.09	0135	19	0.07
0466	46	0.16	0252	36	0.12	0246	30	0.10	0839	27	0.09	0155	19	0.07
0467	46	0.16	0553	36	0.12	0251	30	0.10	0840	27	0.09	0169	19	0.07
0465	45	0.16	0884	36	0.12	0402	30	0.10	0197	25	0.09	0220	19	0.07
0196	44	0.15	0463	35	0.12	0403	30	0.10	0199	25	0.09	0577	19	0.07
0228	44	0.15	0906	35	0.12	0404	30	0.10	0277	25	0.09	0986	19	0.07
0386	44	0.15	0910	35	0.12	0427	30	0.10	0119	24	0.08	0991	19	0.07
0390	44	0.15	1112	35	0.12	0452	30	0.10	0334	24	0.08	0994	19	0.07
0436	44	0.15	0337	34	0.12	0456	30	0.10	0345	24	0.08	1151	19	0.07
0444	44	0.15	0343	34	0.12	0575	30	0.10	0355	24	0.08	0026	18	0.06
0453	44	0.15	0550	34	0.12	0851	30	0.10	0356	24	0.08	0042	18	0.06
0914	44	0.15	0551	34	0.12	0885	30	0.10	0893	24	0.08	0044	18	0.06
1126	44	0.15	0051	33	0.11	0091	29	0.10	1060	24	0.08	0130	18	0.06
0469	43	0.15	0052	33	0.11	0292	29	0.10	0245	23	0.08	0131	18	0.06
0554	43	0.15	0159	33	0.11	0293	29	0.10	0540	23	0.08	0132	18	0.06
0451	42	0.14	0191	33	0.11	0383	29	0.10	0950	23	0.08	0151	18	0.06
0468	41	0.14	0307	33	0.11	0253	28	0.10	0187	22	0.08	0152	18	0.06
0194	40	0.14	0548	33	0.11	0340	28	0.10	0311	22	0.08	0271	18	0.06
0050	39	0.13	0562	33	0.11	0381	28	0.10	0586	22	0.08	0486	18	0.06
0057	39	0.13	0060	32	0.11	0533	28	0.10	0022	21	0.07	0515	18	0.06
0193	39	0.13	0061	32	0.11	0534	28	0.10	0139	20	0.07	0842	18	0.06
0195	39	0.13	0082	32	0.11	0888	28	0.10	0259	20	0.07	0959	18	0.06
0301	39	0.13	0177	32	0.11	0970	28	0.10	0288	20	0.07	1002	18	0.06
0053	38	0.13	0283	32	0.11	0999	28	0.10	0299	20	0.07	0045	17	0.06
0464	38	0.13	0322	32	0.11	1162	28	0.10	0302	20	0.07	0143	17	0.06
0585	38	0.13	0358	32	0.11	0076	27	0.09	0391	20	0.07	0189	17	0.06

TABLE 3 The level of centrality of bipartite sites connected by the tripartite sites: Degree and nDegree (range 0-1) (cont.)

Bipartite site	Degree	nDegree	Bipartite site	Degree	nDegree	Bipartite site	Degree	nDegree	Bipartite site	Degree	nDegree	Bipartite site	Degree	nDegree
0249	17	0.06	0611	14	0.05	0771	11	0.04	0168	5	0.02	0454	0	0.00
0250	17	0.06	0612	14	0.05	1009	11	0.04	0418	4	0.01	0492	0	0.00
0511	17	0.06	0855	14	0.05	0014	10	0.03	0421	4	0.01	0494	0	0.00
1077	17	0.06	1146	14	0.05	0235	10	0.03	0423	4	0.01	0630	0	0.00
0020	16	0.06	0255	13	0.04	0243	10	0.03	0659	4	0.01	0672	0	0.00
0232	16	0.06	0256	13	0.04	0362	10	0.03	0493	1	0.00	0676	0	0.00
0265	16	0.06	0261	13	0.04	0373	10	0.03	0539	1	0.00	0678	0	0.00
0360	16	0.06	0262	13	0.04	0604	10	0.03	0096	0	0.00	0682	0	0.00
0361	16	0.06	0348	13	0.04	0605	10	0.03	0124	0	0.00	0721	0	0.00
0378	16	0.06	0349	13	0.04	0617	10	0.03	0216	0	0.00	0725	0	0.00
0503	16	0.06	0379	13	0.04	0625	10	0.03	0239	0	0.00	0730	0	0.00
0579	16	0.06	1123	13	0.04	0627	10	0.03	0242	0	0.00	0760	0	0.00
0811	16	0.06	1124	13	0.04	0634	10	0.03	0264	0	0.00	0769	0	0.00
0868	16	0.06	1164	13	0.04	0778	10	0.03	0282	0	0.00	0776	0	0.00
1060	16	0.06	0010	12	0.04	0067	9	0.03	0290	0	0.00	0777	0	0.00
0007	15	0.05	0078	12	0.04	0158	9	0.03	0351	0	0.00	0789	0	0.00
0008	15	0.05	0079	12	0.04	0161	9	0.03	0374	0	0.00	0795	0	0.00
0637	15	0.05	0098	12	0.04	0164	9	0.03	0393	0	0.00	0933	0	0.00
0834	15	0.05	0100	12	0.04	0165	9	0.03	0399	0	0.00	0941	0	0.00
0017	14	0.05	0150	12	0.04	0217	9	0.03	0400	0	0.00	0943	0	0.00
0019	14	0.05	0500	12	0.04	0978	9	0.03	0401	0	0.00	1045	0	0.00
0021	14	0.05	0858	12	0.04	0735	8	0.03	0409	0	0.00	1097	0	0.00
0278	14	0.05	0001	11	0.04	0924	8	0.03	0410	0	0.00	1121	0	0.00
0478	14	0.05	0004	11	0.04	0926	8	0.03	0411	0	0.00			
0483	14	0.05	0633	11	0.04	0125	7	0.02	0412	0	0.00			
0484	14	0.05	0635	11	0.04	0024	5	0.02	0424	0	0.00			
0608	14	0.05	0643	11	0.04	0108	5	0.02	0425	0	0.00			

TABLE 4 The level of centrality of bipartite sites connected by the tripartite sites: Betweenness and nBetweenness (%)

Bipartite site	Betweenness	nBetweenness	Bipartite site	Betweenness	nBetweenness	Bipartite site	Betweenness	nBetweenness	Bipartite site	Betweenness	nBetweenness			
1127	4,775.07	11.39	0007	847.72	2.02	0468	446.34	1.07	0322	226.01	0.54	0130	62.26	0.15
0301	4,393.02	10.27	0008	847.72	2.02	0159	440.89	1.05	0033	197.64	0.47	0131	62.26	0.15
0246	3,426.42	8.18	0637	847.72	2.02	0339	429.30	1.02	0155	197.64	0.47	0132	62.26	0.15
0615	3,414.39	8.15	0591	823.68	1.97	0344	429.30	1.02	0440	182.95	0.44	0091	61.50	0.15
0277	2,594.48	5.98	1008	823.68	1.97	0817	429.30	1.02	1002	180.90	0.43	0550	52.24	0.12
1135	2,419.75	5.77	0194	783.68	1.87	0905	429.30	1.02	0447	173.43	0.41	0551	52.24	0.12
0292	2,101.53	5.01	1112	782.79	1.87	0187	409.57	0.98	0553	159.29	0.38	0119	51.99	0.12
0293	2,101.53	5.01	0558	770.83	1.84	0463	395.98	0.94	0884	159.29	0.38	0334	51.99	0.12
0245	2,052.99	4.90	0020	761.54	1.82	0259	386.31	0.92	1019	124.16	0.30	0060	48.36	0.12
0438	2,010.30	4.80	0548	741.63	1.77	0197	372.91	0.89	0586	118.43	0.28	0061	48.36	0.12
0439	2,010.30	4.80	0019	673.62	1.61	0199	372.91	0.89	0151	116.99	0.28	0177	48.36	0.12
0294	1,998.80	4.77	0855	673.62	1.61	0906	359.23	0.86	0152	116.99	0.28	0143	42.59	0.10
0297	1,998.80	4.77	0466	643.90	1.54	0910	359.23	0.86	0842	116.99	0.28	0464	41.69	0.10
0386	1,683.70	4.02	0467	643.90	1.54	0381	336.56	0.80	0444	113.99	0.27	0670	41.69	0.10
0950	1,649.40	3.94	0224	643.46	1.54	0888	336.56	0.80	0001	100.66	0.24	0253	41.54	0.10
0252	1,452.52	3.47	0465	613.47	1.46	0960	331.96	0.79	0004	100.66	0.24	0970	41.54	0.10
0315	1,391.15	3.32	0010	592.74	1.41	0961	331.96	0.79	0540	94.08	0.22	0999	41.54	0.10
0319	1,391.15	3.32	0098	592.74	1.41	0082	326.30	0.78	0515	94.07	0.22	0503	36.28	0.09
0839	1,325.71	3.16	0100	592.74	1.41	0283	326.30	0.78	0135	89.28	0.21	0355	35.41	0.08
0840	1,325.71	3.16	0858	592.74	1.41	0076	296.11	0.71	0340	80.42	0.19	0356	35.41	0.08
0585	1,264.20	3.02	0193	587.12	1.40	0077	296.11	0.71	0562	78.68	0.19	0893	35.41	0.08
0022	1,114.00	2.66	0195	587.12	1.40	0387	292.68	0.70	0451	70.16	0.17	1060	35.41	0.08
0220	1,096.06	2.62	0050	568.06	1.36	0307	286.17	0.68	0189	70.09	0.17	0771	33.80	0.08
0390	1,082.71	2.58	0057	568.06	1.36	0337	274.25	0.65	0511	70.09	0.17	0278	28.67	0.07
0436	1,082.71	2.58	0026	554.49	1.32	0343	274.25	0.65	0575	67.98	0.16	0478	28.67	0.07
0453	1,082.71	2.58	0053	549.18	1.31	0441	270.99	0.65	0851	67.98	0.16	0483	28.67	0.07
0914	1,082.71	2.58	0358	509.03	1.21	0051	252.23	0.60	0014	67.08	0.16	0484	28.67	0.07
1126	1,082.71	2.58	0469	477.57	1.14	0052	252.23	0.60	0345	66.16	0.16	1146	28.67	0.07
0196	1,021.12	2.44	0554	477.57	1.14	0191	252.23	0.60	0017	64.87	0.15	0633	23.81	0.06
0228	1,021.12	2.44	0533	467.66	1.12	0383	249.64	0.60	0021	64.87	0.15	0635	23.81	0.06
0486	992.67	2.37	0534	467.66	1.12	0072	240.31	0.57	0042	62.26	0.15	0643	23.81	0.06
0232	991.61	2.37	1162	467.66	1.12	0251	240.31	0.57	0044	62.26	0.15	0045	23.41	0.06

TABLE 4 The level of centrality of bipartite sites connected by the tripartite sites: Betweenness and nBetweenness (%) (cont.)

Bipartite site	Betweenness	nBetweenness	Bipartite site	Betweenness	nBetweenness	Bipartite site	Betweenness	nBetweenness	Bipartite site	Betweenness	nBetweenness
1077	23.41	0.06	0456	0.74	0.00	0261	0.00	0.00	0423	0.00	0.00
0608	17.57	0.04	0885	0.74	0.00	0262	0.00	0.00	0424	0.00	0.00
0611	17.57	0.04	0024	0.00	0.00	0264	0.00	0.00	0425	0.00	0.00
0612	17.57	0.04	0058	0.00	0.00	0265	0.00	0.00	0454	0.00	0.00
0360	17.36	0.04	0067	0.00	0.00	0282	0.00	0.00	0460	0.00	0.00
0361	17.36	0.04	0075	0.00	0.00	0288	0.00	0.00	0462	0.00	0.00
0378	17.36	0.04	0096	0.00	0.00	0290	0.00	0.00	0492	0.00	0.00
0811	17.36	0.04	0108	0.00	0.00	0299	0.00	0.00	0493	0.00	0.00
0868	17.36	0.04	0124	0.00	0.00	0302	0.00	0.00	0494	0.00	0.00
0925	10.06	0.02	0125	0.00	0.00	0348	0.00	0.00	0539	0.00	0.00
0577	7.69	0.02	0139	0.00	0.00	0349	0.00	0.00	0579	0.00	0.00
0991	7.69	0.02	0158	0.00	0.00	0351	0.00	0.00	0604	0.00	0.00
0994	7.69	0.02	0161	0.00	0.00	0362	0.00	0.00	0605	0.00	0.00
1151	7.69	0.02	0164	0.00	0.00	0373	0.00	0.00	0617	0.00	0.00
0311	5.76	0.01	0165	0.00	0.00	0374	0.00	0.00	0625	0.00	0.00
1009	3.89	0.01	0168	0.00	0.00	0379	0.00	0.00	0627	0.00	0.00
0500	2.16	0.01	0169	0.00	0.00	0391	0.00	0.00	0630	0.00	0.00
0078	1.40	0.00	0216	0.00	0.00	0393	0.00	0.00	0634	0.00	0.00
0079	1.40	0.00	0217	0.00	0.00	0399	0.00	0.00	0659	0.00	0.00
0150	1.40	0.00	0235	0.00	0.00	0400	0.00	0.00	0672	0.00	0.00
0271	0.83	0.00	0239	0.00	0.00	0401	0.00	0.00	0676	0.00	0.00
0959	0.83	0.00	0242	0.00	0.00	0409	0.00	0.00	0678	0.00	0.00
0402	0.74	0.00	0243	0.00	0.00	0410	0.00	0.00	0682	0.00	0.00
0403	0.74	0.00	0249	0.00	0.00	0411	0.00	0.00	0721	0.00	0.00
0404	0.74	0.00	0250	0.00	0.00	0412	0.00	0.00	0725	0.00	0.00
0427	0.74	0.00	0255	0.00	0.00	0418	0.00	0.00	0730	0.00	0.00
0452	0.74	0.00	0256	0.00	0.00	0421	0.00	0.00	0735	0.00	0.00
									0760	0.00	0.00
									0769	0.00	0.00
									0776	0.00	0.00
									0777	0.00	0.00
									0778	0.00	0.00
									0789	0.00	0.00
									0795	0.00	0.00
									0834	0.00	0.00
									0911	0.00	0.00
									0924	0.00	0.00
									0926	0.00	0.00
									0933	0.00	0.00
									0941	0.00	0.00
									0943	0.00	0.00
									0978	0.00	0.00
									0986	0.00	0.00
									1045	0.00	0.00
									1060	0.00	0.00
									1097	0.00	0.00
									1121	0.00	0.00
									1123	0.00	0.00
									1124	0.00	0.00
									1164	0.00	0.00

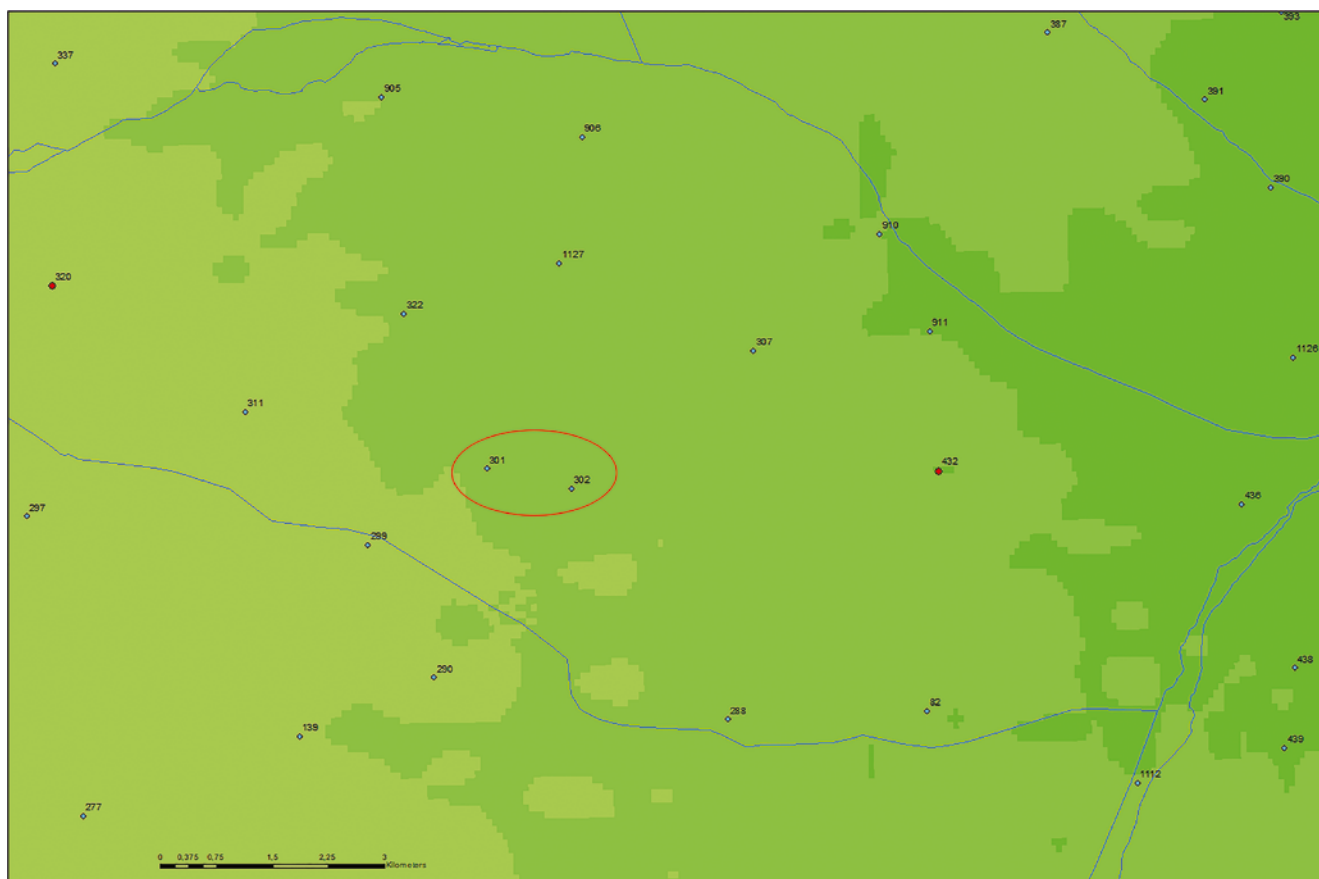


FIGURE 24 View of sites on SRTM map
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In this case, it is also unsurprising and at the same time thrilling to observe that the sites where the local centrality is higher, as in sites 0438, 0439 and 0441, but also 0558, 0447, etc., are organised and located in this sort of geomorphological bag framed by the two most important watercourses, Zerafshan to the south and Khitfar to the north, as well as a third that is also important, Tarab to the west. It seems that this zone contains a high density of sites and connections.

The case of sites 1127 and 0301 in relation to the betweenness centrality is particular. First of all, it is possible to consider sites 0301 and 0302, which are at a distance of only approximately 1 km, as a unique agglomeration, considering that site 0301 consists of only a small tepe, which is most probably in relation with, or dependent on, site 0302 (fig. 24). In this context, their centrality, identified in relation to the site 0301, is due to their geographical situation, along one of the roads leading towards the northern parts of the oasis, which did not render them richer, but important points, or nodes, in the dense network of this specific area.

Using clique analysis – in other words, by looking for maximal complete subgraphs with at least three nodes in

the bipartite-site-connection simple graph: a clique “consists of a subset of nodes, all of which are adjacent to each other, and there are no other nodes that are also adjacent to all of the members of the clique” (Wasserman and Faust 1994: 254) – we can identify 77 cliques in this case (table 5). These represent network sectors where trade was potentially conducted more rapidly and efficiently. This analysis shows that cliques 1 and 69 share 22 bipartite sites, obtaining the highest degree of clique overlap. The analysis also makes it possible to identify the areas of the network whose trade activity was potentially improved through the mediation of tripartite sites.

The 22 bipartite sites shared in cliques 1 and 69 (0390, 0402, 0403, 0404, 0427, 0436, 0441, 0444, 0447, 0451, 0452, 0453, 0456, 0464, 0465, 0466, 0467, 0558, 0670, 0885, 0914 and 1126), which are connected through tripartite ones, strongly confirm the high potential, social and thus economical, of the region around Vobkent (0116). This area, as previously mentioned, is a very important crossroad, traversed by the main roads for caravans but also by one of the main watercourses, the Khitfar, as well as close to the other main ones. It does not necessarily mean that these

TABLE 5 The cliques found in the network of bipartite sites ensured by connection with tripartite sites

1: 0390 0402 0403 0404 0427 0436 0438 0439 0440 0441 0444 0447 0451 0452 0453 0456 0464 0465 0466 0467 0558 0670 0885 0914 1126

2: 0438 0439 0440 0441 0444 0447 0451 0464 0465 0466 0467 0553 0558 0562 0585 0670 0884 1019

3: 0438 0439 0440 0441 0444 0447 0451 0553 0558 0562 0575 0585 0591 0851 0884 1008 1019

4: 0438 0439 0440 0441 0447 0575 0577 0591 0851 0991 0994 1008 1019 1112 1151

5: 0390 0436 0438 0439 0440 0441 0447 0453 0914 1112 1126

6: 0082 0265 0283 0438 0439 0440 0441 0575 0577 0579 0851 0991 0994 1019 1060 1112 1151

7: 0082 0283 0390 0436 0438 0439 0440 0441 0453 0914 1112 1126

8: 0082 0283 0288 0301 0302 0307 0386 0387 0390 0391 0436 0438 0439 0453 0906 0910 0911 0914 1112 1126 1127

9: 0001 0004 0010 0019 0020 0098 0100 0855 0858

10: 0001 0004 0019 0020 0026 0855

11: 0001 0004 0020 0024 0026 0108

12: 0007 0008 0604 0615 0617 0625 0633 0634 0635 0637 0643

13: 0007 0008 0014 0633 0635 0637 0643

14: 0007 0008 0010 0014 0098 0100 0637 0858

15: 0017 0021 0022 0026 0051 0052 0053 0187 0191 0259

16: 0017 0019 0020 0021 0022 0026 0187 0259 0855

17: 0017 0021 0022 0026 0051 0052 0053 0143 0159 0187 0191

18: 0022 0033 0050 0053 0057 0143 0151 0152 0155 0159 0842

19: 0022 0050 0051 0052 0053 0057 0143 0159 0191

20: 0033 0042 0044 0045 0130 0131 0132 0135 0151 0152 0155 0842 1077

21: 0033 0042 0044 0045 0130 0131 0132 0135 0155 1009 1077

22: 0042 0044 0045 0078 0079 0130 0131 0132 0135 0150 1077 1135

23: 0042 0044 0125 0130 0131 0132 0135 1009

24: 0050 0057 0058 0060 0061 0075 0076 0077 0169 0177 0193 0194 0195 0196 0197 0199 0224 0228 0986 1135

25: 0050 0057 0060 0061 0072 0177 0193 0194 0195 0196 0224 0228 0251 0252 0960 0961

26: 0050 0051 0052 0053 0057 0060 0061 0072 0159 0177 0191 0193 0194 0195 0196 0228 0251 0252 0253 0960 0961 0970 0999

27: 0051 0052 0053 0159 0187 0191 0252 0253 0970 0999

28: 0051 0052 0053 0187 0191 0252 0253 0255 0256 0259 0261 0262 0970 0999

29: 0067 0076 0077 0158 0161 0164 0165 0217 0220 0978

30: 0072 0193 0194 0195 0196 0224 0228 0246 0249 0250 0251 0252 0271 0277 0950 0959 0960 0961

31: 0076 0077 0196 0197 0199 0220 0224 0228

32: 0078 0079 0135 0150 0168 1135

33: 0091 0441 0444 0447 0451 0464 0465 0466 0467 0468 0469 0550 0551 0553 0554 0558 0562 0670 0884

34: 0091 0465 0466 0467 0468 0469 0533 0534 0540 0550 0551 0553 0554 0558 0562 0884 1162

35: 0091 0463 0465 0466 0467 0468 0469 0533 0534 0540 0554 0558 0834 0839 0840 1162

36: 0091 0441 0444 0447 0451 0463 0464 0465 0466 0467 0468 0469 0554 0558 0670

37: 0091 0441 0444 0447 0451 0464 0465 0466 0467 0469 0550 0551 0553 0554 0558 0562 0585 0670 0884 1019

38: 0091 0465 0466 0467 0469 0533 0534 0540 0550 0551 0553 0554 0558 0562 0585 0884 1162

39: 0091 0466 0467 0469 0533 0534 0540 0548 0550 0551 0553 0554 0558 0562 0585 0884 1162

40: 0091 0441 0444 0447 0466 0467 0469 0548 0550 0551 0553 0554 0558 0562 0585 0884 1019

41: 0091 0466 0467 0468 0469 0533 0534 0540 0548 0550 0551 0553 0554 0558 0562 0884 1162

42: 0091 0441 0444 0447 0466 0467 0468 0469 0548 0550 0551 0553 0554 0558 0562 0884

43: 0119 0139 0292 0293 0294 0297 0299 0301 0311 0315 0319 0322 0334 0337 0339 0340 0343 0344 0817 0905 1127

44: 0119 0292 0293 0294 0297 0311 0315 0319 0322 0334 0337 0339 0340 0343 0344 0345 0817 0905 0925

45: 0119 0292 0293 0315 0319 0334 0924 0925 0926

46: 0189 0278 0478 0483 0484 0486 0503 0511 0515 0839 0840 1002 1146

TABLE 5 The cliques found in the network of bipartite sites ensured by connection with tripartite sites (*cont.*)

47: 0189 0503 0511 0515 0533 0534 0771 0839 0840 1002 1162
48: 0189 0278 0478 0483 0484 0486 0500 0511 0515 1002 1146
49: 0189 0500 0511 0515 0771 1002
50: 0193 0194 0195 0196 0197 0199 0224 0228 0246
51: 0194 0196 0224 0228 0245 0246 0271 0277 0950 0959 0960 0961
52: 0194 0196 0197 0199 0224 0228 0245 0246
53: 0196 0197 0199 0220 0224 0228 0232 0235 0243 0245 0246
54: 0196 0224 0228 0232 0245 0246 0277 0950
55: 0232 0245 0246 0277 0292 0293 0294 0297 0950
56: 0245 0246 0277 0292 0293 0294 0297 0315 0319
57: 0278 0478 0483 0484 0486 0500 0735 1002 1146
58: 0307 0322 0337 0339 0343 0344 0355 0356 0358 0383 0386 0817 0893 0905 0906 0910 1127 1060
59: 0322 0337 0339 0340 0343 0344 0355 0356 0817 0893 0905 1127 1060
60: 0301 0307 0322 0337 0339 0343 0344 0386 0817 0905 0906 0910 1127
61: 0322 0337 0339 0340 0343 0344 0345 0355 0356 0817 0893 0905 1060
62: 0337 0339 0340 0343 0344 0345 0348 0349 0355 0356 0817 0893 0905 1060
63: 0339 0344 0355 0356 0358 0381 0383 0386 0387 0817 0888 0893 0905 0906 0910 1127 1060
64: 0307 0339 0344 0355 0356 0358 0383 0386 0387 0817 0893 0905 0906 0910 1127 1060
65: 0301 0307 0339 0344 0386 0387 0817 0905 0906 0910 1127
66: 0358 0360 0361 0378 0379 0381 0383 0386 0811 0868 0888 1123 1124 1164
67: 0358 0360 0361 0362 0373 0378 0381 0778 0811 0868 0888
68: 0418 0421 0423 0486 0659
69: 0390 0402 0403 0404 0427 0436 0441 0444 0447 0451 0452 0453 0456 0460 0462 0463 0464 0465 0466 0467 0468 0469 0554 0558 0670 0885 0914 1126
70: 0515 0533 0534 0540 0839 0840 1162
71: 0440 0441 0444 0447 0548 0550 0551 0553 0558 0562 0575 0585 0591 0851 0884 1008 1019
72: 0440 0441 0444 0447 0466 0467 0548 0550 0551 0553 0558 0562 0585 0884 1019
73: 0440 0441 0444 0447 0548 0550 0551 0553 0562 0575 0585 0586 0591 0851 0884 1008 1019
74: 0548 0550 0551 0553 0585 0586 0591 0608 0611 0612 0884 1008
75: 0548 0585 0586 0591 0605 0608 0611 0612 0615 0627 1008
76: 0440 0441 0444 0447 0451 0464 0465 0466 0467 0550 0551 0553 0558 0562 0585 0670 0884 1019
77: 0440 0441 0444 0447 0451 0550 0551 0553 0558 0562 0575 0585 0591 0851 0884 1008 1019

Note: minimum size of a clique: 3 nodes.

bipartite sites acquired richness through this geographical distribution, on the contrary they share a similar area, which would correspond to circa 1.5 ha. The past socio-economical dynamic seems to confirm and increase the richness of the connected tripartite site, Vobkent.

On the other hand, what have been the connections and dynamics of the tripartite sites through bipartite ones? The density of this simple graph equals 11.25% (fig. 25). We can see that node 0567, which is connected to 12 nodes and thus has a normalised degree centrality of 0.23 (range 0–1), has the highest degree centrality, followed by nodes 0560, 0846 and 0847, which are connected to 11 points in the network and have a normalised degree centrality of 0.21. Finally, based on connections through bipartite site intermediation, we found three isolated tripartite sites (table 6).

In this case, the socio-economic factors caused the richness of the abovementioned sites (fig. 26). The three sites, 0567, 0560 and 0846 (Shargh), but also 0847 (Iskijkat), are so distributed that each one is permitted to take advantage of its own area and geographical/urban features. Moreover, site 0567 is traversed by the main road connecting Bukhara and Vobkent. Pursuing this path, and given the distance between Bukhara and Vobkent, caravans were more or less obliged to stop there because of tripartite sites, thus permitting people a major comfort. The same is true for sites 0846 and 0847, also traversed by one of the main, and perhaps the most ancient, roads. Site 0560 is also located in this area between the sites previously mentioned. It is not directly traversed by a main road, and it is located at a greater distance from the major watercourse, the Zerafshan. On the other side, the site

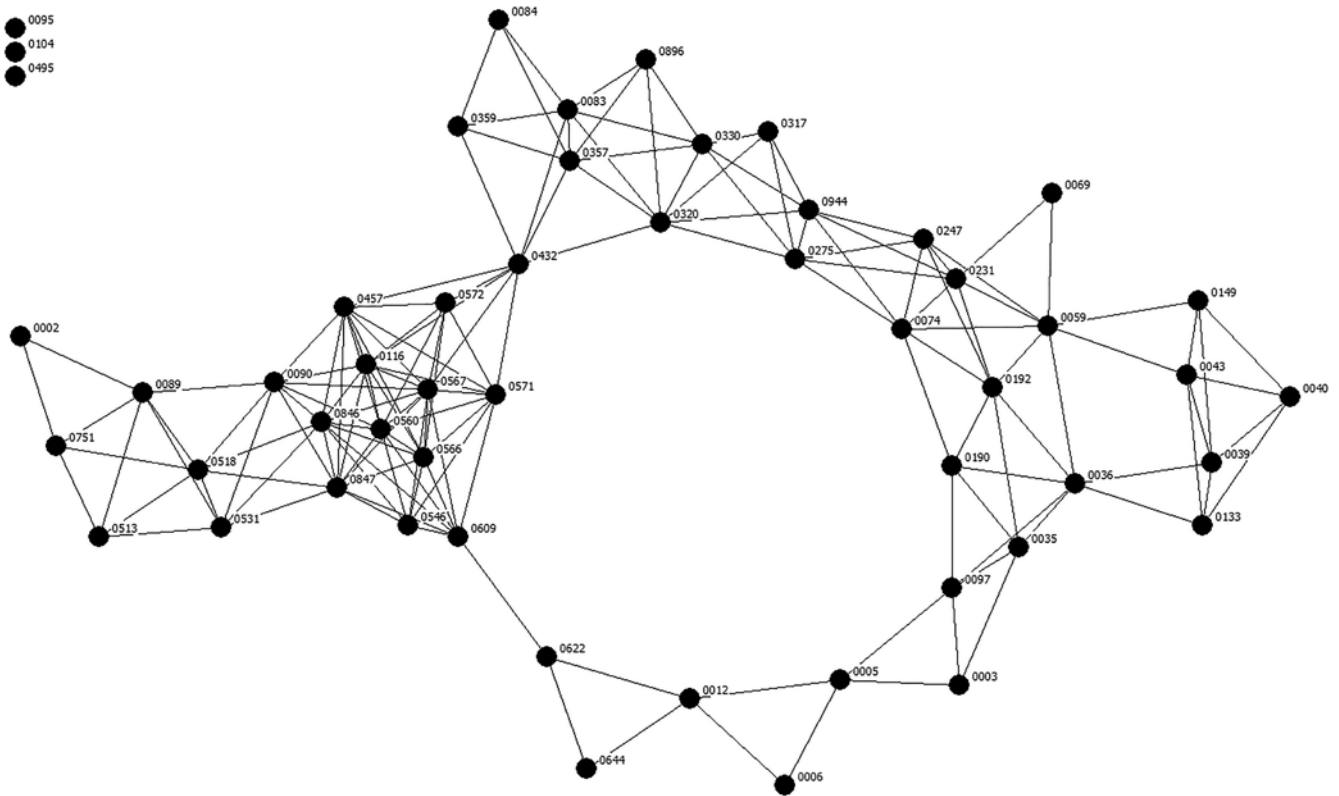


FIGURE 25 Simple graph of tripartite sites obtained by the bipartite sites-by-tripartite sites matrix
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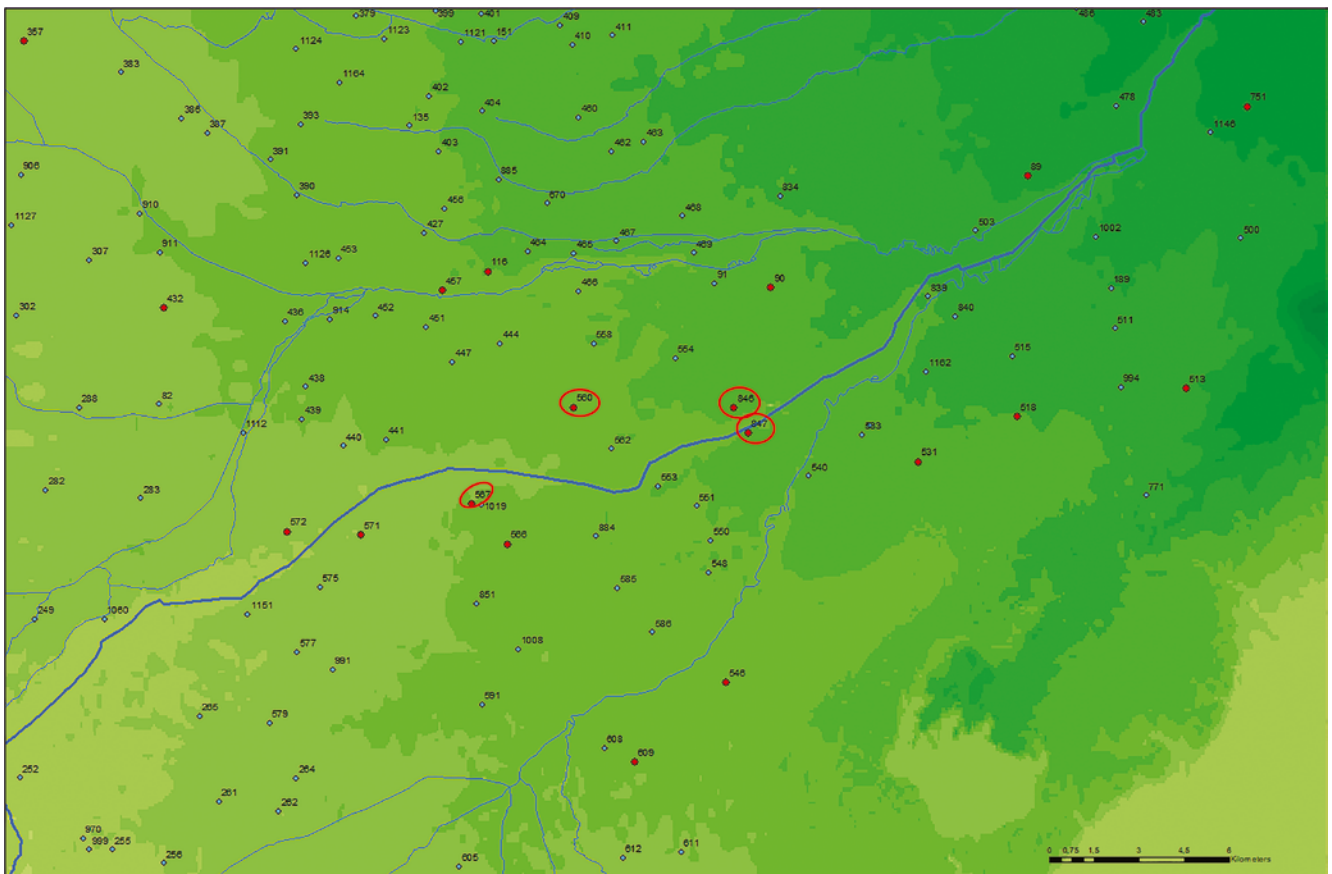


FIGURE 26 View of sites on the SRTM map
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TABLE 6 The level of centrality of tripartite sites connected by the bipartite sites: Degree and nDegree (range 0–1)

Tripartite site	Degree	nDegree	Tripartite site	Degree	nDegree
0567	12	0.23	0531	6	0.12
0560	11	0.21	0035	5	0.10
0846	11	0.21	0039	5	0.10
0847	11	0.21	0043	5	0.10
0116	10	0.19	0097	5	0.10
0457	10	0.19	0190	5	0.10
0566	10	0.19	0005	4	0.08
0090	9	0.17	0012	4	0.08
0432	9	0.17	0040	4	0.08
0571	9	0.17	0133	4	0.08
0059	8	0.15	0149	4	0.08
0320	8	0.15	0317	4	0.08
0609	8	0.15	0359	4	0.08
0036	7	0.13	0513	4	0.08
0074	7	0.13	0751	4	0.08
0083	7	0.13	0896	4	0.08
0192	7	0.13	0003	3	0.06
0231	7	0.13	0084	3	0.06
0275	7	0.13	0622	3	0.06
0330	7	0.13	0002	2	0.04
0357	7	0.13	0006	2	0.04
0518	7	0.13	0069	2	0.04
0546	7	0.13	0644	2	0.04
0572	7	0.13	0095	0	0.00
0944	7	0.13	0104	0	0.00
0089	6	0.12	0495	0	0.00
0247	6	0.12			

is impressive in its extension and thus its development. Moreover, the surface of several mounds are covered by a carpet of ceramic fragments from every epoch, testifying to its richness and the continuity of human occupation. Did it uniquely profit from the intense bipartite network? Or is it one of the main capitals of the oasis? It should be stressed that site 0560 is located in the middle of this previously mentioned geomorphological bag that is framed by the Khitfar, Zerafshan and Tarab, which perfectly corresponds with a single, clearly limited later province, Kamat. Vobkent (0116) and Shargh (0846) also seem to belong to this province, but site 0560 is a little less than 7 km from each of them, which probably guaranteed its social and economic autonomy. The analysis of the clique below gives a possible explanation.

When looking at normalised betweenness centrality, we see that node 0432 is arguably the most central, with a score of 32.03%, followed by node 0320 at 26.49% (table 7). There are 31 cliques (table 8). We also notice that nodes 0567 and 0560, which are also very central nodes in terms of degree, together belong to 5 cliques, indicating a great potential for a possible coordination of the market of goods produced by bipartite sites in the oasis.

Kaththa (0320) and site 0432 are both in Khitfar province and are both traversed by the main road leading to Khorezm, also crossing Vobkent (0116) to the east and Kakishtuvan to the west. They are at a quite important distance, guaranteeing both a large degree of autonomy to manage their own markets, mirrored in their own respective networks. However, although site 0432 is the most central in this analysis, Kaththa (0320) seems to have acquired a high demographic degree due to its extension, and increased richness, on the basis of the important ceramic fragments collected during the surveys. Could the

TABLE 7 The level of centrality of tripartite sites connected by the bipartite sites: Betweenness and nBetweenness (%)

Tripartite site	Betweenness	nBetweenness	Tripartite site	Betweenness	nBetweenness
0432	424.67	32.03	0231	102.25	7.71
0320	351.21	26.49	0116	78.44	5.92
0609	198.88	15.00	0457	78.44	5.92
0622	182.05	13.73	0846	74.61	5.63
0275	180.04	13.58	0847	74.61	5.63
0944	180.04	13.58	0247	70.77	5.34
0012	163.34	12.32	0518	65.75	4.96
0059	160.99	12.14	0192	57.61	4.34
0005	153.79	11.60	0190	56.14	4.23
0074	144.53	10.90	0089	54.93	4.14
0097	127.63	9.63	0571	52.85	3.99
0567	127.52	9.62	0330	47.24	3.56
0036	116.67	8.80	0083	42.80	3.23
0090	113.63	8.57	0357	42.80	3.23

TABLE 7 The level of centrality of tripartite sites connected by the bipartite sites: Betweenness and nBetweenness (%) (*cont.*)

Tripartite site	Betweenness	nBetweenness	Tripartite site	Betweenness	nBetweenness
0043	30.06	2.27	0040	0.33	0.03
0531	25.90	1.95	0513	0.33	0.03
0035	23.82	1.80	0002	0.00	0.00
0149	22.24	1.68	0006	0.00	0.00
0039	13.96	1.05	0069	0.00	0.00
0560	13.75	1.04	0084	0.00	0.00
0003	11.10	0.84	0095	0.00	0.00
0133	9.07	0.68	0104	0.00	0.00
0572	8.35	0.63	0317	0.00	0.00
0359	7.81	0.59	0495	0.00	0.00
0566	6.70	0.51	0644	0.00	0.00
0751	3.65	0.28	0896	0.00	0.00
0546	0.70	0.05			

TABLE 8 The cliques found in the network of tripartite sites ensured by connection with bipartite sites

1: 0116 0457 0560 0566 0567 0571 0572
2: 0116 0457 0560 0566 0567 0846 0847
3: 0546 0560 0566 0567 0609 0846 0847
4: 0546 0560 0566 0567 0571 0609
5: 0090 0116 0457 0560 0567 0846 0847
6: 0116 0432 0457 0567 0571 0572
7: 0003 0035 0097
8: 0003 0005 0097
9: 0005 0006 0012
10: 0012 0622 0644
11: 0035 0036 0097 0190
12: 0035 0036 0190 0192
13: 0036 0039 0133
14: 0036 0059 0192
15: 0039 0040 0043 0133
16: 0039 0040 0043 0149
17: 0043 0059 0149
18: 0059 0074 0192 0231 0247
19: 0059 0069 0231
20: 0074 0231 0247 0275 0944
21: 0074 0190 0192
22: 0083 0320 0330 0357 0896
23: 0083 0320 0357 0432
24: 0083 0084 0357 0359
25: 0083 0357 0359 0432
26: 0089 0513 0518 0531
27: 0089 0513 0518 0751
28: 0089 0090 0518 0531
29: 0002 0089 0751
30: 0275 0317 0320 0330 0944
31: 0090 0518 0531 0846 0847

Note: minimum size of a clique: 3 nodes.

reason be its specific location along the caravan road, as well as its proximity to the limit of the irrigated areas, thus it extended its market, not only to the closest sites but also to the caravans, as well as to the populations settling around the oasis? Certainly, it is quite possible, since Kaththa is 10 km from Kakishtuvan (0317), a site located at the western border of the oasis, a distance that guaranteed the management of its own market.

Concerning sites 0567 and 0560, different explanations have been given above. However, it is interesting to stress once again the uniqueness of site 0560, which in the clique analysis also shows great potential as a coordinator of marketing goods. This feature explains probably the reason why this site presents a high degree of richness even though it is not located along a main road.

In the context of this study and its results, it has been logical to push our research further and observe the relations between tripartite sites through roads.

4.6 Connections between Tripartite Sites through Main Roads

The second analysis of potential trade networks examines how main roads connected tripartite sites. The analysis of these interactions was based on the calculation of distances that caravans crossing the oasis may have covered. Once again, starting from the geographic coordinates (latitude and longitude, specifically) of tripartite sites and using Ucinet 6 software (Borgatti et al. 2002), we determined the straight-line distance between them and created a matrix of distances in kilometres. Thus, we obtained two different simulations of possible road trade networks to compare. The first was identified using a distance between 0 and 36 km (fig. 27) and the second using a distance between 0 and 50 km (fig. 28). The distances

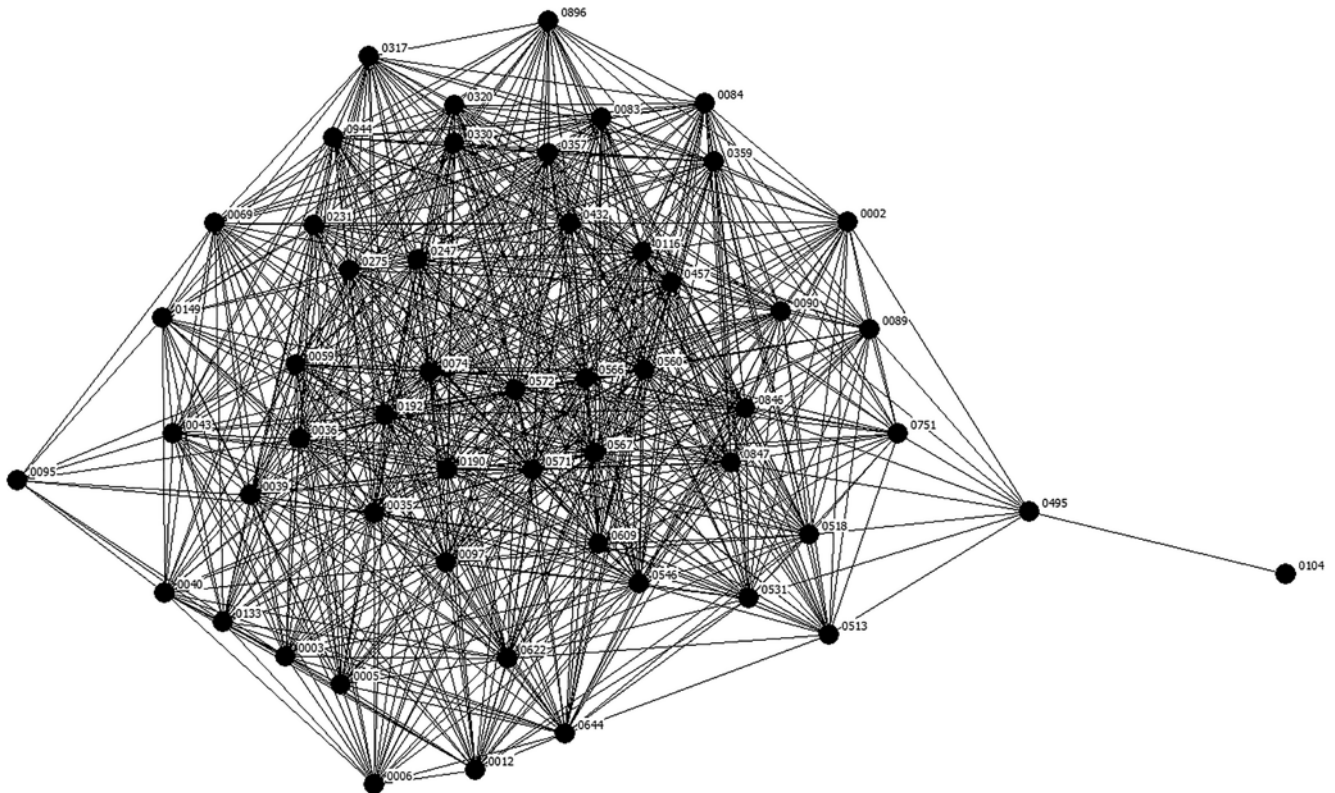


FIGURE 27 Simple graph of tripartite sites: distance of 0–36 kilometres
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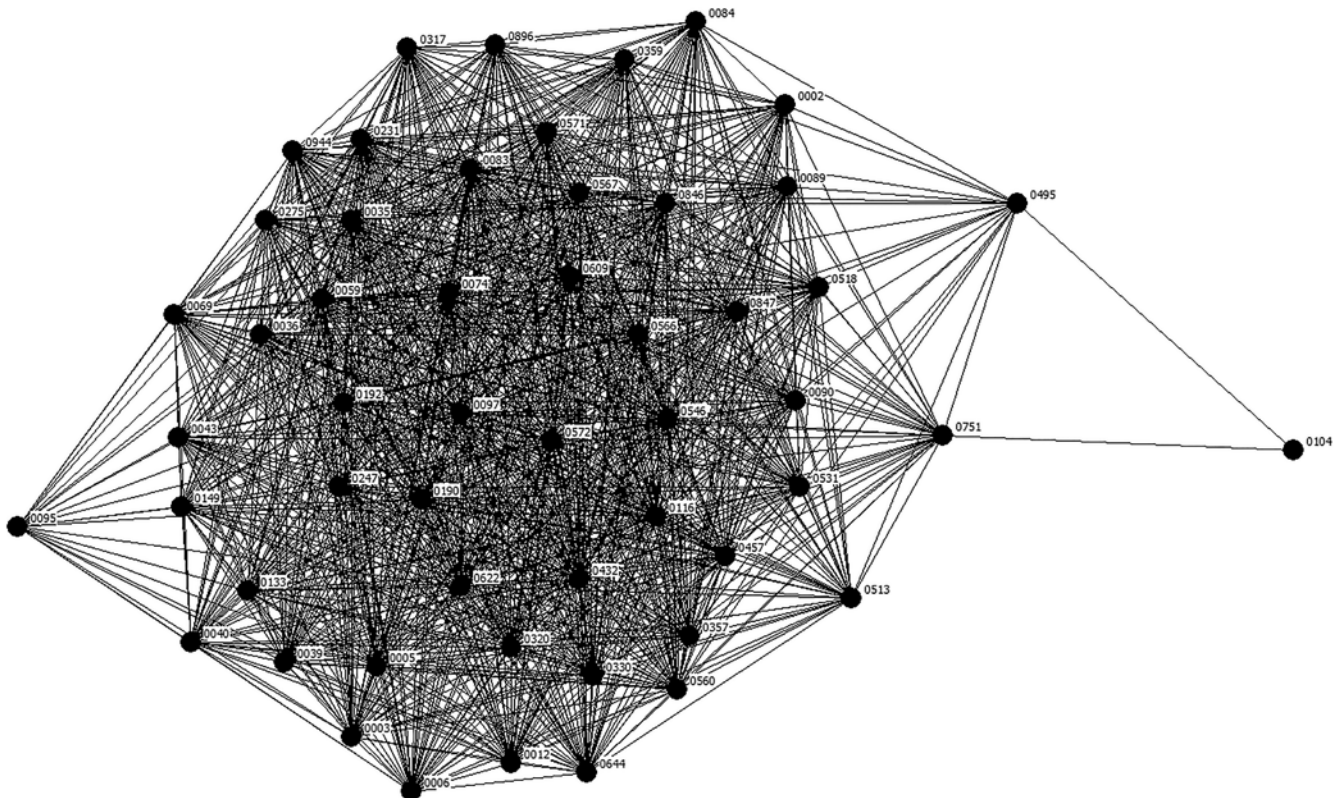


FIGURE 28 Simple graph of tripartite sites: distance of 0–50 kilometres
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refer to the minimum (36 km) and maximum (50 km) capacity for people to walk in a single day. These extremes have been calculated taking into consideration different factors, such as the speed of humans and the hours during which we considered it possible to walk. For the former datum, the speed in a long or short caravan context has also been considered. Average walking times in different weather and seasonal conditions have been attempted. In the specific context of oasis trade, the 36 km analysis would mostly refer to long and heavy caravans, consisting of many items, while the 50 km one would mostly refer to shorter caravans consisting of less items and thus able to go faster and spend more time on the road. A caravan travelling at a speed of 5 km/h can cover 50 km in 10 hours, which is possible in a cooler season for example.

This analysis needed two geographical extremes to calculate our paths: Karmana (0104) to the east and Paykend (0095) to the south-west.

The density of the first simple graph (fig. 27) is equal to 62.63%. Nodes 0572 and 0571 have the highest levels of degree centrality at 48 and 47 respectively, which in turn equals 0.92 and 0.90 respectively in normalised degree centrality (range 0–1) (table 9). Node 0495 has the highest betweenness centrality; expressed as a percentage, the value equals 3.85% (table 10).

There are 81 cliques, containing nodes that are all immediately interconnected; nodes 0571 and 0572 are a recurring pair within 69 of the cliques. The long-scale trade caravan is shown in the analysis of these sites, which in our earlier archaeological surveys remained poorly considered. The network analysis supported the research in the field to complete a settlement framework that sometime appeared spotted, with well-known areas and more or less empty zones where large and rich mounds rose up.

Sites 0571 and 0572 are located more to the west and occupy a zone in the central-most part of the oasis, where a lesser degree of bipartite networks have been noticed. The sites are disposed in opposite banks of the Zerafshan, rendering both autonomous and able to manage their own territories to the north and south. Their extension and quantity, as well as the quality of findings on the surface, testify to their richness due to their centrality in the caravan trade network. At the same time, other unexpected sites were brought to light, like Ramitan (0074), which is linked to 44 other sites according to the Degree measurement, or site 0495, with 3.85% in terms of normalised betweenness.

While Ramitan (0074) is situated in a very interesting position, always in the core of the oasis, surely managing every market on the western part of the oasis, site 0495 attracted our attention for two reasons: its location and

TABLE 9 The level of centrality of tripartite sites – distance 0–36 kilometres: Degree and nDegree (range 0–1)

Tripartite site	Degree	nDegree	Tripartite site	Degree	nDegree
0572	48	0.92	0090	33	0.63
0571	47	0.90	0359	33	0.63
0074	44	0.85	0944	33	0.63
0190	44	0.85	0039	32	0.62
0566	44	0.85	0084	30	0.58
0567	44	0.85	0531	30	0.58
0192	42	0.81	0644	30	0.58
0609	42	0.81	0317	29	0.56
0035	41	0.79	0003	28	0.54
0097	41	0.79	0005	28	0.54
0560	41	0.79	0069	28	0.54
0247	40	0.77	0518	28	0.54
0059	39	0.75	0896	28	0.54
0116	39	0.75	0012	27	0.52
0275	39	0.75	0043	27	0.52
0432	39	0.75	0133	25	0.48
0457	39	0.75	0002	24	0.46
0546	39	0.75	0089	24	0.46
0036	38	0.73	0149	24	0.46
0622	37	0.71	0040	23	0.44
0083	36	0.69	0006	22	0.42
0231	36	0.69	0513	22	0.42
0357	36	0.69	0751	20	0.38
0846	36	0.69	0095	10	0.19
0847	36	0.69	0495	10	0.19
0320	35	0.67	0104	1	0.02
0330	35	0.67			

its comparatively high degree of connection in terms of betweenness. But once we had a better look at the urban distribution within the oasis and took into consideration other oasis structures, this datum seems to be clearly explainable. Site 0495, in fact, is located in the most extreme north-eastern part of the oasis. Although, as previously seen, Karmana (0104) is described by the historical sources as the city at the beginning of the oasis – and it certainly was administratively – site 0495 is de facto the site that is structurally at the beginning, and it is the site that holds the most important degree of links, as a broker, with the other sites, always at a scale of 36 km.

Somebody could raise the point that the route leading from Karmana to the oasis did not cross site 0495 directly, traversing rather the southern part of the irrigated tongue of the Zerafshan, where, crossed today, the Qarakhanid caravanserai is still visible, which is true. But

TABLE 10 The level of centrality of tripartite sites – distance 0–36 kilometres: Betweenness and nBetweenness (%)

Tripartite site	Betweenness	nBetweenness	Tripartite site	Betweenness	nBetweenness
0495	51.00	3.85	0039	7.88	0.59
0572	34.33	2.59	0231	7.74	0.58
0571	29.01	2.19	0083	7.01	0.53
0035	23.12	1.74	0357	7.01	0.53
0846	22.71	1.71	0069	6.31	0.48
0847	22.71	1.71	0002	6.28	0.47
0566	19.16	1.44	0089	6.15	0.46
0567	19.16	1.44	0320	5.88	0.44
0190	18.34	1.38	0330	5.88	0.44
0622	17.73	1.34	0944	5.77	0.44
0074	17.48	1.32	0359	5.60	0.42
0090	16.84	1.27	0513	5.52	0.42
0609	16.73	1.26	0003	5.44	0.41
0059	15.23	1.15	0012	5.36	0.40
0097	14.84	1.12	0043	4.66	0.35
0531	14.08	1.06	0084	4.00	0.30
0192	14.04	1.06	0751	3.88	0.29
0036	13.57	1.02	0133	3.47	0.26
0546	13.07	0.99	0149	3.00	0.23
0560	12.94	0.98	0040	2.89	0.22
0247	11.99	0.90	0317	2.80	0.21
0432	10.77	0.81	0005	2.71	0.20
0518	10.74	0.81	0896	2.61	0.20
0275	10.52	0.79	0006	0.88	0.07
0116	9.89	0.75	0095	0.00	0.00
0457	9.89	0.75	0104	0.00	0.00
0644	8.38	0.63			

it is also true that while this area was outside the oasis wall (Kampirdual), site 0495 was within it and therefore it, as well as the irrigated areas, were protected by the strong oasis from external incursions. Finally, it was not a surprise to visit site 0495 and find a quite extensively occupied area, with several mounds, and an important and strongly fortified citadel.

We will now look at the analysis of possible road trade networks among tripartite sites that were created over a distance of no more than 50 km. This simple graph has a density of 85.92%. There are 12 nodes at the highest level of degree centrality, equalling 50, and thus 0.96 in terms of normalised degree centrality (range 0–1) (table 11). The normalised betweenness centrality is now highest for node 0751 at 2.68%. Node 0495 is also central in terms of betweenness: its normalised betweenness centrality equals 1.15% (table 12).

The sites showing the highest level of degree centrality are Ramitan (0074), Bukhara (0097), Vobkent (0116), site

0190, Narshakhi tepe (0457), and sites 0546, 0560, 0566, 0567, 0571, 0609, and 0622. If we look at the geographical distribution of the sites on the map (fig. 29) we observe a homogenous distribution of the most important and richer sites within the oasis. Not only that, all these sites are located in a strategic position for long-distance trade and along the main roads crossing the oasis.

Concerning the betweenness analysis, Tavovis (0751) is comparatively the key site. In fact, the abovementioned graph shows Tavovis (0751) as the playmaker of the oasis, being the broker of this network.

The importance and key location of the sites mentioned in the context of degree analysis are confirmed by the clique analysis. In fact, when analysing cliques, we see 42 subgraphs containing nodes that are all interconnected. There are two subgroups of sites belonging to 40 of these cliques. If they coordinated their actions effectively, these subgroups had the potential to significantly influence the economy of the oasis: the tripartite sites in

TABLE 11 The level of centrality of tripartite sites – distance 0–50 kilometres: Degree and nDegree (range 0–1)

Tripartite site	Degree	nDegree	Tripartite site	Degree	nDegree	Tripartite site	Degree	nDegree	Tripartite site	Degree	nDegree
0074	50	0.96	0192	49	0.94	0005	47	0.90	0133	43	0.83
0097	50	0.96	0247	49	0.94	0012	47	0.90	0043	42	0.81
0116	50	0.96	0320	49	0.94	0090	46	0.88	0149	41	0.79
0190	50	0.96	0330	49	0.94	0359	46	0.88	0002	40	0.77
0457	50	0.96	0432	49	0.94	0531	46	0.88	0084	40	0.77
0546	50	0.96	0572	49	0.94	0644	46	0.88	0040	39	0.75
0560	50	0.96	0846	49	0.94	0896	46	0.88	0513	39	0.75
0566	50	0.96	0036	48	0.92	0003	45	0.87	0751	33	0.63
0567	50	0.96	0059	48	0.92	0039	44	0.85	0095	22	0.42
0571	50	0.96	0231	48	0.92	0317	44	0.85	0495	20	0.38
0609	50	0.96	0275	48	0.92	0518	44	0.85	0104	2	0.04
0622	50	0.96	0357	48	0.92	0006	43	0.83			
0035	49	0.94	0847	48	0.92	0069	43	0.83			
0083	49	0.94	0944	48	0.92	0089	43	0.83			

TABLE 12 The level of centrality of tripartite sites – distance 0–50 kilometres: Betweenness and nBetweenness (%)

Tripartite site	Betweenness	nBetweenness	Tripartite site	Betweenness	nBetweenness
0751	35.58	2.68	0432	2.95	0.22
0495	15.23	1.15	0572	2.95	0.22
0116	5.42	0.41	0036	2.95	0.22
0457	5.42	0.41	0059	2.92	0.22
0546	5.42	0.41	0231	2.92	0.22
0560	5.42	0.41	0275	2.92	0.22
0566	5.42	0.41	0944	2.92	0.22
0567	5.42	0.41	0089	2.75	0.21
0571	5.42	0.41	0357	2.73	0.21
0609	5.42	0.41	0896	2.58	0.19
0846	4.87	0.37	0005	2.57	0.19
0074	4.83	0.36	0644	2.43	0.18
0097	4.83	0.36	0084	2.32	0.18
0190	4.83	0.36	0003	2.14	0.16
0622	4.83	0.36	0513	2.12	0.16
0847	4.43	0.33	0002	2.07	0.16
0012	4.12	0.31	0006	2.06	0.16
0359	3.93	0.30	0069	1.70	0.13
0090	3.69	0.28	0039	1.65	0.12
0531	3.69	0.28	0133	1.49	0.11
0035	3.33	0.25	0043	1.32	0.10
0192	3.33	0.25	0317	1.22	0.09
0247	3.33	0.25	0149	1.21	0.09
0518	3.02	0.23	0040	0.97	0.07
0083	2.95	0.22	0095	0.00	0.00
0320	2.95	0.22	0104	0.00	0.00
0330	2.95	0.22			

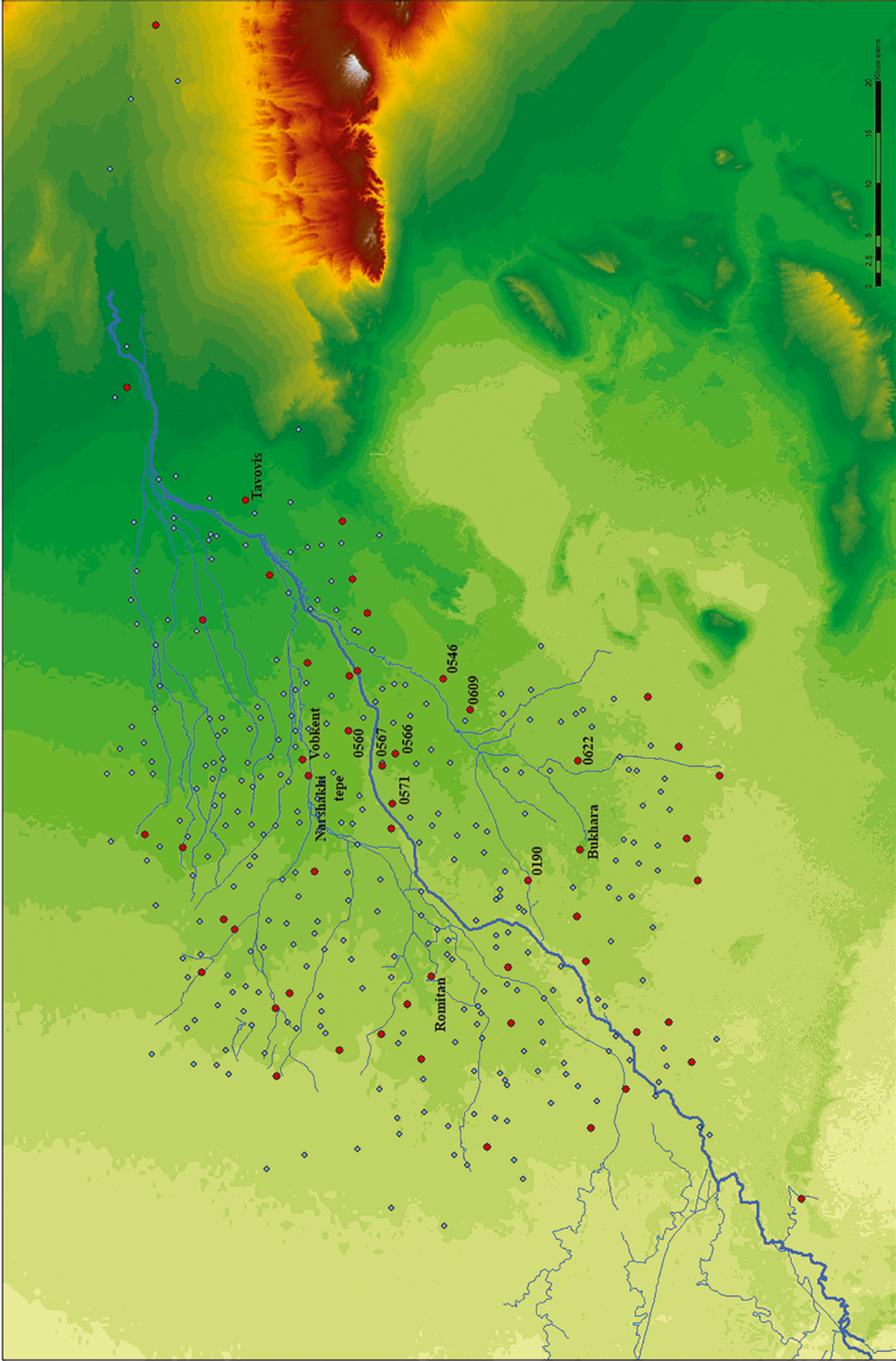


FIGURE 29 Map showing visible mentioned sites

question are 0116, 0457, 0546, 0560, 0566, 0567, 0571 and 0609 on the one hand, and 0074, 0097, 0190 and 0622 on the other. All 12 sites have a level of co-affiliation with the same cliques that equals 39, with the addition of the tripartite sites 0083, 0320, 0330, 0432 and 0572.

The same sites in both the degree and clique analyses thus confirm not only their optimal location within the oasis in a long-distance trade context but also their high potential and influence on the economy of the oasis. Their geographical distribution therefore depends on a foreseen organisation that probably took place from the beginning of the oasis settlement, not in a unique phase of occupation, but rather gradually over time, extending from the earliest occupations until the first centuries of our era. This dynamic would thus give populations time to get to better know distances and the territory. This analysis potentially provides structural support for the data given in volume 1 (Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019) concerning

the different phases of the oasis’s occupation, highlighting its gradual occupation; however, it is limited to a period of some three–four centuries, thus from the 3rd century BCE to the 1st–2nd centuries CE.

4.7 *Connections between Tripartite Sites through Watercourses*

As clearly presented in the first volume of this trilogy (Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 13–22, 108–14), and above in the chapter on the irrigation and administrative organisation through written sources, as a delta of the Zerafshan River this hydrographical network consists of watercourses that can be divided into natural and artificial ones. While today it is possible to recognise artificial and natural watercourses, it is harder to determine the complete ancient network of natural watercourses because of the territory’s high degree of human transformation, especially for irrigation. We can trust two sources: the

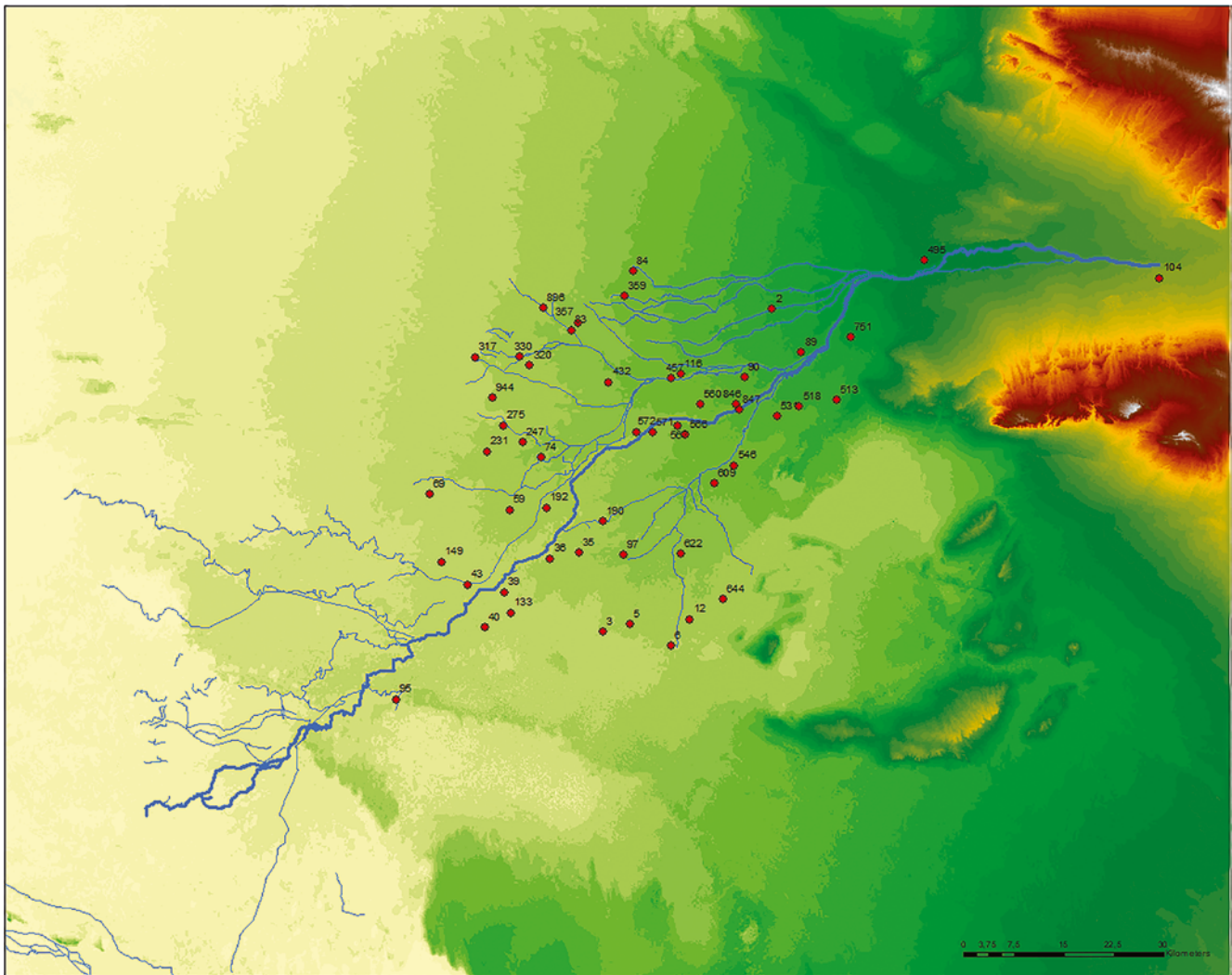


FIGURE 30 Map showing natural canals and tripartite sites

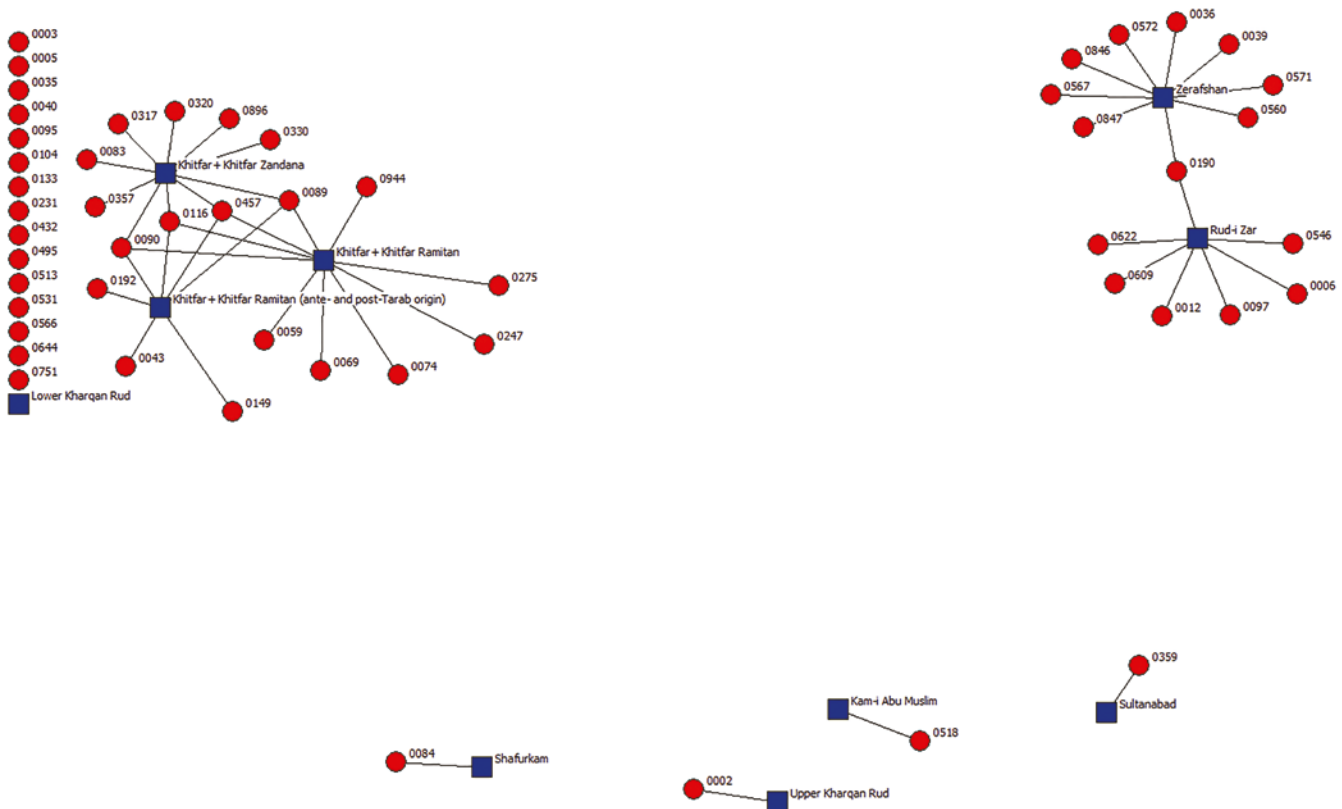


FIGURE 31 Two-mode network of watercourses (blue squares) and tripartite sites (red circles)
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historical and the geomorphological. Once both sources have been looked at, it is not difficult to identify at least the major watercourses, which belong to the most ancient network, as well as to the 19th-century map, which corresponds with 16th-century medieval written sources. These natural watercourses are characterised by a natural path and a high water capacity, which, as found in written sources, were able to welcome boats (Ibn Ḥauqal 1873; Kramers and Wiet 1964: 467) and transport merchandise.

Lastly, we dedicated a study to the potential relationships between the tripartite sites through the navigable watercourses. To have a concrete and geographical relation established between a site and watercourse that is as accurate as possible, we decided to select every site whose manually identified distance to a watercourse is not more than approximately 2.5 km. This distance can be easily covered by people to reach a watercourse and take advantage of its navigability (fig. 30).

For this analysis, we created a case-by-affiliation (or two-mode) matrix, inserting 53 tripartite sites into the rows and 10 watercourses into the columns: Shafurkam, Sultanabad, Upper Kharqan Rud, Lower Kharqan Rud, Khitfar + Khitfar Zandana, Khitfar + Khitfar Ramitan, Khitfar + Khitfar Ramitan (ante- and post-Tarab origin), Zerafshan, Rud-i Zar, and Kam-i Abu Muslim.²⁸ In the

matrix, the number 1 appears where the straight-line distance between sites and watercourses (here manually identified) is no more than approximately 2.5 km. This matrix can be converted into a representation of a two-mode network (fig. 31).

One of the watercourses, Lower Kharqan Rud, does not meet the distance criterion, which automatically precludes river trade. For the same reason, that is, not meeting the abovementioned criterion, 15 tripartite sites are excluded from river trade. Four other sites are connected to one watercourse each, and the watercourses to which they are potentially connected have no other links to the sites. These sites and watercourses are therefore also excluded from river trade, in this analysis.

Figure 32 shows a simple graph pertaining to watercourses that clearly shows the existence of a real network of watercourses, obtained tracing a line between two watercourses when these are connected with at least one common tripartite site; this simple graph was created using a square, binary adjacency matrix consisting of watercourses, and it contains 5 isolated nodes and 2 components, i.e., 2 maximal connected subgraphs disconnected between them (fig. 32). The density of this simple graph equals 8.89%. To visualise interactions between tripartite sites through watercourses, we used the presence of at least one connection with the same watercourse to obtain the simple graph – created using a square, binary

28 For the toponyms of watercourses, see F. Schwarz (1999).

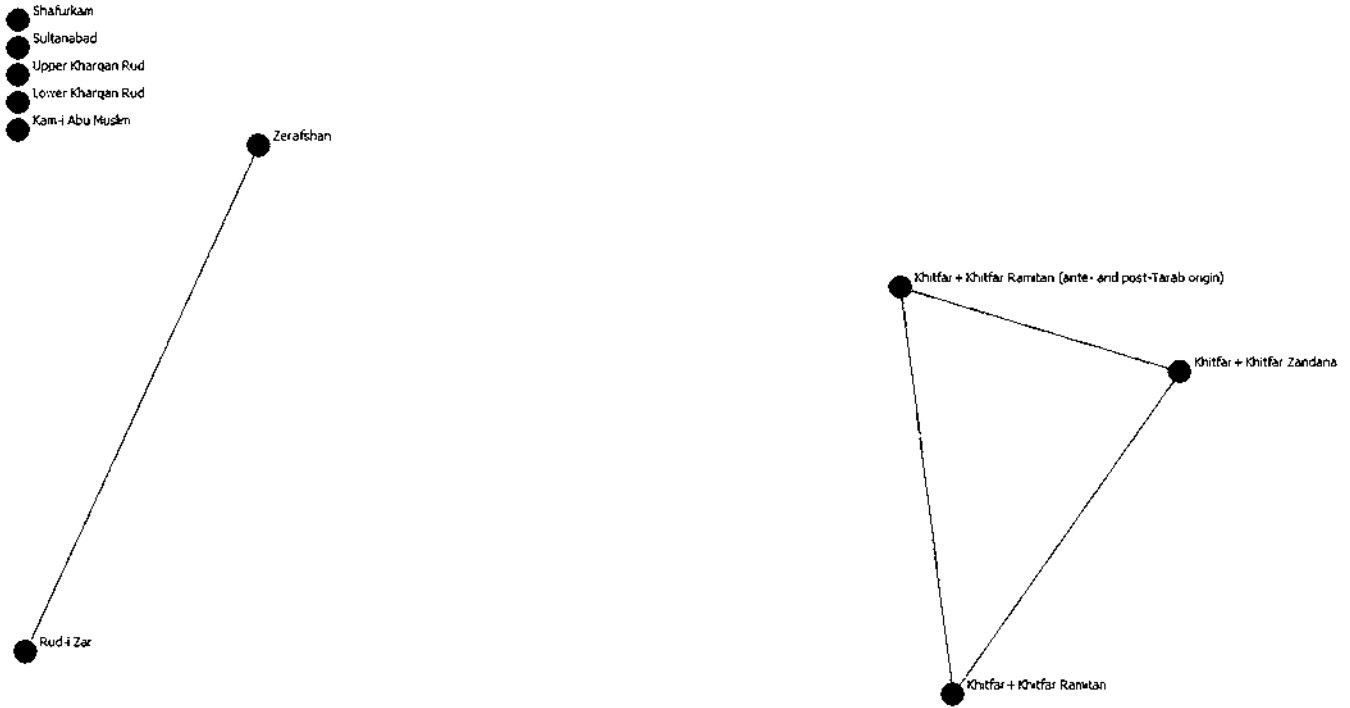


FIGURE 32 Simple graph of watercourses obtained by the tripartite sites-by-watercourses matrix
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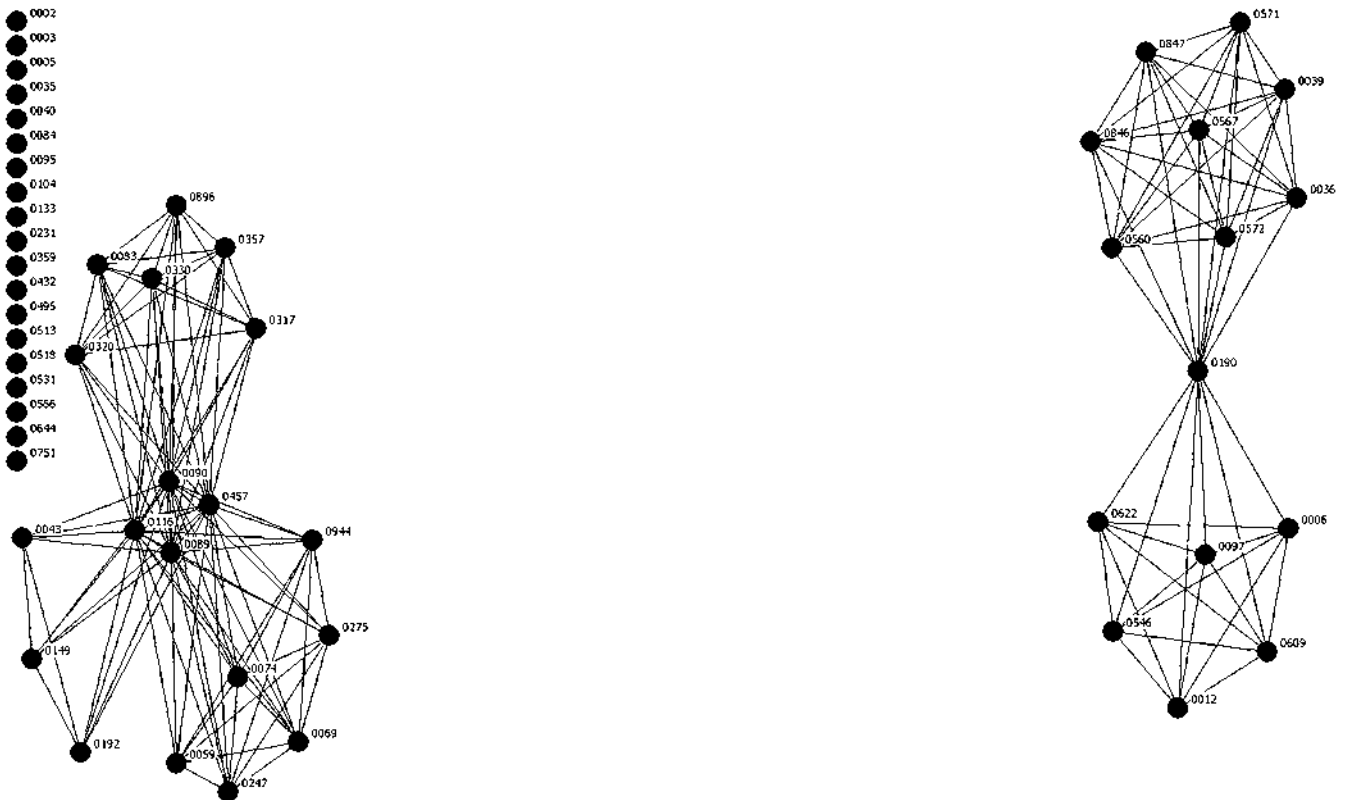


FIGURE 33 Simple graph of tripartite sites obtained by the tripartite sites-by-watercourses matrix
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adjacency matrix of tripartite sites – in figure 33, which shows 19 tripartite sites that are isolated from this potential trade link and 2 components. The density of this simple graph equals 11.32%. When analysing degree centrality, we found that the following 4 sites, with a centrality score of 18 and a normalised degree centrality score of 0.35 (range 0–1), ranked highest: 0089, 0090, 0116 and 0457 (table 13). In the case of betweenness centrality expressed as a percentage, site 0190 is the most central, with a score of 3.62% (table 14). In conclusion, we see that the most significant sites in terms of degree centrality are also those that share an affiliation with several cliques, that is, with 3 out of the 5 global cliques, while site 0190 belongs to the other 2 cliques (table 15).

In the analysis of connections between tripartite sites through watercourses, every graph and every table shows the same structural situation, confirming the centrality and potential of some tripartite sites to influence and interconnect a maximum number of sites. We observed two potential macroscopic mechanisms: the first is that part of the network is piloted by site 0190 (fig. 33), which generated many intermediated relations, guaranteed by its proximity to two watercourses – Zerafshan and Rud-i Zar – between pairs of tripartite sites. The other potential mechanism concerns a set of four sites – 0089, 0090, 0116 and 0457 – that potentially hold other brokerage relationships because of their vicinity to three watercourses – Khitfar + Khitfar Zandana, Khitfar + Khitfar Ramitan and Khitfar + Khitfar Ramitan (ante- and post-Tarab origin).

TABLE 13 The level of centrality of tripartite sites connected by the watercourses: Degree and nDegree (range 0–1)

Tripartite site	Degree	nDegree	Tripartite site	Degree	nDegree
0089	18	0.35	0043	6	0.12
0090	18	0.35	0097	6	0.12
0116	18	0.35	0149	6	0.12
0457	18	0.35	0192	6	0.12
0190	14	0.27	0546	6	0.12
0059	9	0.17	0609	6	0.12
0069	9	0.17	0622	6	0.12
0074	9	0.17	0002	0	0.00
0083	9	0.17	0003	0	0.00
0247	9	0.17	0005	0	0.00
0275	9	0.17	0035	0	0.00
0317	9	0.17	0040	0	0.00
0320	9	0.17	0084	0	0.00
0330	9	0.17	0095	0	0.00
0357	9	0.17	0104	0	0.00
0896	9	0.17	0133	0	0.00
0944	9	0.17	0231	0	0.00
0036	8	0.15	0359	0	0.00
0039	8	0.15	0432	0	0.00
0560	8	0.15	0495	0	0.00
0567	8	0.15	0513	0	0.00
0571	8	0.15	0518	0	0.00
0572	8	0.15	0531	0	0.00
0846	8	0.15	0566	0	0.00
0847	8	0.15	0644	0	0.00
0006	6	0.12	0751	0	0.00
0012	6	0.12			

TABLE 14 The level of centrality of tripartite sites connected by the watercourses: Betweenness and nBetweenness (%)

Tripartite site	Betweenness	nBetweenness	Tripartite site	Betweenness	nBetweenness
0190	48	3.62	0247	0	0.00
0089	18	1.36	0275	0	0.00
0090	18	1.36	0317	0	0.00
0116	18	1.36	0320	0	0.00
0457	18	1.36	0330	0	0.00
0002	0	0.00	0357	0	0.00
0003	0	0.00	0359	0	0.00
0005	0	0.00	0432	0	0.00
0006	0	0.00	0495	0	0.00
0012	0	0.00	0513	0	0.00
0035	0	0.00	0518	0	0.00
0036	0	0.00	0531	0	0.00
0039	0	0.00	0546	0	0.00
0040	0	0.00	0560	0	0.00
0043	0	0.00	0566	0	0.00
0059	0	0.00	0567	0	0.00
0069	0	0.00	0571	0	0.00
0074	0	0.00	0572	0	0.00
0083	0	0.00	0609	0	0.00
0084	0	0.00	0622	0	0.00
0095	0	0.00	0644	0	0.00
0097	0	0.00	0751	0	0.00
0104	0	0.00	0846	0	0.00
0133	0	0.00	0847	0	0.00
0149	0	0.00	0896	0	0.00
0192	0	0.00	0944	0	0.00
0231	0	0.00			

TABLE 15 The cliques found in the network of tripartite sites ensured by connection with watercourses

1: 0059 0069 0074 0089 0090 0116 0247 0275 0457 0944
2: 0083 0089 0090 0116 0317 0320 0330 0357 0457 0896
3: 0043 0089 0090 0116 0149 0192 0457
4: 0006 0012 0097 0190 0546 0609 0622
5: 0036 0039 0190 0560 0567 0571 0572 0846 0847

Note: minimum size of a clique: 3 nodes.

Land behind Bukhara

Materials for a Landscape History of the Bukhara Oasis in the Long First Millennium

Florian Schwarz

1 Preliminary Remarks

The main purpose of this chapter is to improve the understanding of spatial relations in the oasis of Bukhara in the long first millennium CE by identifying, locating and contextualising toponyms mentioned in early Islamic texts. Building on the groundbreaking study of the historical geography of Central Asia by Wilhelm Barthold in 1899 (published in English in 1928), recent decades have seen a renewed interest in the toponymy, historical topography and landscape history of the oasis of Bukhara. Major impulses have come from archaeological studies such as V.A. Shishkin's chapters on the oasis in his groundbreaking book *Varakhsha* (1963) and A.R. Mukhamedjanov's history of the irrigation system of the oasis of Bukhara published in 1978.¹ The 1970s and 1980s saw the publication and study of non-narrative, documentary texts (for example endowment deeds with their rich topographic data) that opened up a new methodological perspective on the study of historical geography.² Since the independence of Uzbekistan, a new generation of historians and archaeologists, including S. Adylov, Sh. Kamoliddin, J. Mirzaakhmedov and others, thoroughly reviewed and refined the picture and offered a number of important new insights into the development of the lower Zarafshan basin and the oasis of Bukhara as a historical landscape.³ But different sources and methodological approaches have only been intermittently connected. Fully acknowledging its indebtedness to this profound tradition and corpus of scholarship, the present study combines the critical analysis of systematic-descriptive, historical-narrative Central Asian documentary and imperial-period Russian

statistical-topographic sources and modern topographic, toponymic and archaeological evidence into an integrated historical-topographic description of the oasis of Bukhara. While some gaps and uncertainties remain, the outcome of this close and critical reading of geographies, local and universal chronicles, hagiographies, endowment deeds and other legal documents is a highly reliable and comprehensive spatial translation of the medieval textual record as a basis and framework for further inquiries into a proper landscape history.

This section bears the terms “materials” and “landscape history” in its title. The second term points to the potential of arriving at a *longue durée* history of the oasis of Bukhara as a historical, natural and human-managed landscape, while the first term points to the limitations of this study, which aims simply at improving the foundations and framework for such a landscape history. Describing the chronological span as “the long first millennium”, the study also takes sources from later periods, up to the early 20th century, into consideration. They are mainly utilised for clues about the historical topography of the first millennium, but they also open up perspectives on *longue durée* regional dynamics in general.

The first part of this study approaches the oasis through the written record. Well into the Islamic period, this written record largely consists of sources external to Central Asia. This state of written source material has contributed to tendencies in modern historiography to view pre-Islamic Bukhara rather narrowly through the lens of neighbouring empires and regional political formations that are better documented in the early written record, such as Bactria, Kangju, (Samarkandian) Sogd or the Sasanian or Hephthalite empires. The present study strives to connect the vantage point of larger cultural and political formations with a view from the inside. In order to fully appreciate the lower Zarafshan basin as the borderland of empires, which it was for most of its early recorded history, it is necessary to conceptualise the processes of regional transformations and the dynamics of regional and transregional connectivities in the *longue durée* from a Bukharan vantage point. To put it differently, in order to understand the development of the lower Zarafshan basin

1 Shishkin 1963: especially 8–31; Mukhamedjanov 1978.

2 These efforts were spearheaded by O.A. Chechovich. Many important studies, including theses completed in the 1990s and later, remain unpublished and difficult to access.

3 Adylov and Babaev 2011; Kamoliddin 2006. The commentary and annotations to Kamoliddin's Russian translation of the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* is a treasure trove for historical geography. The etymological study of Sogdian toponymy in Pavel B. Lur'e (2004) also offers original research on the historical geography of the oasis. For a brief overview of sources on the oasis of Bukhara in the early Islamic period, see Silvi Antonini 2007.

before its actual integration into a large empire, namely the late Umayyad and early Abbasid caliphates between the 8th and 9th centuries CE, one needs to acknowledge its peripheral situation. Peripheral not in the sense of a marginal extension of Sogdiana or an obscure province or military bridgehead of the Graeco-Bactrian, Hephthalite or Sasanian empires, but as an emerging historical landscape with its own dynamics shaped by the very specific natural space and ecological transformation of the lower Zarafshan basin and the multiple options that the location of the oasis offered. Rather than looking for evidence of the incorporation of Bukhara in, for example, the Graeco-Bactrian or Sasanian empires, one should focus on the interactions between the dynamics of these empires in their peripheral zones and the local and regional dynamics in their own right.⁴

The second part of this study consists of a gazetteer of toponyms. Its principal purpose is to list, identify and map topographic features (mainly settlements, districts and rivers) of the oasis of Bukhara that are mentioned in the early Islamic geographical tradition and in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* to the extent that it is currently possible with reasonable certainty. Not included here are toponyms that are likely to be variants, duplicates or misreadings (which are discussed under the relevant main entry, such as Bumijkath and Numijkath under Kumijkath) and a small number of toponyms that could not be read or identified. On the other hand, a small number of entries concern settlements that have been included in the archaeological survey and have left traces in narrative and documentary sources but are not mentioned in classical geographic texts or the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* (e.g., Pinjan). The large number of Bukharan settlements mentioned in al-Samʿānī's *Kitāb al-Ansāb* (with some additions in Yāqūt's *Muʿjam al-buldān*) are discussed in a special section. Not included are Bukhara (city), Paykand, Romitan and Varakhsha, major settlements that have been the subject of important previous research and that will require separate treatment.

A gazetteer entry consists of three sections: a header, a synthetic presentation of the site and documentation. In the most complete version, the three sections may contain the following items:

Header: (hypothetical) site number corresponding to the archaeological survey, coordinates, modern toponym

variants, and a reference to archaeological evidence in Rante and Mirzaakhmedov (2019).

Presentation of the site: Brief description of the modern settlement, identification and localisation, historical commentary and local and regional contextualisation.

Documentation: Epigraphic, narrative and archival evidence in chronological sequence; references in late 19th- and early 20th-century Bukharan and Russian administrative and geographical-statistical documents and maps; highly selective references to modern research literature.

Among the specific findings and revisions related to the historical topography of the oasis of Bukhara that have wider historical or topographic implications are the following:

Ba/ūmijkath/Nūmijkath etc.: The various spellings have been consolidated into “Ku/ūmijkath” and identified with a single place, modern Kumishkent/Kumushkent [Site 0090 (40°0'53.66" N 64°37'49.33 E)], 10 km east of Vobkent. The hypothesis of a name change of Bukhara city is rejected.

Niu-mi/Nokmetan: The widely accepted hypothesis of an identification of Niu-mi in Chinese texts with the toponym Nokmetan in the Kultoba inscriptions is critically revised and arguments are presented against an unambiguous identification of either Niu-mi or Nokmetan with Bukhara or a place in the oasis of Bukhara.

Afshona (Afshāna, Afshina): The location of the birthplace of Abū 'Alī Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), conventionally identified with a village in the centre of the oasis, 7 km north of modern Romitan, has been revised. The settlement is hypothetically placed at the north-western corner of the oasis, near the highway to Gasli, 20 to 25 km NW of modern Romitan.

Sivanj, Mughkān and Khujāda have been hypothetically identified with specific archaeological sites in the south-western quadrant of the oasis.

Bānāb has been safely identified with a site in the centre of the oasis. As a consequence, the 'Arvān canal cannot have been located in the north of the oasis but occupied a very central position south of Vobkent between the Zarafshan and Shahrud rivers.

Jūy-i Mūliyān: The location of the Samanid villa at Jūy-i Mūliyān, famously referred to in Rūdakī's poem, is identified with the site of the summer palace of the amirs of Bukhara at Mohi Sitara Khossa in the northern suburbs of Bukhara.

⁴ For a conceptual reappraisal of imperial peripheries and border zones, see Rollinger 2021. I thank R. Rollinger for providing a pre-publication copy of his article.

This study of the historical topography is only a first step towards a landscape history of the oasis of Bukhara. While such a landscape history still requires considerable further research, which could not be achieved in the present study, the introductory sections provide some guidelines and orientation points, the focus being on the antique and early medieval periods. The first part stresses the importance of a differential analysis of the perspectives on the oasis and its regional setting in various textual and historical traditions.

2 Historical Framework

2.1 *Bukhara and Sogdiana: The Emergence of a Historical Landscape in Antiquity*

The oasis system of Bukhara on the lower course of the Zarafshan River appears relatively late in the textual record. The earliest certain written reference to the region of Bukhara dates to the first half of the 7th century CE. It has been posited that Bukhara (under the name Nōkmetan) is mentioned in the late 2nd- or early 3rd-century CE inscriptions of Kultoba in southern Kazakhstan, but this hypothesis cannot be substantiated (see below section 2.4). The hypothetical dating of the earliest so-called Bukharkhudat coins to the 5th century is also problematic (see below section 2.4). References to earlier periods in later texts seem largely to be learned retrojections, with the possible exception of older local traditions preserved in the 10th-century *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*. Bearing the current state of knowledge of the written record in mind, the gradual emergence of Bukhara as a historical landscape since the 4th/3rd century BCE and its relations and interactions with the larger regional and transregional contexts of Transoxiana and the north-eastern Iranian plateau must rely on the evidence of material culture. It is nevertheless important to approach the oasis of Bukhara through the written record that touches on Central Asia from different sides until Bukhara finally materialises on the textual map of the region a few decades before it began to be integrated into the early Islamic empire in the 8th century. While the archaeological evidence shows how the oasis as a natural environment and a human-managed space as we know it today begins to take shape in the 4th/3rd century BCE,⁵ the late appearance of Bukhara in the written record is indicative of a relatively slow integration of the lower Zarafshan into the transregional communications networks conventionally and conveniently described as the Silk Roads. Material culture provides substantial evidence

about the dynamic developments of settlements in the oasis between the 3rd century BCE and the 8th century CE.⁶ This development obviously required and stimulated regional connections and exchange relations. But it is only towards the end of Phase 3 of the evolution of settlements according to Rante and Mirzaakhmedov (2019) that Bukhara fully emerges in the textual record. The late appearance of textual evidence regarding the oasis cannot be simply dismissed as a result of poor textual production or transmission but has to be considered in its historical context.

With the first certain textual evidence for the oasis of Bukhara in the 7th century, a rich and varied but complicated textual record sets in. The final sections of this chapter try to grasp the substantial internal changes that the oasis appears to have undergone in the first four centuries of the Islamic period, leading – broadly speaking – from a polycentric structure with various urban focal points, such as Kumijkent in the north-east of the oasis, to the emergence of the city of Bukhara as the primary (if still not unique) pole of the oasis, to the extent that the name of the oasis, Bukhara, became largely identified with its new metropolis.

The following survey of the early textual evidence will be presented here in roughly chronological sequence, but separately for the Old and Middle Iranian, Greek, Chinese and Arabic-Persian traditions. Neither the Chinese historians and travellers nor the Muslim geographers actually depict the human-geographic realities of any given period, but they present pragmatic or ideal visions of landscapes. These visions are mostly framed within notions of governance and society that originated outside the region. The Chinese and Muslim views of Transoxiana outlined in the following section are different, but not so much because they are based on radically different sources. They were informed by local knowledge. Reflections of Western (Greek) sources in Chinese texts and Chinese sources in Muslim texts have been identified (Hirth 1885). In an abstract sense, the Chinese and Muslim texts share the general framework of integrating peripheral areas into an imperial setting. But when it comes to historical contextualisations, the differences between Chinese and early Islamic conceptions of imperial and local society and governance outweigh the similarities.

2.2 *The Achaemenid and Early Post-Achaemenid Record (Late 6th to 3rd Century BCE)*

The written record on the riverine oases north of the Oxus – Transoxiana for short – begins as early as the 6th

⁵ Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 25.

⁶ Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 35–47.

century BCE with the occurrence of the toponym/ethnonym Sogd in the late 6th-century BCE Achaemenid royal inscriptions from Western Iran. For the second half of the first millennium BCE, Achaemenid materials in Old Persian and Aramaic, Greek historical and geographical texts and the Chinese dynastic chronicle *Hanshu* (recording events to 23 CE) offer textual evidence on Eastern Transoxiana, including the middle basin of the Zarafshan River and the Qashqadarya basin. They do not provide data to complement the archaeological evidence for the emergence of a sustained human occupation of the lower Zarafshan basin – the Bukhara and Qarakul oasis system – that set in around the 3rd century BCE.⁷

Nevertheless, a brief general discussion of Transoxiana from the perspective of those sources is pertinent to a study of the emergence of the lower Zarafshan basin as a historical landscape. It is common to use the term Sogdiana for the entire region defined by the riverine oases of the Zarafshan and Qashqadarya rivers and the surrounding area, from the Amu Darya in the south-west to the Syr Darya in the north-east, since the Iron Age.⁸ From an archaeological and linguistic viewpoint, this is a useful definition. It allows the diachronic study of the dynamics of material culture in a coherent area. At the end of this process, before the beginning of Islamisation, this area constituted a coherent space defined by a common “Sogdic” linguistic and material-cultural horizon, and to some degree perhaps even similar or converging forms of social-political organisation.⁹

From a historical-geographic viewpoint, this definition is too vague.¹⁰ When the historical record sets in with the Achaemenid conquest of Central Asia in the late 6th century BCE, Sogdiana as an ethnic-administrative entity appears to have excluded the lower Zarafshan, and initially perhaps even the lower Qashqadarya valleys. On the

other hand, it probably did reach further east/south-east into the Pamir-Badakhshan region.¹¹ On the threshold of Islamisation, the lower Zarafshan and Qashqadarya valleys may have become thoroughly Sogdicised, but as a historical-geographic entity it had been reduced to the upper and middle Zarafshan, from the Samarkand area in the west to the last Sogdian strongholds in the Turkestan and Zarafshan mountain ranges. In other words, any study of Bukhara as a historical landscape should distinguish between Sogdiana as a historical-administrative region and the Sogdic area that Bukhara was increasingly integrated into from the early Iron Age on. However, even if Bukhara was not part of Sogdiana proper, it is nevertheless important to trace the textual record for Sogdiana from the early Iron Age to the onset of the Islamic conquests in order to properly frame the shaping of Bukhara as a historical landscape.

Sogdiana appears for the first time in the written record in the early Achaemenid period in imperial inscriptions as *Sug(u)da*.¹² The importance of these inscriptions, which date to the late 6th century BCE, lies not only in their early date. They provide conclusive evidence about the location of Iron Age, pre-Hellenistic Sogdiana, evidence that finds affirmation in later texts dating to the transition from the Achaemenid to the post-Achaemenid period (Aramaic documents and Greek geography and historiography). The Achaemenid and early Hellenistic evidence places Sogdiana in the Hisor, Zarafshan and Turkestan mountain ranges and their foothills and valleys: the upper Zarafshan river valley at its centre, the river valleys leading south to the Panj, and the northern foothills and smaller valleys of the Turkestan range. In the west it included the wide and fertile valleys around Samarkand, Kish (Shahrisabz) and Nakhshab/Nasaf (near modern Qarshi). Its southern border was the Oxus, which appears to have been considered the boundary, or rather which defined the extended border zone between Sogdiana and Bactriana. The eastern boundaries were ill defined. Eratosthenes places the “Sakai and Sogdianoï and all their territory [...] opposite India, although the Bactrians only for a small distance, for they are mostly along the Paropamisos [i.e., the

7 Rante, Fouache and Mirzaakhmedov 2016.

8 See for example Parzinger 2016: 678–79 (earlier Iron Age, 9th–3rd century BCE; and 813–15, later Iron Age, from around 200 BCE). For the Neolithic and Bronze Age, Parzinger uses the purely geographical term “Zerevshan”, while he describes it with the ethno-cultural term Sogdiana from the earlier Iron age on. The reason for the shift from a geographic to a “cultural” subchapter heading – the only non-geographic one used in the entire book – seems to be the appearance of Sogdiana in the Achaemenid historical record.

9 I use Sogdiana only in its specific historical-geographical sense and Sogdic as short-script for a broadly understood “Sogdic cultural horizon”. The “Sogdic area” thus includes, for example, Bukhara. The description of the oasis system of Bukhara as “Western Sogdiana”, deeply rooted in academic usage, is misleading and should be abandoned.

10 Ptolemy (*Geography* 6.12.4) has an even wider definition of Sogdiana.

11 Posch 1995: 21. I am following Grillot-Susini (1990: 215, 218) in accepting that the reference to Sugud in the early Achaemenid Susa foundation charter as a source of *lapis lazuli* – found in antiquity only in Badakhshan in mines located close to the southern bank of the Panj River – is better explained by assuming an eastern extension of Sogdiana than by an error of transmission (Fleming 1982: 81) or by taking it as possible evidence for the role of Sogdians as traders at this early time (see the discussion in de la Vaissière 2005: 18–20).

12 DSf §10 in Schmitt 2009: 132; DB §6 in Schmitt 1991: 50. On the early attestations of **suyd*, see Tremblay 2004: 133.

Hindukush)].¹³ Strabo replicates this information in the section on Bactriana, where he writes even more clearly: “Sogdiana [was] situated above Bactriana *towards the east* between the Oxus River [...] and the Iaxartes River” (my italics).¹⁴ This indicates that the Sogdian territory was understood to extend further east than Bactriana, including the Pamir and possibly parts of (Afghan) Badakhshan.¹⁵

On the other hand, there is no evidence in Achaemenid and early Hellenistic sources that Sogdiana included the lower reaches of the Zarafshan River. Even the lower Qashqadarya Oasis may have become a strong, fortified border outpost of Sogdiana only in the late Achaemenid period. Documentary evidence of fortification works

undertaken in the second half of the 4th century BCE at Nakhshapaya (medieval Nakhshab/Nasaf, close to modern Qarshi) and Kish (Shahrisabz), supported by archaeological evidence, point in this direction. “Vanguard [post]” (la garde d'en avant) has been suggested as a possible etymology for the toponym Nakhshapaya.¹⁶

The story of the betrayal of Bessos/Artaxerxes IV by Spitamenes at Nautaca in Sogdiana places the Qashqadarya Oasis close to the boundaries between Sogdiana and the Massagetes and Saca: from Nautaca, which is commonly assumed to be located in the Kish area, the Sogdian leader retreated directly to the area controlled by the Massagetes and Saca.¹⁷ This would place the lower Zarafshan basin (including Bukhara) outside Achaemenid Sogdiana into the vaguely defined, geographically and topographically diverse Massagete/Saca sphere.¹⁸

The Old Persian, Aramaic and Greek evidence outlined so far relates to the period from the late 6th to the 3rd century BCE, i.e., the Achaemenid and early post-Achaemenid period before the emergence of eastern post-Seleucid polities (Graeco-Bactrian and Parthian) in the mid-3rd century BCE. For this early period, the written record offers no information on the lower Zarafshan beyond its inclusion into a vaguely defined area of Massagete/Saca domination.¹⁹

2.3 *The Earliest Chinese Evidence (2nd Century BCE to 1st Century CE)*

The eastern trans-Oxian area – the Sogdiana of the Achaemenid and early Hellenistic period – appears in Chinese annals from the early Han period (207 BCE–6/9 CE). In their efforts to confront the nomad Xiongnu Empire that dominated the northern and north-western borderlands of the Han Empire, the Han rulers strove to establish diplomatic ties with the Yuezhi. The latter had migrated west and then towards the Oxus region in Central Asia in the first half of the 2nd century BCE to evade Xiongnu pressure. Zhang Qian, an envoy of Han Emperor Wudi, reached the Yuezhi in ca. 128 BCE in their recently occupied new

- 13 Eratosthenes 108 (IIIB20, IIIB63) in Strabo 1960–67: 11.8.8–9, p. 98. On the meaning of “lying opposite” as being located on the same latitude or (in this case) longitude, see Roller 2010: 4 – Alram 1986; as well as Rollinger 2014: 597 aptly apply the term “Sogdian-Bactrian borderland” or “Sogdian-Bactrian border zone” to this area.
- 14 Strabo 1960–67: 11.11.2, as translated by Jones. Eratosthenes (lived from before 270 BCE to around 194 BCE) appears to be the source not only for the explicit quote in the section on Sogdiana but also for the wording in the section on Bactriana.
- 15 This is not the place for an in-depth discussion of the eastern boundaries of Achaemenid Sogdiana as they appear in Greek sources, but a few observations may be in order. Arrian (1976: 4.15.7) and Curtius Rufus (2016: 7.10.13–15) describe Alexander’s passage in 328 BCE from Bactriana into Sogdiana as a crossing of the Oxus (Arrian) River or the rivers Oxus and Ochos (Curtius Rufus). Grenet and Rapin (1998) convincingly equate the Oxus with the modern Vakhsh and the Ochos with the modern Panj and propose that the crossing took place near their confluence in the vicinity of Takht-e Sangin, identified by Grenet and Rapin with Ptolemy’s Oxeiana. There is no clear indication, though, that the Oxus/Vakhsh (rather than the Ochos/Panj) would always or strictly have been considered the (south-)eastern boundary of Sogdiana. Ptolemy (6.12.5) includes Cholbesina (var. Chombesina) “on the Oxos” among the mountain towns of Sogdiana. If Cholbesina is to be identified with Hulbuk near Kulob, as Tomaschek (1877: 100) already suggested and Grenet and Rapin accept, then the area east of the Vakhsh (and north of the Panj) would still have been considered Sogdiana. This would support the hypothetical extension of Achaemenid Sogdiana to the Pamir/Badakhshan area, which may have constituted a borderland without clearly defined boundaries. As a matter of fact, this situation of Iron Age Sogdiana finds support in the 3rd-century CE Sasanian inscription on the Ka’ba-ye Zardusht, see below. In addition to Grenet and Rapin, see the still fundamental studies by Bernard and Francfort (1978) and Briant (1984). Holt’s critique of the notion of the Oxus (or Ochos) as an “official boundary-line between Bactria and Sogdiana” and his observations on the fluidity of boundaries in general are to the point. He goes too far, though, in rejecting that Sogdiana and Bactriana were two clearly separate geographic notions in antiquity. They were fairly well defined on the (mental) map, even if their border areas may have been vague (especially in the west and east) and fluctuating (especially in the south). For further references to sources and literature, see Holt 1988: 20–23.

- 16 Shaked and Naveh 2012: documents A4 and A5; Shaked 2004: 31; 2003.
- 17 Arrian 1976: 3.28.16, 19.12, 30.1. Strabo (1960–67: 11.8.8) specifies that Spitamenes went to the Massagete/Saca tribes of the Attasii (Augasii in Stephanos of Byzantium) and Choresmians. On the location of Nautaca, see Grenet and Rapin 1998: 88 n.42.
- 18 See the description in Strabo 1960–67: 11.8.8.
- 19 This is not only true for Eratosthenes, whose *Geographika* is the source for the relevant section in Strabo, but also for at least some of Ptolemy’s detailed information on “mountain towns” in Sogdiana, which – as Grenet and Rapin (1998: 85) argue – may preserve “traces of [...] itineraries” of military columns of Alexander’s campaign.

home north of the Oxus in present-day southern Tajikistan (Posch 1995: 84–88). The account of his diplomatic mission is recorded in Sima Qian's *Shiji*.²⁰ The *Shiji* contains the earliest direct Chinese reports on Fergana and Bactria, as well as references to Parthia (Anxi), and implicitly to the Zarafshan and Qashqadarya river basins. Zhang Qian's route led from the Ferghana valley (including contact with the Kangju, probably in the Chach/Tashkent area) south to Bactria (Daxia). This itinerary would have led him through the Sogdiana of the Achaemenid and Hellenistic period, but he does not explicitly mention it.

The migrations that brought the Yuezhi to the upper Oxus region in the middle decades of the 2nd century BCE deeply affected Eastern Iran and Central Asia, including its more peripheral areas, such as the lower Zarafshan basin. Imitations of tetradrachms of the Graeco-Bactrian King Euthydemus I (ca. 235–200 BCE), with legends partially or entirely in (Sogdian) Aramaic script, have been plausibly associated with this period and with the Bukhara region. If these tetradrachms were minted in the Bukhara Oasis, as has been suggested on the basis of the distribution and (limited) archaeological context of coin finds, it would be the earliest locally produced coinage in the lower Zarafshan basin, and it would indicate the presence of an authority in the Bukhara region that was able to issue consistently high-grade silver coins.²¹ Unfortunately, neither the chronological range nor the regional attribution of the Ps.-Euthydemus series or the later Hyrcodes series (and related coinage), which has also been attributed to the Bukhara region and to chronological ranges from the 2nd century BCE to the 1st–4th centuries CE, are sufficiently certain to draw conclusions on the political situation in the Bukhara Oasis.²²

The Chinese sources on the “Western Regions” have been subject to intensive philological and historical debate. This is not the place for a systematic review of the literature, but a critical outline of the significance of the early Chinese record on Transoxiana is in order.²³ The narrative texts dating from or referring to the Han period – the *Shiji* (around 100 BCE), the *Hanshu* (completed in 121 CE) and the 5th-century CE *Hou Hanshu* – describe Transoxiana in a period that is marked by the political changes triggered by the mid-2nd-century BCE migrations in Central Asia and the rise of the Parthians as the predominant political power on the Iranian plateau. The initially small but strategically located and expanding Kangju confederation in the middle Syr Darya basin and the Yuezhi in the upper Oxus basin dominated the political landscape between Ferghana/Dayuan in the north and Bactria/Daxia in the south and thus controlled two areas of primary strategic interest to China: access points from China to Central Asia and from Central Asia to South Asia and the Iranian plateau. Sogdiana was sandwiched between these two zones. It is hardly surprising that Sogdiana is mostly only indirectly visible in the early Chinese record.

Of crucial importance, but still not fully resolved, is the question of the relationship between Kangju and Sogdiana and the southern expansion of Kangju influence between the late 2nd century BCE and the early 1st century CE.²⁴ In the late 2nd century BCE, the *Shiji* describes Kangju as a small polity, one of two regional entities beyond Dayuan that sent envoys to the Han court, the other one being Suxie. Whether one interprets Suxie as Sogdiana or Kish, these embassies imply that the area south of Kangju towards the Oxus (i.e., Sogdiana) was not

20 Written in the early first century BCE and covering the period up to around 100 BCE. On the *Shiji*, and in particular chapter 123, see Posch 1995: 54–80.

21 Masson 1982: 100; Zeimal 1983: 252–53; Alam 1986: 271–75. Masson dates the series to the early 2nd century BCE and attributes it to an authority that had seceded from its former Graeco-Bactrian overlords (a hypothesis that is grounded in Masson's conviction that the early Graeco-Bactrian Empire included the entire Zarafshan basin). Zeimal suggests a later and longer date range from the 1st century BCE to the 4th century CE. Alam's second half of the 2nd century date range appears to be the most plausible. So far, the attribution to the Bukhara Oasis has not been challenged.

22 Hypothetical attributions and dates of the Hyrcodes series include the following: 3rd/2nd century BCE, autonomous ruler in “Western Sogd” (Musakaeva 2004; 2010: 170. Earlier, Musakaeva had dated the series to the 2nd century BCE until the 4th century CE, Musakaeva 1991: 12–13); second half of the 2nd century BCE, Sogdian-Bactrian borderland (Alam 1986: 282ssq.); 2nd/1st century BCE to 4th century CE, Bukhara (Rtveladze 1999: 30–31;

Lo Muzio 2009: 44–45 adopts Rtveladze's chronology); 1st to 4th century CE (?), unidentified region (Naimark 1991: 162). Zeimal (1983: 252) insists on a geographical attribution to the greater Bukhara region but remains vague on the chronology. While it is plausible that the effects of the emergence of (new) nomadic tribal confederations in the middle of the 2nd century BCE extended directly or indirectly to the lower Zarafshan basin, the specific assumption of the existence of two “separate kingdoms” in the Bukhara Oasis between the 2nd century BCE and the 4th century CE, an autochthonous one that issued the Euthydemus imitations in the oasis proper and a segment of the Yuezhi confederation in the south/south-west of Bukhara (Kumsotvan micro-oasis), as suggested by Rtveladze (1999: 31) (accepted by Lo Muzio 2009: 45), is purely hypothetical.

23 Hulsewé 1979. Cf. also Wakeman 1990. The most recent systematic contribution is Huber 2020, which contains useful editions and translations of the relevant sources. For important source-critical observations, see Posch 1995. Fundamental for the contextualisation is de la Vaissière (2005: especially 24 sqq.).

24 De la Vaissière 2005: 27. The identification of Duyuan with Ferghana is beyond doubt, see *ibid.*

yet incorporated into Kangju (Hulsewé 1979: 130 and n. 320 with references to earlier literature). Reflecting the situation about a century later, the *Hanshu* touches on the region in a lengthy description of Kangju, apparently a confederation of sedentary and nomadic communities centred on the oases and pastures north of the (middle) Syr Darya from Chach in the south to the Qaratau range in the north.²⁵ *Hanshu* 96A lists five vassal principalities of Kangju, which have been seen as evidence for a southward expansion of Kangju across the Syr Darya, and hence Kangju political domination over Sogdiana, already in that period.²⁶ This interpretation apparently finds confirmation in the description in the *Hanshu* of Anxi (Parthia) as sharing a border with Kangju (Huber 2020: 17). However, none of the five vassal principalities of Kangju at the beginning of the Common Era can be located with certainty, and the first explicit reference to Kangju suzerainty over Sogdiana appears only in the 5th-century *Hou Hanshu*. This note in the *Hou Hanshu* is the first explicit mention of Sogd that can be identified with certainty in Chinese sources.²⁷

The expansion of Kangju power over Sogdiana (middle Zarafshan basin and Qashqadarya basin) around the turn of the modern era is currently the most plausible working hypothesis,²⁸ but the lower Zarafshan basin still is largely beyond the horizon of Han-period Chinese travellers and interests, unless one interprets the description of the merchant population “from Dayuan west to Anxi”

as a reference to a trade route through Bukhara (and/or through the Qashqadarya basin) to Marw.²⁹

2.4 A Sasanian Presence in Bukhara?

Phase 3 of the settlement history of the oasis (3rd to 8th centuries) coincides with a period in which strategic interests of major military, political and commercial players from outside the region – Sasanians, Chinese, Chinonites, Hephthalites, Western Turks and finally Muslims – converged on the region north of the Oxus. These competitive and often contentious interests left their traces in the written record, mostly in reports on embassies or of military conflicts.³⁰ Archaeological evidence for major military fortification structures have been specifically hypothesised as evidence for Sasanian influence or even direct control of the oasis of Bukhara, at least temporarily in the 3rd century.³¹ The primary textual source that has been cited in support of this hypothesis is the Sasanian royal inscription of Shāpūr I (r. 241–72 CE) at the Ka’ba-yi Zardusht (šKZ) in Naqsh-i Rostam, Fars. As will be shown in the following, neither this inscription nor other evidence adduced to back the hypothesis of Sasanian control in Transoxiana in general and in Bukhara specifically is conclusive. In the light of the available evidence, the extension of Sasanian power across the Oxus in any period of Sasanian history appears highly unlikely, supporting R. Payne’s apt observation that “despite the pretensions of Shapur I the Sasanians never managed to subordinate Samarkand, Bukhara, or other Sogdian centers”.³²

The trilingual Middle Persian (mp), Parthian (pa) and Greek (gr) inscription of the Sasanian king of kings Shāpūr I (r. 241–72 CE) at the Ka’ba-yi Zardusht (šKZ) at Naqsh-i Rostam provides a list of the provinces of the early Sasanian Empire. As north-eastern borderlands it mentions Kushānshahr (Bactria and the Hindukush)³³ “up to Peshawar and up to the borders of Kāshghar (?), Sogd (pa swgd, gr Σωδουκηνής) and Tashkent (Chāchestān)”. Two questions arise from this snapshot of the political situation in north-eastern Iran and Central Asia from an early

25 *Hanshu* 96A in Hulsewé 1979: 123–31. If *Shiji* 123 actually contains authentic information on the situation around the turn of the 1st century BCE, within a century Kangju grew from being a small state, presumably in the Chach area, and dominated by the Yuezhi and the Xiongnu in the 2nd/1st century BCE into a powerful independent state. For a translation, see Hirth 1917: 96. On the question of the relationship between *Shiji* 123 and *Hanshu* 96A, see the critical overview of earlier literature in Posch (1995: 67 ff.) and Honey (1999).

26 Stark 2009: 14; Yu 1998. The *Hanshu* places the five principalities in Kangju, which may imply that this passage refers to the main constituting principalities or communities of a Kangju confederation on the middle Syr Darya rather than on vassal principalities incorporated in the process of expansion. Only the mid-11th-century *Xin Tangshu* explicitly but anachronistically identifies the five dependencies of Kangju with places of which at least two can be safely located south of the Syr Darya, namely Ji = An 安 /Buhuo [Bukhara] and Suxie with Shi [Kish/Shahrisabz]. Grenet (in Grenet, Sims-Williams and Podushkin 2007: 1026), “Les plus anciens monuments de la langue sogdienne”, while being very cautious regarding the identification of the five principalities, nevertheless retains that “Suxie [...] est sans doute la Sogdiane”.

27 Chavannes 1907: 195 (where Li-yi is to emended to Su-yi); Enoki 1955: 51; Huber 2020: 19; Shiratori 1928: 92.

28 De la Vaissière 2005: 38.

29 Huber 2020: 14. For a discussion of this passage see de la Vaissière 2005: 26–28.

30 See Grenet (2002) for an excellent critical discussion of the Kidarite–Hephthalite period. For recent insightful reviews and reconceptualisations, see Payne (2016) and Wiesehöfer and Rollinger (2020).

31 The hypothesis of Sasanian control over Bukhara and the lower Zarafshan region has been most strongly presented by Naymark, based on the numismatic evidence (Naymark 1987), and by Omelchenko (2012), on the basis of excavations in Paykent. Cf. also Stark and Mirzaakhmedov 2016.

32 Payne 2016: 7.

33 Huyse 1999: 32–35.

Sasanian perspective. Were those borderlands, including Sogdiana, considered to lie inside or outside Sasanian lands? And what geographic area does Sogdiana stand for in this context?

The first question can be considered as settled on philological grounds. The wording of the inscription indicates that Peshawar, Kāshghar (?), Sogdiana and Tashkent were considered to lie beyond the confines of Sasanian possessions and hence were not under Sasanian control in the second half of the 3rd century.³⁴

The second question is more complicated. It has been argued that Shapur, in order to reach the confines of Sogdiana (šKZ §3), would have had to occupy Bukhara.³⁵ This is based on the assumption that the natural approach from Khurasan to Central Asia would have been through Marw and Bukhara. But šKZ §3 indicates a different perspective, namely an approach from Kushanshahr/Bactria, not from Marw. This is an important point to be kept in mind: The Sasanians' strategic perspective of Transoxiana was mainly centred on Kushanshahr/Bactria, not on Marw. This becomes particularly evident in the contentious relations between Sasanians and Hephthalites in the second half of the 5th century, culminating in the captivity and ransom (in 474 CE?) of the Sasanian King Peroz and then his death in battle in 484 CE.³⁶ The military encounters between Peroz and the Hephthalites involved mainly the area of Hephthalite interest south of the Oxus: possibly Margiana, but mainly Bactria.

If one accepts Huyse's interpretation of Kāsh (pa k'š, gr. Καç) as Kāshghar rather than Kish,³⁷ a picture of the lands north of Kushānshahr emerges that is very similar to the geography of the Achaemenid and (early) Hellenistic period described above. Sogdiana borders the Tashkent area in the north (with the Syr Darya as the border). In the east it borders Kashghar, implying a border area in the Badakhshan/Pamir highlands. The Kashkadaryā valley would probably have been part of Sogdiana, as in the late Achaemenid/early Hellenistic Greek record. The area formed by Sogdiana, Kashghar and Chach represents the view from Bactria, not from Marw. The šKZ inscription still provides no evidence on the lower, western course of the Zarafshan, i.e., the Bukhara/Qarakul region. It should also be noted that the province names in šKZ are not arranged

in a way that would support a direct connection between Marw and Sogdiana in the 3rd century.³⁸

The narrative of a fugitive Sasanian prince named Shāpūr in the *Tārikh-i Bukhārā*, which is used to explain the name of the Shāfurkām River, has been understood as supporting evidence for early Sasanian influence or even a temporary Sasanian occupation of Bukhara by Shāpūr I.³⁹ Naymark considers the reference to Shāpūr folk etymology but still seems to accept the historicity of the presence of an unidentified Sasanian prince in the oasis.⁴⁰ Lurje defends an etymological connection with Shāpūr and considers Shāfurkām "a Middle-Persian and ultimately Sasanian place-name".⁴¹ While Lurje's etymological arguments are sound, the historical arguments in favour of considering a Sasanian presence in Bukhara are not convincing.

Possible evidence for Sasanian influence appears in the adoption and adaptation of Sasanian design on smaller silver and copper coins that have been dated to a chronological range from the 4th/5th to the 5th/6th centuries and attributed to the oasis of Bukhara.⁴² Some of the coins display the title and name of a ruler, either "Mawāk" (on coins attributed to the 4th or 4th/5th century) or "Asbar" (on coins attributed to the 5th or 5th/early 6th century). Different versions of an image of a fire altar in combination with the so-called "Bukharan tamga" appear on various issues of these series.⁴³ It has been argued that the adoption of a bi-metallic regional currency with a Sasanian-inspired iconography speaks for direct Sasanian control over the oasis of Bukhara for an extended period of time.⁴⁴ In the case of an incorporation of the lower Zarafshan basin into the Sasanian Empire, however, one would rather expect official Sasanian coin production.

A group of Wahram v drachms of high fineness, with the mint signature for Marw, has been tentatively tied to Bukhara in the numismatic literature. Loginov and

34 Grenet and Sims-Williams 1987: 113 n.50; Huyse 1999: 37.

35 Lurje 2006.

36 Schindel 2006; Heidemann 2015. For a general historical overview, see Sinor 1990. On Marw in the Sasanian period, see Puschnigg 2006: esp. 18–29.

37 Huyse 1999: 36–37. Huyse's interpretation is now widely accepted and finds further support in the argumentation of this section.

38 Marw is included in the "Khurasan" group of provinces (Marw, Herat and Abarshahr), then follow the south-eastern provinces Kermān, Sagestān (Sīstān), Tūrān, Makrān, Pārdān and Hindustān (Sindh), and only then the north-eastern province of Kushānshahr with its borderlands.

39 Lurje 2006, with further references.

40 Naymark 2001: 291.

41 Lurje 2004: 184; and Lurje 2006: 41f.

42 Alam 1986: 279–80 ("König v") and 280–81 ("König v1"). Alam dates the emissions of ruler ("König") v – "Mawāk" – to the 4th century and ruler v1 – "Asbar" – to the 4th/5th century; Naimark (1995) and Naimark (1991: 162) dates Mawāk to the late 4th/early 5th century and Asbar to the 5th/6th century.

43 The readings of the names are uncertain and are given here in a conventional form.

44 Naimark 1995; Omelchenko 2012.

Nikitin consider them genuine Sasanian coins of the mint of Marw and brought forth the hypothesis of extraordinary emissions to meet the demand for indemnity or tribute payments.⁴⁵ Schindel argues that the series represents unofficial, imitative emissions that may have been briefly minted in Marw before the mint was moved at an unknown time to Bukhara, where the Wahram v imitations became the model for the Bukharkhudat coins.⁴⁶

Both hypotheses would fit the (limited) find evidence,⁴⁷ but either interpretation – official emission for extraordinary payments or unofficial imitative emissions – also speaks against direct Sasanian control of territories north of the Oxus in the mid-4th century. If the coins are imitative issues of a mint in the Bukhara region, the question of the responsible authority and the actual mint place arises.⁴⁸

In the absence of other written sources clearly referring to the lower Zarafshan basin, the numismatic record is the only window into the political history of the

pre-7th-century oasis of Bukhara. Neither the state of the documentation nor the discussion of the numismatic evidence has reached a level that would allow definitive conclusions. Even if a certain degree of consensus has been reached on the attribution of some coin series to the Bukhara region, and at least the relative chronological sequence of the major groups is evident, a number of fundamental issues remain unsolved. One is the question of the continuity and disruptions of coin production in the oasis. Attempts to construe a continuous history of local coin production since the turn of the 2nd century BCE create more problems than they solve. One should at least consider shorter chronological ranges and significant disruptions in coin production, as well as changing intensities of monetisation of the regional economy and varying degrees of integration into patterns of transregional coin circulation. Until such issues are resolved, historical contextualisation will remain hypothetical at best. Allowing for such disruptions and uncertainties in geographic and chronological attribution, perhaps one can dare to give the following broad outline. Autonomous coin production sets in probably around the middle of the 2nd century BCE with the Ps.-Euthydemus tetradrachms. More tenuous is the attribution of smaller silver (drachm and obol) currency to Bukhara, including issues with the name or title Hyrcodes. These coin types may not have been produced much beyond the 1st century BCE. Smaller silver and copper coins of a new type seem to have been produced in various Sogdian mints from the 1st century CE, but one has to wait until the 4th century CE for groups of coins that can plausibly – if still not certainly – be attributed to the Bukhara region. Issued by local authorities, these coins are typologically closely related to other Transoxanian and Transjaxartian (e.g., Chach) and Khwarazmian coinage from the 3rd to 5th (?) centuries, with the particularity of representations of a fire altar that is reminiscent of Sasanian coin design but shows very peculiar specifics. This design may reflect the general effect of Sasanian coinage on Eastern Iranian coin design or betray a more immediate Sasanian influence. How far into the 5th or even early 6th century these coins were produced, and how many mints and distinct polities were behind them, remains an open question. The production of imitations of drachms from Marw of Wahram v in Bukhara from the middle of the 5th century CE to the beginning of the earliest so-called Bukharkhudat coins is an interesting, but so far unsubstantiated, hypothesis. The Bukharkhudat series are actually the first coinage that can be attributed to the oasis of Bukhara without any doubt, but even here major challenges have yet to be resolved: the dating of the earliest series – which I would put rather late, not before

45 Loginov and Nikitin 1993.

46 Schindel 2004: 361, 497–501; Schindel, Baratova and Rtveladze 2012: 35; Schindel 2005. A remark in the *Hudūd al-Ālam* (1930; trans. 1937: 105), quoted by Schindel as evidence in support of a shift of seat of government (and mint) from Marw to Bukhara, certainly refers to the Samanid period, not to the 5th century. This does not devalue the numismatic arguments put forth by Schindel.

47 Only a few contextualised finds of Wahram v Marw/B drachms are documented in the literature. Sixty-seven Wahram v Marw/B drachms were discovered in an archaeological context at the citadel of Paykand, wrapped in a piece of cloth. This hoard also contained one “Iranian Hunnic” drachm (Peroz imitative), Schindel, Baratova and Rtveladze 2012: 22. A single drachm of this series was found in apparently a much younger setting, a 9th/10th-century pot, at site 0870, 5 km south of Old Vardanzi (site 0084) in the north of the oasis. Schindel, Baratova and Rtveladze 2012: 19.

48 The matter of chronology has also been raised: If the earliest Bukharkhudat issues were immediately modeled on imitative Wahram v (Marw) drachms, the series would have to have been continuously minted over a period of time. The length of this period depends on when the Bukharkhudat series sets in. As there is growing consensus that the Bukharkhudat coins were not minted before the later 6th, perhaps even the late 7th, century, this would imply an emission period for this group of imitative Wahram v (Marw) coins of up to 250 years. In light of the constantly high quality and silver content, this hypothesis would require substantiation through additional evidence on circulation. It would also require an explanation for the stability of the series, despite the political upheavals of the second half of the 5th and the 6th centuries. But the fact that the earliest Bukharkhudat coins were modelled on Wahram v drachms, and – as Schindel convincingly shows – probably on the (imitative?) Marw drachms, does not necessarily require the continuity of mint activity nor even the minting of the imitative Wahram v (Marw) drachms in Bukhara.

the second half of the 7th century – the number and location of mints, and the duration of production in the early Islamic period. However, as the corpus of Bukharkhudat coins is much bigger, better documented and historically embedded, further study of the typology and circulation of Bukharkhudat coins may also yield clues for earlier monetary practices in the Zarafshan basin.

However, one pattern emerges: Until its incorporation into the Islamic caliphate, the oasis of Bukhara appears to have been characterised by local power structures and only occasionally and peripherally controlled by larger neighbours, such as Yuezhi/Kushans, Kidarites, Hephthalites or Western Turks, and probably never by the Sasanians, at least not directly. This is not to say that the emergence and presence of these larger powers would not have had a deep impact on the oasis. Apart from the dynamics of colonisation from the middle Zarafshan (and the Qashqadarya) basin (“Sogdiana”) or beyond, it is plausible to assume that the nomadic tribal confederations, and to a lesser extent the Sasanians, left their mark not just on population and material culture but on the ideology, organisation and perhaps also “personnel” of governance.⁴⁹

*Excursus: Niumi/Numijkat/Nokmitan/Namit/
Bukhara*

The sources discussed so far yield no direct information on the toponymy and historical geography of the lower Zarafshan basin for the millennium from the late 6th century BCE to the late 6th century CE. Only the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, written in the 10th century and translated and revised in the 12th century CE, contains traditions on various settlements that may in part go back to at least the 5th century CE. Notably, the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* mentions an earlier name for the city of Bukhārā, “Nūmijkath”.⁵⁰ This assertion of a name change, which is reflected in other sources from the 10th century CE on, appears to find support in a note in later Chinese texts on the name of Bukhara in the Wei period (4th–6th century CE), Niumi (忸密 var. 忸蜜). It has been suggested that the Sogdian toponym rendered in Chinese by Niumi was either Numij/č[kath] or Nokmethan. During archaeological excavations at Kultobe in southern Kazakhstan in 2005 and 2006, fragments of Sogdian inscriptions were discovered that referred to four Sogdian cities, Samarkand,

Kish, Nakhshab and Nokmethan. This inscription has been understood by archaeologists, historians and linguists as a reference to Bukhara and its alleged old name Nokmethan, supported by the Chinese reference to the name of Bukhara in the Wei period.⁵¹ The Kultobe inscriptions have been preliminarily dated to the late 2nd to 3rd or early 4th centuries CE.⁵² The Kultoba inscription is therefore widely regarded as containing the earliest direct reference to the city of Bukhara as Nokmethan, or “new residence”.

A critical analysis of the sources, however, makes the hypothetical equation of Nokmetan (Kultobe) and Niumi (Chinese sources) and its identification with Bukhara much less certain.

The identification of the toponym Niū mì (忸密 var. 忸蜜) of Chinese sources with the toponym Būmijkat/Nūmijkat of the Arab geographers goes back at least to the 19th-century Russian scholar Peter Lerch. In the critical apparatus to his 1877 edition of al-Maqdisī’s (al-Muqaddasī) *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, De Goeje explains that “[...] the most learned Lerch told me the correct reading [i.e., Nūmijkath with initial *nūn*]. The Chinese call the city Numi, and Narshakhī has also Nūmijkath [...]”.⁵³ The reading of Kultoba inscriptions no. 4 and no. 10 by Nicholas Sims-Williams has been understood as confirming the ancient name Nokmethan (“new residence” in Sogdian) for Bukhara. Nokmethan appears in Kultobe inscription no. 4 in a list of four major Sogdian political-military entities, three of which are well attested in antiquity as the main urban centres of Sogdiana: Samarkand, Kish and Nakhshab. The fourth, Nokmethan, was identified by Sims-Williams and Grenet with Bukhara.⁵⁴ The toponym Bukhara itself does not appear in the Kultobe inscription. By identifying Nokmethan in the Kultobe inscription with the city of Bukhara, Grenet and Sims-Williams follow

49 Omelchenko (2012) adds further material, such as the find of a pendant made in antiquity from a coin of Shāpūr I during excavations on the citadel of Paykent, but this does not prove the integration of Paykent into the Sasanian Empire.

50 See the discussion of “Nūmijkath” and variants in the gazetteer, s.v. Kumijkath.

51 Grenet, Sims-Williams and Podushkin 2007.

52 Sims-Williams suggests an even earlier date than the early 4th-century CE Sogdian Ancient Letters, and Grenet more specifically proposes dating the inscriptions as early as the late 2nd or early 3rd century CE. Grenet, Sims-Williams and Podushkin 2007: 1025. Shenkar suggests a chronological correlation with coins of Chach dated to the second half of the 3rd to early 4th centuries, Shenkar 2020: 367.

53 “B supra in catalogo سوچک, infra موحث. Apud Ist. et Ibn-H. recepti Būmiḡkat, sed veram lectionem me docuit D^{mus} Lerch. Sinenses nempe urbem apellant Numi et Narshakhī habet quoque Numidschketh. Lectionem nostri facere pro Nūmuḡkaṭ observavi p. vg.”, De Goeje, ed., al-Maqdisī 1906 (BGA 3): 269, n.b (ad Numūjakath).

54 Grenet, Sims-Williams and Podushkin 2007: 1024.

the lead of Markwart.⁵⁵ Markwart interpreted Niumi as the Chinese rendering of the Sogdian *Nokmethan and pointed to the identification of Niumi as the name of Wei-period Bukhara in Chinese annals.⁵⁶ Identifying Nokmethan in the Kultobe inscription with the 4th/5th-century capital city of Bukhara, as apparently confirmed by Chinese sources, appears at first sight historically plausible. It would have made Bukhara part of a union of four Sogdian city(-states), jointly with the three other city names listed in the Kultobe 4 inscription, namely Samarkand, Kish and Nakhshab.⁵⁷ The inclusion of Bukhara (as Nokmethan) in this tetrapolis, as Grenet calls it, would be of considerable historical importance, as it would move the attestation of its existence and role as principal city of the oasis of Bukhara and the inclusion of Bukhara in a Sogdian “tetrapolitan confederation” up in time by at least two, if not three, centuries.⁵⁸

Beginning with the *Weishu*, the history of the Northern and Eastern Wei from 386 to 550 CE, in their chapters on the Western lands Chinese chronicles include a country and city whose name is rendered 忸密 var. 忸蜜 (Niū mì in modern Beijing pronunciation) and whose Middle Chinese form has been reconstructed as *nruwk mit var. *nruwk mjit (Pulleyblank) and connected by Markwart with the Sogdian toponym Nokmethan, “new residence”.⁵⁹ Markwart showed that Niū mì 忸密 is a plausible Middle Chinese rendering of Sogdian *Nokmethan, but he separated it – against Lerch (and de Goeje) – from “Nūmijkath”, for which Markwart preferred the reading Būmijkath.⁶⁰ But while he rejected the identification of Niumi /

*Nokmethan with “Nūmijkath”,⁶¹ he accepted the identification of Niumi / *Nokmethan as the capital of the oasis of Bukhara in the Wei period, not as a variant of Numijkat but of Nami(t), the name of the Zarafshan in the *Suishu*, which, in turn, he understands as a Chinese rendering of a variant Nokmethan, namely Nā(u)-methan.⁶²

Apart from the fact that Nokmethan and Numijkath are two distinct toponyms, it is the context of Niumi in the Chinese sources that presents challenges and requires a reassessment of its identification with Bukhara in the Wei period. The *Weishu* and *Beishi* place Niumi west of Samarkand (Xī wàn jīn 悉萬斤 or Xī mò jīn 悉万斤), which fits of course the location of Bukhara in relation to Samarkand. The distance from the (Northern) Wei capital Dai, however, is given as 22,828 li for Niumi, as compared to 12,720 li for Samarkand, in other words, about 10,000 li (roughly 4,000 km) farther west than the Sogdian towns. Indications of distances (and directions) in the Chinese accounts of the western regions must be considered with the greatest caution, and any kind of confusion in the compilation of the information or the transmission of the text can be imagined. Regional measures that differ from the standard approximation of ca. 0.5 km for one *li* have been proposed as a possible solution.⁶³ There is one rea-

< Arabic *amīr* (異密 屈底波 yìmì qūdībō “(al-)amīr Qūṭayba”), cf. de la Vaissière 2007: 45.

55 Sims-Williams cited in Grenet, Sims-Williams and Podushkin 2007: 1024 and n.13.

56 Markwart 1938: 161–62, note.

57 Grenet cited in Grenet, Sims-Williams and Podushkin 2007: 1026; Stark 2018.

58 A village and a canal named Naumitan is recorded by Sitniakovskii south-west of Bukhara (1899b: 255–56), and the canal appears in the 14th-century *Bākharzī vaqfnāma* (Chekhovich 1965). The modern village (Navmetan or Navumetan) lies between two substantial sites (site 0002 and site 0003); on site 3, Hazrat-Qiz-Bibi tepa, stands the locally well-known shrine of Qiz Bibi. Adylov (2011: 68) suggests the identification of this site with the Nokmetan of the Kultoba inscription and with the Niumi of the Chinese sources, disassociating it at the same time from the toponym Nūmijkath. While Adylov is certainly correct in pointing to the importance of Hazrat-Qiz-Bibi tepa for the early settlement of the south-eastern area of the oasis – it may have preceded the actual Bukhara by several centuries – the identification of this site with Niumi or Nokmetan should be dismissed for the reasons given in this section.

59 For an English translation of the passage in the *Weishu*, see Huber 2020: 24.

60 Markwart 1938: 161–62, note. It may be noted in this context that 密 represents *mīr* in the Chinese rendering of the title *xamīr*

61 Stark (2018) considers Nokmethan “simply a variant spelling” of Nūmishkath, which is of course impossible.

62 Markwart 1938: 162, note. For an edition and English translation of the passage in the *Suishu*, see Huber 2020: 33. Markwart 1938: 152. Markwart (ibid: 162) construes on this basis a hypothetical (but in this linearity ahistorical) sequence of capitals of Bukhara, beginning with Nokmetan as the 5th-century capital, replaced in the course of the 6th century by Paikent, then relocated after an assumed conquest by Bahram Chūbin in 589 to Bukhara (which from now on appears under this name), where it remained except for a brief period after the middle of the 7th century when Ramitan was the see of a Tang prefect. Markwart also specifically identifies the city of Bukhara as the capital of An (oasis of Bukhara), mentioned in the 7th-century *Suishu* as being located south of the Namit (Zarafshan) River and 100 li (very roughly 40 km) east of Pi (Paikand). While it is highly likely that the *Suishu* here refers to the actual city of Bukhara, Markwart’s conclusion that the name of the city (not given in the *Suishu*) must have been Namit = Nokmetan is purely speculative. It is, however, imaginable that the compiler of the gloss in the *Xin Tangshu* merged Niumi – a place west of Samarkand – and Nami – mentioned in the *Suishu* as the name of the river next to the capital of the oasis – into a single gloss, making Niumi the capital of the oasis.

63 Stark 2021. Stark proposes a number of Central Asian locations for the toponyms in this list based on the hypothetical location of Niumi in the oasis of Bukhara and a regional measure of distance. However, apart from the difficulties of reading and identifying the place names, no hypothetical base unit for a regional

TABLE 16

Chinese	Pinyin	EMC (Pulleyblank)	Li from Dai	Geographic relations / Identification
忸密	Niǔ mì	*ŋuwk mit	22,828	W of Samarkand
波斯	Bō sī	*pa siǎ		W of Niumi Persia
宿利	Sù lì	*suwk li ^h	24,228	W of Niumi Seleucia
伏卢尼	Fú lú ní	*buwk lɔ ŋji	27,320	N of Bosi
牟知	Móu zhī ^a	*muw tʃiǎ	22,920	SW of Niumi
阿弗太汗	Ā/È fú tài hàn ^b	*a put tʰaj ^h fian ^h	23,720	W of Niumi
呼似密	Hū sì mì	*xɔ zi ^ʔ mit	24,700	W of A fu tai han
诺色波罗	Nuò sè bō luó	*nak ʃik pwa la	23,428	S of Niumi
波罗	Bō luó	*pwa la	23,428	S of Niumi
早伽至	Zǎo gā zhì	*tsaw ^ʔ gia ci ^h	23,728	W of Niumi

a The *Weishi* also mentions Moshui 沒誰, MC *mwəʔ dʒwi, 1,000 li south-west of Fuhuo (Bukhara?). This is probably a variant of Mou zhi.

b The *Weishi* also mentions Afushiqie 阿副使且, MC *ʔa pʰuw^h ʃi^x ʃʰia^x (*Beishi*: 阿富使且 MC *ʔa puw^h ʃi^x ʃʰia^x), 1,000 li east of Fuhuo (Bukhara?). This is probably a variant of A/E fu tai han.

son, though, why the number of 22,828 li should not be dismissed. The mention of Niumi is followed by a group of toponyms with similar distances, almost all of which are located in the text in relation to Niumi (see table below). The list includes Bosi with the capital Suli, west of Niumi; this is certainly Persia with the capital Ctesiphon, here rendered as Suli=Seleucia.⁶⁴ The following entry, Fuluni, likely refers to Fulun, the Chinese name for Byzantium since the Sui and Tang periods.⁶⁵ Fuluni is located not in relation to Niumi but to the north of Persia/Bosi. The six toponyms that follow – all located west, south-west or south of Niumi – have not yet been identified. The names in this list have two properties in common: Their location is indicated in relation to Niumi (with the exception of Fuluni), and their distances are all in the 22,000–27,000

li range from Dai, or 10,000 li and more beyond the Central Asian cities and regions. Moreover, the toponyms can be grouped in two sets of distances: one ends in 20 li, the other one – including Niumi and Bosi/Suli – in 28 li. A possible explanation is that a group of toponyms or itinerarie(s) in the Parthian/Sasanian realm and beyond were included, using the easternmost region/town in this group, Niumi, to anchor it in the context of the chapter on the Western regions. In this case, Niumi would have to be looked for in the Iranian plateau, and a different reading than Nokmethan would have to be found.

It is not before the 11th century that Niumi is identified with Yuan Wei-period Bukhara in a note in the *Xin Tangshu* (New Book of the Tang), written between 1044 and 1060 CE: “An is also called Buhuo or Buhe [Bukhara]. Under the Yuan Wei its name was Niumi” (安者一曰布豁又曰捕喝元魏謂忸蜜者).⁶⁶ This learned gloss attempts to make sense of the toponym Niumi, just as modern historians are trying to make sense of it. In this endeavour, it is taken out of its context of a list of places far west of Samarkand, possibly conflated with the information on the “capital south of the river Nami”, and inserted in the map of Transoxiana as it was known to the Chinese since the turn of the 7th century.

To sum up: The reading and location of Niumi remains uncertain. It appears initially in a group of toponyms that cannot be identified with certainty and may even have

measure of distance would resolve the problem of inconsistent distances.

64 Thierry 2007. Thierry plausibly demonstrates that the unusually long and detailed chapter on Bosi/Persia is authentically preserved from the 6th-century *Weishu*. However, he uncritically adopts the identification of Niumi with Bukhara and treats the Bosi chapter in isolation from the other toponyms in the “Niumi group”. One might consider the possibility that the entire set of entries relating to Niumu belongs together. – Stark (2021) suggests that Bosi refers to the border with the Sasanian empire at Marw to make the list of distances compatible with Central Asian locations, but this would appear unusual (cf. for example the distances given in the *Suishu*, which clearly refer to the capital area of Persia).

65 On Fulun, see Hirth 1885; Leslie and Gardiner 1995.

66 *Xin Tangshu* 1981: 221; Chavannes 1903: 136; Huber 2020: 57.

been situated far west of China and Central Asia. An 11th-century learned gloss explains Niumi by taking it out of context and identifying it as an earlier capital city of the oasis of Bukhara. The reading of the toponym Nokmethan in the 2nd- or 3rd-century CE Kultobe inscriptions is certain. But since Niumi cannot be read with certainty as a rendering of Nokmethan, and as Niumi's connection with Bukhara is highly uncertain, the identification of Nokmethan with Bukhara is purely speculative. To put it differently: Of course one can hypothesise that in the 2nd or 3rd century CE Bukhara had already become important enough to become part of a powerful "Sogdian tetrapolis" in union with the historical centres of the Sogdian heartland, Nakhshab, Kish and Samarkand. But this hypothesis is not corroborated by evidence, and it may result in a circular argument. It is certainly possible that the Nokmethan of the Kultobe inscriptions refers to Bukhara, or any other place in the lower Zarafshan basin. But it could refer to any one of the other significant settlements in the middle Zarafshan or Qashqadarya basins, and a location north of the Syr Darya is also possible. For the time being, the identification and situation of Nokmethan must remain open, and the Kultobe inscription cannot be considered the (by far) earliest evidence for a name for Bukhara.

2.5 *Rising above the Horizon of the Written Record*

The oasis of Bukhara gradually appears on the historical stage in the two centuries from the middle of the 5th to the middle of the 7th century. It becomes visible in historical texts only in the second half of these two centuries, perhaps already in the second half of the 6th century, but clearly in the first half of the 7th century.

The conquest of (Samarkandian) Sogd by the Hephthalites around the middle of the 5th century may have facilitated the integration of the lower Zarafshan into a larger region that served as a northern borderland to the Hephthalite Empire.⁶⁷ At least some of the investments into military architecture in the lower Zarafshan area that archaeologists date to this period may be attributed to this process.⁶⁸ According to the *Weishu*, in the second half of the 5th century the Hephthalites were able to extend their hegemony to Kāngjū 康居, Khotan (Yútián 于闐), Kashghar (Shālè 沙勒), Anxi 安息 and another "30 small countries".⁶⁹ Their sphere of influence radiated from the

centre of Hephthalite power in the northern Hindukush west to Margiana ("Anxi", the old Chinese term for the Parthian domains) and across the Oxus to Samarkandian Sogd ("Kangju", i.e., Kang/Samarkand). The Bukhara region is not explicitly mentioned here, but it is reasonable to assume that Hephthalite power extended beyond Sogdiana to include the lower Zarafshan valley and the Bukhara oasis system, and smaller polities on the lower Zarafshan may be hidden in the unspecified "30 small countries" under Hephthalite rule.

In the late 550s the Hephthalite Empire, which had its centre of gravity in Bactriana, collapsed under the pressure of a coalition between the qaghan of the Western Turks and the Sasanian King Khosrow I. The toponym Bukhārā or Bukhārē (بخارا or بخاری) appears in later Arabic sources for the first time in this context, but the geographical references to Transoxiana in the early Islamic historical sources on the late Sasanian military campaigns in the East must be taken with caution. Based on late Sasanian sources, they reflect the ideological shifts of the late 6th century that reframe the mythological conflict between Iran and Turan from an Eastern Iranian, cis-Oxian setting within a new cross-Oxian mytho-geography.⁷⁰ The self-identification of the later Sasanian kings as Kayanids is mirrored in the transfer of Turanian mythological motifs to settings across the Oxus. Thus, the narratives of Spandiyāt and Arjāsp and the story of Afrāsyāb, Siyāvush and Kai Khosrow are translated into a Transoxanian geography, and the motif of the metal fortress of Afrāsyāb converges with the Inner Asian motif of the copper city.⁷¹ This process can hardly be dated before the late 6th century but seems to have taken traction very quickly. Not only has it had a deep impact on the Sasanian understanding of history, but the 10th-century *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* presents it already as ancient local lore. These narratives must have been known and accepted for a substantial length of time in the Bukhara Oasis to allow for the various versions and settings of the stories of Afrāsyāb, Siyāvush and Kai Khosrow to develop and be connected in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* with the fortresses of Rāmītan, Rāmish and Bukhārā (city).⁷²

67 On this period, see the fundamental study by Grenet 2002.

68 Semenov 1996.

69 *Weishu* 1984: 102. Kuwayama's (2002: 127) interpretation of Anxi as Margiana is accepted by Grenet (2002: 212 n.15), who observes that "at this period the name *Anxi* (and its short form *An*) had not yet been transferred to the kingdom of Bukhara". Kangju is a learned error for Kang, i.e., Samarkand. The *Weishu* records two

relevant Hephthalite embassies that bookend this period, the first in 456–57 and the second in 507, see Daffinà 1983: 124–25.

70 Shayegan 2013: 807–9 with further literature; cf. also Payne 2016: 27–31.

71 Czeglédy 1958: esp. 28sqq.

72 TB(Frye): 16, 17 and 23. Cf. the related narratives on Samarkand and Sogd in the *Shahristānīhā i Ērānshahr* (Daryaei, ed. and trans., 2002: §§2–9), a Middle Persian text redacted in the early Abbasid period. A full discussion of this process and of the pertinent narratives in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* is desirable but beyond the scope of this study. The hypothesis that motifs of Afrāsyāb

It has been claimed that under Hormizd IV (r. 579–90 CE), Sasanian control extended as far north as Samarkand and even Chach (the Tashkent oasis) for at least a few years in the mid-580s CE. This assumption is entirely based on the tentative attribution of drachms of Hormizd IV with mint signatures SML and CACW to Samarkand and Chach, respectively, in an attempt to substantiate the presumptive campaign of Bahrām Chūbīn into Central Asia.⁷³ Yet given the chronological problems⁷⁴ and the difficulties of Sasanian mint signature attributions, the existence of Sasanian mints north of the Oxus and the extension of Sasanian power into the Zarafshan valley remains doubtful unless further evidence appears.⁷⁵ The matter is further complicated by the ideological implications of the conflict between Bahrām Chūbīn and Khusraw II, which had a deep impact on late Sasanian and, as a consequence, early Islamic historiography. While there is some plausibility in the claim presented by various sources that Bahrām Chūbīn crossed the Oxus to fight the qaghan of the Turks, or that Bahrām Chūbīn took refuge in or was exiled to “Turkistān”,⁷⁶ the connection with specific geographic areas in Transoxiana, including Paykand, must be seen in the context of the shifting of the mythological conflict between the Kayanids and Turanians in Eastern (cis-Oxian) Iran to a cross-Oxian conflict between the Sasanians and (Western) Turks.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the reference to Bukhara in Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Dīnawārī’s account of the itinerary of the Western Turkish qaghan Sinjibū (Ishtāmi), even if isolated, cannot be taken lightly. According to the 9th-century author, Sinjibū Khāqān

occupied Shāsh (Tashkent/Chirchiq basin), Ferghana, Samarkand and Kish and finally reached Bukhara.⁷⁸

2.6 *Post-Han Chinese Sources: 5th to 7th Century*

Sogdiana bursts onto the scene of Chinese interests in the western regions in the 5th century.⁷⁹ Embassies from Transoxiana began to arrive regularly at the Wei, Zhou and Liu Song courts. The first certain reference to the name Sogd in Chinese is found in the *Hou Hanshu*, redacted in the first half of the 5th century. Chapter 88 on the western regions of the *Hou Hanshu* is largely based on an official report presented by Ban Yong in 125 CE or a little earlier,⁸⁰ with additions from other sources for events after 125 CE. A note on Sogd (Liyi 粟弋) appears in a group of three short notes on regions depending on Kangju, namely – besides Liyi – Yancai (the steppe north of the lower Syrdarya and extending to the Aral Sea) and “Yen”, a fur-producing region north of Yancai.⁸¹ This group of notes partially reflects the Kangju chapter in the *Hanshu*, but – as Sören Stark has observed⁸² – the *Hou Hanshu* does not have a separate chapter on Kangju. The grouping of Sogd (Liyi 粟弋) with two “northern dependencies of Kangju” in the *Hou Hanshu* is paralleled in the identification of Sogd (Suyi 粟弋) with Yancai in the *Weishu* (see below). Clearly, the text of the *Hou Hanshu* reflects editorial efforts to arrange material that was no longer understood, and perhaps interpreted it in the light of the current situation of the early 5th century.

The earliest annals covering the post-Han period that has a separate chapter on the western countries is the *Weishu*. Compiled in the middle of the 6th century CE by Wei shou, the *Weishu* contains material covering the Northern Wei (386–534 CE), but its use as a historical source on south-western Central Asia is complicated by issues of textual transmission. It seems by now well established that the relevant chapter of the *Weishu* was soon lost, and the extant version represents a reconstruction that is at least in parts based on the *Suishu* (completed 636 CE) via the mid-7th-century *Beishi*.⁸³

and Siyāvush were translated into a Transoxanian context, not before the 6th/7th century, does not imply that the underlying narratives of city foundation and citadel construction or of the songs lamenting the killing of Siyāvush were of equally recent date. It is more likely that the narratives of Afrāsyāb and Siyāvush were merged with existing local traditions. See, e.g., Skjærvø 1998.

73 Mochiri 1983: 37–133; on the presumptive Transoxanian drachms 122–24 (SML, Hormizd years 3–5/581–84 CE) and 125 (CACW, Hormizd year 6/584–85 CE). Mochiri 2009; see also Vondrovec 2014: 421; Gyselen 2019: 345–48.

74 Bahrām Chūbīn’s crossing of the Oxus, if historical, can hardly have predated 588 or perhaps 587 CE, corresponding to Hormizd IV’s regnal years 9 and 10.

75 On the numismatic and textual evidence for the Sasanian reconquest and presence in the late 6th century, see Gyselen 2003; cf. also Gyselen 2019: esp. 334–49.

76 E.g., the Georgian Ps.-Juansher, writing around 800 CE and possibly immediately reflecting late Sasanian sources without Arabic intermediaries, in Rapp 2014: 343.

77 Czeplédy 1958. On the Khwadāy-nāmag now, see Hämeen-Anttila 2018.

78 Al-Dīnawārī 1888: 69.

79 Editions and annotated English translations of the relevant Chinese texts are now very conveniently accessible in Huber 2020.

80 Chavannes 1907: 149–50; Yu 2006: 20.

81 Text and translation in Huber 2020: 19–20.

82 Stark 2009: 13 n.4.

83 See now Huber 2020: 74. Due to the complicated textual history of the chapter on the western regions in the *Weishu*, in particular its partial dependence on the *Suishu* (see above), the possibility that this chapter contains information compiled or added in the first half of the 7th century must always be considered, even though the original *Weishu* was compiled in the middle of

From the 7th century onwards, the horizon of the Chinese texts begins to include the lower Zarafshan basin. The earliest clear Chinese references to the Bukhara Oasis appear in the *Weishu*,⁸⁴ *Suishu*⁸⁵ and *Beishi*, and in Xuanzang's travels to India⁸⁶ between 629 and 645 CE. The texts reveal spatial differentiations of power in the lower Zarafshan area, but the information is chronologically too vague and lacking in context to allow for any historical interpretation beyond general observations. The loosely defined territorial entities that emerge from the texts are An 安 (all or parts of the oasis of Bukhara: *Suishu*), Fuhuo 副貨 (Bukhara? *Weishu*), Bi 畢 (dependent on An; quite certainly Paikand: *Suishu*) and Lesser An 小安 (*Weishu*; *Suishu*: west of Kushaniyya).⁸⁷ Xuanzang's itinerary through Sogdiana towards Northern India and back would not have allowed the Chinese traveller to gain personal knowledge of the Bukhara Oasis. His outline of the lower Zarafshan principalities – Hehan (喝捍, MC *hāt yǎn, Kharqān), Buhe (bù huō 布豁, MC pò xwāt, Bukhara) and Fadi 伐地 (Vardāna? Or rather Betik on the Oxus?) – is reminiscent of the *Weishu*.⁸⁸

The notes in the *Weishu*, *Suishu* and Xuanzang's travelogue already reveal the basic structure of Chinese knowledge of the lower Zarafshan basin in the Tang period. The perception of the political landscape of the lower Zarafshan in relation to Sogdiana is fully developed in the *Xin Tangshu*, compiled in the middle of the 11th century CE and covering the years 618–906 CE. The effort of the *Xin Tangshu* to integrate all available information into

a synthetic picture occasionally results in misleading statements. Apart from the unfounded identification of Bukhara with Niumi (see above), an identification of the Han-period Kangju vassal (or constituent) principality of Ji with An (Bukhara) is patently anachronistic.

The *Xin Tangshu* lists An (Bukhara) among eight smaller principalities, which together with Kang (Samarkand) form the nine principalities ruled by members of the Zhaowu family.⁸⁹ The *Xin Tangshu* equates An with Buhua/Buhe (i.e., Bukhara). An is surrounded by a number of places or principalities. To the north-east is Dong An (eastern An), which has been identified with Kharqān. To the south-west lies Bi (Paikand). A lan mi 阿濫識, which Marquart already identified as (A)Rāmītan, is placed in relation to the Wuxu (Oxus?) River to the west of An.⁹⁰ It is said to have had 40 towns and over 1,000 smaller fortifications, the latter probably a topical number, which is echoed in the number of 1,000 *ribāt* of Paikand given in Islamic sources.⁹¹ Eastern An is then treated in a separate entry, where it is explicitly identified with the Lesser An of the *Suishu* and *Weishu* and with Xuanzang's Hehan (Kharqān). This section provides short yet intriguing information on the administrative reorganisation of the oasis under Chinese suzerainty, namely what appears to be the creation of two districts on the right side of the Zarafshan, Mulu (木鹿 MC mhōk luk) in the former Kharqān region and Anxi (west of An) in the former A-lan-mit (Rāmītan) region. The latter implies that An actually stands for Bukhara (city) and the area left of the Zarafshan (i.e., east of A-lan-mit).⁹²

By the middle of the 7th century Bukhara is firmly established on the political map of Central Asia, just a few decades before the first Muslim raids reached the oasis in the 670s CE. In the middle of the 7th century Chach/Tashkent (Shih), Samarkand (Kang) and Bukhara (An) became protectorates of the Tang Empire. The toponym Bukhara begins to appear in non-Chinese sources a little later. A merchant of Bukharan (βωχαρ[ο]) origin in the Bactrian market town of Ambēr (modern-day Sar-i Pul, Afghanistan) figures in a Bactrian document dated 31 May 698 CE.⁹³ A Sogdian document from Mt.

the 6th century. Thierry (2007) rejects the idea that the entire chapter 102 of the *Weishu* follows the *Suishu* via the *Beishi* and argues that at least the chapter on Persia (Bosi) represents the original text of the *Weishu*. The two positions do not exclude one another. The identification of the *Suishu* as a source for the reconstruction of the lost chapter of the *Weishu* does not mean the entire extant text is based on a post-Wei source but only that one must critically check every part of the chapter to see whether it might contain post-Wei material. As Thierry convincingly demonstrates, the long Persia chapter – according to Thierry a veritable “monographie sur la Perse” – appears to be a genuine Wei-period text.

84 Text and translation in Huber 2020: 27–28 (1.7.11) (?). The paragraphs in the *Weishu* on Niumi (ibid: 24, 1.7.3) and Muzhi (ibid: 26, 1.7.7; “Vardana (?)”) probably do not concern Transoxanian places, see above pp. 70–71.

85 Text and translation in Huber 2020: 33–34.

86 De la Vaissière 2010.

87 The *Weishu* mentions two more entities at some distance east and west of Fuhuo, Afushiqie 阿副使且 (*Beishi*: 阿富使且) and Moshui 沒誰, Huber 2020: 27–28. These two toponyms evidently are variants of A/E fu tai han and Mou zhi in the group of toponyms associated with Niumi (see above).

88 *Da Tang Xiu ji*, text and translation in Huber 2020: 44–45. On Fadi, see the gazetteer, s.v. Vardāna.

89 Huber 2020: 54. For Zhaowu as a Sogdian title, see Yoshida 2003.

90 Chavannes 1903: Addenda et Corrigenda, 312, citing a communication from J. Marquart. Wuxu is generally understood as a referring to the Oxus/Amu Darya, but the passage is not clear. Huber 2020: 57–58.

91 De la Vaissière 2008.

92 Text and translation in Huber 2020: 57–59.

93 Bactrian document Ss, transcription and translation, Sims-Williams 2001: 18–19. On the date, see Sims-Williams and De Blois 2018: 46. See also Sims-Williams 2010: no. 81.

Mug in the upper Zarafshan valley, issued on the authority of the Sogdian ruler Devashtich (r. 706?–22 CE), uses *pwγ'r* in the sense of “Bukharan” (a person from Bukhara, Bukharan coins).⁹⁴ The Old Turkic memorial inscription for Kültegin (d. 731 CE), erected in the Orkhon valley in the west of modern Mongolia, probably in the 730s CE, includes the people of the city (or country) of Buqaraq (*buqaraq ulus bodun*), alongside the Sogdians and the Persians, among the western countries that sent envoys to the burial of Kültegin.⁹⁵

The earliest local evidence in the Sogdian language for the toponym Bukhara appears on the so-called Bukharkhudat drakhms that bear the title *pwγ'r γwβ*.⁹⁶ The chronology of the beginning of the Bukharkhudat drakhm series with a Sogdian inscription has not been definitely established, but Schindel, Baratova and Rtveldze have convincingly argued for the turn of the 7th to the 8th century CE.⁹⁷ A list of Sogdian toponyms found in Turfan, and dated by Henning to the early 8th century, contains the name *pwχ`r*.⁹⁸

To summarise, Sogdiana (more precisely Sogd) appears as a political-geographical entity in its own right relatively late in the Chinese record, certainly not before the 2nd, but possibly not even before the first half of the 5th, century. The lower Zarafshan valley, along with the oasis of Bukhara, becomes visible even later on the map of Chinese knowledge of the western regions. Even Chinese annals of the pre-Tang dynasties (Bei, northern Wei) may in part reflect the situation in the Tang period (i.e., in the 7th century). The references in the 11th-century *Xin Tangshu* to names for Bukhara in the 5th century (Yuan Wei) are late learned glosses and cannot be taken as positive evidence. In particular, the positive identification of Niumi = Nokmetan = Numijkat/Bukhara for the 5th century cannot be maintained on the basis of the available evidence.

94 Livshic 1962: 181–85, Doc. A-5; Livshits 2015: 159–66.

95 Kültegin inscription, North side, N12; Thomsen 1924: 156; Tekin 1968: 237 (transcription), 272 (translation). Tekin translates “General Ānik and Oγul Tarkan came from the Sogdians, Persians, and the people of the city of Bukhara who are at the sunset in the west”. *Drevnetiurkskii slovar'* 1969: 125a s.v., translates “the people of Bukharans” (*narod buxarcev*).

96 Henning in Frye 1949: 26–29; Schindel, Baratova and Rtveldze 2012: 34–39. For a discussion of the literature see Naymark 2010. Cf. also the inscription *pwγ'r γwβ δzwy* “δzwy, Lord of Bukhara” on a silver vessel in the State Hermitage Museum St. Petersburg, Frye 1950: 110; and Frye 1956: 119.

97 Schindel, Baratova and Rtveldze 2012: 34–39, with a discussion of the earlier literature.

98 Henning 1940: 10 frag. VII,4.

2.7 From Sogdic to Early Islamic

2.7.1 Elements of the Internal Structures of the Oasis

On the eve of the Muslim conquest, neither Transoxiana as a whole nor its main historical landscapes, Sogd and Bukhara, formed a political-administrative unit under any form of routinised dynastic authority. Étienne de la Vaissière speaks of the “territorial fragmentation” that mirrors the political fragmentation. The emergence of this fragmentation has been set in the context of a devolution of post-nomad dynasties soon after the nomad invasions of the 4th to early 5th centuries, accelerated by Sasanian, Hephthalite and Western Turk pressure during the 6th century. As a result, to quote Étienne de la Vaissière, “In the 8th century, the Sogdian principalities are rich and powerful, but divided”.⁹⁹ Michael Shenkar has described “self-governed civic communities” as typical for Sogdiana on the eve of the Muslim incursions and pointedly observed that “the establishment of the *real* dynasties in Sogdiana (such as the Bukharan Bukharkhudat) was in fact a by-product of the Arab conquest”.¹⁰⁰

This situation has been documented fairly well for Sogdiana proper (Samarkand), although many important points remain obscure. The overall picture is similar for all of Transoxiana, including Bukhara, but significant differences between Sogd and Bukhara seem to have existed. A three-level stratification of titles in Sogd – *ixshīd*/MLK’ “king (of Sogd)”, *afshīn*/MR'Y “(regional) lord (e.g., of Samarkand, Panj, Ustrushana)” and *xūv* (local lord, rendered in Islamic sources as *dihqān*) may work – at least as an approximation – for Samarkand, but it cannot be simply extended to the situation in Bukhara. In the 7th or 8th centuries there is no evidence for an *ixshīd* in the oasis, or for the acknowledgement of it being part of the domain of the *ixshīd* of Soghd, even only symbolically. The title MR'Y is found on local coinage that has been dated to the 4th and 5th/6th centuries, but the actual reading of this Aramaic ideogram is unknown; the title *afshīn* is not otherwise attested for Bukhara. On the other hand, the title *xūv* – the most restricted in terms of territorial power in the context of Soghd – is very prominent in the oasis of Bukhara. It is the title of the lord of Bukhara on the so-called Bukharkhudat drakhms. The Islamic sources render *xūv* as *khudā*: the *pwχ`r xūv* of the coins

99 De la Vaissière 2007: 24 (heading of a sub-chapter). While the observation on the factual fragmentation of Transoxiana in Late Antiquity is important and well-founded, the notion of a process of fragmentation implies a previous state of unity that cannot simply be assumed.

100 Shenkar 2017: 191 (the emphasis is Shenkar's); Shenkar 2020. Cf. de la Vaissière 2007: 47.

is the Bukhārkhudā of the Islamic sources. One type of Bukharkhudat coins carries an expanded title (?) that has been read xrʾn (?) xvʾb and interpreted as “great king”.¹⁰¹ This coin type can be dated to immediately preceding the Islamic conquest. In one famous instance the Baghdādī historian of north-eastern Iranian origin, al-Ṭabarī (d. 923 CE), refers to the lord of Vardāna (in the north of the oasis) as “king of Bukhara” (*malik Bukhārā* in Arabic). Apparently the lord of Vardāna managed to take control over the entire oasis briefly before the Islamic conquest.¹⁰² But given the ambivalence of the Arabic term *malik*, it is difficult to discern the Bukharan background for this title, or a Sogdian term that might have been rendered by *malik* in Arabic.

The oasis of Bukhara had a similarly regionalised structure of authority as other parts of Transoxiana. Its internal dynamics, however, are far from clear. The available written sources provide important hints, but not much more than that. Thus, as is well known – and has been studied in detail by Yutaka Yoshida and others – Tang-period Chinese sources divide the lower Zarafshan into a number of “principalities”: An, Western An and Bi (plus Eastern An).¹⁰³ These have been hypothetically connected with Vardāna in the north (Western An), a central area centred around Ramitan and/or Bukhara city (An), and two towns and areas already outside the oasis proper: Kharqān/Karmina in the north-east (Eastern An) and Paikand in the south-west (Bi).¹⁰⁴ Under Tang hegemonic domination, an administrative bi- or rather tripartition (Kharqān/north, Rāmītan/west, and probably An/Bukhara in the south-east) may have been temporarily implemented. A similar north-(west)/south-east divide may lie behind the rivalry between the Vardankhudah and the Bukharkhudah in the late 7th and early 8th centuries, a rivalry that Qutayba b. Muslim apparently was able to exploit to his own advantage.¹⁰⁵ The numismatic evidence may offer further clues, but the chronological and spatial relationship – and as a consequence the implications for the political history – of the different copper coin series

identified for 7th-century Bukhara (or different mints in the oasis) remains understudied and hypothetical.¹⁰⁶

One important source that offers a rare glimpse into the spatial differentiation of the oasis in the early Islamic, perhaps even immediately pre-Islamic, period is Abū l-Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī’s *al-Āthār al-bāqīya*. Al-Bīrūnī (d. 1048 CE) devotes a brief but rich chapter to the non-Islamic festival calendar of the Sogdians, providing the names of each month and information on important religious festivals and trade fairs that were held at specific dates or time periods in various places of Sogdiana and Bukhara.¹⁰⁷ In al-Bīrūnī’s account, the oasis is structured by a temporal and spatial schedule of movable and stationary feasts presided over by local community leaders. According to al-Bīrūnī, the Magians (*majūs*) of Bukhara celebrated festivals (*āghām*, sogd. ʾγm) “in turns (*ʿalā nuwab*) in every village at (the house of) every chief”. Some of these festivals apparently were celebrated annually at a fixed date and place. Al-Bīrūnī specifically mentions a festival held during the first month of the year in the fire temple (*bayt nār*) of Rāmish and hence known as the festival of Rāmish (*Rāmush āghām*), and another one held during the fourth month at Baykand. Other festivals were connected with transregional trade fairs; al-Bīrūnī mentions the festivals and fairs of Kumijkat and al-Ṭawāwīs, both held during the first half of the sixth month, as well as daylong markets held in various unspecified villages in Bukhara and Sogdiana. Interestingly, al-Bīrūnī mentions one fair specifically for Muslims but scheduled in accordance with the Bukharan festival calendar in the town of Shargh (Chargh).

Al-Bīrūnī’s list of festivals and fairs can be compared to markets and fairs mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* (fig. 34). Besides the pre-Islamic fairs at Shargh and Bukhara (Mākh), *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* mentions weekly markets at Vardāna, Afshina, Iskijath (on Thursdays), Shargh (on Fridays) and Zandana (on Fridays). Zandana and Iskijath were important production centres for cloth. The market of Shargh, just across the river from Iskijath, according to *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* was of more regional importance, being frequented by people from the surrounding districts and the city of Bukhara. The Vardāna and Afshina markets may have owed their importance to their locations on the margins of the oasis: Afshina was near the entry point of the Khwarazm highway into the oasis, and Vardāna, allegedly “built by King Shāpūr on the frontier of Turkistān”,

101 Naymark 2010: 10.

102 Al-Ṭabarī 1879–1901: 2:199; for the translation, see Hinds 1990: 147; Naymark 2010: 10–13.

103 Yoshida 2003.

104 The only reasonably certain identification is that of Bi and Paykand, the others remain hypothetical. In particular, it remains open to discussion whether An refers to a city – and then, which city: Bukhara? Ramitan? – or the oasis.

105 Naymark 2001; Stark 2018. See the excursus on the campaigns of Qutayba b. Muslim below pp. 80–82.

106 The pioneering and groundbreaking studies by Naymark provide a starting point for further study, see, e.g., Naymark 2001: 178ssq. and 288–90; Naymark 2011.

107 Al-Bīrūnī 1923: 234; translation by Sachau, 221.



FIGURE 34 Markets/Fairs in al-Bīrūnī and *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*
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apparently was not only of strategic importance for the defence of the oasis (or for staging raids into the steppe) but also developed into a place of interaction and a trade hub between the oasis and the pastoral spheres.

2.7.2 *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*

Reference has already been made to the only extant regional history of Bukhara and the lower Zarafshan basin from the pre-Mongol period, the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* (figs. 35–36). Originally written in Arabic by Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Narshakhī and dedicated to the Samanid ruler Nuḥ b. Naṣr in 332 AH/943–44 CE, it exists only in a Persian version that underwent a number of medieval editions. The first Persian translation, which also abridged the original work and added material, was made by Abū Naṣr al-Qubāvī in 522/1128–29. His translation was further edited by a certain Muḥammad b. Zūfar b. ʿUmar in 574/1178–79. During the 12th-century editing of the texts, materials were added, in particular important sections from an otherwise lost and unknown work of apparently encyclopedic character by an author of Khurasanian origin.¹⁰⁸ Post-Mongol additions include sections on the

Mongol invasion of Transoxiana.¹⁰⁹ Small glosses seem to have been integrated into the text even later. The text has attracted substantial interest in modern scholarship and has been translated several times; the best and most useful translations being the English translation by Richard Frye (TB(Frye), 1954) and the Russian translation by Shamsiddin Kamoliddin with extensive historical, topographic and archaeological commentary by D.Iu. Iusupova and Elizabeta G. Nekrasova (TB(Russ), 2011). A critical study of the considerable manuscript corpus and a critical edition are still a desideratum, as is a thorough study of the textual stratigraphy of the work.¹¹⁰

Three sections in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* deal with different aspects of the historical geography and settlement history of the oasis in a systematic way. The first of these sections recounts the story of the colonisation and settlement of the oasis in pre-Islamic times.¹¹¹ The second one offers a systematic overview of the most important

108 TB(Frye): Introduction, xii attributes the additions to the later 12th-century editor, while Naymark (2001: 256) argues for Qubāvī as the editor responsible for these inclusions.

109 TB(Frye): Introduction, xii–xiii.

110 Most translations of longer sections from the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* in the gazetteer are by Florian Schwarz, based on the first print edition of the text by Charles Schefer (TB(Schefer)) and notes on ms. variants in Frye's English translation (TB(Frye)) and Kamoliddin's Russian translation (TB(Russ)).

111 TB(Frye): in ch. 2, 6–9; TB(Russ): ch.6, 22–24.

settlements of the oasis and their history.¹¹² The third section describes the hydrography of the oasis.¹¹³ Despite being short and concise, these three sections present serious problems for textual critique that would require a separate study. The interpretation of the sections on the settlement history and the principal towns of the oasis is complicated by the fact that they were inserted by the late-12th-century editor from a lost source, which he quotes as *Khazā'in al-'ulūm* by Abū l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Nishābūrī.¹¹⁴ The title suggests that this work was of an encyclopedic character rather than a local history. The quotes contain material that gives the impression of containing local Bukharan narratives, possibly including orally transmitted traditions.¹¹⁵

In the first of the sections based on the *Khazā'in al-'ulūm*, the *Tārikh-i Bukhārā* describes the pre-Islamic history of the oasis briefly as a sequence of layers of settlement and colonisation initiated from outside the oasis. The first layer represents the ecological formation of the oasis as a human-managed natural environment, namely its transformation from uninhabitable swamp into firm land eminently suitable for settlement and cultivation. Layer two is the settlement of colonists from the north (“Turkistan”) led by a certain “Abrūy”. Layer three – after an episode of political conflict, elite emigration and the foundation of colonies across the Syr Darya – concerns the re-settlement from the north with the support and presence of nomad elites commanded by a Turkic prince named “Shīr-i Kishvar” and his successors. All these layers are presented in a single narrative. Each of these phases includes a list of city foundations. While it would be methodologically problematic to synchronise these phases of settlement with concrete historical developments, there is broad consensus that the “Abrūy” and “Shir-i Kishvar” episodes reflect the historical dynamics of the 6th century, probably encounters between Hephthalites and Turks.¹¹⁶ They are preceded by a chronologically unspecific description of gradual, unorganised settlement.

112 TB(Frye): ch. 4, 12–19; TB(Russ): ch.8, 26–32.

113 TB(Frye): ch. 13, 31–32; TB(Russ): ch. 17, 41.

114 Al-Nishābūrī considers Bukhara as part of Khurasan, which makes the late-12th-century editor of the *Tārikh-i Bukhārā* clearly uncomfortable but might help to date al-Nishābūrī to the 9th or 10th century, when the notion of an extension of Khurasan over Transoxiana was common. Frye's unnecessary emendation, “Zerafashan” for Jayḥūn (“Oxus river”), is based on a misunderstanding of the Persian text, see the commentary in TB(Russ): 177 n.3.

115 Naymark 2001: 277sq. n.1.

116 This contextualisation is based on the hypothetical identification of the names, titles or ethnonyms of the main personae. A possible connection with the Turk-Hephthalite conflicts in the

It may be impossible to separate the various narrative strains that were merged into this coherent account. As Stark points out, the founding narratives are not to be taken as immediate historical information but as romance-style texts that reflect the general political situation.¹¹⁷ It represents the final crystallisation of the collective memory, or of various local manifestations of collective memory, on a relatively recent history of settlement. Besides the remarkable memory of the multi-generation process of the ecological transformation of the swamps of the lower Zarafshan basin for human occupation and economy, the main features of this process are remembered as follows: early settlement activity focuses on the right side of the Zarafshan towards the margins of the oasis. At the time of “Abrūy” (5th/6th century?) Paykand is the principal settlement, but it depends on Qal'a-yi Dabūsī, a toponym generally connected with a major site on the middle Zarafshan at modern Ziadin, 70 km upstream from the northern end of the oasis of Bukhara. The claims that Bukhara, Varakhsha and Ramitan, as well as a number of smaller settlements on the left side of the Zarafshan, were “built” under “Shir-i Kishvar” and his successors – generally understood to refer to the early phase of Turkish rule in the second half of the 6th century – may reflect political shifts connected with the rise of the Bukhārkhudā, who were connected to both Varakhsha and Bukhara (city), and activities of investment and improvement in the area irrigated by the Shahrud.

TABLE 17 Al-Narshakhī's settlement layers (*italics*: approximate, uncertain or unknown location)

Settlers from Turkistān / “Abrūy”	“Shīr-i Kishvar”	Shīr-i Kishvar's successor	“later”
<i>Nūr</i>	Bukhārā	Iskijkat	Varakhsha
<i>Kharqān Rūd</i>	<i>Mamāstīn</i>	Shargh	
Vardāna	<i>Saqmatīn</i>	Rāmītan	
<i>Tarāvcha</i>	Sumītan		
<i>Safna</i>	Fārāb		
<i>Īsvāna</i>			
Baykand			
Qal'a-yi Dabūsī			

middle of the 6th century was first fully developed by Markwart 1938: 144sq. Other interpretations favoring an early 7th-century date and purely Western Turkic context have been soundly rejected, see Stark 2008: 228, with further references; cf. also TB(Russ): 120–21 n.17.

117 Stark 2008: 228.



FIGURE 35 Al-Narshakhi's settlement layers: overview
 © F. SCHWARZ 2020

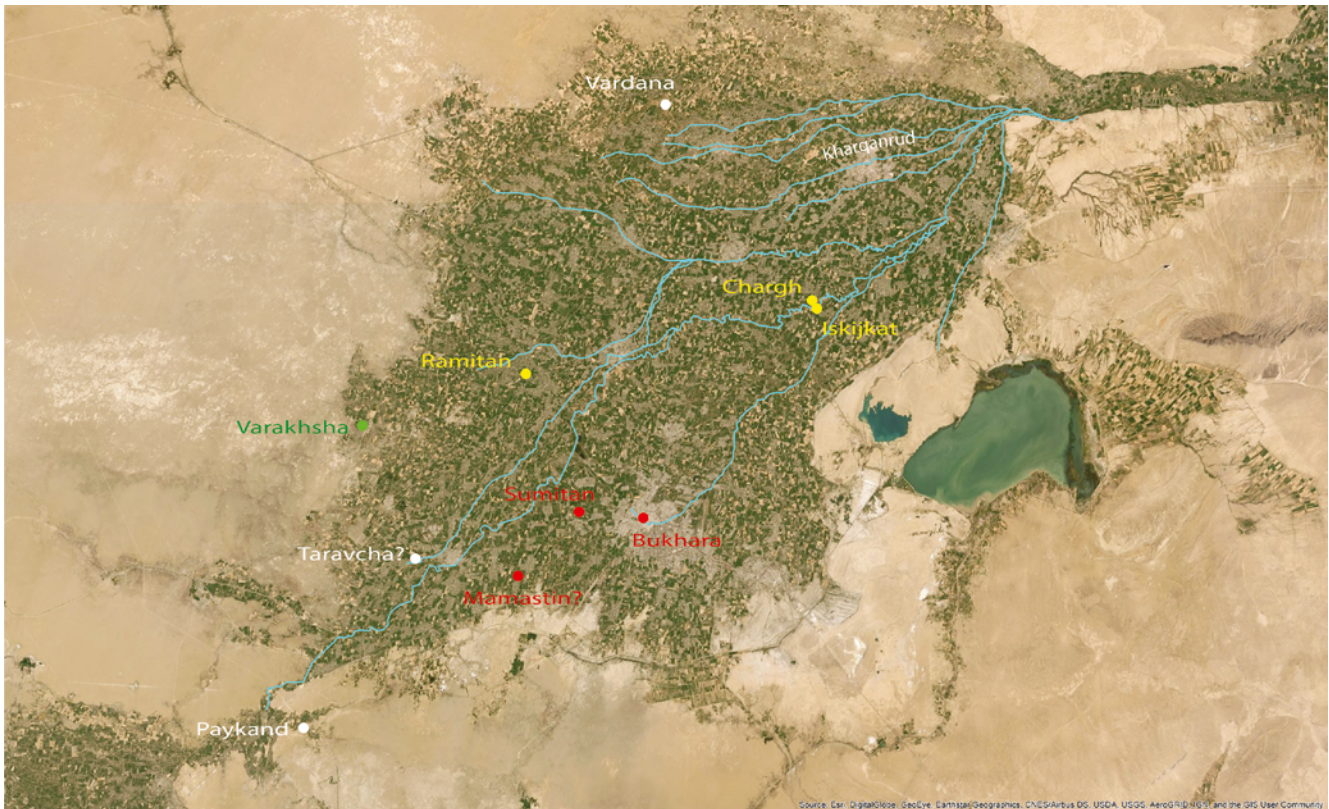


FIGURE 36 Al-Narshakhi's settlement layers: oasis
© F. SCHWARZ 2020

2.7.3 Excursus: The Campaigns of Qutayba b. Muslim

The reports on the campaigns of the Marw-based governor of Khurasan, Qutayba b. Muslim, between 87 and 90 AH (706–9 CE) that resulted in the definitive Muslim conquest of the oasis of Bukhara offer important clues for the geography of Bukhara (fig. 37), but the evidence is fraught with problems. The following section owes much to Sören Stark's thorough and insightful review of the material and literature, although the conclusions differ significantly.¹¹⁸

There were probably four distinct campaigns in the campaigning seasons of the years 87/706, 88/707, 89/708 and finally the decisive campaign in 90/709. There is

considerable confusion in the sources,¹¹⁹ and it may not be possible to fully resolve the issue of chronology. But the main outlines are sufficiently clear. All campaigns seem to have approached the area from the east, crossing the Oxus at Zamm¹²⁰ and likely proceeding through the lower Qashqadarya Oasis (Nasaf). The first attempt was led against Paykand, south of the oasis,¹²¹ while the subsequent two campaigns (with possibly one abortive campaign between them) were aimed at the centre of the oasis, against the cities of Kūmishkat¹²² and Ramitan¹²³

118 For a discussion of the approach route from Marw to Paykand/Bukhara Oasis, see the critical remarks by Stark 2018. However, as Qutayba relied heavily on troops mustered in the Balkh region, and as approaching from Nasaf would have eliminated the logistic challenge of crossing the desert between Marw and the Oxus, as well as the tactical risks of crossing the Oxus close to Paykand, it makes much sense that he approached Paykand and the oasis of Bukhara from the east every time, crossing the river at Zamm and proceeding on the right side of the river, or more likely through the lower end of the Qashqadarya Oasis, bypassing the still unconquered fortified city of Nasaf.

119 See Stark 2018: 378 n.59. Stark suggests that the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* collapsed the accounts for the years 87 and 88 AH into one, but actually its narrative even covers the entire four-year process of Qutayba's conquest of the oasis.

120 Zamm is on the modern border between Afghanistan and Turkmenistan, approximately 110 km downstream from Termez as the crow flies.

121 Al-Ṭabarī 1879–1901: 2:1186; for the translation, see Hinds 1990: 134–35. For a discussion of the full range of sources, see Stark 2018: 372.

122 Adylov (2011: 78) also correctly locates this “Tūmushkat” at Kumushkent-tepa. Stark takes T/Nūmushkat here as the old name for Bukhara and consequently reconstructs a very different geography of Qutayba's campaigns.

123 Al-Ṭabarī 1879–1901: 2:1194–95; Balādhurī (1866: 420; cf. Murgotten, trans., Balādhurī 1924: 187) has Tūmūshkat and Karmīniya, the latter probably being a misreading of a

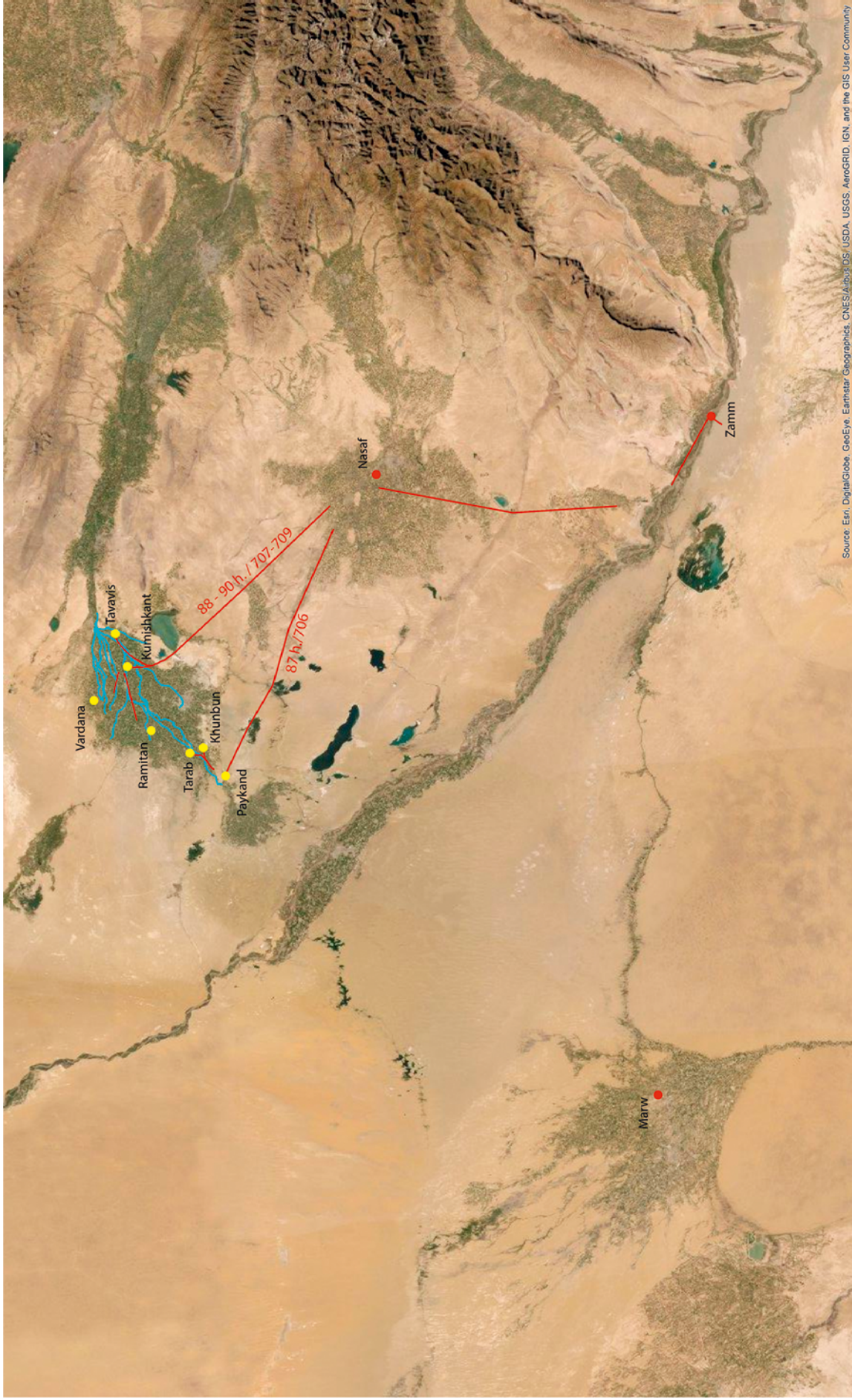


FIGURE 37 Qutayba's campaigns
© F. SCHWARZ 2020

(in 88/707 ?) and the area between Vardāna and Vobkent on the (lower) Kharqān Rūd, where the decisive event – the defeat and death of the Vardān Khudā, or lord of Vardāna – took place, probably in 90/709. Qutayba's camp at that time is said to have been near the "River of Bukhara" (i.e., the Zarafshan).¹²⁴

After the initial attempt on Paykand, which touched only the southern tip of the oasis of Bukhara at Khunbūn, the action was mostly happening in the parts of the oasis that were located on the right (northern/western) side of the Zarafshan: Lower Kharqān, Kūmishkat, Ramitan and perhaps as far south as the area between Tārāb and Khunbūn (the only place that today is on the left side of the Zarafshan).¹²⁵ The city of Bukhara plays no visible role; the term Bukhara, when it occurs (rarely) in the accounts, appears to refer to the oasis rather than the city.¹²⁶ After the first campaign against Paykand, Qutayba's entry point into the oasis appears to have been in the area south of modern Qiziltepa, where his troops could easily cross the Zarafshan at the ford of Varganzi before proceeding towards Kūmishkat. This finds support in the itinerary of Qutayba when he returned "to Bukhara" (i.e., to the oasis) from his campaign in Shūmān (modern Hisor/Dushanbe region) via Kish and Nasaf and stopping at Ṭavāvīs, 4 km north-west of modern Qiziltepa.¹²⁷

2.7.4 Early Samanid Transformations

A story in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* on an anti-Abu Muslim revolt by the pro-Alid Arab population of the city implies very clearly – as de la Vaissière has pointed out – that the Bukhārkhudā, who had effectively been installed as a dynastic ruling family over the entire oasis by Qutayba b. Muslim in the early 8th century – still exerted effective control over the population outside the town, both

(defectively) written (A)r[ā]mīthana. It is unlikely that Qutayba b. Muslim would have ventured as far up the Zarafshan and outside the oasis as Karmana.

124 Al-Ṭabarī 1879–1901: 2:1204.

125 It is plausible but not certain that al-Narshakhī's account of Qutayba's troubles in the area between Ramitan, Tārāb and Khunbūn relates to the year 88/707 (Stark 2018: 378). Al-Narshakhī's narrative mixes events of that year with later events (Ḥayyāt al-Nabaṭī's negotiations with the Ikshīd of Samarkand in 90/709); the reference to Khunbūn and Tārāb may be due to an interference with the immediately preceding account of the Paykand campaign of 87/706 where Qutayba, when "he was finished with Baykand [...] seized Khunbūn, Tārāb, and many small villages".

126 The focus of the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* on the city of Bukhara reflects a later re-centering of the conquest narrative on the new metropolis.

127 Al-Ṭabarī 1879–1901: 2:1230; for the translation, see Hinds 1990: 177.

in its immediate surroundings and in the rural hinterland (*rustā*).¹²⁸

Despite Qutayba's measures to establish a strong Arab presence in the city, the local property-owning families seem to have successfully defended their position until the end of the 9th century. The narrative in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* on the enormous urban and rural properties of the family of the dihqān Khīna may reflect typical processes at work between the first half of the 8th and the second half of the 9th century. Confiscations during the early phase of Muslim rule would have caused significant losses of property by local landowners, but some may have been able to re-assert ownership through legal means in the early Abbasid period. Family properties gradually eroded in the course of the 8th and 9th centuries.¹²⁹ By the time of the first Samanid governor of Bukhara, Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad, large real estate properties are said to have almost disappeared.¹³⁰

Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad's acquisitions of large property through purchase, and probably also confiscation, is clearly linked with his efforts to reduce the political influence of local elite families, thus laying the foundation for the firm grip of the Samanid family on Bukhara. The Bukhārkhudā family were assigned residence in the town of Sivanj, approximately between Ramitan and Varakhsha.¹³¹

According to the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, soon after being appointed governor of Bukhara, the Samanid Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad had to fight a large group of "outlaws" that even threatened the city. Rather than an act of violence by outlaws, this should be analysed as a major local uprising in the larger context of the takeover of the oasis by Ismā'īl. Shortly afterwards Ismā'īl took measures to marginalise the Bukhārkhudā and elites close to the former leading family of the oasis.¹³² It may be more than a coincidence that the uprising took place in an area where the Bukhārkhudā are said to have held properties, and where they may have found support among the local elite.

The *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* was originally written from the vantage point of fully developed Samanid power. Its focus is on two processes: the Muslim conquest and the integration of Bukhara into the caliphate on the one hand, and the successful takeover of the city and the oasis by the Samanids, or more specifically by Ismā'īl Sāmānī, on the other. The narrative of the initial Muslim conquest

128 TB(Frye): 62–65; de la Vaissière 2007: 120–21.

129 TB(Frye): 54; de la Vaissière 2007: 120–21.

130 TB(Frye): 11–12.

131 Karev 2015: 341–44.

132 TB(Frye): 81; the text has *aubāshān va rindān-i rustān*, which Frye renders as "ruffians and rogues of the villages". Cf. Barthold 1928: 223.

of Bukhara presents a strong emphasis on the family of the Bukhārkhudā, who are credited, in hindsight, with a perhaps inflated importance. The Samanid success story in Bukhara cannot be separated from their close association with the Bukhārkhudā family and the appropriation of the latter family's landed properties. The *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* seems to be concerned with legitimising the concentration of authority and resources in the hands of the Samanid family rather than with inscribing Bukhara into the Islamic umma.

The information on settlements and scholars that later sources like the 12th-century *Kitāb al-Ansāb* by 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sam'ānī preserve, but which go back to earlier histories and bio-bibliographical compendia, indicates a much richer and less centralised settled landscape in the early Islamic period up to the turn of the 10th century CE. Significantly, Kūmishkat (Bumijkat/Numijkat) appears as an active centre of learning in the 9th century that is more intensely connected with other places in the northern zone of the oasis than with the city of Bukhara.¹³³

With the establishment of the principal seat of the Samanid amirs in the city of Bukhara and the expansion of Samanid influence over Eastern Iran, the city became the metropolitan pole of the oasis. The observation in the mid-10th-century Eastern Iranian anonymous geography, the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, that the seat of the lord (*mīr*) of Khorasan had moved from Marw to Bukhara not only describes the reality at the time of the author but also illustrates wider ranging changes to the map of Eastern Iran where Samanid Bukhara had become the focal point.¹³⁴ But the concentration on Bukhara was not complete and uncontested, neither in the oasis nor in Transoxiana. The oasis retained some degree of polycentrism well beyond the Mongol period. G'ijduvon in particular emerged as a second urban pole in the northern part of the oasis. Only in the course of the 16th century did the city of Bukhara largely complete the long process of becoming the predominant urban centre of the oasis that it is today.¹³⁵ But even this apparent mono-polarity in the early modern and modern periods should be qualified, as it obscures the internal differentiation of the oasis that still exists.

2.8 *The Early Islamic Record Up to around 1200 CE*

The classical Islamic record up to the 12th century is fundamental for the reconstruction of the history of the dynamics of settlement, administration, irrigation, communication and regional integration of the oasis of

Bukhara. Much richer and more diverse than the pre-Islamic written evidence and contextualised in a large extant literary corpus, it allows a differentiated view on the development of the oasis at the end of the first millennium CE.

The corpus is not uniform, nor does it offer an even representation of the oasis landscape. Implications of genre, chronological layers, historical contexts and sources must be recognised and taken into account. Geographic descriptions are the most obvious source for any study of historical geography. The information they contain is mostly plausible, but it is important to recognise that the Arabic geographies represent a highly selective image of an "Islamic" landscape that overlaps with the archaeological evidence but does not fully match it. In other words, the Arabic geographic record covers, for example, the hydrography in a comprehensive way, but large segments of the settled landscape of the oasis, including major towns that archaeological evidence shows existed and thrived in that period, are absent from the written sources. While data of various origin is incorporated and not easy to distinguish, the perspective tends to be that of the early to mid-10th century, which in the case of the oasis of Bukhara implies a mature (post-Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad) Samanid perspective that is largely centred on the city of Bukhara.

The Samanid perspective applies also to the lost Arabic original and the extant Persian version of the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, the only local or regional history of Bukhara from the pre-Mongol period that survives, if not unaltered in a relatively integral form (see above). The Arabic text by Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Narshakhī was presented to Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad's grandson Nūḥ b. Naṣr in 943–44. However, earlier layers are more evident in this text than in the geographic texts. Some of the material may be based on local traditions, but even those local traditions may not go back very far into the pre-Islamic period. Local histories of a bio-bibliographical character have not survived in their original form, but the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghunjār al-Bukhārī (337–412 AH/948/9–1021/22 CE) is extensively cited in later texts. Through Ghunjār's late-Samanid local history, or directly on the basis of earlier, now lost sources, some extant post-Samanid texts have preserved a layer of biographical information that dates to the early Samanid period and appears to reflect a situation before Bukhara became the sole dominant centre of scholarship in the oasis. Twelfth-century texts such as the *Kitāb al-Ansāb* by 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Sam'ānī (d. 562/1166) or the only recently published *Laṭā'if al-adhkār fī-l-manāsik wa-l-ādāb*, written in 552/1157 by Muḥammad b. 'Umar Ibn Māza (511–66 AH/1117/8–70/1 CE), are therefore valuable witnesses to

¹³³ See below, gazetteer, s.v.

¹³⁴ Rante 2015; Noelle-Karimi (forthcoming).

¹³⁵ Schwarz (forthcoming).

the transformation of the oasis at the turn of the 3rd to 4th century AH/9th to 10th century CE.

For the earliest period of the integration of Bukhara into the Islamic sphere, one has to rely mostly on historical works that integrated earlier traditions into the Baghdad-centred perspective of the early Abbasid period: for example, Aḥmad b. Yahyā al-Balādhurī's (d. ca. 892 CE) history of the Islamic conquests, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-buldān*, and al-Ḥabārī's (d. 923 CE) monumental annals, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, completed in the first quarter of the 10th century.

2.8.1 10th-Century Geographers

The geographic texts of the 10th century can be grouped into systematic descriptions, largely going back to a work by al-Balkhī, and therefore conventionally labelled as the "Balkhī school", and itineraries of the major overland routes of the caliphate.¹³⁶ Somewhat apart stands the Persian *Ḥudūd al-Ālam*, which is of particular importance due to the Eastern Iranian background of its anonymous author and the rich material on the regions north of the Oxus.

The structure of the information on the oasis of Bukhara in the geographical works of the so-called Balkhī school is virtually identical. The data of this text corpus were collected and organised in the first half of the 10th century. They do not, however, represent a fully coherent picture of the oasis but rather combine different perspectives and sources, including personal observation.¹³⁷ While pre-Islamic, Abbasid and Samanid perspectives can be clearly distinguished, the precise identification of the layers, chronology and origins of the various sources, if at all possible, still remains largely hypothetical. Unless otherwise indicated, the lead text cited in this section and in the gazetteer is al-Iṣṭakhrī's *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*, the oldest record of this narrative tradition preserved in its original Arabic. Iṣṭakhrī appears to have visited Bukhara and other places in Transoxiana in 317 AH/930 CE, and some of the information may date from that time, especially the description of the urban fabric and construction of the city of Bukhara.¹³⁸

An analysis of the sections on the oasis of Bukhara in the early geographic texts in Arabic confirms the conclusion of previous research that the information is not randomly

presented.¹³⁹ The topographic information reveals clearly organised patterns, which may reflect itineraries, administrative structures or other forms of a systematic perception of a landscape. In the context of the present study it is therefore useful to present the organisation of the topographic information in the principal sources or coherent groups of sources.

2.8.2 The Schematic Representation of the Districts and Main Irrigation Arteries in the Classical Islamic Sources

Al-Iṣṭakhrī's and al-Narshakhī's lists of irrigation arteries, principal settlements and administrative units are the basis for any further analysis of the development of the oasis's irrigation and administration (fig. 38). The lists must not be taken at face value in the sense of representing an actual state at a defined historical point in time, and it cannot be taken for granted that the course of the rivers or canals did not undergo any significant change. The basic framework, and much of the related toponymy, however, did not change until the major irrigation work of the 20th century.¹⁴⁰

While some of the rivers and canals in al-Iṣṭakhrī's and al-Narshakhī's lists are easy to identify and place on a map, several of them have presented challenges to modern historians. The following overview combines previous research with results from the current project. The sequence is the one in the standard edition; the numbering of al-Iṣṭakhrī's river or canal names has been added to facilitate cross-referencing. Numbers between brackets indicate the arrangement of rivers or canals in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*.¹⁴¹ This will help the discussion of any possible logic in the arrangement of the names in al-Iṣṭakhrī and al-Narshakhī. The texts are translated or paraphrased from al-Iṣṭakhrī (1870), *Kitāb al-Mamālik wa-l-masālik*, ed. De Goeje, 310–11; additional information from al-Narshakhī will be marked TB. For a more detailed discussion of the rivers and districts see below section 2.10.

1. (TB: 2) "Sāfarī Kām (TB: Shāpūr-kām/Shāfurkām): it flows to Vardāna, which it irrigates."

The canal has given its name to the modern town and district Shofirkon.

136 Tibbetts 1992. See now the groundbreaking study by Danilenko 2020: esp. ch. 2.

137 See now Danilenko 2020.

138 Bolshakov n.d.: 7:646–47.

139 Cf., e.g., Kaplony 2006; Gaube 2004.

140 Still fundamental for the history of the irrigation of the oasis of Bukhara is Mukhamedjanov 1978.

141 TB(Frye): ch. 13.

[TB 3: Upper Kharqāna; al-Iṣṭakhrī (1870: 310) has Kharghāna al-‘ulyā as a district outside the oasis walls but not in the list of rivers.]

2. (TB: 4) “Kharghān Rūdh (TB: Kharqān Rūd): it flows to Rāwus/Rawāsh, which it irrigates.”

Kharqānrūd is the name of the river that today skirts the southern suburbs of the modern city of G’ijduvon. In the 10th century the area it irrigated may have included areas south and north of G’ijduvon. The reading of the name of the settlement where the Kharqānrūd ended is uncertain, and it has not been identified.

3. (TB: 5) “*Bukhār (?) Khitfar (Text: Najār Jafr; TB: *Ghāw Khitfar): it flows to and irrigates Kharmīthan.”

*Bukhār/Ghāw Khitfar clearly refers to the river that is called Vābkandaryā, Khitfar or (on its lower course) Zindani in early modern and modern sources. It ends in the region west of Zandana. For Kharmīthan/Khurmiṭhan, see the gazetteer, s.v.

4. (TB: 6) “Jurgh (TB: -): it flows to and irrigates Jurgh.”

The Jurgh (Shargh) River seems to have been a shorter canal that irrigated the area between the Zarafshan and the Khitfar/Vābkandaryā, where the town of Chargh (Shargh, site 0846, see the gazetteer, s.v.) was located. The area it irrigated may have been a predecessor to the later tūmān of Kāmāt; in the 19th century the Kām-i Jargh covered much of the core areas of Kāmāt.¹⁴² On the apparent equation of the Shargh, Sāmjan and Ḥarām-kām (Zarafshan) rivers in a different passage of the *Tārīkh-i Bukhāra*,¹⁴³ see the discussion of the Zarafshan and Sāmjan rivers below.¹⁴⁴

5. (TB: -) “Naukanda: it flows to and irrigates Farāna.”

One of two canals bearing the New Persian name “newly dug” (nau kanda), this one is absent from al-Narshakhī’s list. Its localisation depends on the identification of the settlement of Farāna, which marks the end zone of the canal.

Al-Sam’ānī mentions Barrānā / Farrānā (فرانی) several times; he even spent a night there. It was situated 5 farsakh (ca. 30 to 40 km) from Bukhara. Al-Sam’ānī does not indicate in which direction, but since he does not mention the

road to Khurasan or Samarkand in this context, it is unlikely that it was along that highway. On the way to Farrānā Sam’ānī stopped briefly at a place called Bars(u) khan, 2 farsakh from Bukhara, and on the way back he paused in a village named Vanandūn, which was on the Ḥarām-kām River. Neither of these two toponyms can be identified, but the fact that al-Sam’ānī had to cross the Ḥarām-kām to get to Farrānā suggests that Farrānā was somewhere in the north-western quadrant of the oasis. The 12th-century *Laṭā’if al-adhkār* mentions a village named Far(r)ānū (فرانو), which may be a variant, misspelling or misreading of Farrānā فرانی. According to the author of the *Laṭā’if*, the grave of a companion of the Prophet named Uhbān was in that village. This is, of course, a reference to the shrine of Khoja Ūbān, which is 40 km (as the crow flies) from Bukhara¹⁴⁵; the modern village of Khoja Ūbān was a few kilometres closer. The 10-verst’ map has a Burany-tepe 5.5 km SE of Khoja Oban (probably site 0941, 39.977072° N 64.072022° E), which we consider the most likely candidate for Barrānā/Farrānā. One ms. of al-Maqdisī (p. 268, var. C) lists Barrānā (BRĀNĪA) between Varakhsha and Afshina, which also fits this location on the western margin of the oasis. If these conjectures are correct, the Naukanda River must have irrigated the area east of Khwāja Ūbān on the western fringes of the oasis.¹⁴⁶ Adylov seems to have come to a similar conclusion, placing the settlement on his map in the same area.¹⁴⁷

6. (TB: -) “Farakhsha: it flows to and irrigates Farakhsha.”

The end zone of this canal was Varakhsha on the south-western fringes of the oasis (see below, gazetteer, s.v.). As in the case of the Naukanda canal, it is unclear where it branched off from the Zarafshan or one of the other western canals.

7. (TB: -) “Kushna: flows to and irrigates Kushna.”

The listing of the Kushna canal at this point is difficult to understand. Al-Iṣṭakhrī previously described it as one of the city canals of Bukhara, although one that flows from the western suburb far into a south-eastern direction, passing Kushna – hence its name – until it reaches Māymurgh, which already belongs to the lower Kashkadarya Oasis. Given the topographic circumstances, it would seem more likely that this canal, or river, actually flowed in the

142 Sitniakovskii 1899b: 235–36.

143 TB(Frye): 15.

144 Barthold (1928: 99, 114) conflated that the two mentions of the Sāmjan River into assuming that al-Iṣṭakhrī’s Jurgh (for Jargh/Shargh) and al-Narshakhī’s Sāmjan intended the same river.

145 Site 0241, 40.010010° N 64.023849° E.

146 If, as Lur’e (2004: 244) suggests, the modern place name Palanzi (100K-map: Falanzi, 6 km east of Vobkent) is a continuation of this toponym, it would refer to a different settlement than the one described by al-Sam’ānī.

147 Adylov and Babaev 2011: map.

opposite direction, from the Kaskhadarya Oasis towards Bukhara. It is tempting, though at this point entirely hypothetical, to connect the name Kushna (Arabized from *Kujna?) with the name of Kunja Lake, 12 km SE of Kagan near the highway to Qarshi.

8. (TB: Sāmjan) “Rāmīthana: it flows to and irrigates Rāmīthana.”

The end zone of this canal was Rāmītan (see below, gazetteer, s.v.). As in the early modern and modern periods, it appears to have branched off the Khitfar (Vābkanddaryā) about 4 to 5 km west of Vobkent.

9. (TB: 9) “Farāwar [Farāvīz] as-suflā (TB: also known as Kām Daymūn): flows to and irrigates Fārāb [Barthold: Ṭārāb?].”

The Faraviz canal is located between the Zarafshan and the Shahrud, possibly branching off the Zarafshan at the same point as the Shahrud, or even branching off the latter, as has been the case at least since around 1800 (see below).

10. (TB: 10) “Arwān: flows to and irrigates Bānab.”

A number of hypotheses have been brought forward regarding the location of the Arwān canal. Our identification of Bānab, however, has made it possible to situate this canal on the south side of the Zarafshan, 4 km north of modern Khargush (see gazetteer, s.v. Bānāb). This matches al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥauqal listing Arwān in the context of the two Farāvīz in the lists of canals and districts.

11. (TB: 8) “Farāvar [Farāvīz] al-‘ulyā: it flows to and irrigates Ūbūqār (rasm: اوبوقار) var. (Ibn Ḥauqal) Rīvqān (rasm: ريوقان).”

It is unclear why al-Iṣṭakhrī (unlike Ibn Ḥauqal and al-Narshakhī) does not group upper Farāvīz directly together with Lower Farāvīz. The reading of the main settlement it irrigates is uncertain: al-Iṣṭakhrī has Ūbūqār, Ibn Ḥauqal Rīvqān, which are different manifestations of the same Arabic word, whose reading is unknown. Al-Sam‘ānī records a village called Rīvqān near Marw, but not in the oasis of Bukhara. A hypothetical reading of the graphem is Rēzmāz (rasm: ريزمار), corresponding to modern Rozmas (Rāzmāz, see gazetteer, s.v.). The position of

Rozmas north of the modern Zarafshan appears to speak against an association of the settlement with (upper) Farāvīz. But the hydrographic situation in this area could have been different in the 10th century. From their modern splitting point at the Kharkhur barrage, the Zarafshan, Khitfar and Shahrud rivers flow very close to one another for around 10 km until the Rāzmāz area. Rāzmāz is described as situated “on the bank of the Ḥarām Kām (i.e. Zarafshān) river still in the late 17th century”.¹⁴⁸

12. (TB: -) Khāma: flows to and irrigates Khāma.

13. (TB: 7) TNKĀN (TB: Baykān, other spellings include BTKAN): flows to and irrigates Warka.

Shishkin identified this river with the Kam-i Abu Muslim, but see below, gazetteer, s.v. Varka.¹⁴⁹

14. (TB: -) Naukanda: flows to and irrigates Naubāgh al-amīr.

The Naukanda canal irrigated the western suburban villages of Bukhara.¹⁵⁰

15. adh-Dhar (TB: Rūd-i Zar “flows into the river of the city”).

It takes the surplus water of the Nahr Sughd (Zarafshan) and divides the suburbs (*rabaḍ*) of Bukhara. The urban canals (which al-Iṣṭakhrī describes before the rivers of the oasis) branch off of this river. This is the modern Shahrud.¹⁵¹

(TB 11: Kayfur/Kayfar.)

(TB 12: “Zar: it flows into the river of the city.”)

Leaving aside the Kushna River (no. 7), the rivers in this list form three distinct hydrographic groups, rivers 1 to 8 (without 7), rivers 9 to 11 and rivers 12 to 15. They are

¹⁴⁸ Zinda ‘Alī, Ms. Tashkent IVUzAN 2619/11: f.375b.

¹⁴⁹ Shishkin 1963: 24. Adylov (2011: 47) follows Shishkin. On the reading and etymology, see Lur’e 2004: 45 (from sogd. bikan “outer, outside”); Adylov (2011) suggests sogd. composite pay + kan “lower canal”. Barthold’s literal New Persian reading of “arrow head” is to be rejected.

¹⁵⁰ TB (Russ): 417–18 n.21.

¹⁵¹ Shishkin separates the Rūd-i Zar from the Shahrud, see 1963: 30, map.



FIGURE 38 Schematic map of rivers after al-Iṣṭakhri
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arranged in geographic sequence from (north-)west to (south-)east.

Rivers 1 to 8 (without 7) are western (right-side) branches of the Zarafshan, ordered from north to south. They generally can be identified, but these identifications can be made with sufficient confidence only for their lower courses in the west of the oasis. The points where they may have branched off from the Zarafshan or from each other cannot be determined with certainty. In this particularly densely irrigated region, later appropriately known as *Kāmāt* (the canals), even large water courses may have shifted significantly since the 10th century.

Rivers 9, 10 and 11 irrigated the area between the Zarafshan and Shahrud. The position of river 11 (upper *Farāvīz*), however, is uncertain.

Finally, rivers 12 to 15 represent the irrigation system of the eastern section of the oasis, the Shahrud and Kam-i Abu Muslim systems.

2.8.3 Districts and Towns according to 10th-Century Geographical Texts

Before the list of rivers, al-Iṣṭakhri provides a list of districts (*rustāq*), which partially but not completely overlaps with the list of rivers. The reading and identification of this list presents more difficulties than that of the rivers. The 15 districts within the oasis wall are presented in the following table.

A third list represents major settlements associated with Bukhara, with a distinction between towns inside and outside the oasis wall. Al-Maqdisi has two substantially expanded lists of settlements, which are similar but not identical. Manuscripts of al-Maqdisi contain further variations of these lists.

Al-Maqdisi lists *Namūjkath* among the major administrative-geographic units of Transoxiana. He organises the Islamic regions into a hierarchy of 17 metropolitan cities (*amṣār* sg. *miṣr*) and 77 regional urban centres

TABLE 18 Al-Iṣṭakhrī's list of districts

No.	al-Iṣṭakhrī pp. 309–10	Reconstructed reading	Corresponding river	Identification Localisation
1	al-Dhar	Zar	al-Iṣṭakhrī no. 15 TB no. 12	Shahrud
2	Farghīdad	Farghandad		Between the Khāma and Shahrud rivers, E / SE of Bukhara Intl. Airport.
3	SKhR / SJN / SḤR	?		Shargh (?); 8 km ESE of Vobkent on the north side of the Zarafshan
4	al-Ṭawāwīs			Tavovis
5	Būraq			
6	Kharghāna (lower)		al-Iṣṭakhrī no. 2 TB no. 4	G'ijduvon ?
7	Būm/Būma			
8	Najār JFR/ṢFR	Bukhār(?)- Khitfar	al-Iṣṭakhrī no. 3 TB no. 5	(Zandana)
9	Kākhūshuvān			Kakhishtuvon
10	Andiyār/Andidān (et var.) Gandumān			
11	Sāmjan (inner)		al-Iṣṭakhrī no. 8: Rāmīthana	Inner: Vobkent?
12	Sāmjan (outer)		TB: Sāmjan	Outer: Romitan?
13	Farāwar (lower)	Farāvīz	al-Iṣṭakhrī no. 9 TB no.9 (= Kām Daymūn)	Between Shahrud and Zarafshan
14	Arwān		al-Iṣṭakhrī no. 10 TB no. 10 Ibn Ḥauqal p. 359 reverses the sequence of 14 Arwān and 15 upper Farāwar.	South of Vobkent / south of Zarafshan
15	Farāwar (upper)	Farāvīz	al-Iṣṭakhrī no. 11 TB no. 8	East of Vobkent / north of Zarafshan ?

(*qaṣabāt* sg. *qaṣba*). Only one *miṣr* lies north of the Oxus, namely Samarkand, as well as two *qaṣba*, namely Bunjikat (Panjikend) and Numūjkat.¹⁵² The latter refers to Bukhara, as becomes clear further on. He continues with a long list of towns that is organised by major settlements and their dependencies: Akhsīkat, Isbijāb, Binkat, Bunjikat, Namūjkat and Samarkand. The list is not entirely consistent, as Bunjikat, for example, is also listed as a dependency of Samarkand.¹⁵³

The list of dependencies of Namūjkat¹⁵⁴ includes towns inside and outside the oasis wall. It includes Baykand

(Paykand), al-Ṭawāwīs, Zandana, Bumijkath, KhDIMNKN (var. ḤRSKN), 'Arwān, Bakhsūn, Sikath, Aryāmīthan, Warakhshī, Zarmīthan, Kumijkath, Fagharsīn, Kashfighan, Nawīdak and Warkā. An almost identical list, with a few additional toponyms, is given later in al-Maqdisī's work (see table above).¹⁵⁵ No particular organisation of this list is discernible.

The following table gives a synopsis of al-Iṣṭakhrī's list of towns, the two lists in De Goeje's edition of al-Maqdisī, and a significant ms. variant cited in De Goeje's edition of al-Maqdisī (var. C).

152 Al-Maqdisī 1906: 48.

153 Al-Maqdisī 1906: 49.

154 "Va-li-Namūjkat" "and to Namūjkat [belong][...]", al-Maqdisī 1906: 49.

155 Al-Maqdisī 1906: 49, 266–68.

TABLE 19 Synopsis of town lists

al-Iṣṭakhrī pp. 313–15	al-Maqdisī p. 49	al-Maqdisī pp. 266–68	al-Maqdisī Var. C	Identification
6 Baykand (extra muros)	Baykand	Baykand		Paykand
1 Ṭawāwīs (intra muros)	al-Ṭawāwīs	al-Ṭawāwīs	1 al-Ṭawāwīs (intra muros)	Tawāwīs
3 Zandana (intra muros)	Zandana	Zandana	2 Zandana (intra muros)	Zandana
2 Bamijkat (intra muros)	Bumijkat	Bumijkat	5 Bumijkat (intra muros)	*Kumijkat
5 Khujādā (intra muros)		Khujādā	3 Khujādā (intra muros)	
4 Maghkān (intra muros)		Maghkān	4 Maghkān (intra muros)	Mughāncha?
10 Kharghānkath (extra muros)		Kharghānkath	6 RNKRĀ (extra muros)	[Za]rangari?
9 KhDIMNKN (extra muros)	KhDIMNKN Vae. ḤRSKN ‘RWAN Bakhsūn Sikat	KhDIMNKN ‘RWAN Bakhsūn Sikath Jarghar Sīshakath (Sījkath)		Arvān?
			14 Chargh	Chargh
			15 Sījkath	Iskijkat?
	Aryāmīthan	Aryāmīthan	8 Rāmīthaniya (extra muros)	Rāmītan
	Warakhshā	Warakhshā	9 Varakhsha (town)	Varakhsha
	Zarmītan	Zarmītan	7 Zarmīthan (extra muros)	Zarmītan
	Kumijkat	Kumijkat		Kumijkat
	Fagharsīn	Fagharsīn		
	Kishfaghan	Kishfaghan		
	Nawīdak	Nawīdak		
	Warkā	Warkā		Warka
			10 Barāniya (town)	Barrāna
			11 Afshina (town)	Afshana
			12 AWDNA (town)	Arvān or doublet for Vardana?
			13 Vardana (town)	Vardanzi
			16 Ghijduvān (town)	G’ijduvon
			17 Zarangari (town)	Zarangari
			18 Vābkana (town)	Vobkent
			19 Bānab (town)	Panap
7 Farabr (extra muros)				
8 Karminiyya (extra muros)				
11 Mayāmajkath				

2.8.4 The Oasis in al-Sam‘ānī’s *Kitāb al-Ansāb*
‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sam‘ānī’s (d. 1167 CE) *Kitāb al-Ansāb* is a catalogue of *ansāb* (sg. nisba) (i.e., surnames indicating geographic, familial, tribal, professional or other relations). The vast majority of *ansāb* are derived from settlements, often the place of origin or birth of an individual or family. Al-Sam‘ānī systematically indicates readings (vowelisation and punctuation of the Arabic graph) and the location of the respective settlement. For this section,

all settlements al-Sam‘ānī locates in Bukhara (i.e., in the oasis) have been taken into consideration. Very rarely the geographic indications are more specific: occasionally the distance (in farsakh) from the city of Bukhara or the location in relation to the Khurasan road or to other settlements in the oasis is mentioned. The readings are not always reliable, and sometimes various *ansāb* may actually be variants of one single nisba.

A principal challenge in the analysis of the *Kitāb al-Ansāb* is the question of sources. This issue requires further study, and a few observations have to suffice here.¹⁵⁶ Al-Samʿānī includes important material that he adopted from earlier (10th-century) texts, which are now lost, such as Ghunjar's *History of Bukhara* and the likewise lost *Kitāb al-Muḍāhāt wa-l-muḍāfāt* by Abū Kāmil Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Baṣīrī al-Anbarduwānī al-Bukhārī (d. 449/1056–57).¹⁵⁷ This material is often obvious, due to dates or names mentioned in them. In many cases al-Samʿānī cites his source, but only further study will allow us to assess the extent and origin of direct and secondary quotes. These matters can be left aside for the analysis presented here, as long as one keeps in mind that the *Kitāb al-Ansāb* contains multiple chronological strata, including an important early-Samanid-period layer. As a first step towards differentiating source strata in al-Samʿānī's *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, the gazetteer includes references to ʿAlī b. Hibatallāh Ibn Mākūlā's *Kitāb al-Ikmāl*, written in the 1070s CE, a likely source for some of al-Samʿānī's material on scholars from the oasis of Bukhara.¹⁵⁸

In many instances it is not clear if a scholar actually lived in a certain settlement or only originated from there. Especially when the nisba al-Bukhārī is added after a scholar's original nisba, this may indicate that the scholar spent his active life in Bukhara, although it may also reflect an outside view, where someone coming from a village anywhere in the oasis would have simply been called al-Bukhārī. It is obvious from al-Samʿānī's *Kitāb al-Ansāb* that intellectual life converged on the metropolis. But this does not automatically mean that the hinterland served only as a reservoir of talent. Ties to the villages of origin were often retained, some scholars, or entire dynasties of scholars, maintained their base in their home village, and encounters and interactions between scholars did not necessarily have to go through Bukhara. A few examples may help to illustrate these observations.

Khunbūn, a settlement of some importance (see gazetteer, s.v.) on the Khurasan highway near its exit from the oasis, was the home of Wāṣil b. Ḥamza al-Khunbūnī, an avid traveller in search of *ḥadīth* (*aḥad min ar-raḥḥālīn fī ṭalab al-ḥadīth*). He heard *ḥadīth* in Bukhara, Nasaf,

Isfahan and Jurjān; in 450/1058–59 he was in Baghdad. He returned to Khunbūn, where he died in 467/1074–75. Yet the Baghdādī scholar al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, who met al-Khunbūnī in Baghdad, calls him only by the nisba al-Bukhārī.¹⁵⁹

Abū Ṣādiq Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zandanī, from Zandana in the north-western sector of the oasis, studied *ḥadīth* in Bukhara and had students as far away as in Sāriya on the southern Caspian shore, but he lived in Zandana as the local preacher (*khaṭīb*).¹⁶⁰

Al-Samʿānī provides only a few clues on the irrigation and structure above the village level of the oasis. He mentions the district (*nāḥiya*) Khitfar and its main irrigation artery, the nahr Khitfar, once.¹⁶¹ He seems to refer to the densely irrigated area along the Shahrud as the *sawād* or “fertile hinterland” of Bukhara (possibly an analogy to the *sawād* of Baghdad).

Despite the methodological challenges, al-Samʿānī's text offers valuable data that can help us to approach the history of the oasis in the early Islamic period from a different perspective than that of the geographical and historical texts.¹⁶² In contrast to the classical geographers, the *Kitāb al-Ansāb* assembles information on a large number of settlements in the oasis without discriminating – at least at first sight – on the basis of size, location or administrative function (fig. 39). Al-Samʿānī also offers also some first-hand description of itineraries of his travels within the oasis. The list of Bukhara settlements mentioned by al-Samʿānī offers a much more detailed picture of settled places in the oasis than the geographical texts. The classical geographers present the limited perspective of major waystations along the principal interregional roads and of a small selection of towns with a somewhat elevated status. They also appear to already have a strong Samanid (i.e., Bukhara-centric) bias. Al-Samʿānī's (or his sources') biograms, on the other hand, strongly represent the decades around the turn of the 4th/10th century, rarely going beyond the 310s/920s. In other words, it reflects an early phase in the consolidation of Samanid power in Bukhara, a phase in which the Samanid capital may not yet have eclipsed many of the other towns and settlements throughout the oasis.

156 For a preliminary list and discussion of sources used by al-Samʿānī for Transoxanian nisbas, see Kamoliddin 2018: 17–19.

157 Al-Samʿānī quotes al-Baṣīrī in the entries on Barāna, Khayrākhar, Dhaymūn, Sayāzī, Shargh, Ghadāna, Zandana and Majubs, as well as in several other entries not referring to toponyms in the oasis of Bukhara.

158 For a good example of how al-Samʿānī used his sources, see the entry on al-Zandī (translation of the relevant section below in the gazetteer, s.v. Zandana).

159 Al-Samʿānī 1912: s.v. al-Khunbūnī; see gazetteer, s.v. Khunbūn (East).

160 Al-Samʿānī 1912: s.v. al-Zandanī.

161 Al-Samʿānī 1912: s.v. al-Audanī.

162 The encyclopedic geography by Yāqūt al-Hamawī (d. 1229 CE), *Muʿjam al-buldān*, contains some additional material, which will be taken into account where it complements the evidence from al-Samʿānī's *Kitāb al-Ansāb*.

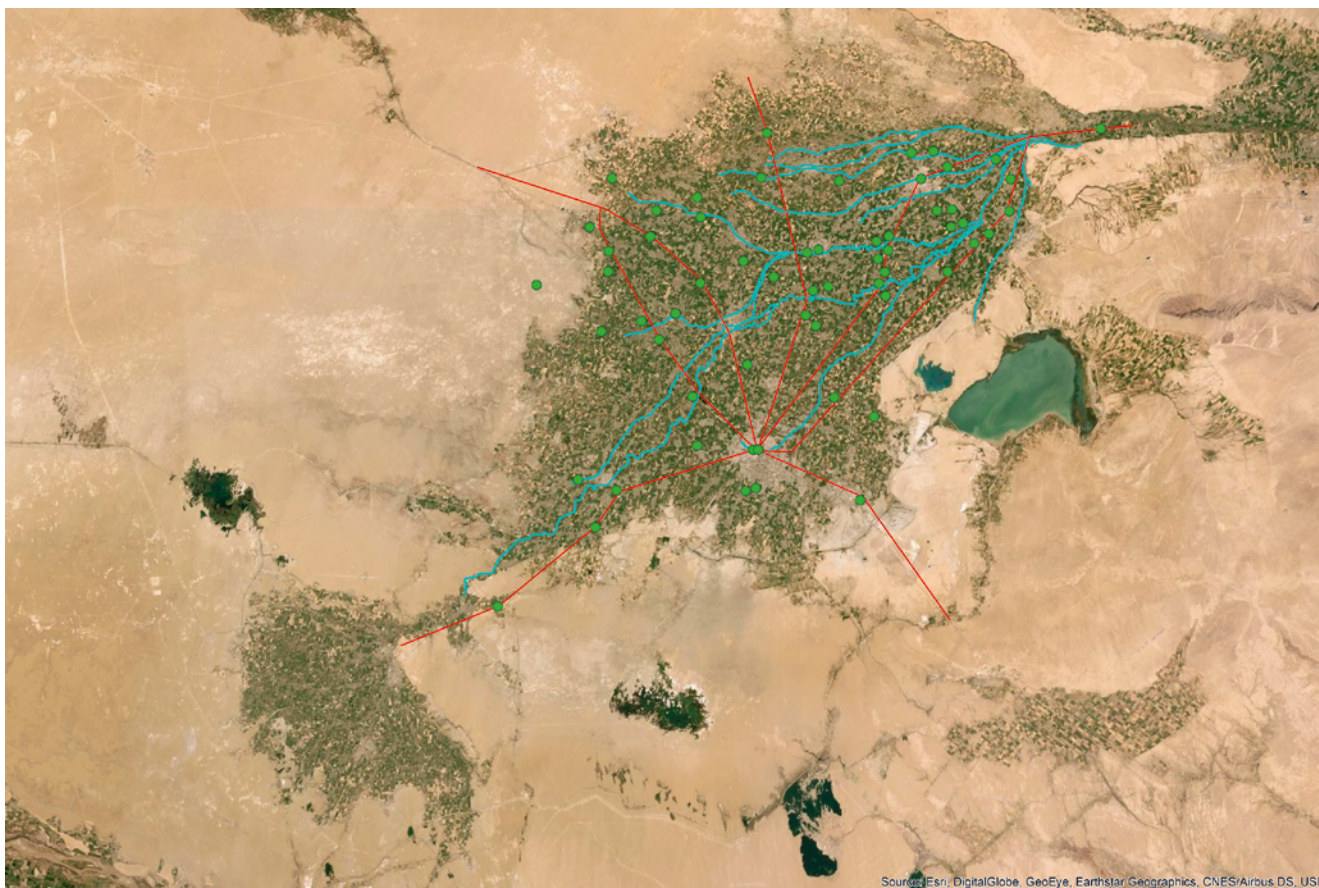


FIGURE 39 Schematic map after al-Samʿānī: Identified settlements and hypothetical roads
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The importance of the *Kitāb al-Ansāb* for the study of the historical geography of Transoxiana has been noted for a long time. W. Barthold was the first to recognise its potential. In his monumental history of early Islamic Central Asia he lists 84 nisbas (plus 12 only found in Yāqūt) from the oasis of Bukhara, including a number of probable or possible spelling variants of the same toponym. He offers only few identifications and topographic indications beyond quoting the information given by al-Samʿānī (and Yāqūt).¹⁶³ Sh. Kamoliddin dedicated two important monographs to the analysis of the toponymy in the *Kitāb al-Ansāb*. He expanded the list of Bukharan nisbas from the *Kitāb al-Ansāb* to over 100 and provides a number of references to documentary sources, but without indicating modern locations.¹⁶⁴ P. Lurje systematically used the material for his groundbreaking study of the toponyms of the oasis, including additions and corrections to the identifications of toponyms.¹⁶⁵ No systematic attempt, however,

has so far been made to map the Bukharan settlements that al-Samʿānī included in his *Kitāb al-Ansāb*.

For this chapter, a new review of the *Kitāb al-Ansāb* has yielded over 120 nisbas related to toponyms in the oasis of Bukhara.¹⁶⁶ Around half the settlements mentioned by al-Samʿānī have been localised with sufficient certainty, in most cases without reasonable doubt. Figure 39 shows the location of certainly or hypothetically identifiable settlements mentioned by al-Samʿānī. At first glance the settlements appear to be quite evenly or randomly distributed in the oasis. A closer look, however, reveals that many settlements appear to cluster along the major communications axes of the oasis: the roads from Bukhara to Khurasan, Samarkand, Nasaf and Khwarazm. Yet the question of the spatial distribution of al-Samʿānī's Bukharan settlements requires further analysis. It is not clear whether this is representative of the actual distribution of

163 Barthold 1928: 121–33.

164 Kamaliddinov 1993; Kamoliddin 2018: list of Bukharan nisbas 142–50.

165 Lur'e 2004.

166 The exact count is difficult due to likely doublets or even triplets, such as Nauzābād/Naujābād, which can sometimes, but not always, be consolidated into single references. I am working here with a list of 122 settlements, including a small sample of toponyms included in Yāqūt's *Muʿjam al-buldān* but not in al-Samʿānī's *Kitāb al-Ansāb*.

settlements in the oasis around 300/900. Too many factors may have affected this picture, beginning with the fact that the map contains only about half of the Bukharan toponyms mentioned in the *Kitāb al-Ansāb*. But even if a deeper analysis of distribution of the Bukharan nisbas in the *Kitāb al-Ansāb* is difficult, some tendencies become visible. Before the 10th century the landscape of Islamic scholarship is much less centred on Bukhara. Scholars from settlements across the oasis communicate directly with major centres of learning in the central areas of the Abbasid Empire. Closely knit networks of scholars over several generations exist in various regions of the oasis, including one that appears to be centred on Kumishkat and neighbouring villages in the north-eastern oasis (see gazetteer, s.v. Kumijkat).

2.9 Mongol-Period Transformations

There is little doubt that the Mongol conquest of Transoxiana in the 1220s and the intermittent intra-Chinggisid conflicts in the 13th century affected the settlement structure of the oasis. But it is not a simple story of destruction and reconstruction. Efforts to invest not only in Bukhara but also in other parts of the oasis are well documented.¹⁶⁷

Endowment documents from the early Mongol period point to an important aspect of post-Mongol transformations in the oasis. Around 700/1300 older settlements appear to have been replaced by new ones in close proximity, and the older settlements were abandoned. The clearest evidence is the village of Khamina in the north-west of the oasis, where in 1299 the old settlement on the “high hill” (*tall-i arfa*’ still co-existed with the new village recently founded by the endower (*hamīn qarya tall-i ‘ālī st va taht-i īn tall dihcha-yi jadīda-st ke banā karda ast ānrā vāqif-i madhkūr*; “This village is [on] a high hill. Below this hill there is a small new village which this endower has built”).¹⁶⁸ The entire new village was apparently erected in a planned way for cultivators who were settled there. Besides residences with courtyards and backyard gardens, it had a winter and a summer mosque, stables, hayricks, weaving workshops and a mill. No walling is mentioned for the new village. Whether the old village, apparently still inhabited at the time of the endowment, was walled is not stated, but a reference to a neighbouring village as

“*qaṣr-i Nakhūddīza*” suggests the existence of walled compounds (*qaṣr*).

The Bākharzī endowment deed of 1326 includes the village Kushk-i Āsyā south-west of Vobkent, which comprised seven hills (tall), one of which had an apparently substantial settlement and was cultivated in 1326, but like the other six hills it stood in the middle of the (new?) village.¹⁶⁹ Another 1326 Bākharzī property in Khāma, south-east of Bukhara, is described as a “large hill” (tall [...] *buzurg*) that had in old times been occupied by buildings.¹⁷⁰ The memory of the old village apparently was still alive. In later documents and narrative texts, settlement hills all over the oasis tend to be mentioned just as “high hills” (*tall-i ‘ālī*, *tall-i rafī*’, *tall-i arfa*’), as topographic features without references to any prior settlement on the hill.

2.10 The Main Rivers and Administrative Districts in the Oasis

2.10.1 Rūdh-i Bukhārā/Daryā-yi Kūhak/Ḥarām Kām/Daryā-yi Qarākūl (Lower Zarafshan)

Various names are attested in narrative and documentary sources for the main course of the lower Zarafshan River before the modern period.¹⁷¹ Only Chinese sources seem to have preserved an old Iranian name, which has been reconstructed as *Nāmīk.¹⁷² Al-Iṣṭakhri calls it the River of Sughd, or simply the River (*al-nahr*), while the anonymous *Hudūd al-Ālam* more precisely reserves the term River of Sughd to the middle course and calls its lower course River (*rūdh*) of Bukhara. Both describe the river as cutting through the oasis of Bukhara.¹⁷³

In post-Mongol sources it is commonly referred to as Ḥarām Kām, Daryā-yi Kūhak or Daryā-yi Qarākūl. Of these three names, the first one, Ḥarām Kām, while of uncertain etymology, may continue a pre-Mongol river name.¹⁷⁴ The possibly earliest reference to the Ḥarām Kām is found

167 Buell 1979. For the foundation of a new madrasa in Zandana by the Mongol governor less than a decade after the Mongol invasion, see Schwarz 2012.

168 Vaqfnāma CGA 323:1429:2, published by Arends et al., *Bukharskii vakf XIII v.*

169 Chekhovich 1965: 71; Russian trans. 150: “[...]which is at present cultivated (*ma’mūr va ābdān*), and on which stand houses (*khānahā*) and mosques (plural)”.
170 Chekhovich 1965: 63; Russian trans. 143; see the translation in the gazetteer, s.v. Khāma.

171 The name Zarafshan is not attested before the 18th century (Barthold 1928: 82). An early instance is *Tārīkh-i Rāqīm* 130/2001: 151: “They call this river (*daryā[-yi Kūhak]*) Zarafshān. Each drop of it sheds a gem (*gauharafshān*)”. On the date (early 18th century?) of the *Tārīkh-i Rāqīm*, see Melville (forthcoming). The identity of the Zarafshan with the Polytimetus of the Alexander historians is well established.

172 Tomaschek 1877: 82–85. See now Lur’e 2004: 27.

173 Al-Iṣṭakhri 1870: 306. He uses the term *rabad* for the oasis. *Hudūd al-Ālam* 1930: 73, cf. also 55.

174 Lur’e suggests a literal Arabic reading of the first part, *ḥarām* “holy, inviolable” (2004: 182–83; 2006), but a secondary Arabic etymologisation of a local term should not be excluded. Daryā-yi

in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, where it seems to belong to the 12th-century (Qarakhanid) layers of the text.¹⁷⁵ The name Ḥarām Kām consistently occurs in texts since the late 14th century, for example in *Anīs al-ṭālibīn*, a hagiographic text composed around 1400.¹⁷⁶ The name Ḥarām Kām appears regularly in 16th- and 17th-century endowment documents and narrative sources. It is occasionally equated with the Daryā-yi Kūhak or the Daryā-i Qarākūl.¹⁷⁷

The wetlands formed by the lower Zarafshan are called by the Sogdian names Sāmkh^wāsh, Black Swamp, or Sāmjan, Black River, by 10th-century geographers.¹⁷⁸ The 12th-century layers of the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* give its extension as 1 farsakh by 20 farsakh (at least 5 km by 100 km) and its name as Pārghīn-i firākh, which Frye translates as “open or wide cisterns”.¹⁷⁹ Its maximum extension may have included the entire Dengizkul and Qarakul areas halfway between the Bukhara Oasis and the Oxus.¹⁸⁰

Kūhak, literally “river of the little mountain”, refers to a hill north of Samarkand.

175 TB(Frye): 19: “The proximity of the Ḥarām Kām and the wetlands formed by it posed problems in Arslān Khān’s efforts to rebuild Paykand”.

176 Ṣalāḥ b. Mubārak Bukhārī (1371/1992: 258–59): “A servant is sent from Karmīna to the bank of the Ḥarām Kām to collect sprigs (*khāshāk*) to cover the floor of a mosque”; (ibid: 275): “Once in a while the water of the Ḥarām Kām damages the branch-off of the canal of Karmīna (*sar-i jūy-i Karmīna*)”. On the textual history of this vita of Bahā’ al-Dīn Naqshband and the probable authorship of Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 822/1420), see Khismatullin 2018. The name Ḥarām Kām for the Zarafshan in the Karmīna area, before the river enters the actual oasis of Bukhara, is also attested around 1550 CE in documents of the Jūybārī shaykhs, where it is equated with the name Daryā-yi Kūhak. Ivanov 1954: 313ssq.

177 E.g., vaqfnāma CGA 55 (before 1018/1609, probably 16th century): Ḥarām Kām = Daryā-yi Kūhak; Zinda ‘Alī, Ms. Tashkent IVUzAN 2619/11: f.374b (late 17th century): Ḥarām Kām = Daryā-yi Qarākūl; f.332b–333a: Daryā Ḥarām Kām flows to the vilāyat Qarākūl.

178 The mss. of al-Iṣṭakhri have Sām Khwāsh (Iṣṭ. 306) or Sām Khash, while al-Balkhī’s map and the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* (citing al-Iṣṭakhri) have Sāmjan. On the etymology, see Lur’e 2004: 205; Kamoliddinov 1996: 90. The alternative toponyms Qarā Kūl and *Dingiz appearing in mss. of the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* may be (much?) later glosses and should not be taken as evidence for pre-Mongol Turkic toponymy, pace Lur’e 2004: 192; or Kamoliddin 2006: (no pagination); TB(Frye): 119 n.95.

179 TB(Frye): 119. Lur’e (2004: 231) accepts this reading and translation.

180 As so often is the case in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, it is difficult to separate the various layers of the text and to distinguish gloss from text. On the Zarafshan wetlands, the TB explicitly cites (al-Iṣṭakhri’s) *Masālik al-mamālik* and gives the measures on the authority of “trustful people”, which may indicate either local knowledge at the time of the Qarakhanids or learned knowledge referring to an older (textual) transmission.

The explicit equation of the Sāmjan and Ḥarām Kām River in a passage of the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* is at first view difficult to reconcile with the later (post-Mongol/early modern) use of Sāmjan as the name of the southern branch of the Vābkanddaryā/Khitfar/Ramitan river system in the west of the oasis (see below). While this might be an error, one should consider the possibility that in earlier periods Sāmjan was more generally used as an indigenous name for the Zarafshan river system in the oasis, or even the Zarafshan itself, especially in the light of its etymology, Black River, which is connected to the Sogdian name for the Zarafshan wetlands – Sāmkh^wāsh (Black Swamp) and its later Turkic calque Qarākūl (Black Lake).¹⁸¹

To sum up: A possible pre- and early Islamic indigenous (Sogdian) name for the Zarafshan was *Nāmīk, of which the Greek Polytimetos might have been a translation. Possible local names for the lower Zarafshan, downstream from Karmina to the Zarafshan wetlands (the modern Dengiz and Qarakul area), were Ḥarām Kām and Sāmjan, neither of which, however, is attested with certainty as a name of the Zarafshan in the pre-Mongol period. In the later medieval and early modern period the common names of the Zarafshan were Ḥarām Kām, the Qarākūl River and the Kūhak River, the latter probably being a learned generalisation of the name of the middle course of the river rather than a locally used name.

2.10.2 Sluices, Bridges and Fords on the Zarafshan

Not only the Zarafshan but also the other rivers and even branch canals in the oasis presented considerable obstacles for travellers between different parts of the villages. Of the various methods for crossing waterways – fords, floating devices, various forms of temporary or permanent bridges – bridges appear relatively late in the archaeological and textual record.¹⁸² The earliest bridge in the oasis of Bukhara that has left a textual trace is the bridge connecting the twin villages of Iskijkat and Shargh, commissioned by the Western Qarakhanid qaghan Arslān Khan between 1102 and 1130 together with a hospice for travellers (*ribāt*) on its northern bridgehead.¹⁸³ The heavy infrastructural investment at Iskijkat and Shargh suggests that the road connecting Bukhara to Kumishkent was still important in the early 12th century.

A number of early modern bridge-building projects combined concerns about communication and travel

181 For a gloss of uncertain date in one of the manuscripts of the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* that gives Sāmjan as a name for the “river of Shargh” (i.e., the Zarafshan), cf. TB(Frye): 15.

182 On pre-modern river crossing methods, see Rollinger 2013.

183 The relevant section of the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* is translated below, see gazetteer, s.v. Iskijkat/Shargh.

FIGURE 40 Zarafshan with bridges
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with major investments in irrigation infrastructure. A description of the water management system of the middle and lower Zarafshan written at the end of the 18th century mentions four major sluice bridges across the Zarafshan from Karmīna to Jāndār¹⁸⁴: The bridge at Karmīna, the Mihtar Qāsim bridge, the Chahār Minār bridge and the bridge at Jāndār.¹⁸⁵ They served the double purpose of river crossings and sluices for the division and management of the water flow. The three bridges in the oasis – Mihtar Qāsim, Chahār Minār and Jāndār – are discussed here in this latter function as crucial elements of the road communication system in the oasis. At least two, possibly all three, bridges were built in the 16th century.¹⁸⁶ The three bridges were located near three of the four main modern highway bridges across the Zarafshan/Central Bukhara Collector Canal, namely the M-37 bridge south of Vobkent, the R-68 bridge at (modern) Romitan and the bridge connecting M-37 with Jondor. They can be

considered as representing the emergence of the latest stage in the road system since the 16th century.

Mihtar Qāsim bridge (pul-i Mihtar Qāsim) was built in the 1530s.¹⁸⁷ It crosses the Zarafshan 7 km south of Vobkent on the road from Bukhara via Gallaosio to Vobkent. Its southern bridgehead still appears in late-19th-/early-20th-century maps and documents as Sar-i Pul-i Mihtar Qāsim (bridgehead of Mihtar Qāsim) or, in short, Sar-i Pul.¹⁸⁸ Between the 17th and 19th century the bridge appears often as a major orientation point in the oasis.¹⁸⁹ The Chahār Minār bridge crossed the Zarafshan at Laqlaqa near modern Romitan; it was also known as

184 Mirzā Badī' Divān 1981: ff.90a–91b/95–96; Semenov 1948; Mukhamedjanov 1978: 128–32. On the *Majma' al-arqām* and the question of its authorship and date (1798?), see Bregel 2000.

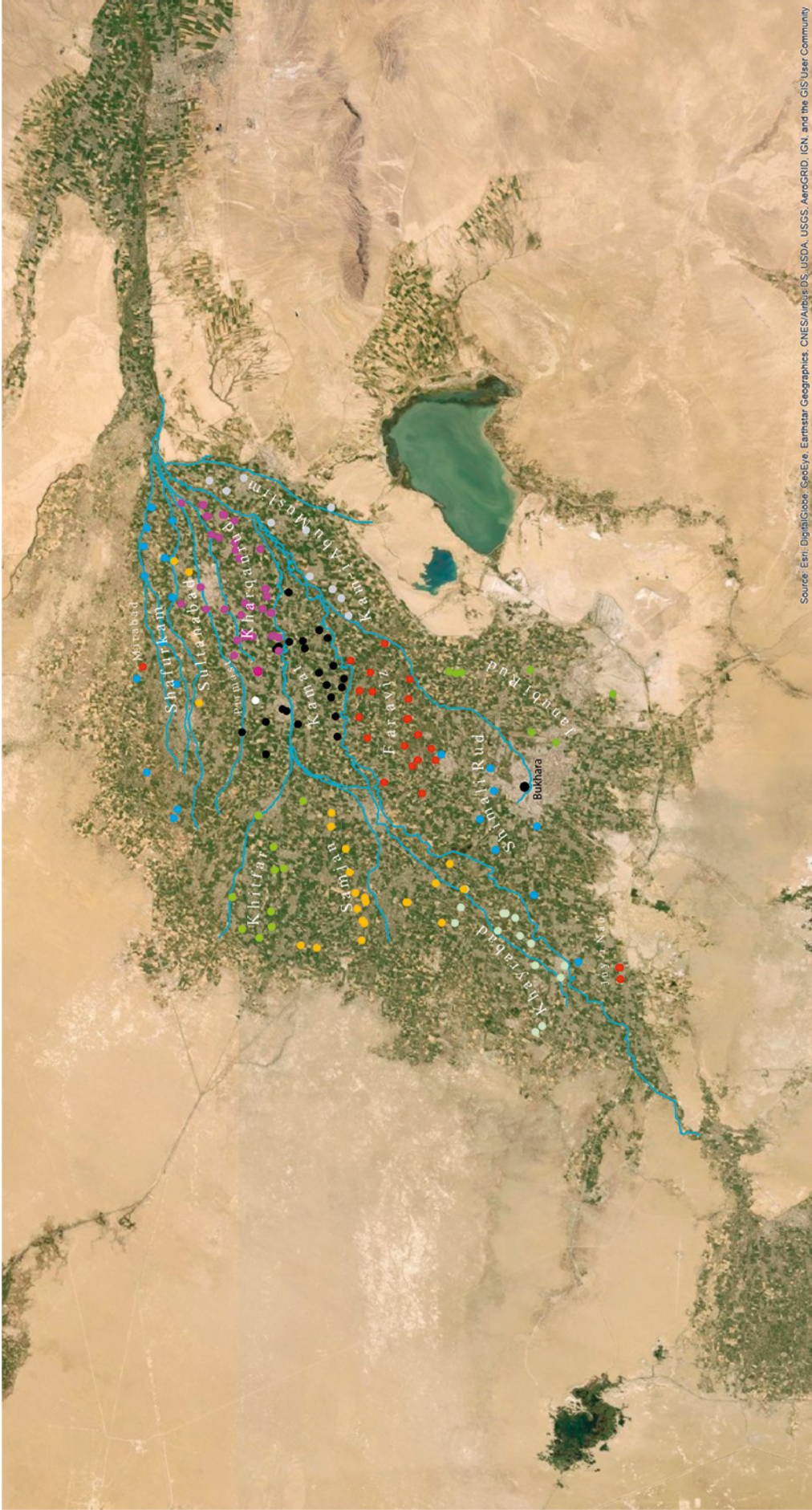
185 The representation of the administrative organisation of the oasis in this section of the *Majma' al-arqām* is discussed below and above. On archeological explorations at the four bridges conducted in 1962, see Mukhamedjanov 1969.

186 Mukhamedjanov (1978: 132) dates all three to the second half of the 16th century, citing archaeological explorations undertaken in 1962 at the remains of all three bridges. On the 1962 archaeological study, see Mukhamedjanov 1969.

187 Nithārī Bukhārī (1389/1969: 38) and Muḥammad Amīn Bukhārī (2014: 85) list the bridge among the major achievements of the reign of 'Ubaydallāh Khān (r. 1533–40). *Tārīkh-i Rāqīm* (2001: 151–15) describes Mihtar Qāsim as a courtier of 'Abdallāh 11 and dates the bridge with a chronogram by Mullā Mushfiqī “gadhurgah-i mā” to 986/1578–79. But as the bridge was already known by the name “Mihtar Qāsim's bridge” to Nithārī, who finished his book in 1566, *Tārīkh-i Rāqīm*'s identification and dates cannot be correct. The date may refer to repairs or improvements of the bridge, to an event involving the bridge, or to a different bridge, likely the bridge commissioned by 'Abdallāh 11 further downstream at Laqlaqa.

188 NPBE 2001: f.1: Sar-i Pul-i Mihtar Qāsim, tūmān Shimālī Rūd; 10-verst' map: Sarypul.

189 E.g., Zinda 'Alī (late 17th century), describes the village of Atquchī (north of Gallaosio) as “at the begin of the road that leads to the Mihtar Qāsim bridge” (Ms. Tashkent IVUZAN 2619/ 11: f. 491b).



Source: Earth Digital Globe, GeoEye, Earthstar Geographics, CNES/Airbus/USDA, USGS, AeroGRID, IGN, and the GIS User Community

FIGURE 41 Districts
© F. SCHWARZ 2020

Laqlaqa bridge (Pul-i Laqlaqa).¹⁹⁰ Between 1912 and 1914 it was replaced by a new bridge, the Chorikulboy bridge, built by Czech, German and Bukharan architects and engineers. The third and southernmost of the sluice bridges crossed the Zarafshan at Jāndār.

These were not the only early modern Zarafshan bridges. A bridge across the Zarafshan about 10 km upstream from Jondor is mentioned in a deed for an endowment dating not later than 1018/1609.¹⁹¹ Called the bridge of Ḥaḍrat Bābā Maḥmūd Shāh in the deed, it was located east of the villages of Mullā Shihāb and Qarā Qumārī, a location that coincides with a river crossing at Suliakion (Sulukiuan) mentioned by Sitniakovskii.¹⁹² The Eshon (Khwāja Sad Pīrī) bridge crossed the Zarafshan near Saktari on the road from Qiziltepa to G'ijduvon.¹⁹³ This is one of the most important points in the hydrology of the oasis where the Khitfar/Vābkanddaryā system branches off from the Zarafshan. Irrigation of the entire central and western parts of the oasis depend on the water flow at this point.¹⁹⁴ A large square fortification on the east bank of the Zarafshan guards the strategic spot.¹⁹⁵ I have not been able to trace the bridge in pre-19th-century sources. The late-17th-century hagiography *Thamarāt al-mashāyikh* mentions a Zarafshan crossing (*gadhurgāh-i daryā*), apparently a ford, not a bridge, probably ca. 15 km upstream from the Mihtar Qāsim bridge and 4 km upstream from Arslān Khān's bridge at Shargh and Iskijkat.¹⁹⁶

Sitniakovskii lists seven bridges in the Bukhara Oasis in the 1890s.¹⁹⁷

2.10.3 Main Administrative Districts

The following section provides an overview of the administrative districts of the oasis from the early modern to

modern period. Districts are defined from the inside – through the irrigation system – rather than by an outer boundary. The attribution of settlements to administrative districts may change according to the dynamics of the irrigation system. Villages may also be irrigated by several canals belonging to different river (sub-)systems.¹⁹⁸ Consequently no district boundaries are indicated on the accompanying map, but only villages that are documented for a district. To give just one example, the village of Bāzārjāy, located 3 km north of Vobkent, is documented in the second half of the 19th century as a village of the tūmāns Pīrmast¹⁹⁹ and Kāmāt/Vābkand.²⁰⁰

2.10.3.1 *Mīrābād*

The tūmān of Mīrābād was located in the far north of the oasis. Its earliest mention may be dated back to the early 15th century, when several villages in Mīrābād became part of the endowment for the library of Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā.²⁰¹ Only one of the villages, Hārūn, can be located.²⁰² The tūmān Mīrābād is still mentioned in the late 17th century.²⁰³ The discontinuity of toponyms and settlements in this area is easily explained by the ecological instability of the area, especially its exposure to moving sands. In the 19th century, and probably earlier, it was incorporated into the Shāfurkām river system. Sitniakovskii lists Hārūn (Khorun) as a right-side branch canal of the “Old Shāfurkām”.²⁰⁴

2.10.3.2 *Shāfurkām*

Called Sāfarī Kām in al-Iṣṭakhrī and Shāpūrkām or Shāfurkām in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, today this is the northernmost river of the modern oasis, and the first one to branch off from the Zarafshan inside the oasis. The modern town and district Shofirkon are named after it. According to al-Iṣṭakhrī it extended to Vardāna, the main town irrigated by this river. The 10-verst' map from the 1890s has the canal end a few kilometres south of Vardāna.

190 Zinda 'Alī, Ms. Tashkent IVUZAN 2619/11: f. 333a.

191 Vaqfnāma CGA 323.1:55; Waqf for madrasa Kalābād and descendants (aulād) of 'Abd ar-Raḥīm Khwāja Jūybārī (before 13 j2 1018/12 Sept 1609). The relevant passage is translated below, gazetteer, s.v. Tārāb.

192 Sitniakovskii (1899b: 250): “pereprava cherez Zarafshan”.

193 NPBE: f.44, f.50; 'Ainī 1362/1983: 129.

194 The resolution of a water conflict in 1312/1895 resulting from mismanagement of the water flow at this point, which affected the three tūmāns of Kāmāt, Sāmjan and Khitfar, is described in the memoirs of Judge Muḥammad Sharīf Ṣadr-i Ziyā 2003: 146–48. Repercussions were still felt two decades later, see Urunbaev, Dzhuraeva and Gulomov 2007: 41, doc. 62.

195 The site, wedged between the modern sluices and highway M37, has not been registered in the survey. With a side length of ca. 130 m it is similar in dimensions to the citadel of Mazrangān (site 0089), 7 km downstream on the Vābkanddaryā.

196 The crossing was between Khasbudūn and Teraklik.

197 Sitniakovskii 1899a: 173. He adds two bridges south of the oasis, one on the road to Qarākūl and one in the town of Qarākūl itself.

198 Sitniakovskii 1899b has many examples.

199 Turaev 1991: 116, 128; NPBE: f.37.

200 Turaev 1991: 110 (Kāmāt), 122 (Vābkand).

201 Vaqfnāma CGA: 323:55. On the library of Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā, Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband's famous disciple in Bukhara, see Subtelny 2001.

202 Sitniakovskii 1899b: 223; Xorun'; 100K map: Xoryn. 40° 9'51" N 64°34'28" E.

203 Zinda 'Alī, Ms. Tashkent IVUZAN 2619/11: ff. 332b–33a: Isfirī, not identified. To reach Isfirī, Zinda 'Alī, the author of the *Thamarāt*, crossed the Zarafshan at the Laqlaqa bridge (at modern Romitan), which may indicate that Isfirī was located north of modern Shofirkon.

204 Sitniakovskii 1899b: 223.

In the 19th century the district was known alternatively as Shāfurkām or Vardanzī (i.e., Vardāna).

The name of this river has generated considerable discussion, as it seems to contain a reference to the Sasanian royal name Shāpūr. In light of the apparent confirmation of this connection in a popular (or learned) etymology in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, this hydronym has been cited as evidence for significant Sasanian presence in the oasis.²⁰⁵

Being (after the integration of the Mirābād district) the northernmost tūmān of the oasis, the zone irrigated by the Shāfurkām was under considerable ecological pressure from the adjacent sandy steppe. In the 1880s stretches of the Shāfurkām were blocked by moving sands, and a new canal was dug.²⁰⁶ Surveying the oasis a few years later, Sitniakovskii distinguishes between the “old Shāfurkām” (Kuhna Shāfurkām) and “new Shāfurkām” (Yangi Shāfurkām), splitting near ‘Arabkhāna.²⁰⁷ Sitniakovskii includes the Shāfurkām River in the amlakdarstvo Pīrmast.

2.10.3.3 *Sulṭānābād and Pīrmast*

Al-Iṣṭakhrī and al-Narshakhī after Shāfurkām with the Kharqān rūd after Shāfurkām, without mentioning the two rivers between them, namely Sulṭānābād and Pīrmast. It is difficult to clearly separate the irrigation systems of the Sulṭānābād and Pīrmast rivers from each other and from Kharqānrūd (see below), where at certain periods they may have been integrated.

The district Pīrmast is rarely mentioned before the 19th century. A document of the Jūybārī family dated 1572 CE²⁰⁸ presents Pīrmast and Sulṭānābād together in a context that might indicate a particular status within the tūmān Ghijduvān (i.e., Kharqānrūd): “[property] in the tūmān Ghijduvān with villages and settlements belonging to it, in the settlements of Pīrmast and Sulṭānābād in the vilāyat Bukhārā”. In the first half of the 17th century Imāmquī

Khān included the district Pīrmast in the dowry for his sister when she married a Jūybārī shaykh.²⁰⁹

In the late 19th century the Sulṭānābād River ended a few kilometres south-west of modern Shofirkon. Sitniakovskii includes the villages irrigated by the Sulṭānābād River in the amlakdarstvo Pīrmast; south-east of modern Shofirkon the canal split into an old and new branch.²¹⁰ An alternative name for the tūmān Sulṭānābād is Ghishtī, after the town Ghishtī on the upper course of the Sulṭānābād River.²¹¹ One document specifies that the tūmān Ghishtī was irrigated by the Sulṭānābād river (tūmān-i Ghishtī ābkhūr-i nahr-i Sulṭānābād).

2.10.3.4 *Kharqān Rūd*

Kharqān rūd (river of Kharqān) is the name of the river that today skirts the city of G’ijduvon on the south. Al-Iṣṭakhrī and the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* both distinguish between “upper Kharq/ghāna” and Kharq/ghān rūd, but only the latter includes upper Kharqāna in the list of the oasis’s rivers, while al-Iṣṭakhrī lists it among the districts outside the oasis walls. The toponym Kharqān is attested in Xuanzang’s travelogue as Hehan (喝捍, MC *hāt yǎn) in the first half of the 7th century. The reference in Xuanzang is more likely to “upper Kharqāna” between Karmīna and the oasis than to the Kharqān rūd district in the oasis. A major military encounter between Qutayba b. Muslim and the lord of Vardāna in the first decade of the 8th century CE is recorded in early Islamic tradition in Lower Kharaghāna.²¹²

It is not clear how far west the area irrigated by the Kharqān rūd reached in the 10th century and what parts of the Sulṭānābād and Pīrmast irrigations systems – which are not mentioned in the 10th-century sources – it included. According to al-Iṣṭakhrī, the Kharqānrūd ended at a settlement named R/Zāwus/sh or R/Zawās/sh, which appears to correspond to al-Sam’ānī’s ZWSh. But the reading is uncertain, and the settlement has not been identified. Al-Sam’ānī’s statement (qualified with “in my opinion”) that the settlement was near Nūr is impossible, if the modern Nur Ata is intended.²¹³

At times the tūmān Kharqānrūd included all or parts of the Pīrmast district and perhaps also the Sulṭānābād district (see above). The alternative name Ghijduvān is

205 Omelchenko 2012; much more cautiously Lur’e 2006; Naymark (2001: 291f.) appears to reject the etymology but not the historicity of the presence of a Sasanian prince in the oasis. A discussion of the etymology lies outside the scope of this study, and outside the competence of the author, but it should be pointed out that any further discussion would have to consider the possibility that Shāfurkām may have been formed in analogy to Kam-i Abu Muslim (kām = river, canal plus personal name) from an earlier Sha/iburghān, itself of unclear etymology, but to be compared with the toponym Sha/iba/irghān in northern Afghanistan. Not only in the modern name Shofirkon but also in earlier sources the final consonant is n (not m), and the toponym Shiberghan (Sitniakovskii 1899b: 228; Shibirgon’) still exists as the name of a village 4 km ESE of modern Shofirkon (40° 5’55” N 64°33’11” E).

206 ‘Ainī 1362/1983: 1:61, 69; Aini 1998: 88, 97.

207 40° 9’12” N 64°36’14” E. Sitniakovskii 1899b: 223–26.

208 Ivanov 1954: 258–59 (doc. 286, 979/1572).

209 Ivanov 1954: 77.

210 Sitniakovskii 1899b: 226–28.

211 100K-map: Gishty; 10-verst-map: Gyshty. 40° 7’31.94” N 64°47’24.96” E.

212 Al-Ṭabarī 1879–1901: 2:1198; for the translation, cf. Hinds 1990: 147.

213 Pace Barthold 1928: 114.

documented already in the 16th century.²¹⁴ Sitniakovskii includes it in the *amlakdarstvo Ghijduvān*.²¹⁵

2.10.3.5 *Khitfar/Vābkanddaryā*

The name *Khitfar* continues a river name that appears in the 10th-century geographies and the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* in combination with a so-far-unexplained component as *Najār* (*Bukhār?*)/*Ghāw* (*Ghār* or [*Bu*]ghār?) *Khitfar*. In the 10th century it ended in the region west of *Zandani* at an unidentified town named *Kharmīthan* (or *Khurmīthan*), which must have been a settlement of some importance in the 10th century near the edge of the steppe on the northern road to *Khwarazm* (see the evidence and discussion in the gazetteer, s.v.).

It is mentioned without the first component in the 12th century in the context of a village on the lower *Khitfar* (near modern *Yangibāzār*).²¹⁶ The hydronym *Khitfar* is well documented in archival documents and narrative texts since the 13th and 14th centuries (and possible even the early 12th century) for the river that now branches off the *Zarafshan* at the modern *Kharkhur* barrage²¹⁷ and continues west past *Zandani*.²¹⁸ From the 18th century, the upper course of the *Khitfar*, from the *Zarafshan* to the point 4 km west of *Vobkent* where the *Rāmītan* (*Sāmjan*) River branches off to the left, becomes more commonly referred to as *Vobkent River* (*Vābkanddaryā*, *Vobkentdar'ia* in the Russian literature and on the Soviet 100K map).²¹⁹ The lower course continues to be called the *Khitfar* or *Zandani River*.²²⁰ This western stretch of the *Khitfar* River has been strongly affected by modern irrigation structures, while much of the upper, eastern course can still be easily traced on the ground.²²¹

214 Ivanov 1954: 258–59 (doc. 286, 979/1572).

215 Sitniakovskii 1899b: 216, 217–21 (*Xaraxan'-rud'*, *Kal'kan' rud'*).

216 Al-Sam'ānī 1912: s.v. al-Audanī.

217 40° 3'18"N 64° 46'28" E.

218 E.g., *vaqfnāma CGA 55* (13th/14th to 16th centuries, including data from an early 12th-century *vaqfiyya*; see Chekhovich 1987; *Zinda 'Alī*, Ms. Tashkent IVUZAN 2619/11: f.197 (late 17th century).

219 Occasionally the name *Khitfar* was still applied to the *Vābkanddaryā* after the 18th century, perhaps under the influence of older documents. For example, the stretch of the river that skirts *Rāmī* (*tūmān Kāmāt*) on the south is called *Daryā-yi Vābkant* in the *vaqfnāma CGA 323:306/16* of 1161 AH (1748), but *Nahr Khitfar* in the *vaqfnāma CGA 323:305*, dated 1231 AH (1816).

220 Sitniakovskii gives the following names for the constituents of the *Vobkent/Khitfar/Sāmjan* system: *Vabkent'-dar'ia* for the upper course (1899b: 232–41); *Zandani* or *Gudfar'* [i.e., *Khitfar*] for the right branch after the bifurcation (ibid: 289–95), *Romitan'* (*Saumidjan'* [i.e., *Sāmjan*]) for the left branch after the bifurcation (ibid: 296–303).

221 Eversmann (1823: 65), visiting in 1823, calls the *Zarafshān* “*Vāfkand* river”, but this may be based on a misunderstanding. He describes the crossing of the *Vāfkand daryā* south of

2.10.3.6 *Kāmāt*

As the name of the *tūmān* suggests, *Kāmāt* (lit. “the canals”) is one of the most intensely irrigated and cultivated zones of the oasis. Its core area is located between the *Khitfar/Vābkanddaryā* rivers south and south-east of *Vobkent*; 16th-century documents include villages north and north-west of *Vobkent* in the *tūmān*. The *tūmān* is defined by two main canals, *Kām-i Jargh*²²² and *Kām-i 'Akka*.²²³ *Kāmāt* does not figure in the 10th-century lists of rivers, but its south-eastern half may be largely identical with the area irrigated by the “*Jurgh*” (i.e., *Jargh/Shargh*) River (see above). *Kām-i 'Akka* belonged to the *Khitfar* district in the first half of the 14th century.²²⁴

2.10.3.7 *Sāmjan/Rāmītan*

The river called *Rāmīthan* in *al-Iṣṭakhrī* and *Sāmjan* in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* is the left (southern) branch of the *Khitfar/Vābkanddaryā* river system after the bifurcation 4 km west of modern *Vobkent*. The name *tūmān-i Sāmjan* for the area around *Rāmītan* appears already in a late-13th-century *vaqfiyya* and is well documented since the 16th century.²²⁵ The river itself seems to have retained its name *Rāmīthan*.²²⁶ In the 19th century the district seems to also have been known under the name *Chārshanba* (Wednesday).²²⁷ The southern boundary with the *tūmān Khayrābād* is not clearly defined.

2.10.3.8 *Khayrābād*

Khayrābād is well attested since the 16th century as a district in the south-west of the oasis, located west of the *Zarafshan* River and stretching approximately from *Zindavis* in the north to *Jondor* in the south. It is defined by the *Khayrābād* River. The boundary between the *Khayrābād* district and its northern neighbour, *Sāmjan* (*Rāmītan*), is not always clearly defined. Settlements in the

Vāfkand, which he considers a branch of the – in his view – actual *Vāfkand* River, namely the *Zarafshan*, which he crossed at *Laqlaqa* (near modern *Romitan*), i.e., using the *Chahār Minār* (*Laqlaqa*) bridge. Eversmann adds to the confusion when he mentions earlier (ibid: 62) that *Bukhara* is irrigated by the “rivulet” *Vāfkand* (*das Flüsschen Wafkand*) that springs from the *Nuratau* Mountains north of the oasis. These are among the very few slips of Eversmann, who usually offers very precise and insightful information.

222 Sitniakovskii 1899b: 235–36.

223 Sitniakovskii 1899b: 237–40.

224 Chekhovich 1965: 147–50.

225 Arends et al., *Bukharskii vakf XIII v.*

226 E.g., *Zinda 'Alī*, Ms. Tashkent IVUZAN 2619/11 (late 17th century): f. 336a: *Nahr-i Rāmītan*, near *Qarāmān* (halfway between modern *Ramitan* and Old *Ramitan*). Cf. *aryk Romitan* on the Soviet 100K map.

227 Tomaschek 1877: 172.

Zindavis area may appear in documents around 1600 CE as belonging to either Sāmjan or Khayrābād, or even to both, as in the case of several villages bought by Muḥammad Islām Jūybārī in Ramaḍān 978/February 1571.²²⁸ A connection between the Khayrābād River/district and the sacred site of Khayrābād in the oasis of Bukhara, mentioned in the 12th-century pilgrims' guide book *Laṭā'if al-adhkār*, cannot be substantiated.²²⁹

The late-17th-century *Thamarāt* indicates the Khitfar River as the southern boundary of the Kharqānrūd tūmān near Ghijduvān.²³⁰

2.10.3.9 *Kam-i Abu Muslim*

Kam-i Abu Muslim differs from the other main canals in being named after a prominent historical figure of the early Islamic (8th-century) period. It is not explicitly mentioned in 10th-century texts. Branching off the Zarafshan a little below the Kharqānrūd River, it is the main irrigation artery for the eastern margins of the oasis, including the Ṭavāvis region. Its identification with other left bank branches of the Zarafshan mentioned in 10th-century sources, for example the *Paykān River, is unlikely, as the Kam-i Abu Muslim flows into the eastern steppe about 30 km north-east of Bukhara and never reaches the area east of Bukhara. Sitniakovskii lists it under amlakdarstvo Vaganzi.²³¹

2.10.3.10 *Farāvīz*

In post-Mongol documents, the tūmān of Farāvīz comprises the area between the Zarafshān and the Shārūd down to Galaosyo. The earliest appearance of a village in Farāvīz is Darāchūn in an endowment document for the madrasa of Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā, datable to approximately 1407 CE.

Sitniakovskii (241, 244, 245) records three settlements named Liabi Faraviz' (NPBE f.1: Lab-i Farāvīz, "[on the] Bank of the Farāvīz [canal]"). There, the locations apparently mark a stretch of about 10 km of the Farāvīz canal between roughly Khayrabatcha (Iskijkath) and Kulishturum (Kul-i Hashtlam). The name Farāvīz seems to have been applied in the early Islamic period to the entire area between the Shahrud and Zarafshan down to the area between Bukhara and Jondor (hence the name "canal

of Daimūn" in al-Narshakhī; Daimūn being a village ca. 2 km south-east of modern Jondor), but the post-Mongol record limits Farāvīz to the area north and north-east of Galaosyo.²³²

In the late 1900s, the Farāvīz canal (Kām-i Farāvīz) was a right-branch canal of the Shahrud. Sitniakovskii lists it among the canals of the amlakdarstvo Kāmāt-Vābkand. Oriented east-west rather than northeast-southwest, it irrigated villages in the central areas of the old tūmān of Farāvīz.

2.10.3.11 *Khargūsh*

Khargūsh, the name of a modern town between Galaosyo and Vobkent, appears relatively rarely and late as a designation for an administrative district. It seems to be an alternative name for Farāvīz or, more recently, Shimālī-yi Rūd. In an endowment deed dated 1190/1776, Tall-i Mārān is located in tūmān Khayrkūsh (sic).²³³

2.10.3.12 *Jūy Nau Shahr Islām*

The small tūmān Jūy Nau (the new canal) or Jūy-Nau-i Shahr-i Islām, also simply Shahr-i Islām, is mentioned in documents since the mid-16th century before it was incorporated into the Shimālī-yi Rūd tūmān in the 1820s.²³⁴ A "fortress of the tūmān Jūy-i Nau" near Eranshah between the old and new courses of the Kūhak (Zarafshān) River is mentioned in a document of the Jūybārī shaykhs dated 977/1569–70.²³⁵ It underlines the important strategic location at the entrance of the Khurasan road from Paykand into the oasis of Bukhara.

2.10.3.13 *Rūd-i Shahr/Pāyrūd/Janūbī and Shimālī Rūd*

The name Rūd-i Shahr is documented at least since the 16th century until around 1800 for the area on the lower Shahrud as far west as Daimūn. Around Bukhara it partially overlaps with Pāyrūd, attested from at least the 17th century to the middle of the 19th century for the area along and south of the middle course of the Shahrud, bordering in the north on the tūmān Kam-i Abu Muslim. During

228 Ivanov 1954: no. 338 and no. 357. The "tūmān Sāmjan and Khayrābād" is not to be understood as a name for a (double) tūmān but indicates the border area of two separate tūmāns; this is clear from the reference in JD 357 to the "river of the tūmān Khayrābād".

229 Ibn Māza 1392/2013: 100–01.

230 Zinda 'Alī, Ms. Tashkent IVUzAN 2619/11: f.197.

231 Sitniakovskii 1899b: 264–67.

232 Barthold's suggestion to read Tārāb for Fārāb in al-Iṣṭakhri would require an unlikely change of the course of the Zarafshan, as Tārāb is located on the western side of the modern course of the Zarafshan.

233 Vāqfnāma CGA 323:758:2.

234 E.g., Ivanov 1954: 157, no. 108, undated (second half of the 16th century): tūmān Jūy-i Nau; CGA 305, undated: Khūmīn (= Khunbūn), tūmān Shahr-i Islām; CGA 305 (1235/1818–19): Khūmīn (sic), tūmān Shahr-i Islām. Tūmān Jūy-i Nau appears also in a list of tankhwāh beneficiaries from the second half of the 19th century, but it may be a historicising name in this context. Turaev 1991: 98–103.

235 Ivanov 1954: 326, no. 382.

the reign of Amir Ḥaydar (r. 1800–26) the administrative division of the area along the middle and lower Shahrud was reorganised: The area south and east of Bukhara was called Janūbī Rūd (south of the river); the area between Bukhara and the Zarafshan was Shimālī Rūd (north of the river). This nomenclature remained in use until the end of the Manghit Emirate.

2.10.3.14 *Jūy-i Mūliyān*

This branch canal may seem a bit out of place in a discussion of the major waterways of the oasis, were it not for its fame in Persian literary history. In one of the most famous early New Persian poems, the poet Rūdakī evokes the scent (*būy*) of the Jūy-i Mūliyān to incite the return of the Samanid amir to Bukhara after a prolonged absence.²³⁶ This water course is mentioned several times in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* (TB(Russ): ch. 13). The Samanid Amīr Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr is said to have accessed the throne in Jūy-i Mūliyān in Shavvāl 350. The construction of a suburban palace on property bought from the Bukhārkhudā family on this canal is ascribed already to Ismāʿīl. The *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* describes it as the most agreeable place to live in Bukhara.²³⁷ Al-Narshakhī's description may perhaps already be reflecting Rūdakī's poem. After the end of

the Samanid dynasty, the palace at Jūy-i Mūliyān is said to have been abandoned and fallen into ruin (TB(Russ): 39, ch. 14). Less flattering to the scent of the Jūy-i Mūliyān is the judgement of Amīr Ismāʿīl's doctors: They attributed the cause of Ismāʿīl's terminal illness to the canal (TB(Russ): 85).

Nekrasova mentions the existence of a village of that name 2 km from the city (according to Lykoshin) and reconstructs its location on the basis of the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* to north-west of the citadel.²³⁸ More likely the location of the Samanid palace and gardens have to be looked for north rather than north-west of the city, perhaps on the same grounds as the 19th-century palace Sitora Mohi Khossa. The course of the Jūy-i Mūliyān can be fairly precisely reconstructed on the basis of documentary evidence. It branched off the Shahrud on its right (western) side just before Turūn Burūn (mod. Turunburun) ca. 8.5 km NE of the citadel (CGA 323:129, dated 1205/1790–91: Sar-i Jūy-i Mūliyān va Turūn Burūn). Markov's map of the environs of Bukhara indicates a small settlement with the name Mauli a little further south. It cannot have flown much further west than Kūrān (mod. Kuron) on Jūy-i Mūliyān.²³⁹ This Kuron is immediately north-west of Sitora Mohi Khossa.

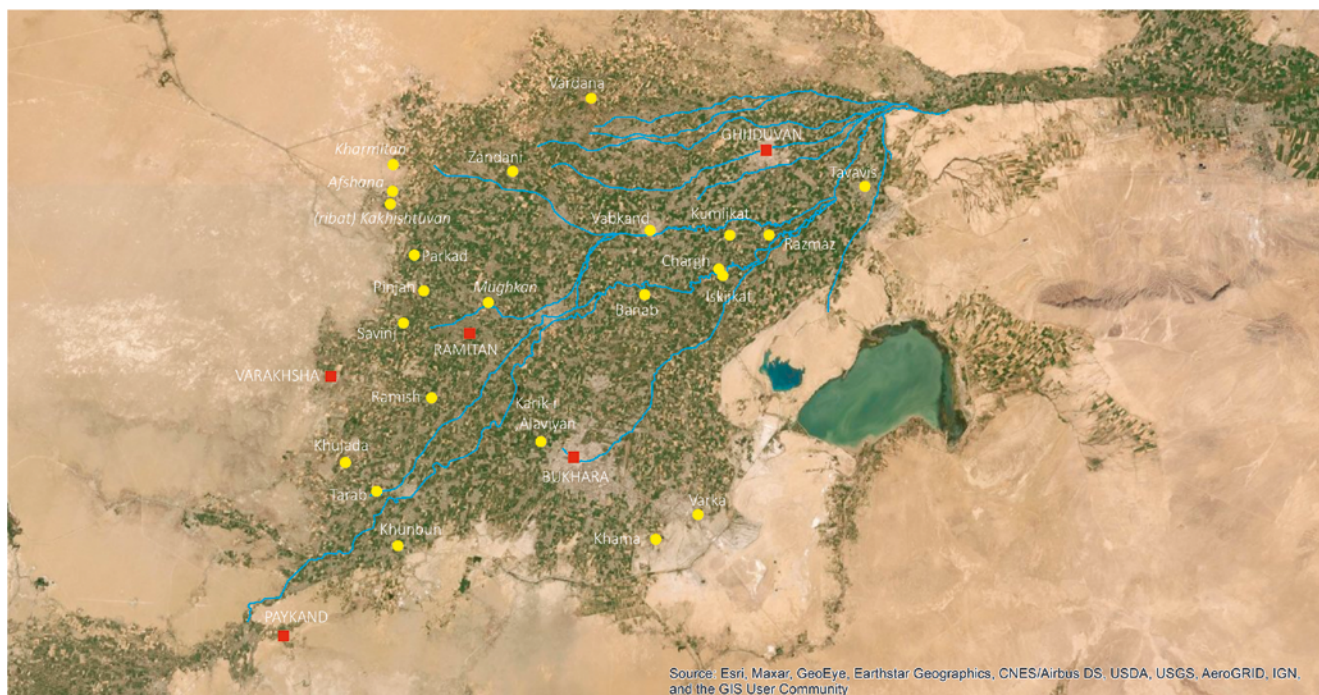


FIGURE 42 Map showing toponyms of the gazetteer
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236 For the text, translation and excellent analysis and contextualisation of this poem, see Landau 2012.

237 TB(Russ): 37, ch. 13, and 37 ch. 14.

238 TB(Russ): 252 n.14:11; also 248 n.13:33.

239 Vaqfnāma CGA 323:306:4, dated 1073/1662–63.

3 Gazetteer of Toponyms and Settlements

AFSHĀNA and KHARMĪTAN
 BĀNAB
 BARKAD, see PARKAD
 BUMIJKAT / BAMIJKAT, see KUMIJKAT
 CHARGH (SHARGH) and ISKIJKAT
 ISKIJKAT, see CHARGH and ISKIJKAT
 KĀKHISHTUVĀN
 KĀRAK/KĀRĪK-I ‘ALAVIYĀN, see KUNBUN (east)
 KHĀMA
 KHARMĪTAN, see AFSHĀNA
 KHUJĀDĀ
 KHUNBŪN (west)
 KHUNBŪN (east) = KĀRAK/KĀRĪK-I ‘ALAVIYĀN
 KUMIJKAT
 MUGHKĀN
 NUMIJKAT/NAMIJKAT, see KUMIJKAT
 PARKAD
 PINJĀN
 RĀZMĀZ
 RĪVQĀN, see RĀZMĀZ
 RĀMISH
 SAVINJ, see SIVANJ
 SIVANJ/SAVINJ
 TĀRĀB
 ṬAVĀVĪS
 ŪBŪQĀR, see RĀZMĀZ
 VĀBKAND
 VARDĀNA
 VARKA
 ZANDANĪ

3.1 *Afshāna and Kharmītan*

Afshāna (fig. 43), also spelled Afshana or Afshina, is known as the probable birthplace of the eminent medieval scholar Ibn Sīna (Avicenna, 980–1037 CE). In modern times it is generally identified with a village in the Peshku district, 6 km north of modern Romitan and 25 km north of Bukhara. Until the early 20th century this village appears on maps and in gazetteers and documents as Isfana or Isfānī.²⁴⁰ The Avicenna Museum was built there in 1980 and expanded in 2006. The review of sources, however, leads to the conclusion that Afshāna must have been located about 20 km farther north-west on the present north-western margins of the oasis.

240 NPBE: Isfānī, Isfana, Ispānī (tūmān Khitfar); Sitniakovskii 1899b: 292; Isfine, Ispine (Amliakdarstvo Zandany); 10-verst’ map: Isfane. The modern name of the village, Afshana, appears to be a modern pseudo-historicising name.

Afshāna was close to Kharmītan, a settlement where Avicenna’s father held an administrative position. The location of Afshāna therefore depends on the position of Kharmītan. Al-Iṣṭakhrī places Kharmītan at the end of the area irrigated by the Khitfar River. Consequently it must have been situated somewhere west of Zandana, perhaps near the modern boundary between irrigated land and steppe, north of Kakishtuvan. The proximity to the presumptive course of the oasis wall suggests that Kharmītan was one of the villages associated with the entry point into the oasis from Khorezm, similar to Kakishtuvan (q.v.). This hypothesis finds support in sources that describe Afshana/Afshāna as the origin of the caravan road to Khwārazm in the 14th century.

Neither the site of Kharmītan nor of Afshāna have been precisely determined.²⁴¹ They must be looked for somewhere between modern Kakushtuvan and Shavari, about 40 km NNW of Bukhara, close to the oasis wall.²⁴² Shishkin, who correctly located Kharmītan in the north-west of the oasis, has offered a plausible hypothesis. He associated the toponym with a probably ill-transmitted toponym KhRMN THI in Vā’iz Kāshifi’s *Rashaḥāt*, a hagiographic text written around 1500. According to the hagiography, it was the birth village of Khwāja Auliya Pārsā in the 12th century and had been abandoned by the end of the 15th century. Shishkin therefore identifies Kharmītan with Khodzhaparsan Tēpa, which may retain the name of Khwāja Auliya Pārsā (site 0926).²⁴³ However, in the absence of any further topographic information, any identification of Afshāna with a specific settlement mound remains hypothetical.

Around 1400, early Naqshbandī hagiography describes Afshāna as the place where the caravans to Khorezm assembled.²⁴⁴ The 16th-/17th-century Jūybārī hagiography mentions Afshāna as a place where one sees off travellers who leave the oasis of Bukhara for Khwarazm. It also mentions two villages in the vicinity, Āq Bik (not identified) and Shāvari.²⁴⁵

241 Rante and Mirzaakhmedov (2019) still follow the conventional location of Afshāna and associate it with site 0432.

242 This corresponds roughly to sites 0330–50 and 0922–27.

243 Shishkin 1963: 23; Mukhamedjanov 1978: 83. For the location of Khodzhaparsan Tēpa (40.089557° N 64.160107° E) in the context of the oasis wall (Kampirduvol), see Stark and Mirzaakhmedov 2015: 79, map, no. 12 (“frontier fortress”).

244 Ṣalāḥ b. Mubārak Bukhārī 1371/1992: 191.

245 Shāvari: Kashmīrī, ms. Tashkent IVANRUZ 2094: f.77b; Jūybārī 1540: f.63a. 10v. Sitniakovskii 1899b: 294; 100K map: Shavari. Site 0896, 40.11201° N 64.275927° E. Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 07. Āq Bik: Jūybārī 1540: f.43a. The family graves of the ancestors of Khwāja Muḥammad Islām Jūybārī’s maternal grandmother

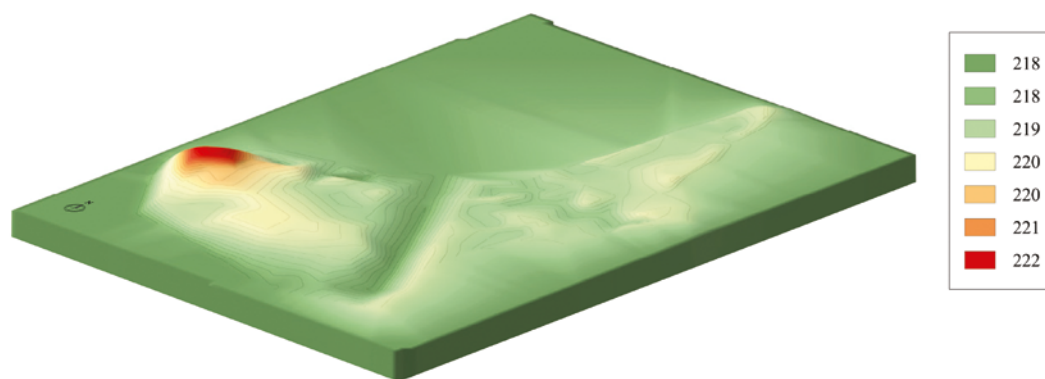


FIGURE 43 Digital Terrain Model of site 330 (Afshana?)

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The *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* describes Afshina as an important town with citadel and suburbs and a weekly market. It strongly associates the town with the early post-conquest period, attributing the foundation of two mosques to 8th-century heroes of Islamisation. According to the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, one of the two mosques, allegedly built by Muḥammad b. Wāsiʿ, was a pilgrimage destination for Bukharans.²⁴⁶

Historical Evidence²⁴⁷

10th/12th Century

Tārīkh-i Bukhārā

TB(Frye): 16: “Afshina has a large town area and a strong fort, as well as suburbs. One day a week they hold a market. The cultivated and waste lands of this village are an endowment for scholars. Qutayba ibn Muslim built a great mosque there and Muḥammad ibn Wāsiʿ also erected a mosque. Prayers are answered in it, and people go from the city to seek blessing there.” (trans. R. Frye)

11th/13th Century

Abū ʿUbayd al-Jūzjānī, *Autobiography of Avicenna*, recension of Ibn Abī Uṣaiḇīʿa

“As long as [the Samanid amir] Nūḥ b. Manṣūr was alive, [my father] held a position and appointment as administrator in a village named Kharmaithan in the rural dependencies of Bukhara and one of the more important villages there. In the vicinity was another village, Afshana; from there my father married my mother, and himself

settled there. First I was born, then my mother gave birth to my brother.”²⁴⁸

Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*

1:440: “[Avicenna’s] father [...] was appointed to fill that office [i.e., *ʿāmil* or administrator] in a town called Kharmaithen, one of the government estates (*diā*) in the dependencies of Bokhāra, and a place of great antiquity. It was here that Abū Ali and his brother were born: their mother, Sattāra, was a native of Afshana, a village near Kharmaithen.”

13th Century

Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*

s.v. Afshana: “A village of Bukhara.”

14th/Early 15th Century

Ṣalāḥ b. Mubārak Bukhārī [= Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā],²⁴⁹ *Anīs al-ṭālibīn*

191: “He set out [from Bukhara] toward Khwārazm. When he came to Afshana, which belongs to Bukhara (*az navāḥī-yi Bukhārā-st*) and where the caravans are assembled (*jāy-i jamʿ āmadan-i kārvān*), messengers of the ruler arrived and closed the road to Khwārazm, so that nobody would travel to Khwārazm.”

16th Century

Vāʾiz Kāshifī, *Rashaḥāt*

1:56: “Khwāja Auliyā-yi Pārsā: [...] He was the first successor (*khalīfa*) of the four successors of Khwāja Gharīb [...] He was from the village (*qarya*) KhRMN THI, a village of

were between Afshana and Āq Tīpa. The line descended from a Sayyid Ḥamza.

246 As is often the case with the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, only a thorough analysis of the textual history may clarify if this latter observation dates to the first Arabic version, the Persian translation and redaction, or if it is a (much) later gloss.

247 All English translations of source texts in the gazetteer are the author’s, unless a different translator it indicated.

248 Arabic text in Savage-Smith et al. 2020: 2:809 [11.13.2.1]. The translation has been adapted from the German translation by Krause 1932: 261–62. Cf. the translation by Savage-Smith et al. 2020: 3:896 [11.13.2.1].

249 On the authorship of *Anīs al-ṭālibīn*, see Khismatullin 2018.

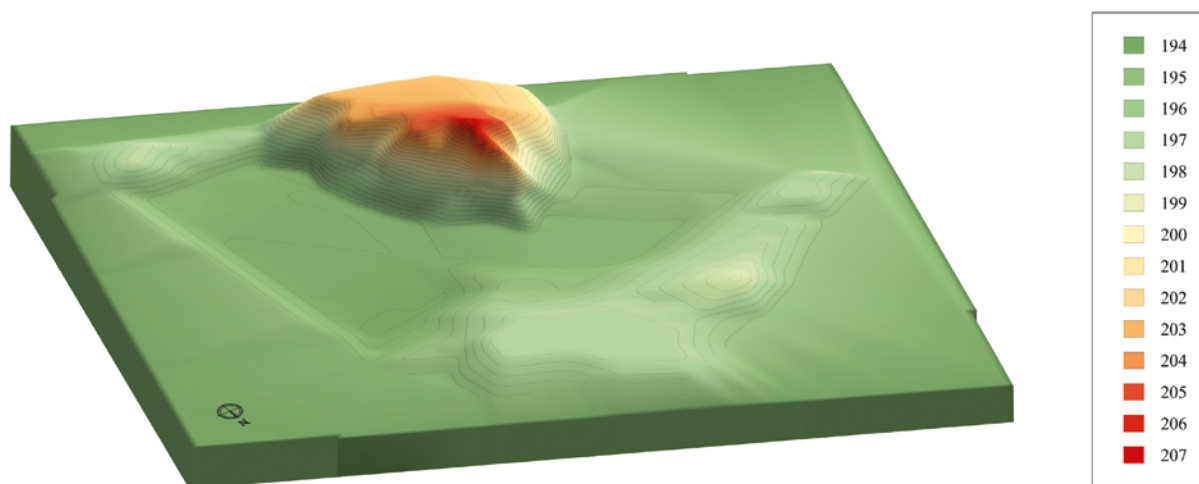


FIGURE 44 Digital Terrain Model of Banab (site 0567)
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the province of Bukhara. It is now abandoned. His grave is also there.”

Kashmīrī, *Rauḍat al-riḍwān*

f.77b: “Muḥammad Islām Jūybārī goes to Afshana and then holds a *ṣuḥbat* in Shāvarī.”²⁵⁰

17th Century

Muḥammad Ṭālib Jūybārī, *Maṭlab al-ṭālibīn*

54: (Khwāja Muḥammad Islām Jūybārī prepares for the hajj during the reign of Burhān Khān (sic), [961–64/1554–57]) “When they rode from Jūybār [a suburb of Bukhara] a large group of shaykhs and maulās and people of the city escorted them to the village (*qarya*) Afshana. In that place they bode one another farewell. The Bukharans returned home, weeping and crying.” (Khwāja Muḥammad Islām continues on the first leg of his journey to Khorezm).

3.2 Bānab/Bānāb

Site 0567 (Ponop Tepa)

39.950908° N 64.509808° E

Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 89.

In the 10th-century oasis surveys, the settlement of Bānab marks the end zone of the area irrigated by a canal whose name is generally read as Arvān or Urvān. The identification of Bānab anchors the location of the Arvān (?) canal in the oasis. Barthold and Shishkin hesitated to locate Bānab or Arvān.²⁵¹ Adylov suggested the identification of

the name of the canal Arwān (Urvān) with the modern toponym Dzhilvon (*Yil/rvān?) and consequently situates it in the north of the oasis between the Kharqānrūd and Shāfirkān rivers.²⁵²

We propose the identification of Bānab with a village that appears as Pānāb/Ponop in 19th-century Bukharan and Russian surveys and maps. The same toponym, with a matching location south of the Zarafshan (“daryā-yi kūhak”) in the tuman Farāvīz, is mentioned in an undated (17th-century?) endowment deed. This places Bānab and the area irrigated by the Arvān canal in the centre of the oasis, 4 km north of Khargush and a few hundred metres south of the old bed of the Zarafshan. In Sitniakovskii’s “Spisok,” the village listed after Ponop is called Degi Ravan, corresponding to modern Derevan on the Soviet 100K map, 2.5 km SE of Panab on the southern margins of modern Khargush. Degi Ravan/Deravan may be a modern continuation of Dih-i Arvān, “Arvān village”.

Bānab was home to a thriving community of scholars in the 9th and first half of the 10th century. Al-Samʿānī lists three 8th/9th-century and four 9th/10th-century *ḥadīth* scholars with connections to Basra and Khurasan, at least three of whom were linked by family or teacher-student ties.

Historical Evidence

10th Century

al-Iṣṭakhṛī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*

311: “[...] the river Arwān branches off the river and irrigates the villages until it ends at Bānab.”

²⁵⁰ The 10-verst’ map shows two highways in the direction of Khwarazm leaving the north-western sector of the oasis. One leaves the oasis at Denau, the other one, a bit to the north, leaves the oasis at Shavari.

²⁵¹ Barthold 1928: 115; Shishkin 1963: 24.

²⁵² Adylov and Babaev 2011: 48.

*10th/12th Century**Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*

TB (Schefer): 31; TB (Frye): 32; TB (Russ): 41: “[...] The eighth river is called upper Farāvīz. It has many villages. The ninth river is called lower Farāvīz or Kām-i Daymūn. The tenth river is called Arvān [...].”

12th Century

al-Sam‘ānī, *al-Ansāb* (cf. **Ibn Mākūlā**, *al-Ikmāl* 1:413; **Yāqūt**, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, s.v. Bānab)

s.v. al-Bānabī: “[...] nisba to one of the villages (*qarya*) of Bukhārā named Bānab [...].”

(Abū Ṭālib Jilwān b. Samara b. Māhān al-Bānabī, a *ḥadīth* scholar who transmitted, among others, from the Madīnan/Başran *ḥadīth* scholar ‘Abdallāh b. Maslama al-Qa’nabī, d. 221/835–36. Seven more *ḥadīth* scholars from the 3rd and 4th centuries/9th and 10th centuries, including a scholar who transmitted from Jilwān and a great-grandnephew of Jilwān who died in 326/937–38).

*Documentary Sources**17th Century*

Vaqfnāma CGA 323:1292 (Vaqfiyya of Pāyanda atāliq Turkmān, no date [first half of 17th century]): “[...] numerous [plots of] land suitable for agriculture and well-kept, which are located in the village (*mauḍī*) Pānāb in tūmān Farāvīz of Bukhārā [...] a second plot borders [...] on the north on the protected bank (*ḥarīm*) of the Zarafshān (*daryā-yi kūhak*) [...].”

Modern Survey Maps

NPBE: Pānāp (qishlāq), in Shimālī Rūd.

Sitniakovskii 1899b: 242: “Ponop (Amliakdarstvo Kamad’ (Komod’)/Vabkend’, on the Kam’ i Faraviz’ branch canal).”

Sitniakovskii 1899b: 243: “Degi-Ravan’ (Amliakdarstvo Kamad’ (Komod’)/Vabkend’, on the Kam’ i Faraviz’ branch canal).”

10-verst’ map: Ponop.

100K map: Deravan.

Modern Studies

Adylov and Babaev 2011: 48 and maps.

3.3 *Chargh (Shargh) and Iskijkat*

Chargh: Site 0846 (39°58’42”N 64°36’46”E)

Iskijkat: Site 0847 (39°58’16”N 64°37’7”E)

Presentation of the Site

Chargh (spelled Shargh in the Arabic sources as well as in early modern Persian documents) and Iskijkat are

described in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* as twin towns and will be presented here together. The toponym Iskijkat seems have left no traces in the sources used for this study, but Chargh appears not only in the medieval narrative sources and vaqfnāmas but also in Sitniakovskii’s survey. The combination of the available evidence from those sources allows us to propose a location for both towns with a high degree of probability. The corresponding archaeological sites are the large tepe 0847 north of modern Khayrabatcha on the south side of the old course of the Qorakul Daryo (Zarafshan) for Iskijkat, and on the opposite north bank of the Qorakul Daryo the smaller tepe 0846 near the modern village of Kumrabat for Chargh.

Neither Chargh nor Iskijkat appear on the 10-verst’ or Soviet topographic maps. The toponym Iskijkat seems to have disappeared completely. Chargh, however, appears as a canal and a settlement in Sitniakovskii’s survey and therefore was still known in the 1870s.

The documentary evidence, especially the 16th-century endowment documents for the Madrasa Ghāziyān, put the localisation of the Chargh (and consequently its twin settlement Iskijkat) beyond doubt. The twin villages seem to have been located at an important medieval crossing of the Zarafshan River. Al-Bīrūnī’s description of the festivals of the Sogdians shows the importance of Chargh as an early Islamic regional fair, but although al-Bīrūnī does not clearly state it, it appears that the Chargh fair continued a pre-Islamic Sogdian tradition.

Chargh (spelled Jurgh) appears as name of the town and its canal in al-Iṣṭakhrī’s list of the main water courses of the oasis. In the list of counties (*rustāq*) intra muros, al-Iṣṭakhrī lists a county named Sakhr, which has not been identified in the modern literature. One might consider the possibility that Sakhr (or rather Shakhr) is the same as Shargh, with metathesis khr < rgh.

Chargh and Iskijkat were located on a Zarafshan crossing in a densely irrigated and cultivated central area of the oasis, at ca. 28 km (as the crow flies) or one day’s journey from Bukhara on one of the main routes to Samarkand. This location explains the wealth and economic clout of these two villages that Islamic sources suggest. The villages may have particularly benefited from the emergence of Bukhara as the single political centre of the oasis and the ensuing shift of the principal communication routes. Al-Bīrūnī mentions the market at Shargh as the only specifically Muslim market, which suggests that its significance in the calendar of fairs increased after the Islamic conquest. In a story dated to the 9th century, the inhabitants of Iskijkat are reported to have been able to buy their economic independence back from a powerful

investor for a large sum. The Qarakhanid investment in infrastructure for the benefit of travellers (a bridge and hostel) attest to the continuing importance of the twin villages in the 12th century. An interesting anecdote in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* highlights the suspicion with which Bukharan elites eyed the rich patricians (*khwāja*) of Iskijskath. A sayyid from Chargh makes an appearance as a trade partner of Chinggis Khan in ‘Aṭā Malik Juvaynī’s 13th-century chronicle of the Mongol conquests.

Historical Evidence

9th Century

Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*

1889: 25 (= Qudāma b. Ja‘far 1889: 203): “Bukhārā to Shargh 4 farsakh, Shargh to Ṭawāwīs 3 farsakh.”

Sprenger (1864: 17) quotes Qudāma with an alternative reading for Shargh, namely *al-yanbū’*, the spring. This is derived from a misreading in one of the mss., which instead of شَرِّغْ (unpunctuated سَرِّع) writes سَرِّع, which can be read as سَرِّع.

10th Century

al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqīya*

1923: 235 (cf. trans. by Sachau on p. 222): “[The Sogdians] hold a festival from the 5th to the 15th day of [the month of] *mys’fwy* (mid-winter). After that there is a fair of seven days for the Muslims in al-Shargh.”

al-Iṣṭakhri, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*

1870: 310–11: “The Jurgh [sic] [river] flows to and irrigates [the settlement of] Jurgh.”

Ibn Ḥauqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-ard*

1873: 360 and 401: “[...] a river (*nahr*) called Nahr Jargh. It carries (water) from the river (Zarafshān) to Jargh, a beautiful village (*qarya*). It takes its irrigation from (the Nahr Jargh) and returns the overflow into the river (Zarafshān).”

al-Maqdisī (al-Muqaddasī), *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma‘rifat al-aqālīm*

1906: 49: “qaṣabāt of Numūjakath: Baykand, al-Ṭawāwīs, Zandana, Bumijkath, KhDĪMNKN [var. KhRSKN], ‘RWĀN, Bakhsūn, Sīkath, Aryāmīthan, Warakhshay, Zarmīthan, Kumijkath, Fagharsīn, Kishfaghan, Nawīdak, Warkay.”

1906: 267–68: “Among its cities (*mudun* sg. *madīna*) are Baykand, al-Ṭawāwīs, Zandana, Bamijkath, Khujādī, Maghkān, Kharghānkath, KhDĪMNKN, ‘RWĀN, Bakhsūn, Sīkath, *Jarghar (جرغر) (*Jargh?), Sīshakath (*Iskijskath?), Aryāmīthan, Warakhshay, Zarmīthan, Kumijkath, Fagharsīn, Kishfaghan, Nawīdak, Warkay.”

10th/12th Century

Tārīkh-i Bukhārā

The *Tārīkh-i Bukhara* gives a detailed description of Iskijskath and Shargh that deserves to be quoted in full (trans. F. Schwarz; possible glosses incorporated in the text at an unknown date are marked by {curly brackets}; text between (round brackets) has been added for better legibility of the translation, or (*in italics*) to cite Persian terms and wording).

TB(Schefer): 11–13; TB(Frye): 13–15; TB(Russ): 27–29:

“Iskijskath has a large citadel. Powerful people used to live there. Their power was not founded on agriculture, as the (size) of the arable properties, abandoned and cultivated, was less than 1000 juft. (Rather) its inhabitants were all merchants. Fine (cotton?) cloth (*karbās*) come from there in large quantities. They used to hold a market every Thursday.

This village (*dīh*) is crown land (*khāṣṣa-yi mamlaka-yi sultānī*). Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq billāh allotted this village to Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir,²⁵³ who sold it to Sahl b. Aḥmad al-Dāghūnī al-Bukhārī for a (considerable) price. (Sahl) built a bath house and a large palace on a bend right on the bank of the river.²⁵⁴ {Vestiges of the palace still exist in our days, known as Kākh-i Dāghūnī. The water of the river has ruined that palace.}

This Sahl b. Aḥmad Dāghūnī owned claims against the people of Iskijskath. Every year they split (payments to the amount of) 10,000 dirhams among the households. Then they held the payments back for two or three years and turned to the ruler/government (*sultān*) to ask for help. The heirs of Sahl b. Aḥmad produced a contract. {This was in the times of Ismā‘īl Sāmānī.} He inspected and recognised the contract. But the litigation had drawn on for (too) long, and the notables (*khwājagān*) of the town interfered and (negotiated) a settlement (the claims of) the heirs of Dāghūnī for 170,000 dirham, and the people of the village bought this village back in order to be relieved of the claim; they paid (the 170,000 dirham).²⁵⁵

This village did not have a congregational mosque until the time of King Shams al-Mulk Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm b. Ṭamghaj Khān, when a *khwāja* from among the people

253 Al-Muwaffaq billāh, Abbasid regent 870–91 CE. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, governor of Khurasan 862–73 CE. The village must have been allotted to the Ṭāhirid governor in the early 870s CE.

254 *Bar gūsha‘ī bar zūr-i lab-i rūd*. Frye and Kamoliddin translate “on the lower bank”.

255 For discussions of this story, see Chekhovich 1979: 231sq.; Paul 2007: 84.

of this village, whom they called Khwān Sālār, is said to have lived. He had a large entourage and owned many horses; he was a governor on behalf of the ruler/government (*sultān*). He built a very beautiful congregational mosque from his own money. He spent a huge amount of money [on it]. He performed the Friday prayer (in this mosque). Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [b.] Naṣr²⁵⁶ says on the authority of the preacher (*khaṭīb*) of Shargh that only one Friday prayer was performed (ever) at that congregational mosque. After that the imams of Bukhara did not permit and tolerate Friday prayers to be performed there. So that Friday mosque was abandoned until the time when Qadr Khān Jibrā'il b. 'Umar b. Ṭughril Khān²⁵⁷ (appointed) an amir to Bukhara.²⁵⁸ His name was Ṭughril Bik (var. 'Alī Ṭughril),²⁵⁹ and his title was Kūlārtegin. He bought the beams of the mosque from the heirs of Khwān Sālār and demolished the mosque. He brought the beams to the city of Bukhara (and used them) to build a madrasa near the greengrocers' market (*chūba-i baqqālān*). He used those beams there and spent boundless amounts of money (for the construction). This madrasa is known as Madrasa-yi Kūlārtegin. The amir is buried there.

Shargh is situated opposite Iskiĵkat. Between them is no garden or empty land, just a huge river called Sāmjan River (rūd-i Sāmjan). {Today it is called the river of Shargh (rūd-i Shargh), and some call it Ḥarām Kām}. A huge bridge used to cross this river between the two villages. Shargh did not have a congregational mosque.

In the time of Arslān Khān Muḥammad b. Sulaymān²⁶⁰ and on his orders this bridge was built from fired bricks in a very solid way. He build from his own money a congregational mosque. Facing Iskiĵkat²⁶¹ he commissioned a *ribāṭ* for the travellers (*gharibān*).²⁶²

This village (Shargh) has a large citadel that is like a town.

Muḥammad [b.] Ja'far (al-Narshakhī) says that in old times they held a fair (*bāzār*) for 10 days in the middle of every winter. [People] came from faraway provinces to trade. The most sought-after goods (traded there) were: sweet walnut paste (*ḥalvā*) made with syrup; aloe gum; wood; salted and fresh fish; and sheep and lamb hides. Trade was very busy. Nowadays market is held every Friday. People go there from the city (Bukhara) and the regions. Local products which today's merchants carry from there to (their) provinces are brass and fine (cotton?) cloth (*karbās*).

Muḥammad b. Ja'far [al-Narshakhī] says that Ismā'il Sāmānī bought this village and all its properties and farms and endowed (*vaqf kard*) it for the benefit of a *ribāṭ* he had built at the Samarqand gate in the city of Bukhara. This *ribāṭ* no longer exists, and this *vaqf* also no longer exists.

Shargh and Iskiĵkat are said to have been the most beautiful villages of Bukhara."

12th Century

al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*

s.v. ash-Sharghī: "A village (*qarya*) about 4 farsakh from Bukhara. It is also called Jargh. In old and recent times a number of learned men lived there. Abū Kamāl al-Baṣīrī says: Among the (scholars from Shargh) I got to know in our time are the following: al-Imām Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sābir al-Sharghī; he narrates on the authority of Abū 'Abdallāh al-Rāzī, Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥabībī, Abū al-Ḥanafī and others from Bukhara, Khurasan, Iraq and the Ḥijāz."

Al-Sam'ānī gives the names of six more *ḥadīth* scholars from Shargh, including a paper trader (al-Kāghidhī) who lived in Samarkand. For three Sharghīs he provides the death years: 272/885–66, 300/912–13 and 323/935. One of them, Abū I-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Salām al-Sharghī (d. 323 AH), had a follower from Bamijath (*Kumijath) and corresponded with scholars in Syria and Egypt.

s.v. al-Sharghiyānī (cf. *Yāqūt, Muĵam al-buldān*, s.v.): "Sharghiyān is a well-known alley (*sikka*) in Nasaf. It is also known as Kūy-i Jarghiyān [alley of the Jarghīs]. Jargh is a village (*qarya*) about 5 farsakh from Bukhara. People from there settled in this alley, and it became called after them."

(Al-Sam'ānī provides information on one Sharghiyānī who died on 6 Ramaḍān 403/ca. 21 March 1013.)

13th Century

Yāqūt, *Muĵam al-buldān*

1956: s.v. Shargh: "[...] It is the Arabized form of Jargh. It is a large village (*qarya kabīra*) near Bukhara. Many scholars of older and recent times are connected to it [...]"

256 Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Qubavī, who translated al-Narshakhī's Arabic text into Persian in 522/1128–29.

257 Qarakhanid qaghan of the Eastern Qaghanate minted coins as Ṭabghach Khan in Bukhara 492–95/1099–1102. Kochnev 2001: 55.

258 Frye and Kamoliddin render the Persian text literally as "Qadr Khan [...] became amir", but the text is obviously corrupt. I suggest amending the text by placing "ke" after the name of the Qarakhanid ruler, not before it.

259 See TB (Russ): 188 n.54.

260 Qaghan of the Qarakhanid Western Qaghanate, 495–524/1102–30.

261 *Be-jānib-i Iskiĵkat*. Frye: "on the Iskiĵkat side". I agree with Kamoliddin, who explains his translation "на стороне Искиджкат" (on the Iskiĵkat side) as meaning "on the other side of the river, opposite Iskiĵkat", TB (Russ): 191 n.63.

262 Frye translates *gharibān* as "the needy". Kamoliddin correctly translates *чужестранцы* "stranger".

Yāqūt adds information on a preacher and literatus (*wā'iz*, *adīb*) from Shargh who studied with scholars from Zaranjar, Surkhkath and Kalabadh and had a student in Bukhara. Known as Imāmzāda, he was born in Rabī' al-Awwal 491/February–March 1098. Yāqūt gives no death date.

Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān gushāy*

ed. Qazvīnī: 1:179–80; ed. Khātami: 402–3; cf. trans. Boyle 1:224: “There was a sayyid from Chargh, (a village of) Bukhara whom they called ‘Alavī Charghī (the Alid from Chargh). He had been given (a number of) ingots (*bālish*) by the qā'ān (Chinggis Khan) for a commercial partnership enterprise (*ortaq*) [...]”

Documentary Sources

16th Century

Vaqfnāma CGA 323:1194:2 (14 Rabī' al-Awwal 942/ca. 12 September 1535) and 323:1186 [same date].²⁶³

These documents present different copies of and additions to the endowment for a madrasa in Bukhara,²⁶⁴ which includes endowment properties in Shargh and neighbouring villages.

“[...] And (we endow) the entirety of (a group of) plots (of land) in the village Shargh (document: *شرح*), a village of the tūmān Kāmāt of the city of Bukhara [...]”

The southern boundary of the plot is formed by the bank of the Ḥarām Kām River.

“[...] The northern boundary (of another plot of land) borders partially on [...] legally valid vaqf land for the benefit of the festival prayer place (*namāzghāh*) of the village (*qarya*) Shargh, and partially on the common canal of Shargh.”

Apart from the Ḥarām Kām in the south, the properties in Shargh border on the following settlements, canals and topographic features: east: Asbāb-i Ūrūs²⁶⁵; south: an elevated cemetery (*gūristān-i arfa'*, i.e., situated on an ancient tepe); north: canal (*nahr*) of Qishlāq, canal (*nahr*) of Vāshī.

Vaqfnāma BGMZ Inv. No. 10994/11 (t.p.q. 940/1533–34)²⁶⁶
A large number of properties in Shargh and Qishlāq Ḥusām al-Dīn²⁶⁷ are from the same context as the endowments for the “Ghāziyān” madrasa. Topographic indications include the following: Shargh borders in the north on Asbāb Ūrūs and Khudfarīj,²⁶⁸ in the west on the road [from Bukhara via the Shanbe bridge?] to Kumishkant and G'ijduvon, and in the south on the bank of the Ḥarām Kām River. A road to Vobkent runs through the properties. The canals of Shargh, Qishlāq Ḥusām al-Dīn and Vāshī border on some of the plots. Some of the adjacent plots are (older) vaqf for the benefit of the Namāzghāh and the Mosque of Shargh. A public water pool (*ḥaud-i āmm ke mardum āb mīkhūrānd*) and a shrine (*mazār Khwāja Rūshnāyī*). Many witnesses and previous owners mentioned in the vaqfnāma bear nisbas pointing to nearby villages: Kumijkatī (preserving the old form of Kumishkant), Vāshī (from Vāshī), Bahrīnī (from Bahrīn), DJmand(h) ūnī (from DJmandūn, the correct form of al-Sam'ānī's Dakhfandūn).

16th/17th Century

Vaqfnāma CGA 323:1429:1(3) (undated; 17th century?²⁶⁹): “The entire and complete village (*qarya*) Kumijkānt, a well-known village of the tūmān Kāmāt of the city of Bukhara.” Boundaries include, on the east, the canal of Chargh (*kām-i Chargh*).

Modern Surveys, Reports and Maps

NPBE: Charkh, Kām-i Charkh, tūmān Kāmāt

Sitniakovskii 1899b: 236: Charkh' (branch canal and settlement).

Modern Studies

Mirzaakhmedov et al. 2002: 146ff. identify Shargh with Katta Tepa (Demas Tepa) in the Kam-i Abu Muslim region. This identification is based on the information that it was near Dīmas (Yāqūt s.v.; cf. Barthold 1928: 99). This location

263 CGA 323:1186 gives only the month, Rabī' al-Awwal. I have not seen CGA 323:12, which is another copy of either this vaqfnāma or the larger vaqfnāma in the Bukhara State Museum (see below).

264 The madrasa formed part of a larger complex consisting of three madrasas and a water pool. Only the madrasa now known as Ghāziyān-i kalān (Parfenov-Fenin no. 78) has escaped destruction in the first half of the 20th century. See Sukhareva 1976: 95; Jumanazar 2017: 488.

265 Sitniakovskii 1899b: 236: Aspop'-ulius'; 100K map: Asbob. 39.987° N 64.620° E.

266 The beginning of the document, which may have contained the date of the endowment, is missing, but many of the individual transactions (land purchases) that form the endowed property are dated to the months of Ramaḍān and Shawwāl 940/March–April 1534. For an analysis of the properties and owners described in this document, see Schwarz 2000: 48–52.

267 Sitniakovskii 1899b: 236: Gisam'. 100K-map: Ekhsan?

268 Sitniakovskii 1899b: 235: Gud'-farish'-balia (upper) and -poian' (lower).

269 Arends et al., *Bukharskii vakf XIII v.*: 39. CGA 323–1429:1 is a late-18th-century copy, grouping together several endowments for the benefit of the Chahārbakr complex. The other endowments are dated 968/1561, 1068/1658 and 1096/1685.

was also accepted for the oasis map of the website of the American-Uzbek Bukhara Project.²⁷⁰

Schwarz 1999 located Shargh correctly, but on the accompanying map the places of Shargh and Iskijkat on the north and south banks of the river were accidentally switched.

3.4 *Kakhishtuvan*

Site 0317 (Karaul tepa)?

40.0475° N 64.1561° E

Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 69–71.

The modern village of Kokushtuvon is located close to the north-western margin of the oasis on the highway via Gazli to Khorezm (A-380). A modern settlement, it retains the name of rustāq Kākishtuvān, a district (*rustāq*) mentioned in the 10th-century list of intra-muros districts of the oasis in al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥauqal.

Kāqishtuvān appears in an endowment deed known only from 16th-century and later copies, but which claims to go back to the Samanid period, and which may actually include pre-Mongol, even Samanid-period, content.²⁷¹ In this document, Kāqishtuvān is one of the boundaries of a village in the tūmān Sāmjan.²⁷² It lies on the fringe of the “wasteland that extends all the way to Khorezm”. The only toponym in the document not described as “village” (*qarya*), it may indicate that Kākhishtuvān was the name of a district (*rustāq*) rather than a specific settlement.

The emendation of the toponym Kūshk-i Khashtuvān in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*’s story of the uprising of the followers of Muqanna’ to Kākhishtuvān by Barthold,²⁷³ and adopted by Frye in his English translation,²⁷⁴ is unnecessary and misleading.²⁷⁵

Al-Sam’ānī mentions a fortress in Khakhishtuvān, the ribāṭ-i Kakhishtuvān, possibly the large citadel on site

0317. The presence of an important fortified structure in the pre-Mongol period underlines the strategic importance of this area on the road to Khorezm. Site 0317 is only 2 km behind the oasis wall, and Stark and Mirzaakhmedov plausibly suggest the possibility that this fortress guarded an entry point or gate through the wall into the oasis.²⁷⁶

While site 0317 appears to have been abandoned in the 15th to 16th centuries,²⁷⁷ the toponym Kākhishtuvān may have been transferred to a new settlement, or to the entire irrigation zone of the Kākhishtuvān branch canal. Sitniakovskii lists Kakishtuvan only as the name of a canal. One of the villages irrigated by this canal, right next to a village taken by the moving sands at the time of Sitniakovskii, was known as “Old castle” (*Kuhna qal’a*), a possible reference to site 0317. Around the middle of the 16th century Kakhishtuvan benefited, like other areas in the western margins of the oasis (see Sivanj/Savinj), from substantial investment by the Jūybārī family.

Historical Evidence

10th Century

al-Iṣṭakhri, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*/Ibn Ḥauqal, *Kitāb Šūrat al-arḍ*

1870: 305/1873: 359: (in the list of districts/*rustāq* within the oasis wall) rustāq Kākhushtuvān.

12th Century

al-Sam’ānī, *al-Ansāb* (cf. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, s.v. Ghākhushtuvān)

s.v. al-Kākhushtuvānī: “A village in Bukhara. It has a fortified compound (*ribāṭ*) known as Ribāṭ Kākhushtuvān.”

(Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kākhushtuvānī al-Bukhārī, d. 449/1057–58, had a student from Zarangarī).

Another Bukharan village listed by al-Sam’ānī under the nisba al-Kafsisīwānī may be a misreading for K(ā)qushtuvānī.²⁷⁸ Al-Sam’ānī mentions only one scholar under this nisba, Abū l-Faḍl Ḥamdān b. Yahyā.

16th/17th Century

Muḥammad Ṭālib Jūybārī, *Maṭlab al-ṭālibīn*

1540: f.127: “After his death I began to buy property. Thus it happened that none of my brothers bought as much property as me. Within a few years after the death of our *īshān*, Muḥammad Ya’qūb Khwāja sold to me the mauḍī‘ MRGHK for 40,000 khānī, Kākhishtuvān for 50,000 khānī,

270 See <https://isaw.nyu.edu/research/bukhara-project/map> (last accessed 6 July 2020).

271 On the so-called “Samanid vaqf”, see s.v. Parkat.

272 A modern village named Garmāba exists (39.992° N 64.211° E), but the Garmāba (lit. “warm water”) of the “Samanid vaqf” must have been located a bit further west. See the discussion s.v. Barkat.

273 Barthold 1928: 200 n.2.

274 TB(Frye): 75.

275 The two places are distinct: Khashtuvān is likely to be identified with a place appearing in a 17th-century endowment deed as Khajuvān, located south of Vobkent in proximity to other strongholds of the followers of Muqanna’ mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*. CGA 323:1181 (1071/1660–61). Sitniakovskii 1899b: 239: Khadjuvan’ (Amliakdarstvo Kamad’/Vabkend’). Khajuvān was south-east of Kafshuvān, modern Kashvan, a village mentioned in the same vaqfnāma and already in the 14th-century Bakharzi vaqf. Chekhovich 1965: 68, 148, and 224 n.82, where it is apparently identified by the editors with al-Sam’ānī’s Kafsisīvān.

276 Stark and Mirzaakhmedov 2015: 81. The modern name Karaul tepa means “Sentinel hill”.

277 Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 50.

278 It can also be associated with the toponym Kafshuvān, see previous note.

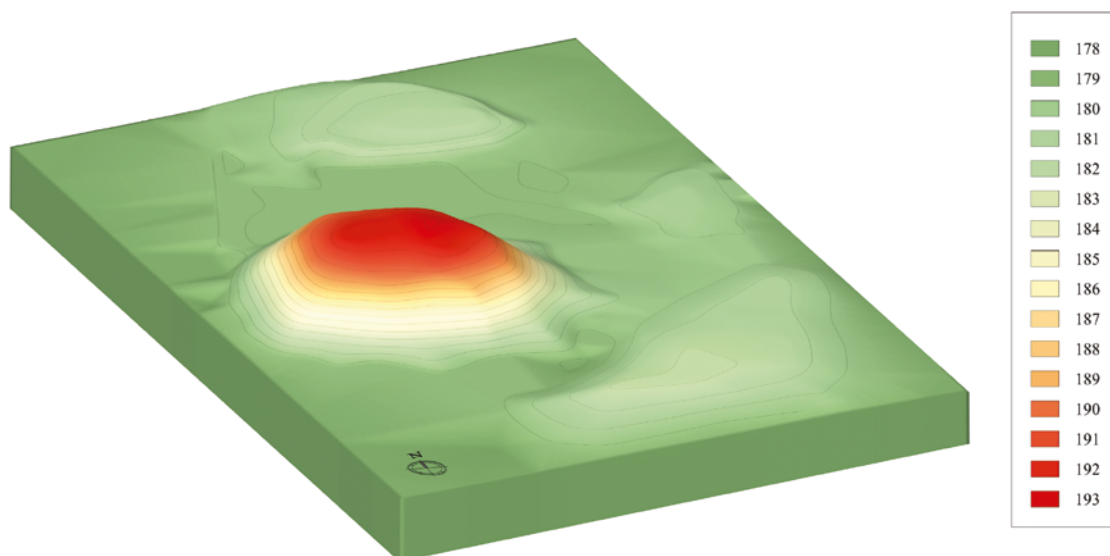


FIGURE 45 Digital Terrain Model of Khama (site 0012)
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and Jūy-i Zar for 100,000 khānī. Until today I have spent around 400,000 khānī on buying property.”

Documentary Sources

16th Century, Older (Possibly pre-Mongol) Content

Vaqfnāma CGA 323:758 and CGA 323:1297: “Another one (of the endowed properties) is the village (*qarya*) Garmāba, a well-known village of the tūmān Sāmjan in the province (*vilāyat*) of Bukhara. The four boundaries are: in the west it is adjacent to waste land without an owner that reaches to the border of Khwārazm, in the north it is adjacent to the land of Kāqishtuvān, in the east it is adjacent to the village of Barkad, in the south it is adjacent to the well-known village Mazra‘a-yi Khwāja Dīza.

Modern Surveys and Maps

NPBE: 14, 18: Qāqishtuvān (tūmān Khitfar)

Sitniakovskii 1899b: 296: Kakyshty-ban’, name of aryk (Amliakdarstvo Zandany, a right branch of aryk Roomitan’/ Saumidjan’). One of the eight villages irrigated by this aryk is called Kogna-kala, i.e., Kuhna qal‘a or old castle.

10-verst’ map: Kakyshtyban’.

100K map: Kokushtivan.

Modern Studies

Barthold 1928: 200 n.2.

Tārīkh-i Bukhārā TB(Russ): 372 n.22.

Etymology: Lur’e 2004: 40.

3.5 Khāma

Site 0012 (Tepa Khoja Sabr Ota/Tepa Kui-Khami)
39.68966 N 64.52546 E

Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 87–88 (tripartite, urban category 4, 4.66 ha).

Presentation of the Site

In al-Iṣṭakhrī’s list, Khāma is the twelfth main river and the main settlement it irrigates. The canal and settlement are not mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*. In the Bākharzī endowment deed of 726/1326 the “big river of Khāma” (*nahr-i buzurg-i Khāma*) is described as a principle irrigation artery south-east of Bukhara from which smaller canals branch off to irrigate villages. The position of Khāma in al-Iṣṭakhrī’s list just before the river Varka suggests a location in the south-east of the oasis. The old toponym of the canal and settlement is preserved in the names of a cluster of villages 2–4 km south of Kagan (On the Soviet 100K map from north to south: Iukhary-Khami, Urta-Khami and Khamibala, i.e., lower, middle and upper Khami; Kuikhami; kurgan Kuikhami). Urta-Khami, Khami-bala and Kuikhami appear as separate settlements on Markov’s map as well, but all three are called Khomi. Khāmī is mentioned as “old vaqf” in a sales deed from 1568; the topographic information in the deed points to modern O’rta Xomi. In modern times the Khomi canal parts from the Shahrud just north of Bukhara International Airport and runs almost straight south for 13 km until it reaches the tepe (site 0012) 400 m south of Kuikhami, hard on the edge of the steppe.²⁷⁹ Like Varka, the position of Khama marks the limit of pre-modern irrigation in the south-west

²⁷⁹ See Markov’s map. Cf. Chekhovich 1965: 224 n.78 (“begins from the Shahrud at Saripul, above Turkmāndīza, and runs south”). Surprisingly, Barthold did not identify the canal.

of the oasis before the territory begins to rise. Rante and Mirzaakhmedov classify the site as urban category 4.²⁸⁰ Surface pottery indicates an occupation from at least the first centuries CE to the 12th century CE.²⁸¹

Historical Evidence

10th Century

al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* (cf. **Ibn Ḥauqal**, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 1873: 342)

1870: 311: “A river known as Khāma, which receives [its water] from the [Zarafshan] river. It irrigates villages until it reaches Khāma, which it (also) irrigates.”

Documentary Sources

14th Century

Bākharzī vaqf (726/1326)

faks. ll.281–2/ed.: 63–64/Russ. trans.: 143–44: “[...] the entire village of Farīshūn,²⁸² a village of Bukhara, in the district (‘amal) Farghandad, irrigated by the canal (*kām*) Farīshūn and the big river of Khāma (*nahr-i buzurg-i Khāma*), with all its properties and estates. One of its properties is the large hill on which, in old times, there are said to have been constructions, buildings and houses (*ammā ‘aqārāt-i vay yakī tall ast buzurg ke dar qadīm bar vay ‘imārāt va abniya va buyūtāt būda ast*).”

“Its first, eastern boundary is the big river of Khāma before the point where the canal (*jūy*) branches off that takes its water from the Khāma River, flows west and irrigates lands in Ghabdūn [...], as well as this very Farīshūn and its lands, until the lands of the village (*dih*) Yurūn. Its second, norther boundary is an old, abandoned canal (*afdaḡh qadīmī mansūkh*) that used to take its water from the big canal (*jūy-i buzurg*) of Khāma and used to flow west [...].”

16th Century

Jūybārī codex no. 119 (Ivanov 1954: 163): 22 Ramaḍān 975 (ca. 22 March 1568) mentions the village Khāmī among the villages bordering on Varīshūn (Farīshūn).

Modern Surveys and Reports

Sitniakovskii 1899b: 282: Khami (amlakdarstvo Kamad’, aryk Shakh’-rud’, left branch [canal] Khami).

Markov map: Khomi, aryk Khomi (downstream from Kogon).

280 Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 84, 95 fig. 105 (topography).

281 Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 87–88.

282 JD: 163: Varīshūn. Markov map: Brieshim; 100K map: Berishim. Site 0637 (39.742017 N 64.515289), 6 km north of Khāma. Sitniakovskii 1899b: 236. Farashi-bal’a, suggested by Chekhovich (1965: 223 n.63), is a different village near Vobkend.

Modern Studies

Barthold 1928: 116 (without location).

Chekhovich 1965: 224 n.73.

Etymology: Lur’e 2004: 227.

3.6 *Khujādā*

Site 0149 (highly probable)

39°46’17.70”N 64° 5’36.62”E

Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 104.

Khujādā (Khujādē) is listed by al-Iṣṭakhrī as one of five cities (*madīna*) inside the oasis wall and therefore of great importance for the early Islamic conception of the oasis. The only further clue for the location of Khujādā provided by al-Iṣṭakhrī is the distance from Bukhara: After following the road from Bukhara to Paykand for about three farsakh, one would find Khujādā to the right (i.e., north) of the road after about one farsakh.²⁸³

An endowment document, CGA 323:1292, offers additional clues that allow us to precisely locate Khujādā. It describes two villages, Nikrūz and Khwāja Hādī/Khujādī, in the tūmān Khayrābād. Khwāja Hādī, the alternative (and current at the time of the vaqfiyya?) name of Khujādī in the vaqfnāma seems to be a popular etymologisation of Khujādā. Both villages – Nikrūz and Khujādī/Khwāja Hādī – were endowed in their entirety in Jumādā 11 1067 (March or April 1657) by Ustād Rūḥī for his new congregational mosque on the registan in Bukhara. Neither village appears on modern maps or in the 19th-century geographic records, but at least one of the adjacent villages still exists: Jingān (Jingon; 10v: Dzhingar’, Soviet 100K: Kui/Iukary/Kichik Dzgingan). Badlands (*mayyita*) belonging to Jingān were located along a section of the southern border of Khujādī.

The most likely tepe corresponding to this localisation of Khujādā is site 0149, the only major tripartite site in the area. It matches the distances given in al-Iṣṭakhrī.

The vaqfiyya attests that Khujādā still existed in the 17th century and perhaps even the late 18th century, when an addition to the endowment was made. It appears to have been popularly known by the name Khwāja Hādī. It belonged to the tuman of Khayrābād. At the time of the endowment it was close to the margin of the steppe and threatened by moving sands. Today the wasteland, or chūl, begins less than 1 km west of the tepe. Site 0149 appears to correspond to a tepe named Katta Khoja on the 10-verst’ map.

Judging from the archaeological evidence, Khujādā was considerably bigger than Mughkān. As will be discussed in the entry on Mughkān, the significance the early Islamic

283 Al-Iṣṭakhrī 1870: 315, cf. also 342.

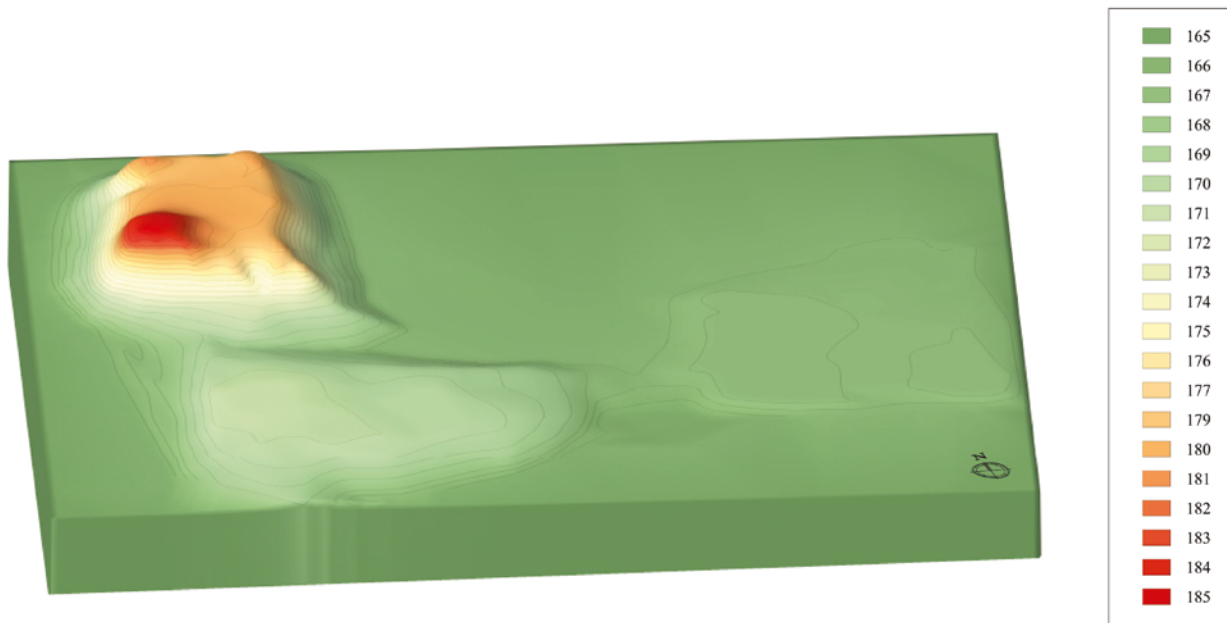


FIGURE 46 Digital Terrain Model of Khujada (site 0149)
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geographers attributed to this town may be due to an elevated strategic role. Located 5 km north-west of Tarab, it controlled the southern part of the area of the south-western quadrant of the oasis, just as Mughkân controlled it from the north.

Khujādā (Khujādī/Khwāja Hādī) appears still as a cultivated settlement in an endowment deed dated between February and April 1656, about two years after the first Khorazmian campaign that hit nearby Sivanj and its surrounding villages, and the same year as the second Khorazmian campaign into Qarākūl. The endowment deed describes Khujādī as located on the road from Bukhara to the steppe (*chūl*). The next village south of Khujādī was “now waste land” (*al-ān mayyita*).

Like Sivanj (s.v.), Khujādā belonged to an ecologically sensitive area close to the moving sands on the western fringes of the area and heavily affected by the prolonged conflict between the khans of Khorazm and Bukhara in the second half of the 17th century, two factors that in combination contributed to the decline of the settlement.

Historical Evidence

10th Century

Hudūd al-‘ālam

1930: f.22b (cf. trans. Minorsky 1937: 112): “Mughkân, Khujādī, *Zandana (ms.: Dandūna), Būm[ij]kath, MDYAMJkath, *Kharghānkath (ms.: JZGhNkath): towns (*shahrak*) with minbars in the region of Bukhara. They are prosperous places with much cultivation.”

al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*

1870: 313: Cities (*madīna*) within the oasis wall: Ṭawāwīs, Bamijkath, Zandana, Maghkân, Khujādā. “[...] The cities (*mudun*) inside the wall are all of comparable size and construction (*‘imāra*). All are fortified (*hiṣn*).”

al-Maqdisī (al-Muqaddasī), *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma‘rifat al-aqālīm*

1906: 49: *qaṣabāt* of zu Numūjakath: Baykand, al-Ṭawāwīs, Zandana, Bumijkath, KhDĪMNKN [var. KhRSKN], ‘RWĀN, Bakhsūn, Sīkath Aryāmīthan, Warakhshay, Zarmīthan, Kumijkath, Fagharsīn, Kishfaghan, Nawīdak, Warkay.

Ibid: 267–78: “Among its cities (*mudun* sg. *madīna*) are Baykand, al-Ṭawāwīs, Zandana, Bamijkath, Khujādī, Maghkân, Kharghānkath, KhDIMNKN, ‘RWĀN, Bakhsūn, Sīkath, Jarghar, Sīshakath, Aryāmīthan, Warakhshay, Zarmīthan, Kumijkath, Fagharsīn, Kishfaghan, Nawīdak, Warkay.”

Documentary Sources

17th Century

Vaqfnāma CGA 323:1292(7) (Jumādā II 1067/March–April 1657). Endowment for the benefit of the congregational mosque Ustād Rūḥī in Bukhara:

“[We endow ...] the whole and entire old village Nīkrūz in the Khayrābād district of Bukhara. [It borders] in the west [...] partially on waste land that has become covered by sand, in the north [...] partially on a public road that

ends in the steppe (*chūl*), in the east [...] partially on the protected riparian strip (*ḥarīm*) of the public canal of the settlement Khujādi [...] in the south [...] on *kharāj*-paying vaqf land [...] belonging to the aforementioned village Khujādi [...] And (we endow) the whole and entire village Khwāja Hādī [...] of the Khayrābād district of Bukhārā. (It borders) in the west [...] partially on waste land that has become covered by sand and unsuitable for agriculture, and partially on the protected riparian strip of the public canal of the aforementioned village (Khwāja Hādī), in the north [...] partially on land in the unrestricted ownership of Yār ‘Alī Bāy b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Bāy. The boundary is marked by an old road that has become blocked and unusable. And partially on a public road. And partially on another public road. [In the east] [...] partially on a public road. And partially on the protected riparian strip of the public canal of the of the settlement Qishlāq Darūd. And partially on *kharāj*-paying vaqf land [...] belonging to the settlement Nahr Bārik [...] And partially on land in unrestricted ownership of the aforementioned Yār ‘Alī Bāy. The boundary is marked by and old road that has become unusable. And partially on the protected riparian strip of the public canal of the aforementioned qishlāq-i (Darūd). And partially on land of [...] which is known as Sanjar’s Garden. [In the south it borders] partially on land of the settlement Jingān (JNKĀN). [This land] is now waste land. And partially on the protected riparian strip of the public canal of the of the aforementioned settlement Qishlāq-i Darūd. [...] And partially to *kharāj*-paying vaqf land of the aforementioned settlement Nahr Bārik. And partially on

the protected riparian strip of the public canal of the of the aforementioned settlement Qishlāq-i (Darūd).”

3.7 *Khunbūn (West)*

Site 0040

39°40’57” N 64°10’ E

Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 82.

The site of Khunbūn (fig. 47), known today as gorodishche Shahri Islom,²⁸⁴ is located 500 m south-east of the modern settlement Khumin, south of Jondor on the modern highway to Qarakul. The modern name Khumin continues the old toponym Khunbūn. The form Khūmīn or Khumīn is attested in documents since at least the first quarter of the 19th century. The toponym Shahr-i Islām is attested in historical texts and documents since the middle of the 16th century.

Khunbūn is mentioned for the first time in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, but it is not certain whether it belongs to the 10th-century or 12th-century layers of the text. It can be assumed that the road – or one of the main roads – from Bukhara to Paykand and further to Marw and Khurasan – led through Khunbūn already in the early Islamic period, as it certainly did in the 12th century.²⁸⁵ The *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* points to the strategic importance of Khunbūn in the context of Qutayba’s first campaign: Moving from Baykand towards Bukhara, he had to seize Khunbūn first. The course of the southern sectors of the oasis wall (Dīvār-i Kampīrak) between Bukhara and Paykand is much less evident than the segments in the west and north-east of the oasis, and the entry point of the Khurasan road into

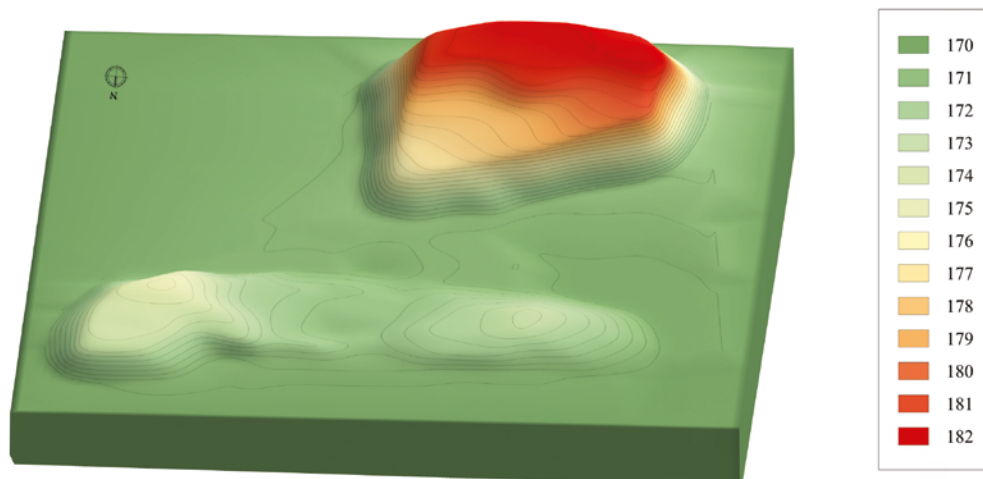


FIGURE 47 Digital Terrain Model of Khunbun (site 0040)

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284 Nekrasova in TB(Russ): commentary, 293 n.15. The references in this note to Chekhovich (1965) actually refer to Khunbūn (east), see following entry.

285 Al-Sam’ānī 1912: s.v. al-Khunbūnī.

the walled oasis can so far only be approximately inferred from the 9th-century itineraries (cited below) that put the Khurasan gate of the oasis wall at a distance of 2 farsakh from Paykand and 6.5 farsakh from Bukhara (city). Khunbūn would have been one of the first major settlements inside the wall on the road to Bukhara, possibly in the vicinity of a town mentioned in the 9th-century itineraries, Māstīn.

Historical Evidence

9th Century

Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik/ Qudāma*, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*

1889: 25–26 (Qudāma 1889: 203–4): Itinerary from the Oxus to Bukhara (city): north bank of the Oxus to Firabr: 1 farsakh – to Ḥiṣn Umm Jaʿfar: 6 farsakh through the desert – to Paykand: 6 farsakh – to the gate of the wall of Bukhara: 2 farsakh – to Māstīn: 1.5 farsakh – to Bukhara: 5 farsakh.²⁸⁶

10th/12th Century

Tārīkh-i Bukhārā

TB (Schefer): 43(u)–44; TB (Frye): 45–46; TB (Russ): 50–51: (Following the story of the looting of Paykand by Qutayba b. Muslim, dated in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* to 88/706.)²⁸⁷ “When (Qutayba) was finished with Paykand, he went to attack Khunbūn. He took Khunbūn, Tārāb, and many small villages. (Then) he went to Vardāna, which was the see of a king named Vardān Khudāt. They fought many skirmishes. In the end Vardān Khudāt died, and (Qutayba) seized many villages. (But) a number of armies assembled in the villages of Bukhara between Tārāb, Khunbūn and Rāmītan and surrounded Qutayba. Ṭarkhūn, the king of Sughd, arrived with many troops. And KhNK Khudāt with a huge army and Vardān Khudāt with his army and Kūrmaghānūn,²⁸⁸ the nephew of the emperor of China, who had been hired with 40,000 men, (also) arrived to support (Ṭarkhūn) in the fight against Qutayba. The armies joined, and the situation became difficult for Qutayba.”

12th Century

al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*

1912: s.v. al-Khunbūnī: “A village of Bukhārā, at a distance of 4 farsakh from [the city], on the road to Khurāsān. I stayed there several nights.”

(Abū l-Qāsim Waṣil b. Ḥamza al-Ṣūfī al-Khunbūnī travelled to hear *ḥadīth* in Bukhara, Nasaf, Iṣfahān, Jurjān and Baghdād²⁸⁹ and died in his home village in 467/1074–75; for Abū Rajāʿ Aḥmad b. Dāwūd “from upper Khunbūn,” see next entry, Khunbūn east.)

s.v. al-Ṭārābī: “Ṭārāb, a village of Bukhara near Khunbūn.”

16th Century

Ḥāfiẓ Tanīsh, *Sharāf-nāma*

f.80a (1,180): Burhān Sulṭān (961–64/1554–57), accompanied by the leading merchants and heads of other trades, goes to Shahr-i Islām, “which is one *mughūlī* (distance) from the City”, to meet ‘Abdallāh Khān.²⁹⁰

Documentary Sources

19th Century

Vaqfnāma CGA 323:305 (undated; early 19th century (?): Khūmīn (= Khunbūn), tūmān Shahr-i Islām

Vaqfnāma CGA 323:305 (1235/1818–19): Khumīn (sic), tūmān Shahr-i Islām.

Modern Surveys and Maps

Sitniakovskii 1899b: 251: Khumyng (Amliakdarstvo Kamad’ / Vabkend)

10-verst’ map: Khumyn.

Modern Studies

TB (Russ): 293, n.15 (E. Nekrasova).

On the possible etymology (*xan* “source, spring”, *bun* “canal?”), see Lur’e 2004: 141, 149, 227.

The derivation of the modern form Khumin from an earlier Khunbun is confirmed by another Khunbūn mentioned in a 14th-century endowment deed, which can be identified on the basis of the topographic indications in the deed with modern Khumin south of Bukhara (site 0101). Chekhovich (1965: 222 n.36), followed by the commentators of the Russian translation of *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* (TB (Russ): 343 n.9) erroneously identify this Khunbūn with its namesake on the Khurasan road. The Khunbūn mentioned in the 14th-century vaqfiyya is again different from the “upper estates of Khunbūn”, see following entry.

286 Ibn Khurdādhbih has 1.5 farsakh for the distance from Māstīn to Bukhara (probably repeating by error the distance of the preceding stage from the gate of the wall to Māstīn). It is to be emended on the basis of Qudāma to 5 farsakh.

287 See above p. 82.

288 On the historical interpretation, see below, s.v. Vardāna.

289 Al-Samʿānī cites al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī’s *Tārīkh Baghdād* for Waṣil “al-Bukhārī”’s stay in Baghdād and al-Khaṭīb’s encounter with him in 450/1058–59.

290 For the historical context, see Burton 1997: 8–11.

3.8 *Khunbūn (East) = Kāarak /Kārik- 'Alaviyān*

Site 0101

39°41'26" N 64°27'56" E

The *Tārikh-i Bukhārā* describes the “upper estates of Khunbūn”, also known as Khunbūn-i Mughān (Khunbūn of the Magī), which became known as Kārik or Kāarak of the ‘Alīds.²⁹¹ Umniakov mentions a village by the name *Kārik-i ‘Alaviyān north-west of the city and writes that Bukharans still connected this area with the festival prayer place (*namāzghāh*).²⁹² According to Nekrasova (TB(Russ): 253 n.16), who seems to follow Umniakov, Kāarak-i ‘Alaviyān overlapped to a large extent with the area where Manṣūr b. Nūḥ moved the *namāzghāh* to in 360/970–71. The identification of Kāarak or Kārik-i ‘Alaviyān (and consequently the “upper estates of Khunbūn”) with the *namāzghāh* of the later Samanid period is entirely plausible. *Tārikh-i Bukhārā* locates Manṣūr’s *namāzghāh* on the road to Sumītan, a half farsakh from the gate of the citadel, i.e., west of the city.²⁹³ Markov’s map places a village and lands with the name Koryk north-west of the city, between Tatarmahalla and Tutikhush, approximately coinciding with the modern, affluent Bukharan suburb Madaniyat. It is tempting to connect the modern toponym Kunamachit (lit. “ancient mosque”), just south of Madaniyat, with the old *namāzghāh*. It appears that Kārik-i ‘Alaviyān included the area now occupied by the main cemetery of Bukhara at the shrine of Abū Ḥaṣḥ Kabīr. Al-Narshakhī places both the Kārik and the tomb of Khwāja Abū Ḥaṣḥ Kabīr in the proximity of the “new” (or *nūr*) gate, the northern (not eastern) gate of the old shahrestan.

Historical Evidence

10th/12th Century

Tārikh-i Bukhārā

TB(Schefer): 59; TB(Frye): 61, 141 n.220; TB(Russ): 62: (Between 130 and 140/738 and 748 CE) “[The Bukhārkhudā] Tughshāda had given [the Abbasid governor Naṣr b. Sayyār] the upper estates of Khunbūn (*diyā’-i ‘ulyā-yi Khunbūn*) which were called the ‘tillage [read with Frye

kāarak for *kārik*] of the ‘Alīds.” (Or “Kārik of the ‘Alīds.”) (Var. ms.: “It is also called Khunbūn of the Magians.”) (trans. R. Frye)

TB(Schefer): 27; TB(Frye): 28–29; TB(Russ): 38–39: “By the New Gate, adjacent to the city gate, is a place called Kāarak-i ‘Alaviyān (tillage of the ‘Alīds). In the year 356/967 Amir Manṣūr b. Nūḥ built a very fine villa there. Its beauty became proverbial. The estates of Kāarak-i ‘Alaviyān were fiscal property (*mamlaka-yi pādshāhī*) until Naṣr Khān [b.] Ṭamghāj Khān, (r. 460–72/1068–80) donated (or endowed) these estates to the scholars, because it was close to the city and it was thus easier for the jurists to cultivate the land. In exchange he took estates farther from the city. Kāarak-i ‘Alaviyān and Jūy-i Mūliyān prospered until the end of the Samanids. When the rule of the Samanids came to an end, these two villas (*sarāy*) fell into ruin.”

12th Century

al-Sam‘ānī, al-Ansāb

1912: s.v. al-Khunbūnī: Abū Rajā’ Aḥmad b. Dāwūd, from upper Khunbūn, 4th/10th century. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kalābādhi (d. in Bukhara between 380/990 and 385/995), author of the famous early Persian-language compendium of Sufism, *K. al-ta’arruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, transmitted from him. Al-Sam‘ānī cites Ghunjar’s *History of Bukhara* as his source for Abū Rajā’. Al-Sam‘ānī lists him under the entry for western Khunbūn (see previous entry), but the qualification “upper” (*al-‘ulyā*) more likely refers to Khunbūn near Bukhara.

Documentary Sources

16th Century

Jūybārī codex no. 101 (Ivanov 1954: 152–53): Kārik, tuman Rūd-i Shahr, north of Tall-i Pāch on the road to tūmān Sāmjan, *mamlaka* (property of the treasury).

Modern Surveys and Maps

Sitniakovskii 1899b: 254 (Kamat/Vabkend, ar. Nakyp [Naqib]): Korak.

10-verst’ map: Karyk.

Markov map: Koryk.

Modern Studies

Umniakov 1923.

Etymology: Lur’e 2004: 197. The suggested emendation *Kāzak (hut) is unlikely in the light of the consistent use of the toponym Kāarak/Kārik in the modern period.

291 In TB(Russ): 343 n.9, as already in Arends et al.’s publication of a 13th-century endowment deed, *Bukharskii vakf XIII v.*, this Khunbūn is erroneously identified with its western namesake (see above Khunbūn west). It should not be excluded that the story of the privatisation of *mamlaka* land and the subsequent donation to the ‘Alīds is a popular etymological explanation of the name.

292 Umniakov 1923: 153 n.1.

293 TB(Frye): 52. Cf. Schwarz 1998.

3.9 *Kumijkat*

Site 0090

40°0'54" N 64°37'50" E

Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 80–81.

Presentation of the Site

The modern village of Kumishkent or Kumushkent, 9.5 km east of Vobkent on the south bank of the Vābkanddaryā, appears in early modern endowment documents as Kumijkat.²⁹⁴ The modern Turkic name, literally “Silver City”, is a popular etymology for the old Sogdian toponym, whose etymology remains unclear but may be associated with *kan* “to dig” and the possibly related Bukharan term *kām* “canal”.²⁹⁵ Old Kumijkat (*Ka/ūmij/chkath) corresponds to site 0090, a large tepe between the modern village Kumishkent and the Kamaka (Kām-i ‘A(k)kā) canal and south (left) of the Vābkanddaryā, a distance of less than 1 km from the river. Rante and Mirzaakhmedov date the beginning of settlement of the site to Phase 2, i.e., 1st–3rd centuries CE.²⁹⁶

We argue that a toponym that appears in most sources as some variant of Būmijkat/Nūmijkat (and other variant spellings, see below) must be consistently emended to Ka/ūmij/chkat.²⁹⁷ It refers to site 0090 close to modern Kumishkent. This toponym “B/Na/ūmijkat” has generated considerable discussion in modern scholarship, not least because some medieval sources claim that it was also an old name for the city of Bukhara itself.

The toponym Kumijkat indicates a place in the north-eastern sector of the oasis, located on the south end of a crossing of the Khitfar/Vābkanddaryā River, 5 km north of the Zarafshan crossing at Iskijkat/Chargh, and hence on an important south-north route of the pre-Mongol oasis of Bukhara. Evidence is presented and discussed below in support of the hypothesis that Kumijkat was important enough in the early Islamic period to be considered one of the major centres of the oasis, until it was superseded by Bukhara in the Samanid period. The memory of its prestige merged in some – but not all – accounts with the new dominant urban pole of the oasis. While the possibility that the city of Bukhara (or one of the precursor settlements on its territory) was also known by this name cannot be excluded, it rests on a single and inconclusive piece of evidence. In other words, in the light of

the available evidence B/Nū/amijkat should always be emended to Kumijkat. The toponym refers to only one town, which must be strictly kept apart from Bukhara (city) in the study of the history of the oasis. An association of “Nūmijkat” with the toponym Nokmetan, attested in early Sogdian inscriptions, appears to be unfounded (see above pp. 69–72).

Discussion of the Toponym

A toponym that appears in its Arabic basic form (*rasm*) as **بومحک** or similar spellings, with variant vowels, diacritic punctuation, and even with a variant initial consonant, has become widely accepted as referring to two different towns in the oasis: the city of Bukhara itself, as its “original” name; and a town in the north-eastern parts of the oasis.

Al-Iṣṭakhri (and related texts) mentions “Būmijkat/Bamijkat” in four instances. Al-Iṣṭakhri states that the old name of Bukhara was *Būmijkat*.²⁹⁸ He lists *Bamijkat* among the cities (*mudun*, pl. of *madīna*) inside the oasis wall. He indicates the location of *Būmijkat* off the road to Ṭavāvīs on the left side after 4 farsakh and at a distance of around 0.5 farsakh from the road.²⁹⁹ Finally, in an itinerary he calls *Būmijkat* the “qaṣaba” of Bukhara, he gives the following distances: Būmijkat – Paykand 1 marḥala, Būmijkat – Khujāda 3 farsakh (which correspond to the location of the city of Bukhara), but repeats, still in the same itinerary, its location left of the road to Ṭavāvīs after 4 farsakh and at a distance of around 0.5 farsakh from the road.³⁰⁰ The accompanying map marks “Manjikath” not only as separate from Bukhara but – together with Vardān(a) – on the northern side of the Zarafshan (as is Kumishkent), while Bukhara and Tavavis are on the south side of the river. Al-Maqdisī further complicates the question when he distinguishes three different toponyms: Numūjkath as one of the principal fortified cities (*qaṣabāt*) of the empire, and Bumijkat and Kumijkat as two of the *qaṣabāt* belonging to Numūjkath.³⁰¹ Since Samarkand appears in al-Maqdisī’s list of metropolises (*amṣār*) and principal *qaṣabāt* but Bukhārā does not, al-Maqdisī seems to imply that Numūjkath is Bukhārā, and Numijkat and Kumijkat are two distinct subordinate fortified towns. But given al-Maqdisī’s dependence on the earlier geographers of the “Balkhī school”, his statement may also reflect

294 CGA 323:1429.

295 For the ām/ūm change, see Lur’e 2004: 62, 97–98, 199.

296 Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 38.

297 Where in the following this place name is represented in a simplified form as Kumijkat, any spelling or reading variant is implied.

298 Al-Iṣṭakhri 1870: 305.

299 Al-Iṣṭakhri 1870: 313, 315.

300 Al-Iṣṭakhri 1870: 342.

301 Al-Maqdisī (al-Muqaddasi) 1906: 49, 266.

the uncertainty in the transmission of a single unpunctuated word in the manuscripts.

The 12th-century Persian translator of the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* also noted that Numijkat was one of the many names of Bukhara,³⁰² and in the following century Juvaynī writes that “Lmjkat is said to have been the original name” of Bukhara. Both sources likely depend on the early geographers for this information and can hardly be regarded as an independent source. The *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* even conflates Bukhara and Numijkat with epithets that were also associated with Paykand (copper city and merchants’ city). Juvaynī, however, confirms the existence of early readings of the initial consonant in the *rasm* as a long stroke, representing *lām* or *kāf*. The same spelling or reading variant is also present in mss. of the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, but in a context that unambiguously refers to a place north of the Zarafshan – consistent with the position of “MNJKT” on the map accompanying al-Iṣṭakhrī’s text.³⁰³

Al-Iṣṭakhrī’s text raises several questions: How is the toponym to be read? Was there only one toponym, or two? If there were two places, were their names identical, or similar enough to become confused in Arabic script – as Yāqūt believed – and if so, was one of the two cities identical with what later became known as Bukhara?

A name change in the course of the city’s development from a cluster of smaller settlements and fortifications to one of the foremost urban centres of the oasis cannot be excluded, and despite differences in interpretation, al-Iṣṭakhrī’s account has been widely accepted.³⁰⁴ If, as we argued above, Bukhara was the name of the oasis and not initially or not exclusively of the city, it would be a plausible scenario that when the city began to dominate the oasis by the turn to the 7th century, the name of the oasis became attached to it, replacing its old name.³⁰⁵ Apparent confirmation for al-Iṣṭakhrī’s account has been adduced from a Chinese dynastic chronicle, the *Weishu*, which mentions a country and city Niu-mi, which Lerch (followed by Pelliot) interpreted as a rendering of *Numij(kath) and which according to an early Song-period gloss was the name of the capital of Bukhara in the Wei period. But as has been shown above (p. 71), the identification of Niu-mi with Bukhara or “Nūmijkat” is highly doubtful, and Niu-mi may not be a place in Transoxiana at all.

The uncertainties in the reading of the toponym was already noted by pre-Mongol authors. The 12th-century epitomiser of the Persian *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* writes that he had seen the spelling Būmiskat in another, unidentified source. Yāqūt points to different spellings and raises doubts about al-Iṣṭakhrī’s splitting of the toponym into two distinct settlements, implicitly rejecting al-Iṣṭakhrī’s identification of Bumijkat as the original name of Bukhara.

While the sources on a supposed original name for Bukhara can be reduced to the single evidence of the “Balkhī school” geographers and related texts, there are several distinct source traditions that all appear to regard the second “Bamijkat” of al-Iṣṭakhrī. The itinerary – 4 farsakh (24–32 km) from Bukhara on the road to Tavovis and then 0.5 farsakh (3–4 km) to the left – puts it somewhere east of modern Vobkent.

It is in the same area that a narrative in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* is set. At its core, this narrative goes back to the 10th-century Arabic version. The followers of Muḡanna‘ attacked the mosque of a village named Numijkat or Lumijkat in 159/775–76.³⁰⁶ The context of the narrative suggests a location of that village in the north-eastern zone of the oasis and probably north of the Zarafshan: One of the attackers came from G’ijduvon, and the Bukharan army set their camp for the counter attack at Narshakh, close to modern Vobkent. The Persian translator mentions latter-day followers of Muḡanna‘ still in the early 12th century in a number of villages, some of which can be located with certainty in the same area: Kashtuvān and *Razmāz.³⁰⁷ The Numijkat of this narrative cannot have been an insignificant rural settlement. It already had a mosque, and it was of sufficient significance, as a base of Abbasid authority in the oasis, to be considered by the anti-Abbasid insurgents a worthy target to attack (fig. 48).

Al-Sam‘ānī renders the toponym as Bamijkath, but he provides important evidence for locating the place north of the Zarafshan and more specifically for its identification with Kumijkat/Kumishkent. He has a long entry on the nisba “al-Bamijkathī” and also mentions the town in the context of several other villages, including “Sakbiyān/Sakibān” (i.e., Saktabān, modern Saktafon) and Shīrvān, both of which were located close to “Bamijkath”.³⁰⁸ Both villages exist today in the vicinity of Kumishkent, thus supporting the identification of Kumishkent and B/NMShKT. From al-Sam‘ānī’s *Kitāb al-Ansāb* emerges the picture of

302 TB(Frye): 21.

303 TB(Russ): 227–28 n.2.

304 Tomaschek 1877: 106–7; Barthold 1899: 7; Bol’shakov 1956: 20 (with some caution); Adylov and Babaev 2011: 62–81.

305 Bol’shakov 1956: 20.

306 TB(Frye): 68. For the variant spelling, see TB(Russ): 227–28 n.2.

307 The exception is Kūshk-i ‘Umar, located south of the Zarafshan, only 8 km north-west of Bukhara.

308 Bamijkath is also mentioned, s.v. al-Kharrāṭ, as the birthplace of the Basran scholar Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb b. Ma‘bad al-Kharrāṭ.

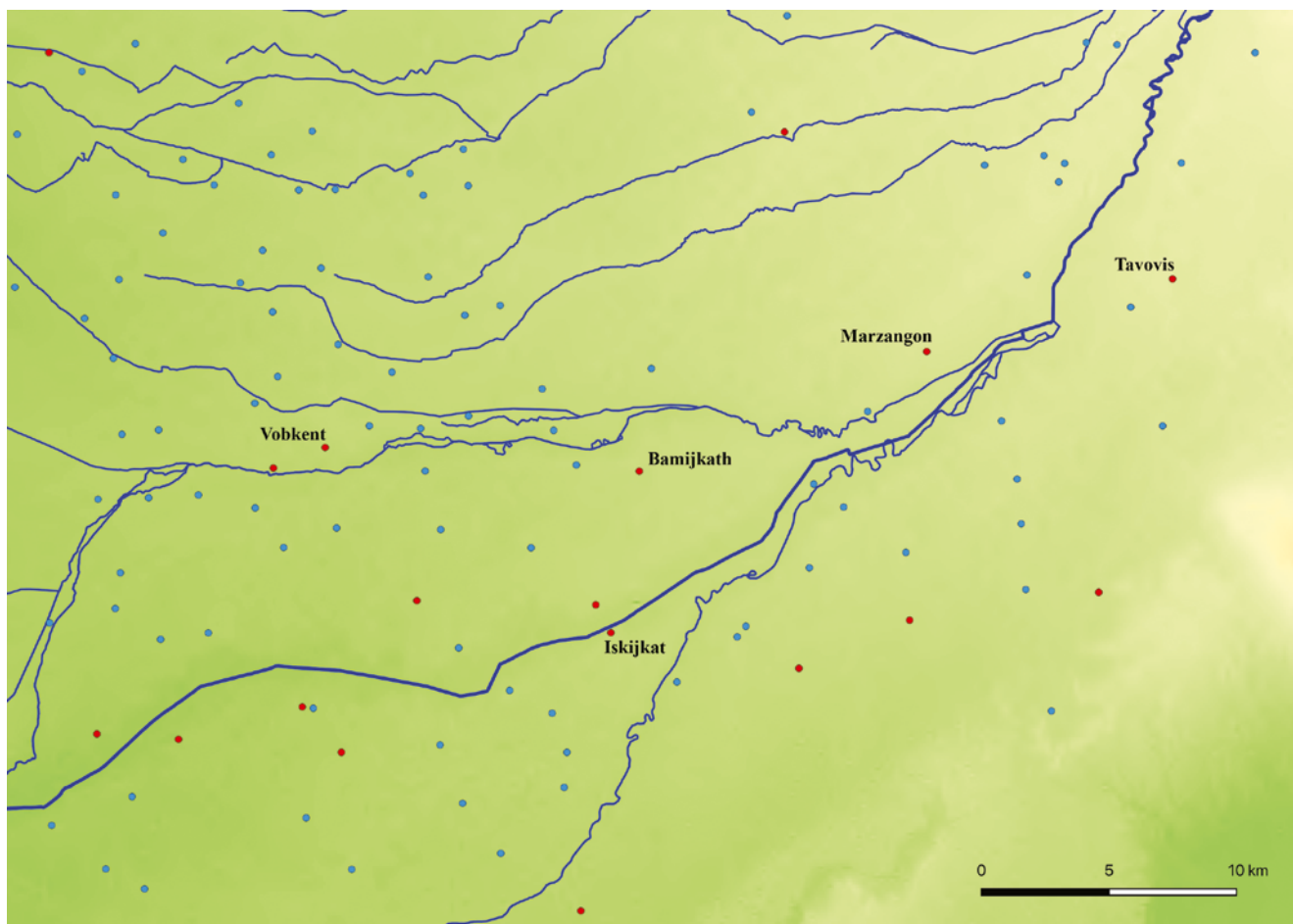


FIGURE 49 Map showing Kumijkaṭh (“Bamijkaṭh”) and its settlement environment

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Nūmishkaṭh, (a town) of Bukhara, which he took peacefully by agreement.”

Ibid: 2:194–95 s.a. 88/707 (cf. trans. Hinds 1990: 143): “In this year Qutayba raided Nūmishkaṭh and Rāmīthana. [...] Qutayba raided Nūmishkaṭh in the year 88 h. [...] The people (of Nūmishkaṭh) received (Qutayba), and he reached a peaceful settlement with them. He continued to Rāmīthana and took it peacefully by agreement.”

al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār*

1923: 234 (cf. trans. Sachau ibid: 221): “On the third day of (the month of) *mzyxnd* is the festival of *kšmyn* on which they hold a fair in the village (*qarya*) KMJKT. On the 15th of the (same month) there is a fair in al-Ṭawāwīs at which the merchants gather from everywhere and hold (the fair) for seven days.”

al-Iṣṭakhri, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*

1870: 305: “The name of Bukhārā is Būmijkaṭh.”

Ibid: 313: Cities (*madīna*) within the oasis wall: Ṭawāwīs, Bamijkaṭh, Zandana, Maghkān, Khujāda. “[...] The cities (*mudun*) inside the wall are all of similar size and construction (*imāra*). All are fortified (*ḥiṣn*).”

Ibid: 315 (and similar, ibid: 342): “Būmijkaṭh is on the left side of the traveler / of the road to Ṭawāwīs after 4 farsakh, ca. 0.5 farsakh off the highway.”

al-Maqdisī (al-Muqaddasī), *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm*

1906: 49: *qaṣabāt* of Numūjakath: Baykand, al-Ṭawāwīs, Zandana, Bumijkaṭh, KhDĪMNKN (var. KhRSKN), ‘RWĀN, Bakhsūn, Sīkath, Aryāmīthan, Warakhshay, Zarmīthan, Kumijkaṭh, Fagharsīn, Kishfaghan, Nawīdak, Warkay.

Ibid: 267–78: “Among its cities (*mudun* sg. *madīna*) are Baykand, al-Ṭawāwīs, Zandana, Bamijkaṭh, Khujādī, Maghkān, Kharghānkath, KhDĪMNKN, ‘RWĀN, Bakhsūn, Sīkath, Jarghar, Sīshakath, Aryāmīthan, Warakhshay,

Zarmīthan, Kumijkath, Fagharsīn, Kishfaghan, Nawīdak, Warkay.”

Ḥudūd al-‘ālam

1930: f.22b (cf. trans. Minorsky 1937: 112): “Mughkān, Khuḡādī, *Zandana (ms.: Dandūna), Būm[ij]kath, MDYAMJkath, *Kharghānkath (ms.: JZGhNkath): towns (*shahrak*) with minbars in the region of Bukhara. They are prosperous places with much cultivation.”

10th/12th Century

Tārīkh-i Bukhārā

TB(Schefer): 20; TB(Frye): 21; TB(Russ): 33: “Aḡmad b. Muḡammad b. Naṣr [al-Qubavī] says that there are many names of Bukhara. In his own book he calls it NMJKTh. In a different place I saw Būmiskath. Somewhere else I have seen Copper City in Arabic, and yet in another place I have seen Merchants’ City in Arabic. But the best known name is Bukhārā. No other city in Khurāsān has so many names.”

TB(Schefer): 66–67; TB(Frye): 68; TB(Russ): 67–68:

“When the White Garments, who had sworn allegiance to Muqanna‘, appeared in Bukhara for the first time, they went to a village called NMJKT (ms. var. LMJKT). At night they entered the mosque and killed the muezzin and fifteen people. They killed everyone in the village. This occurred in the year 159 [775–76] when Ḥusayn b. Mu‘adh was governor (*amīr*) of Bukhārā. One of the leaders of the people of Muqanna‘ was a man from Bukhara by the name of Ḥakīm Aḡmad. With him were three other commanders (*sarhang*): ḤShR/Wī and Bāghī were both from Kūshk-i Fuḡayl, and KRDK was from Ghijduwān. [...] Ḥusayn b. Mu‘adh with his army, and the judge of Bukhara ‘Amir b. ‘Umrān with the people of Bukhara departed [from the city] in the month of Rajab 159 (April/May 776 CE) to the village of Narshakh, which is now called Narjaq.”

12th Century

al-Sam‘ānī, al-Ansāb

1912: s.v. al-Bamijkathī:

“al-Bamijkathī [...] is the nisba to Bamijkath, a village of Bukhara. From (Bamijkath) is Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Shu‘ayb b. Vathāj al-Bamijkathī the literatus (*adīb*).³¹⁰ He was the preacher (*khaṭīb*) of that village. [...] [Among those who heard from him was] Ghunjār Abū ‘Abdallāh

Muḡammad b. Aḡmad b. Muḡammad al-Bukhārī.³¹¹ He died in the night of the holiday of breaking the fast (*‘īd al-ḡitr*) of the year 386 (ca. 16 October 996 CE).

Abū Jumayl ‘Ibād b. Hishām al-Shāmī al-Bamijkathī. He resided in the village Bamijkath. [...] (Among those who transmitted on his authority was) Buḡayr b. al-Naḡr. Buḡayr said: ‘A man who used to dye his (beard), he called to prayer in the mosque of Bamijkath.’

Abū Bakr Muḡammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdallāh b. Qaṣī al-Bakr al-Bamijkathī al-muqri’, a companion of Buḡayr b. al-Naḡr. He died in his village in Ramaḡān 299 (April/May 912 CE), the market day of Bamijkath. An innumerable crowd assembled (to mourn him).”

Ibid: s.v. al-Kharrāt: “Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb b. Ma‘bad b. Ṣāliḡ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Kharrāt was born in Bamijkath and grew up in Basra.”

Ibid: s.v. al-Marghbūnī: “Abū Ḥaḡṣ ‘Amr b. al-Mughīra al-Marghbūnī, transmits on the authority of al-Musīb b. Ishāq and Buḡayr b. al-Naḡr. He transmitted *ḡadīth* in Bamijkath in the year 273 (886–87 CE).”

Ibid: s.v. Yasāraghī: “Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḡammad b. Ḥanīf b. Ja‘far b. Zayn al-Yasāraghī, from the village (*qarya*) Bamijkath in the Province (*a‘māl*) of Bukhara. He transmitted from Buḡayr b. al-Naḡr and Abū ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Ḥaḡṣ and Abū Ṭāhīr Asbāt b. al-Yasa‘ and Muḡammad b. Wāḡīḡ and Ya‘qūb b. Ma‘bad and others. From him transmitted Abū Naṣr al-Bahilī.”³¹²

13th Century

Yāqūt, Muḡjam al-buldān

1956: s.v. Bamijkath: “A village of Bukhara. Al-Iṣṭakhri says: ‘The name of Bukhara is Būmijkath.’ In a different place [al-Iṣṭakhri] says: ‘Būmijkath is on the left of whom travels to al-Ṭawāwīs after 4 farskh from Bukhara, 0.5 farsakh from the road.’ [al-Iṣṭakhri] adds a [letter] *wāw* after the [letter] *bā*, and he differs in what he says about [Bamijkath], and we just report it as we found it. I believe [al-Iṣṭakhri’s Būmijkath] is the same as the [Bamijkath] of this entry (*ikhtalafa kalāmuhu fihā wa-naqalnāhu naqlan wa mā aẓunnuhā illā l-mutarjam bihā*).”

311 Author of a lost history of Bukhara, see above.

312 Cf. Ibn Mākūlā 1381–82/1962–63: 2:559.

310 Cf. Ibn Mākūlā 1381–82/1962–63: 7:58.

*Documentary Sources**16th Century*

Vaqfnāma BGMZ Inv. no. 10994/11 (t.p.q. 940/1533–34)³¹³: Properties in Shargh (Chargh). Topographic indications include, in the west, on the road [from Bukhara via the Shanbe bridge?] to Kumishkant and G'ijduvon. One witness bears the nisba Kumijkatī, preserving the old form of Kumishkant.

16th/17th Century

Vaqfnāma CGA 323:1429:1(3) (undated; 17th century?³¹⁴): “The entire and complete village (*qarya*) Kumijkint, a well-known village of the *tūmān Kāmāt* of the city of Bukhara.” Boundaries include, on the east, the canal of Chargh (*kām-i Chargh*).

Modern Surveys and Reports

NPBE 30, 32: Kumushkant (*tūmān Kāmāt, Kām-i Kumushkant*)

Sitniakovskii 1899b: 237: Kumyshkent' (Amliakdarstvo Kamad' (Vabkend', Kumyshkent')). Market (Bazar').

10-verst' map: Kumiyshkent'

100K map: Kumushkent

3.10 Mughkān

Site 0271 (?)

39.942536° N 64.292344° E

Mughkān or Maghkān (fig. 50) is one of the five “cities” (*mudun*) that al-Iṣṭakhrī lists inside the oasis wall. The localisation of Mughkān rests on al-Iṣṭakhrī's itinerary and on one of the oldest surviving endowment documents from the oasis, dating to the middle of the 13th century, which mentions a village (*qarya*) Mughkān-i khurdak, or “Little Mughkān”.³¹⁵ The identification remains hypothetical, as this “Little Mughkān” cannot be associated with certainty with the Mughkān of the early geographers. According to the topographic data in the *vaqfnāma*, Mughkān-i khurdak must have been located near the north bank of the Sāmjan River (it belonged to the 'amal, or *tūmān*, of Sāmjan), south or south-east of Naufaj (modern Naufaj or Nufan),³¹⁶ east of Barkad (see below, s.v. Parkad/Barkad),

Marghāsūn (modern Margasym)³¹⁷ and Faghana (modern Vagani).³¹⁸ The modern village Mugkacha (Mogancha in Sitniakovskii) exactly fits this description. On the north-east side of the village lies site 0271. This identification agrees with the location of Mughkān on the oasis map on the website of the American-Uzbek project on the oasis wall.³¹⁹

According to al-Iṣṭakhrī's itinerary, Mughkān was 3 farsakh (ca. 18–24 km) from the road to Paykand to the right, at a total distance of 5 farsakh (ca. 30–40 km) from Bukhara. The location of site 0271 matches this description.

Al-Sam'ānī has no separate entry for Mughkān but mentions it several times in relation to other places. He apparently stayed there once, as he mentions two villages he passed through when returning from a visit in Surmārā to Mughkān: Kaththa (4 farsakh from the city)³²⁰ and Badhikhūn (4 farsakh from the city and close to Mughkān).³²¹

As in the case of the other *mudun* of the walled oasis mentioned by the early geographers – Tavāvīs, *Kūmijkath, Zandana and Khujādā – one can assume that they were of particular significance for the Muslim conquerors and early administrators of the oasis; otherwise – being relatively small sites – they would not have been singled out in this way. If site 0271 is the Mughkān of the early geographers, it was located a little less than 4 km almost due north of Rāmītan, separated from the large pre-Islamic urbane centre by the Sāmjan River. Its main significance may have been of strategic nature. Being close to Rāmītan, it controlled access to the south-western quadrant of the oasis from the north, while Khujādā would have controlled it from the south. This was an immensely important quadrant: it included cities such as Rāmītan, Rāmish, Sivanj, Barkad and Varakhsha and also the entrance of the Khurasan road through the oasis wall at Khunbūn and the southern fortress of Tārāb. The *Tarikh-i Bukhārā* sets the theatre for a major resistance effort against Qutayba b. Muslim, who was approaching from Paykand, in this area (see above; texts, s.v. Khunbūn west).

Al-Sam'ānī's itineraries also suggest that Mughkān controlled an important crossing of the Sāmjan River on the road from Rāmītan to Vardana.

313 For more details on this document, see below, s.v. Chargh and Iskiyath.

314 Arends et al., *Bukharskii vakf XIII v.*: 39. *Vaqfnāma* CGA 323–1429:1 is a late-18th-century copy grouping together several endowments for the benefit of the Chahārbakr complex. The other endowments are dated 968/1561, 1068/1658 and 1096/1685.

315 See below. The editors/translators assumed that Mughkān-i khurdak was distinct from the town of Mughkān mentioned by the geographers.

316 39°57'13.20" N 64°15'24.28" E.

317 39°56'28.84" N 64°14'56.48" E.

318 39°56'17.68" N 64°14'25.31" E.

319 In an earlier phase of this project we located Mughkān at site 0247, about 4.5 km west of site 0271, see Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 82.

320 Al-Sam'ānī 1912: s.v. al-Kathawī. Kaththa: site 0320, see Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 92.

321 Al-Sam'ānī 1912: s.v. al-Badhikhūnī.



FIGURE 50 Satellite view of Mughkan (site 271?)
© WORLD_IMAGERY 2020

When one puts Khujādā, Mughkān and Zandana on a map of the 19th-century districts, one will find that each of the towns was situated in the central positions of the three western tūmāns Khayrābād (Khujādā), Sāmjan (Mughkān) and Khitfar (Zandana) (fig. 51).

Historical Evidence

10th Century

Ḥudūd al-ʿālam

1930: f.22b (cf. trans. Minorsky 1937: 112): “Mughkān, Khujādī, *Zandana (ms.: Dandūna), Būm[ij]kath, MDYAMJkath, *Kharghānkath (ms.: JZGhNkath): towns (*shahrak*) with minbars in the region of Bukhara. They are prosperous places with much cultivation.”

al-Iṣṭakhri, Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik

1870: 313: Cities (*mudun*) within the oasis wall: Ṭawāwīs, Bamijkath, Zandana, Maghkān, Khujāda. “[...] The cities (*mudun*) inside the wall are all of comparable size and construction (*imāra*). All are fortified (*hiṣn*).”

al-Maqdisī (al-Muqaddasī), Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm

1906: 49: *qaṣabāt* of zu Numūjakath: Baykand, al-Ṭawāwīs, Zandana, Bumijkath, KhDĪMNKN [var. KhRSKN], ‘RWĀN, Bakhsūn, Sīkath Aryāmīthan, Warakhshay, Zarmīthan, Kumijkath, Fagharsīn, Kishfaghan, Nawīdak, Warkay.

Ibid: 267–78: “Among its cities (*mudun* sg. *madīna*) are Baykand, al-Ṭawāwīs, Zandana, Bamijkath, Khujādī, Maghkān, Kharghānkath, KhDIMNKN, ‘RWĀN, Bakhsūn, Sīkath, Jarghar, Sīshakath, Aryāmīthan, Warakhshay, Zarmīthan, Kumijkath, Fagharsīn, Kishfaghan, Nawīdak, Warkay.”

Documentary Sources

13th/17th Century

Vaqfnāma CGA 323:1429 (698/1299)

CGA 323.1429 (fragmentary Arabic version 698/1299, full Persian version 1071/1666) (ed. Arends et al., *Bukharskii vakf XIII v.*)

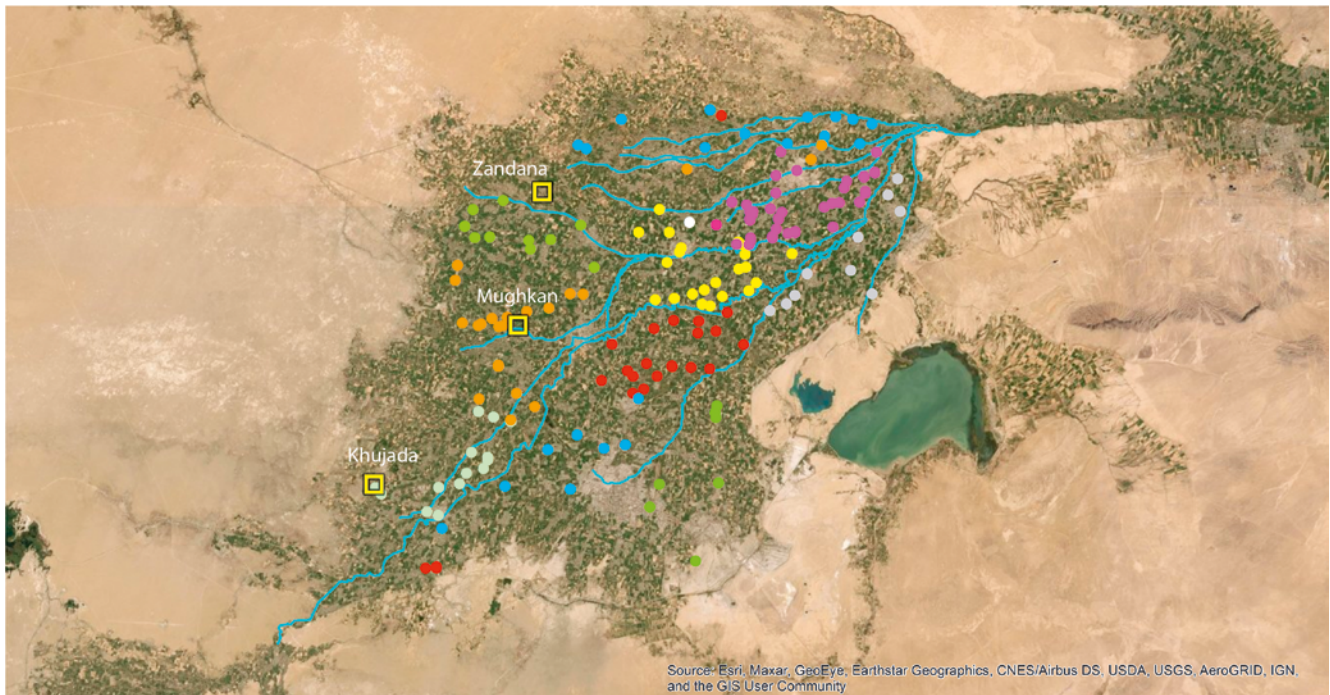


FIGURE 51 Map showing the western tūmāns of the oasis
© F. SCHWARZ 2020

Arabic: “(l.34) He endowed [...] (l.37) the entire village (*qarya*) (l.38) named Dīh KhMNH (Khamina?), one of the villages of the province (*kūra*) Bukhara in the district (*‘amal*) Sāmjan. (l.39) It is irrigated by its own canal (*nahr khāṣṣ*) which takes its water from the river Sāmjan (*nahr Sāmjan*³²²) and from the river (*nahr*) Naufaj and from the river Parkad and from the river Nukhūddīza and from the river of the village (*qarya*) Marghāsūn (l.41) and from the river of the village (*qarya*) Khashāfaghna and from the river of the village (*qarya*) Faghniya [...] Its eastern boundary borders on the general river (*nahr*) of Parkad, which is the only river in [Parkad] and flows towards the only road to Mughkān-i khurdak; and it borders [on the east] also on the village (*qarya*) [...] Mughkān-i khurdak [...]”

Modern Surveys and Reports

NPBE: Mughāncha, tūmān Sāmjan

Sitniakovskii 1899b: 300: Mogancha (Amliakdarstvo Zandany, aryk Roomitan’/Saumidzhan, right-branch canals, aryk Khazartut’)

10-verst’ map: Mogancha.

100K map: Mukgacha.

Modern Studies

Arends et al., *Bukharskii vakf XIII v.*: 85: “Maghkān Khurdak: a village corresponding to the later Maghancha which is indicated on maps and lists of settlements of the 19th and 20th centuries ca. 25 km NNW from the city of Bukhara, east of Marghāsūn. Apparently our ‘Small Maghkān’ was called this way to distinguish it from another Maghkān mentioned by al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Muqaddasī, Yāqūt and in the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*.”

3.11 Parkad/Barkad

Site 0944 (highly probable).

39°59’35.57” N 64°11’21.56” E

Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 71.

Parkad (Barkad) (fig. 52) is listed in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* as one of the important settlements of Bukhara. Lying on the western fringes of the modern oasis, it first appears in the documentary record in an endowment deed dated 698/1299. Archaeological evidence points to an occupation on the tepa until the 15th/16th century CE.³²³ The shift from the hill to a new settlement in the immediately adjacent area may be reflected in an endowment document from the second half of the 16th century (but containing earlier material). It mentions the apparently unoccupied “Tall-i Parkan” (hill of Parkan/Parkad) on the western border of the settlement. The new settlement seems to have

322 The edition has *nāhiya* instead of *nahr*, but see the facsimile. The Persian translation has *rūd* (river).

323 Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 50.

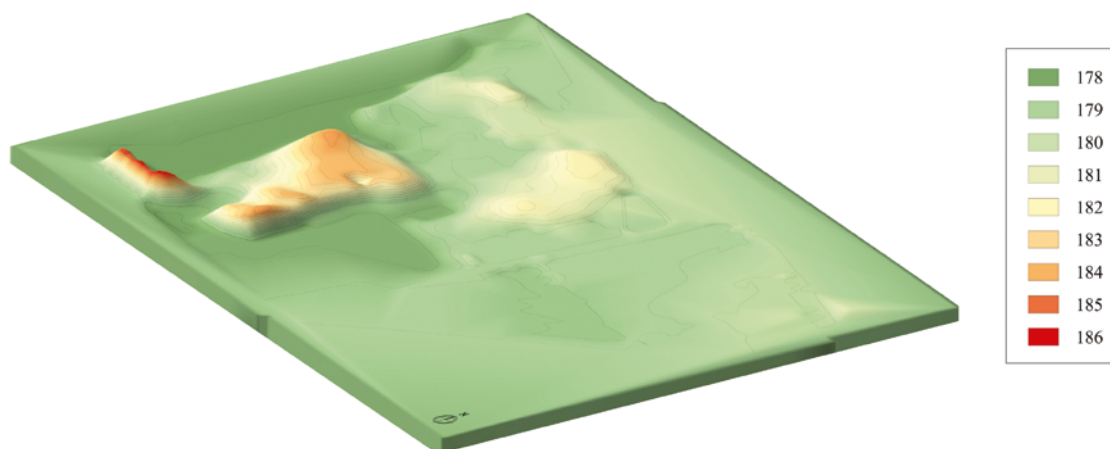


FIGURE 52 Digital Terrain Model of Parkad/Barkad (site 0944)
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been occupied until the early 20th century, as Parkad is still mentioned in Bukharan administrative documents around 1900.³²⁴

Barkad can be located at site 0944 with sufficient certainty on the basis of topographic indications in several endowment deeds. The toponyms Barākad and Badākadā/Badākar (read Barākad?) in al-Samʿānī probably refer to the same town.³²⁵ In the early 20th century (before 1914) the village, or different sections of the village, was renamed as Shākh-i Pāyān and Bāghcha.³²⁶ Neither of these names seems to continue into documented modern toponymy.

Local scholarly activity is attested in Barkad for the 2nd and 3rd century/8th and 9th century.

Parkad appears in the archival documentation of two important endowments (vaqf). One of the two endowments dates to the year 1299 AH. The second one survives only in 16th-century and later records, but allegedly represents a 9th-century vaqf for the descendants of the Samanid ruler Ismāʿīl. While the historical core of the “Samanid vaqf” is strongly contested in modern scholarship, one should not exclude the possibility that it contains older, possibly pre-Mongol data.³²⁷ In any event, Parkad appears in the oldest extant archival record for the oasis, be it the 1299 vaqf or a vaqf of unknown date, but possibly even older, that became known as the Samanid vaqf.

The endowment of 1299, made in the name of a high-ranking official of Bukhara under Mongol rule, hints at shifts in settlement structures. The endower re-founded

the village Dih-i Khamina below the old settlement, which remained a hill (*tall*).³²⁸ Similarly, Parkad is described as located below the hill of Parkad, indicating a shift from an older location to the 13th-century location. Unlike the case of Khamina, however, no textual evidence allows us to date this movement more precisely, and only further archaeological research may throw more light on the chronology of this development.

The critical proximity of the area of Parkad to the moving sands on the western and northern margins of the oasis is documented long before the modern period. An endowment document dated 979/1569, but probably copied from an earlier archetype of unknown date, mentions sand dunes (*khāma-hā-yi rīg*) west of Parkad, which belonged to badlands without an owner (*mayyita bi-lā malik*) that extended to Khwārazm.³²⁹

Historical Evidence

10th/12th Century

Tārīkh-i Bukhārā

TB(Schefer): 14; TB(Frye): 16; TB(Russ): 29: “Barkad is an old and large settlement with a large citadel. This settlement is known as Barkad-i ‘Alaviyān (Barkad of the ‘Alids) because Amir Ismāʿīl Sāmānī bought it and made it an endowment, of which two shares were for the benefit of the descendants of ‘Alī (b. Abī Ṭālib) and Jaʿfar (al-Ṣādiq), two share for the benefit of the poor and two shares for his own descendants.”

TB(Schefer): 79; TB(Frye): 81; TB(Russ): 77: (At the time when Ismāʿīl Sāmānī had installed himself in Bukhara

324 NPBE:106.

325 Al-Samʿānī 1912: s.v. TB(Russ): 198 n.94; Lur’e 2004: 103.

326 Tashkent, Archive of Office for Architectural Preservation, documents no. 3501 and no. 3508.

327 The so-called “Samanid vaqf” is the subject of a separate study by the author.

328 See above p. 92.

329 Vaqf-nāma CGA 323.1297.2, see below, s.v. Parkad, for a translation of relevant sections.

in 874 CE.) “A robber (*yakī az duzdān*) assembled many highwaymen and never-do-wells from the countryside (*aubāshān va rindān-i rustā*) and rampaged the road between Rāmītan and Barkad [...].”

12th Century

al-Sam‘ānī, *al-Ansāb* (1912) (cf. **Ibn Mākūlā**, *al-Ikmāl* 4:393; **Yāqūt**, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, s.v. Barkad) s.vv. Barkādī, Barākādī and Badākādī/Badākārī (s.v. Barkādī):

“[...] Barkad, a village of Bukhara. From there originate Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Salām, al-qāḍī al-Barkādī, who presided over the appeals court (*mazālim*) of Bukhara. He had studied with people from his home village and from Marw and transmitted from his father, from Sa‘īd b. Ayyūb, from al-Walīd b. Ismā‘īl, from Abū ‘Iṣma Sa‘d b. Mu‘ādh, from Abū ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Ḥafṣ and from others. From him transmitted Abū Ḥafṣ Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Sa‘d b. Naṣr, Sa‘īda bt. Ḥafṣ b. al-Muhtadī and others. He died in (the month of) Dhū l-Ḥijja 289 (November–December 902 CE) during the reign of Ismā‘īl b. Aḥmad (al-Sāmānī).

Janāḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Barkādī, the father of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Janāḥ al-Mu‘addib. He transmitted from ‘Īsā b. Mūsā al-Ghunjār (d. 184/800). From him transmitted his son al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Janāḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Barkādī, and from al-Ḍaḥḥāk transmitted Sahl b. Shādhūya.

Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Salām, al-qāḍī al-Barkādī, from the village Barkad [repeated from before ...], [transmitted also from] Abū Ibrāhīm Ishāq b. ‘Abdallāh, and from him transmitted [also] Aḥmad b. Sa‘d b. Naṣr b. Bakkār the ascetic (*al-zāhid*).”

Documentary Sources (fig. 53)

16th Century, Older (Possibly pre-Mongol) Content

Vaqfnāma CGA 323:1297 (“Sāmānid endowment”)³³⁰ (979/1569):

“One of the (endowed properties) is the village (*qarya*) Parkand, a well-known village of the *vilāyat* of [...] Bukhara, in the *tūmān* Sāmjan. It has four boundaries: west it borders on sand dunes (*khām[a-]hā-yi rīg*) and a hill (*tall*), which is called Tall-i Parkan; north it borders on land of the village (*qarya*) Khwāja Ūbān; east it borders

on land of the village (*qarya*) Ūba-yi Tāj al-Dīn; south it borders on land of the village Bijand [Pinjan].

Another one of the (endowed properties) is the village (*qarya*) Garmāba, a well-known village in *tūmān* Sāmjan of the *vilāyat* Bukhara. It has four boundaries: west it borders on badlands without an owner (*zamīn mayyita bi-lā mālik*), which extend to the borders of Khwārazm; north it borders on land of Kāqishtuvān; east it borders on land of the village (*qarya*) Parkat; south it borders on land of the village (*qarya*) Mazra‘a-yi Khwāja Īza [oder Dīza] [...]

Another one of the (endowed properties) is the village (*qarya*) Khwāja Ūbān, of the *vilāyat* of [...] Bukhara, in the *tūmān* Sāmjan. It has four boundaries: in the west it borders on badlands without an owner (*zamīn mayyita bi-lā mālik*); in the north it borders on a canal (*ḥarīm nahr ‘āmm*); in the east it borders on land of the farm (*asbāb*) TTR, which is known; in the south it borders partially on [...] Ūba (-yi Tāj al-Dīn), partially on the village (*qarya*) Parkad.”

Documentary Sources

13th / 17th Century

Vaqfnāma CGA 323:1429 (fragmentary Arabic version 698/1299, full Persian version 1071/1666) (ed. Arends et al., *Bukharskii vakf XIII v.*)

Arabic:

“(1.34) He endowed [...] (1.37) the entire village (*qarya*) (1.38) named Dīh KhMNH (Khamina?), one of the villages of the province (*kūra*) Bukhara in the district (*‘amal*) Sāmjan. (1.39) It is irrigated by its own canal (*nahr khāṣṣ*), which takes its water from the river Sāmjan (*nahr Sāmjan*)³³¹ and from the river (*nahr*) (1.40) Naufaj and from the river Parkad and from the river Nukhūddīza and from the river of the village (*qarya*) Marghāsūn (1.41) and from the river of the village (*qarya*) Khashāfaghna and from the river of the village (*qarya*) Faghniya [...] Its eastern boundary borders on the general river (*nahr*) of Parkad, which is the only river in (Parkad) and flows towards the only road to Mughkān-i khurdak; and it borders [on the east] also on the village (*qarya*) [...] Mughkān-i khurdak [...].”

The Persian version of 1071/1660 has *vilāyat* for *kūra* (Bukhārā), *az a‘māl tūmān* for *min ‘amal* (Sāmjan), and Mashāfaghna for Khashāfaghna. The other boundaries of Dīh-i Khamina – besides its eastern neighbour Parkad – are: still in the east the river (*nahr*) of Naufaj, the road

³³⁰ A second copy, written after 1190/1776, is preserved in CGA 323:758. It is not a copy of CGA 323:1297, but the two documents go back to an earlier archetype of unknown date, possibly pre-Mongol.

³³¹ The edition has *nāhiya* instead of *nahr*, but see the facsimile. The Persian translation has *rūd* (river).

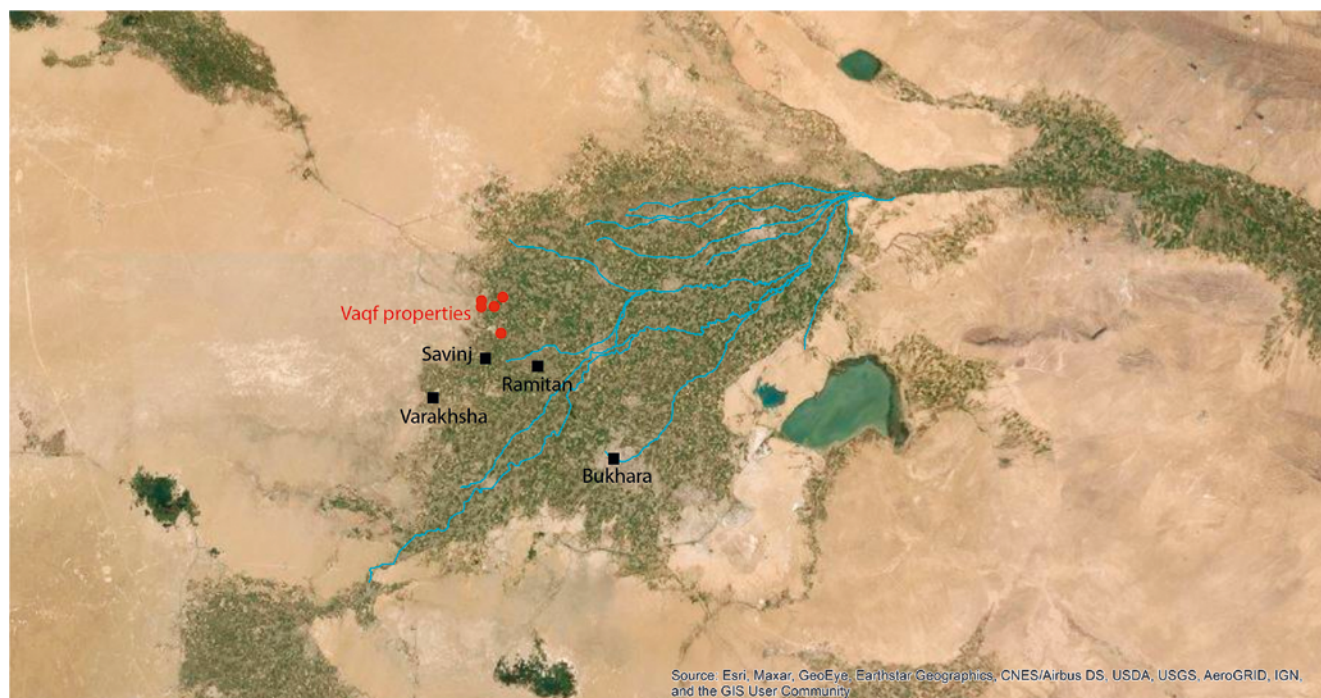


FIGURE 53 Properties around Parkad/Barkad mentioned in the vaḳfiyyas CGA 323.1429 (1299 CE) and 1297 (1569 CE or earlier)
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to Naufaj and land of Naufaj itself; in the north the river of Naufaj and the land of the village Naufaj; in the west Qaṣr ALBK and the river of Parkad, across from which begin the lands of the village (*qarya mauḍi'*) Marghāsūn, a branch canal (*afdaq*) shared by Marghāsūn and Qaṣr Nukhūddīza, the village (*qarya*) Faghna and the village (*mauḍi'*) Ghūshak; in the south on the river (*rūd*) Sāmjan.

20th Century

Tashkent, Archive of the Office for Architectural Conservation, 3508 (13 Rajab 1332/ ca. 8 June 1914): "One plot of the family endowment of [...] King Ismā'īl Sāmānī [...] located in the village (*mauḍi'*) Farkat, which is now known as Shākh-i Pāyān [...] of the tūmān Sāmjan. It had been buried by sand for a long time and had no longer been cultivated (*az manfa'at gardīda*). After some time it reappeared from under the sand [...]."

Modern Surveys and Reports

NPBE 15: Parkad (tūmān Sāmjan)

Modern Studies

Arends et al., *Bukharskii vakf XIII v.*: 18–22, 85: "A big settlement with an ancient fortified site ca. 27–30 km from the city of Bukhara on the road to the gas production site of Gazli."

TB (Russ): 198–99 n.94.

3.12 Pinjan

Site 0275.

39.955056° N 64.202506° E

Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 82.

One of the larger settlements between Rāmītan and Barkad. Archaeological evidence suggests that the tepe was abandoned in the 15th/16th century, and the appearance of Pinjan in a 17th-century hagiographic narrative may already refer to the new settlement, which still exists about 1 km south-west of the tepe.³³² The (unoccupied) tepe without an immediately adjacent new settlement is mentioned in a late-18th-century endowment deed.

17th Century

Zinda 'Alī, *Thamarāt al-mashāyikh*

Ms. Tashkent IVUzAN 2619/II: f.388a–b: (Vita of Ḥasan 'Arab, fellow of Muḥammad Jān Qarāmānī.) "Shaykh Ḥasan sat once in the mosque of the village (*mauḍi'*) Pinjan – which belongs to Sāmjan, i.e., Rāmītan, and is located near Sivanj – in seclusion for the [reading in] Ramaḍān [of a] tenth [of the Quran]. The author of these lines [Zinda 'Alī] and a group of dervishes joined him when he came out of that seclusion, and we preformed that holiday prayer in the congregational mosque of Sivanj."

332 Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 50.

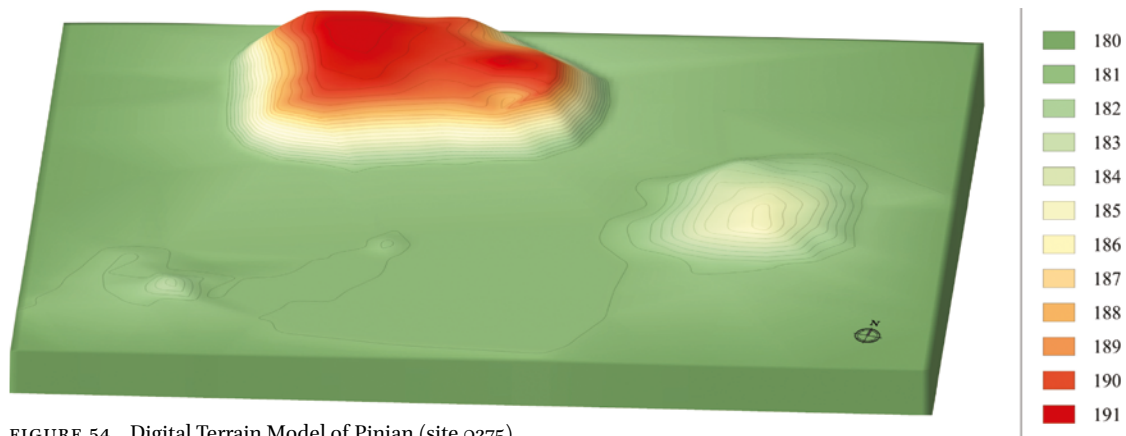


FIGURE 54 Digital Terrain Model of Pinjan (site 0275)
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Documentary Sources

18th Century

Vaqfnāma CGA 323:1194 (1209/1794–95): the distinct hill (*tall-i mu‘ayyan*) known as Tall-i Pinjan forms part of the eastern border of the village Jūy-i Mirzā in the tūmān Sāmjan.

Modern Surveys and Maps

Sitniakovskii 1899b: 298: Pin’dzhan’.

100K map: kurgan Pindzhan and settlement Pindzhan.

3.13 Rāzmāz

Site 0088

40.014723° N 64.682868° E

The modern settlement Rozmas³³³ can be – at least hypothetically – identified with a number of toponyms, or rather spelling varieties or misspellings of a toponym Razmāz or Rāzmāz. Rozmas is located less than 4 km east of Kumishkent in the densely irrigated area between the Vobkent and Zarafshan rivers (“dūāb”, lit. “[between] two rivers”). The archaeological site 0088 bears today the name Rozmas Tepe. It controls a south-north crossing of the Vobkent River, at a distance of about 1 to 1.5 km north of the modern village, but more importantly the east-west crossing of the Zarafshan between Zarmītan and Kūmishkant, immediately south-east of the site. It can be associated with other sites controlling the numerous river crossings in this area, such as Mazrangan (Marzangon tepe, site 0089).³³⁴

The village was located in the area that appears to have been the Bukharan stronghold of Muqanna‘ during his

anti-Abbasid revolt in 775/6–780. Judging from the list of villages or towns mentioned in this context in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, Muqanna‘ found support among local land-owning elites, especially in the north-east of the oasis, in the region of G‘ijduvon, Vobkent and Numijkat (i.e., Kumijkat/Kumishkent). The 12th-century editor of the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr, gives the names of villages where, in his days, there were still followers of Muqanna‘: Kūshk-i ‘Umar, Kūshk-i Khashtuvān, and Zarmān var. (mss.) Razmān and Rāzmān. I suggest that the latter should be identified with modern Rozmas.³³⁵

We suggest Rāzmāz (Rēzmāz, rasm ررمار) as a possible reading for the name of the settlement that defines the irrigation zone of the upper Farāvīz River, spelled Ūbūqār (*rasm* اوبوقار) in the TB and Rīvqān (*rasm* رروفان) in Ibn Ḥauqal. This is purely hypothetical and is proposed only in the absence of other conclusive interpretations of these toponyms and consequently of the location of the upper Farāvīz. If indeed Rāzmāz is intended for the principal settlement on the upper Farāvīz, this would imply that the upper Farāvīz was on the right side of the Zarafshan,

335 Barthold already considered that the toponyms Zarmāz, Zarmān and Razmāz that appear in medieval historical and geographic texts may reflect the same toponym, but he linked all of them to a place in the middle Zarafshan valley, between Ishtikhān and Kushāniyya, rather than to Rozmas in the oasis of Bukhara. Barthold 1928: 96, 129, 200. A place named Zarmān, near Arbinjan, is also mentioned in the narrative of Muqanna‘’s revolt, TB (Frye): 72. This was a different place from the Bukharan village. Zarmān near Arbinjan is the village mentioned by the geographers, the first way station on the road from Samarkand to Bukhara, around 20 km east of modern Kattaqurg‘on. Zarmān is also given in [TB (Frye): 93; TB (Russ): 85] as the name of the village where the Samanid amir Ismā‘īl died. TB (Russ): 412 n.197 explicitly identifies it with Zarmān on the Samarkand-Bukhara road, but a positive identification is not possible, not least because of the problematic transmission of this passage in the manuscripts.

333 The 19th-century record preserves the voicing of the final consonant, e.g., Sitniakovskii 1899b: 234: Razmaz; NPBE: Rāzmāz.

334 On the Marzangon tepe, see Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 84.

between the Zarafshan and Khitfar rivers, while lower Farāvīz was on the left side, between the Zarafshan and the Shahrud. Alternatively, the course of the three rivers – Khitfar, Zarafshan and Shahrud – could have been different in the 10th century from what it is now, which is not entirely inconceivable in an area where the three rivers are running in close proximity to one another.

Historical Evidence

10th Century

al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*

1870: 311: “A river known as Farāvīz al-‘ulyā (upper Farāvīz), which receives (its water) from the (Zarafshan) river. It irrigates villages until it reaches ŪBŪQĀR (read *Rēzmāz?), which it irrigates.”

10th/12th Centuries

Tārīkh-i Bukhārā

TB(Schefer): 73; TB(Frye): 75; TB(Russ): 72: “Those people [the ‘wearers of white garments’ associated with the revolt of Muqanna] still live in the province of Kish and Nakhshab and in some villages of Bukhara, such as Kūshk-i ‘Umar, Kūshk-i Khashtuvān and the village (*dīha*) Zarmāz (Razmāz?).”

17th Century

Zinda ‘Alī, *Thamarāt al-mashāyikh*

Ms. Tashkent IVUzAN 2619/11: f.375b: “Rāzmāz is one of the villages (*qarya*) of the tūmān Kāmāt of Bukhara, east of the market (town) Vābkan on the bank of the Qarākūl River. The distance between (Rāzmāz) and the walls

(*hiṣār*) of Vābkan is approximately 1 farsakh or rather more.”

Ibid: f.547a: “(An important cultivator) owned an agricultural estate (*mazra‘a*) in a settlement (*mauḍī‘*) that belonged to Rāzmāz in the tūmān Vābkan of Bukhara.”

Documentary Sources

18th Century

Vaqfnāma CGA 323:129:3 (Rajab 1151/October–November 1738): endowment of 6 ṭanāb of land in the village (*mauḍī‘*) Rāzmāz, tūmān Kāmāt, for the benefit of a neighbourhood mosque (*masjid-i ḥayy*) in the outer city of Bukhara.

Modern Surveys and Reports

NPBE: Rāzmāz, Kām-i Kumūshkent, tūmān Kāmāt.

Sitniakovskii 1899b: 234: Razmaz, ar. Kam’(-)i Razmaz or Iliach,³³⁶ a left branch of the Vabkend’/Vobkan’-dar’ia.

3.14 Rāmish

Site 0059 (Romish tepe)

39.84085 N 64.21341 E

Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 71.

The toponym Rāmish or Rāmush (fig. 55) continues until the present day in the names of a village (Romish) and adjacent large archaeological site (Romish tepe, site 0059). Early Islamic sources emphasise the importance of Rāmish as a pre-Islamic ritual centre. The *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* associates the story of Afrāsyāb, Siyāvush and Kai Khosrow with Rāmish. In the later medieval and early

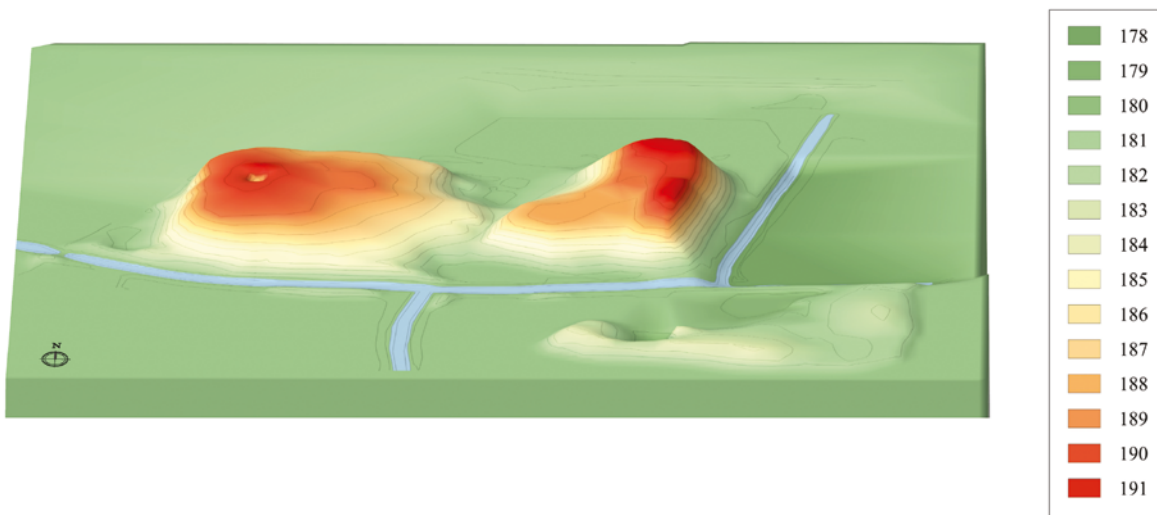


FIGURE 55 Digital Terrain Model of Ramish tepe (site 0059)

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modern record Rāmish left few traces. Al-Sam‘ānī (and Yāqūt) mention it as a village in the oasis (*savād*, *a‘māl*) of Bukhara. Early 20th-century Bukharan chancery documents distinguish between Rāmish or Rāmish bālā (upper Rāmish) and Qaṣr-i Rāmish (modern Kasramysh). It belongs to the western cluster of “urban categories 2” tripartite sites studied by the MAFOUB,³³⁷ among which it is the one closest to the Zarafshan and most distant from the western rim of the irrigated area. Its total urban area covers ca. 10 ha; besides a distinct large square citadel measuring 2 ha it also features a heavily fortified shahrestan.³³⁸

Historical Evidence

10th Century

al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār* (1923: 234; cf. trans. Sachau ibid: 221): “[The Sogdian month of] *nausard*. Its first day is their new year’s day (*naurūz*) – it is the big *naurūz*. The 28th day [of *nausard*] is a holiday of the ‘Magians’ [*maqūs*] of Bukhara, called *Rāmush āghām* [the festival of Rāmush]. On this [day] they congregate in the fire temple (*bayt nār*) of the village Rāmush.”

10th/12th Century

Tārīkh-i Bukhārā

TB(Schefer): 15; TB(Frye): 17; TB(Russ): 30: “Afrāsiyāb fortified this village of Rāmīn (Rāmītan). Kaykhusraw besieged the fortress with his army for two years. He built opposite (Rāmītan) a village which he named Rāmish, because it was so pleasant. This village still exists. In the village Rāmish he built a fire temple (*ātashkhāna*). According to the priests (*mughān*) this fire temple is older than the fire temple of Bukhara.”

12th Century

al-Sam‘ānī, *al-Ansāb*

1912: s.v. al-Rāmishī (cf. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam* 1956: s.v. Rāmish): “Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. [...] al-Miṣrī ar-Rāmishī – Rāmish being a village in the oasis [al-Sam‘ānī: *savād*; Yāqūt: *a‘māl*] of Bukhara. He transmitted from the two Bukharans Abū ‘Amr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣābir and Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. From him transmitted Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Nakhshabī.”

Modern Surveys and Maps

NPBE: Rāmish (bālā) and Qaṣr-i Rāmish,³³⁹ tūmān Khayrābād

Sitniakovskii 1899b: 306: Kasri Romish’, Romishi-balia, Romishi-poian’ (amliakdarstvo Karakul’, aryk Khayrabat’, aryk Augir’-kichik’)

10-verst’ map: Roomish’

Modern Studies

TB(Russ): 203 n.109.³⁴⁰

Etymology: Lur’e 2004: 210.

3.15 Sivanj/Savinj

(*SIVNJ*, *SVNJ*, *SUYNJ*, *Sīvanj-i bālā*)

Site 0231 (Qal‘a-yi Siminch/Suyunich)

39.920633° N 64.174153° E

No modern settlement by this name exists, but the toponym in the form Qal‘a-yi Siminch or Suyunich was still connected with site 0231 in the early 20th century when Zimin undertook the first modern archaeological survey of the area in 1915.³⁴¹ Shishkin revisited the site in 1934 and 1935 and published a photograph of the settlement hill and the old cemetery with valuable transcriptions of a number of tombstone inscriptions (see below), but he appears not to have made the connection with the important settlement of Sivanj/Savinj.³⁴² According to Shishkin the ancient settlement hill was still occupied in the 16th and 17th centuries, and he could still identify a second settlement of the same period about 1 km east of the hill, now completely under recent cultivation. The cemetery was located between the two settlements. This structure finds confirmation in references to “upper” Sivanj (*Sīvanj-i bālā*) in the 18th century, implying a distinction between the settlement on the ancient settlement hill from a (later?) settlement in the plain.

Few other settlements are as continuously documented from the 10th century to the early modern period (17th/18th century) as Sivanj. The historical importance of this settlement until its abandonment in the 18th century warrants a fuller presentation and discussion of evidence, beyond the actual chronological scope of this study, up to

339 The index of NPBE erroneously gives the reading Qaṣr-i Rāmīn for Qaṣr-i Rāmish.

340 The commentary considers an identification with “Rāwush/Zāwush”, the settlement in the end zone of the Kharqanrūd irrigation area according to al-Iṣṭakhrī (1870: 310) and Ibn Ḥauqal (1873: 486), but this so far unidentified place would have been located in an entirely different part of the oasis.

341 Zimin 1915: 144.

342 Shishkin 1940: 23–25. The aim of Shishkin’s review of the site was to check Zimin’s claim that it was connected with the oasis wall, which could be verified.

337 Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 68 fig.66.

338 Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 71, 108.

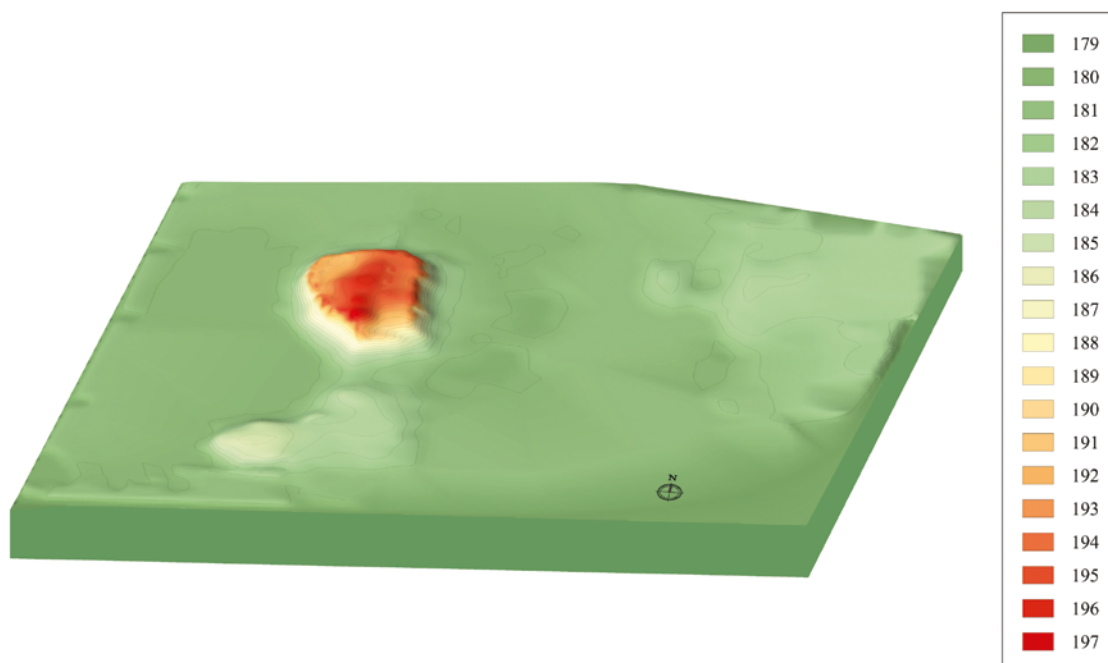


FIGURE 56 Digital Terrain Model of Sivanj/Savinj (site 0231)
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the 18th century. Further studies on the remaining tombstones and their inscriptions remain a desideratum.³⁴³

Sivanj is not mentioned by the early geographers but appears in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* and in Yāqūt. Sivanj seems to have been an important settlement – one (late) source even compares it to G'ijduvon – until the late 17th century. It seems to have been abandoned in the course of the 18th century, at least in part as a consequence of the destruction during the Khwarazmian raids led by Anūsha Muḥammad Khān (1074–98/1663–87) against Bukhara between the summer of 1684 and the summer of 1685.³⁴⁴ In the 16th and 17th centuries, and perhaps into the 18th century, it was the residence of an important community of shaykhs with transregional connections to Miyānkāl and Khwārazm.

The identification of Sivanj with the archaeological site of Qala-yi Siminch (site 0231) is consistent with evidence from hagiographical narratives. The site proposed here is located ca. 8 km west of (Old) Rāmītan and 9 km north east of Varakhsha. One 17th-century hagiography emphasises the proximity of Sivanj to Pinjan (site 0275, 4.5 km north of site 0231).

The earliest mention seems to appear in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*. Leaving aside the hypothetical identification of

Sivanj with Isvāna,³⁴⁵ there is one clear reference to Sivanj (Sīvanj, read Siyavunj by Frye) as one of the two villages where the descendants of the Bukhārkhudā settled in the 10th century CE. Yuri Karev aptly describes these villages as “the last fiefs of the (Bukharkhuda) family.”³⁴⁶

The village experienced a period of prosperity in the 16th and 17th centuries. In the 16th century a local family successfully claimed sayyid status as well as a descent from the Samanid family,³⁴⁷ and in the 17th century at least one prominent family of *khwājas* resided here. The prosperity of Sivanj in the 16th and 17th centuries may be traced to the improvement of irrigation initiatives financed by Muḥammad Islām Jūybārī, head of a famous Naqshbandi family in Bukhara. Around 1650, the value of Sivanj was given as 50,000 khānī. This is clearly a round number, but the context – a gift of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān to a *khwāja* – suggests the significant value of the settlement and its territory.

The prolonged conflict between the khans of Khorazm and Bukhara in the second half of the 17th century seems to have particularly affected the western margins of the oasis. A number of important old settlements, including Sivanj and Khujādā, began to decline rapidly and all

343 As Babadjanov pointed out already, Babadjanov 1997: 160.

344 Muḥammad Amīn Bukhārī 2014: 196.

345 First suggested by Barthold 1928: 119; see below, section “Modern studies”.

346 “[...] il s’agit là des derniers fiefs de la famille [...]”; Karev 2015: 344.

347 IVANRUZ, fond hujjatlar no.527. Cf. Chekhovich 1951.

but disappear from the record by the early 18th century. It would be too simple, however, to attribute the decline of these settlements to the single cause of the repeated Khorazmian attacks under Abū l-Ghāzī Khān (r. 1643–63) and his son and successor Anūsha Muḥammad, but they were a factor that might have led to the tipping of the balance in an already vulnerable zone close to the fringes of the oasis. Contemporary narrative sources at least attribute the decline of the area to the Khorazmian attacks.³⁴⁸

Historical Evidence

10th/12th century

Tārīkh-i Bukhārā

TF (Frye): 12: “His (i.e. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Bukhārkhudā’s, d. 301 h./913–14 CE) descendants have remained in the villages of Safna and Siyavunj.” (trans. R. Frye)

13th Century

Yāqūt, *Muʿjam* (1956): s.v. Sūyanj: “Sūyanj [...] a village (*qarya*) of Bukhara.”

15th–16th centuries

Inscriptions on tombstones (Shishkin 1940: 24). Shishkin counted ca. 50 tombstones but was able to read only the following parts of inscriptions on five tombstones due to the poor condition of the stones, incidentally all (except one without a legible name) are of women:

1. [...] Kalān, daughter of Khwāja Yaʿqūb, (in the month) Rabīʿ al-Awwal [...]
2. death of Aghā Bika bt. Mihtar Shaykh [...] (in the year) 875 AH (1470–71 CE)
3. [...] (in the month) Dhū l-Ḥijja of the year 882 AH (March–April 1478 CE)
4. This is the grave of Aghā Ḥamza, daughter of the deceased Mīr Bāqī, year 1007 AH (1598–99 CE)
5. The grave of Lady Mihr-u Māh Biḡīm, daughter of Mullā ʿIzzatullāh.

16th Century

Kashmīrī, Rauḍat al-riḍwān

Ms. Tashkent IVANRUZ 2094: f.303a: “In the year 985 AH (1577–78 CE) the Makhdūmzāda Khwāja Amīr Kalān [Khwāja Saʿd Jūybārī] created a truly amazing canal (*jūybār-i ʿjabī*) [branching off] from the river of the Rāmītan district (*rūd-i tūmān-i Rāmītan*) and carried it straight below the village (*qarya*) of Sivanj to the waste

land (*shūra*). He thus made the soil of the waste land fertile [lit. “sweet”] and arable. Since ancient times no water had ever flown to those lands.”

Documentary Sources

16th Century, Older (Possibly pre-Mongol) Content

Vaqfnāma CGA 323:1297 (4 Muḥarram 977/ca. 17 June 1569. For the benefit of the mazar of Ismāʿīl Sāmānī in Bukhara): “On Friday, 4 Muḥarram 977, Amīr Sayyid Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīr Sivanjī appeared in the court (*dār al-qaḍāʾ*) of the *dār al-salṭana* Bukhara. He produced a copy (*savād*) of the endowment deed (*vaqfiyya*) of the endowments of [...] Pādishāh Ismāʿīl Sāmānī, the paper of which had become worn over time. He requested a renewal (*tajdīd*) of the deed. That sayyid was the administrator (*m utavallī*) of the endowments of the pādishāh [Ismāʿīl Sāmānī] according to the endower’s stipulations, transferred (*intiḡāl*) upon him from his father [...].”

17th Century

Abū l-Ghāzī bahādur khān, Shajara-yi tarākima

1871–74: 328–29 (cf. trans. *ibid*: 351–52): “In the sheep year [1064/16[53–]54] [Abū l-Ghāzī bahādur khān of Khiva] attacked Bukhara. When he arrived at a place called Kūkardlik he ordered Bīk Qulī Ināq to march with 1,000 men against Qarākūl, while [Abū l-Ghāzī] himself marched against Sīvanj-bālā. He raided Sīvanj and 30 or 40 settlements all the way to the gates of Bukhara. With many cattle and prisoners he returned to Kūkardlik [...].”

Zinda ʿAlī, Thamarāt al-mashāyikh

Ms. Tashkent IVUzAN 2619/11: f.274a: “Qarya Sivanj [...] is a fortified settlement (*qaṣaba*) belonging to Sāmjan and Rāmītan of Bukhara, west of the city of Bukhara at about 4 farsang [distance], as is written in some book. It is a well-cultivated and well-known village (*dīha*) with countless gardens and orchards. But because of what befell it from the aggressors [from Khwarazm] in these days it was ruined and seems, compared to previous times, ruined and vanished.”

Ibid: f.275a: “When Shaykh [Muḥammad Sīvanjī] reached the degree of perfection and the permission to guide in the service (*khidmat*) and fellowship (*mulāzimāt*) of Khwāja Kalān Khwāja [Khwāja Saʿd Jūybārī], he moved after [Khwāja Saʿd’s] death [in 997/1589] to the village (*mauḍī*) of Sivanj. [There] he worked for more than 20 years, calling the people [to the faith]. He guided the students on the path to the Truth. He earned his living by agriculture and husbandry (*ziraʿāt va dihqānī*).”

³⁴⁸ See below, the translated passages from Zinda ʿAlī, *Thamarāt al-mashāyikh*, and Muḥammad Amīn al-Bukhārī, *Muḥīt al-tavārikh*.

Ibid: f.282b: “[Shaykh Muḥammad Sivanjī] was buried in the ʿĪdgāh of that village [Sivanj] north of the congregational mosque. He was born in 949 [1542–43] and reached the age of 75.”

Ibid: f.335b: “[Khwāja Mīr ʿAzīzān, d. 1091/1680–81, Zinda ʿAlī’s father] owned many sheep, which he brought all to [his murshid] ʾĪshān [Muḥammad Qarāmānī, d. 1050/1640–41] to the village (*qarya*) Sivanj [vowelised in the ms.] [...] Although it was cold and there was a thunderstorm, and despite the long distance of 3 farsakh or more between the home of ʿAzīzān [at Tiraklik] and [either] home of ʾĪshān [Qarāmānī] at Sivanj or Qarāmān of [the district of] Rāmītan, he went barefoot.”

(“Three farsakh or more” matches the distance between Tiraklik and either Qaramān or Sivanj. The anecdote is missing in ms. Tashkent IVANUZ 1336.)

Ibid: f.341a–b: “After ʾĪshān-i Qarāmān had passed away, [Mīr Khwāja] ʿAzīzān [Rāzmāzī, d. 1077/1666] took me, the compiler of this book (*jāmiʿ-i in nuskha*), with him towards Qarāmān to visit the ʾĪshān’s tomb. On the way to Sivanj we stopped at the village (*mauḍī*) Rākhkan [vowelised] where tombs of our forefathers /341b/ are located. A number of vendors of *gulīcha* – known as *gulīcha-yi bākānī* – live there. We ordered some *gulīcha* to be prepared to bring to Sivanj for the descendants (*makhdūmzādagān*) of the ʾĪshān.”

The itinerary behind this story starts in the north-western part of the oasis, south of Gʻijduvon, at Teraklik, the home village of the author Zinda ʿAlī, or at the adjacent village of Razmāz, the home of Mīr Khwāja ʿAzīzān. Rākhkan (modern Rakhkent) is 4 km south-west of the city centre of Vobkent. Qarāmān was about 5 km south-west of modern Romitan. The itinerary is not entirely clear, but it seems most likely that the party went from Teraklik (or Razmāz) via Rākhkan to Sivanj before turning back via Qaramān.

Muḥammad Ṭālib Jūybārī, *Maṭlab al-ṭālibīn*

2012: 253/1540: f.186b: “After Navāb ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Khān had become king (*pādīshāh*) [in 1645 CE] he bestowed great favors (*sulūk va ʿizzat va riʿāyat*) on Khwāja [Muḥammad Yūsuf Jūybārī]. [...] The Khān gave to the Khwāja the village (*dīha*) Sivanj-i kalān, which was worth 50,000 khānī.”

2012: 171: “After [Nadr Muḥammad Khān] his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Khān became king. He gave the village (*qarya*) Sivanj as *suyūrghāl* [to the Jūybārīs].”

Muḥammad Amīn Bukhārī, *Muḥīt al-tawārikh*

2014: 196: “[During the reign of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Khān] suddenly the khan of the Khwārazmians Abū l-Ghāzī Khan [...] arose in rebellion and launched his first attack. He plundered *Sivanj³⁴⁹ and its region. The second time he planted the flag of rebellion in Karmīna in the year 1065 [1654–55] [...] The third time he came to Qarākūl in 1067 [1656–57]. The fourth time he came down on the *namāzgāh* in 1072 [1661–62].”

18th Century

Muḥammad Ṭāhir Khwārazmī (Ṭāhir ʾĪshān), *Tadhkira-yi Ṭāhir ʾĪshān*

f.310b: on Khwāja Khaṭīb Sivanjī, successor (*jānishīn*) of Khwāja Muḥammad Amīn Khwāja b. Makhdūm-i Aʿzām (Aḥmad Kāsānī) Dahbīdī: “The blessed tomb of Khwāja Khaṭīb Sivanjī is situated in Bukhārā in upper Sivanj (Sivanj-i bālā) on the rim of a pool (*lab-i ḥauḍ*) in front of the congregational mosque of Sivanj.”

Muḥammad Amīn Dahbīdī died in 1005/1596–97 (Schwarz 2000: 191), which sets the chronological framework for Khwāja Khaṭīb Sivanjī in the late 16th/early 17th century.

f.320a: on Shaykh Bābā Ḥājī Bukhārī Sivanjī (d. 1086/1675–76), successor (*jānishīn*) of Khwāja Vafā: poem: “Now I will tell about his tomb / by [God’s] will (*qadar*) it came (to be) in upper Sivanj (Sivanj-i bālā) / If you don’t know Sivanj / You shall know that it is in the territory (*zamīn*) of Rāmītan. Ḥaḍrat Bābā Ilyās was [also] buried in Sivanj-i bālā, next to the grave of Maulānā Muṣṭafā Qulī ʿAzīzān Khwārazmī. Bābā Ilyās, Bābā Qamarī and Shaykh Sharaf are his descendants. I met Bābā Qamarī and his son Shaykh Sardaf [?] in Sivanj-i bālā.”

The visit of Ṭāhir ʾĪshān to upper Sivanj mentioned in this passage suggests that upper Sivanj was still populated in the first half of the 18th century.

Abū Ṭāhir [Khwāja Muḥammad Ṭāhir?], in the margins of Tashkent Biruni Institute ms. 1336 [Zinda ʿAlī, *Thamarāt al-mashāyikh*]: f.159a [160b]: “Shaykh Muḥammad Sivanjī is buried in one of the villages of the tūmān Rāmītan of Noble Bukhara. It once was populated (*ābādān*) like Ghijduvān, but now it is vanished and abandoned (*mundaris va abtar*). The only things that remain are the shrines of the shaykhs and its citadel hill (*mazārāt-i mashāyikh va tall-i ark-i ān*). Shaykh Muḥammad Sivanjī died in the year 1014 [1605–6 CE]. He was born in 949

349 The edition has SVICh with a question mark.

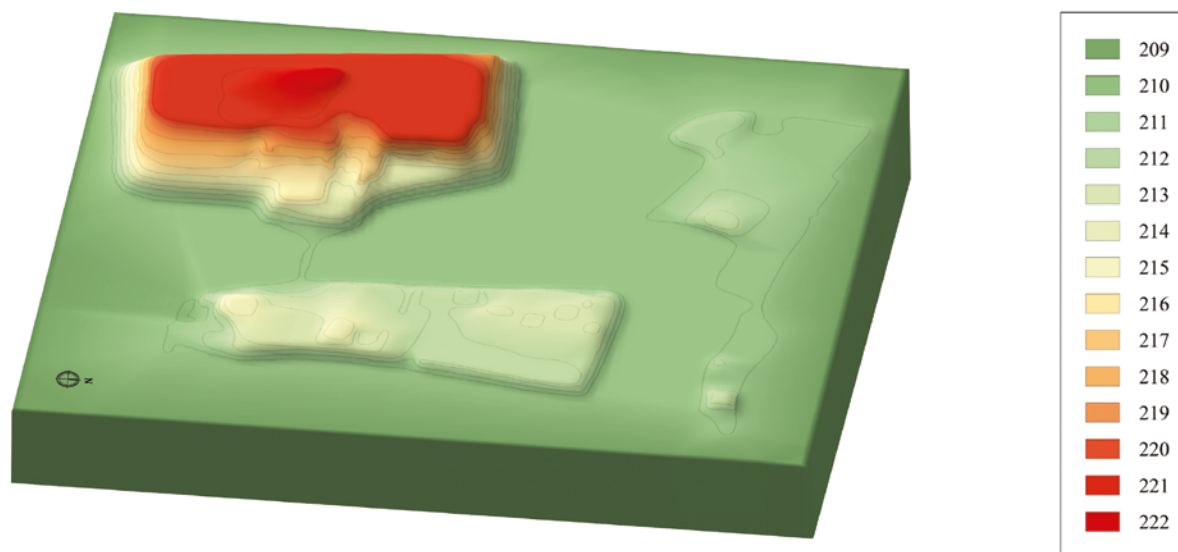


FIGURE 57 Digital Terrain Model of Tarab (site 0043)
© RILIEVI SRL, R. RANTE 2020

1542–43 CE] and lived to the age of 85 [lunar years]. His shrine is in the village Sivanj.”

This note appears in the margins of a manuscript copy of Zinda ‘Alī’s *Thamarāt al-mashāyikh*. The copy was written by Ḥājjī Muḥammad Gandumakī in 1860, and the marginal note is in his own handwriting. The text of the note is attributed to Abū Ṭāhir. This could refer to Abū Ṭāhir Samarqandī (d. 1874), the author of the well-known *Samariyya*, a sacred geography of Samarqand and its region (Papas, E13). But no book on Bukhara by Abū Ṭāhir is known. If Abū Ṭāhir Samarqandī was the author of this note, it would also mean that it was added to the manuscript more than a decade after the completion of the original copy, since a eulogy for a deceased person (*‘ufiyya ‘anhū*) follows Abū Ṭāhir’s name. Another possibility is a confusion with Ṭāhir Īshān, the mid-18th-century author of an anthology (*tadhkira*) that contains much similar information on the home villages of individuals from Bukhara. However, the ms. of the *Tadhkira* available to me does not contain this particular passage (see above). Finally, and most likely, it refers to Muḥammad Ṭāhir, a 16th/17th century Kubravī shaykh closely connected and possibly related to Shaykh Muḥammad Sivanjī, ms. Tashkent B1 7123 f.150a–152a. This passage is also quoted in the editor’s introduction to Ḥāfiẓ Tanīsh Bukhārī, *Sharafnāma-yi Shāhī* (1983–89: 1:6), without noting its attribution to “Abū Ṭāhir”.

Modern Studies

Barthold (1928: 119 n.12) suggests the identity of two place names mentioned in the *Tārikh-i Bukhārā*, Sivanj and Isvāna. In favour of Barthold’s hypothesis is the fact that

Safna is coupled in one place (TB 1954: 7) with Isvāna and in another place (TB 1954: 12) with Sivanj. The commentary in the Russian translation of *Tārikh-i Bukhārā* follows Barthold,³⁵⁰ but in another publication the editor of the Russian translation doubts this on phonetic grounds (the length of vowel in final syllable).³⁵¹ Either Safna or Isvāna may be associated with the modern toponym Isfāna (modern Afshona) in the tūmān Khitfar.³⁵²

Etymology: Lur’e 2004: 73.

3.16 Tārāb

Site 0043

39.740808° N 64.136828° E

Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 81–82.

The toponym Tārāb (also written Tārāb) is preserved in the name of the archaeological site of Torob tepa and of a nearby village. The ancient town was of considerable strategic importance due to its location near the entrance of the Khurasan highway from the south through the oasis wall into the oasis. It was also situated at an important point in the water and irrigation system and seems to have been a major hub between Paykand and Ramitan, Varakhsha and Bukhara. Today the town of Jondor, a few kilometres east of the site of Tārāb, is the most important settlement in the south-eastern quadrant of the oasis.

350 TB(Russ): ch. 7, 26; commentary, 176 n.62.

351 Kamoliddin in TB(Russ): 176 n.62. Lur’e (2004: 73) does not comment on this discussion.

352 On the misidentification of Isfāna with Afshāna, the birth place of Avicenna’s mother (and probably Avicenna himself), see above, s.v. Afshāna and Kharmīthan.

An endowment document from the early 17th century (see below) distinguishes between the “river of the tūmān Khayrābād and of the tūmān Tārāb” and the “old river of the tūmān Tārāb”. Based on the topographic indications in the vaqfiyya, the first appears to be more or less identical to the modern Khayrābād canal, while the latter ran a little further west, skirting the village of Zindavist on its western margin. This “old river of the tūmān Tārāb” may be partially identical with the modern Tarab collector canal.

Historical Evidence

10th/12th Centuries

Tārīkh-i Bukhārā

TB(Schefer): 43(u)–44; TB(Frye): 44–45; TB(Russ): 50–51: (Following the story of the looting of Paykand by Qutayba b. Muslim, dated in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* to 88/706.)³⁵³ “When [Qutayba] was finished with Paykand, he went to attack Khunbūn. He took Khunbūn, Tārāb, and many small villages. [Then] he went to Vardāna, which was the see of a king named Vardān Khudāt. They fought many skirmishes. In the end Vardān Khudāt died, and [Qutayba] seized many villages. [But] a number of armies assembled in the villages of Bukhara between Tārāb, Khunbūn and Rāmītan and surrounded Qutayba. Ṭarkhūn, the king of Sughd, arrived with many troops. And KhNK KHudāt with a huge army and Vardān Khudāt with his army and Kūrmaghānūn, the nephew of the emperor of China, who had been hired with 40,000 men, [also] arrived to support [Ṭarkhūn] in the fight against Qutayba. The armies joined, and the situation became difficult for Qutayba.”

12th Century

al-Sam‘ānī, *al-Ansāb* (cf. *Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-buldān*: s.v. Ṭārāb)

1912: s.v. aṭ-Ṭārābī: “Al-Ṭārābī [...] nisba of Ṭārāb, one of the villages of Bukhara in the vicinity/area of Khunbūn. The Bukharas call it also Tārāb with *tā’*, the third letter [of the alphabet] according to their custom, as they generally confuse in their language the *ṭā’* and the *tā’*.”

13th Century

Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān gushāy*

(Trans., Andrew Boyle) 1912–37: 108: “Tarab in the district of Bokhara”; 109: “Three parsangs from Bokhara there lies a village called Tarab”; 101: “Meanwhile [...] they went to Tarab and besought Mahmud [Tarabi] to come to Bokhara [...] It had been arranged that when he reached

Sar-i Pul³⁵⁴ near Vazidan he should be suddenly assailed with a shower of arrows. When they set out from Tarab, he observed signs of displeasure in their attitude [...]”

14th/Early 15th Century

Ṣalāḥ b. Mubārak Bukhārī [=Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā], *Anīs al-ṭālibīn*

1371/1992: 351–52: “Shaykh Amīr Ḥusayn narrates: In the time (*fursat*) when they were attacking³⁵⁵ Tārāb, the population of the *vilāyat* of Bukhara was in severe trouble. [...] Khwāja [Bahā’ al-Dīn Naqshband] ordered me to go to Tārāb where the Muslims were about to be finished off with. When I came close to Tārāb I saw how the people were in trouble and despaired. When I came [even] closer I discovered that the people were ordered to return [to Bukhara]. The people immediately started to go from Tārāb to Bukhara. I also returned together with them.”

Documentary Sources

16th Century

Vaqfnāma CGA 323:55

Before 13 Jumādā l-Thānī 1018/12 September 1609. For the madrasa Kalābād and the descendants (*aulād*) of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khwāja Jūybārī³⁵⁶:

“[Endowment of] the entire and complete villages of Tall-i Zāghān and Zindavīstī [both in the tūmān Khayrābād] and Tarnāv, Khalaj-i bālā, Khalaj-i pāyān [in the tūmān Sāmjan] [...] limited [...] on the western side in part by the *ḥarīm* of the old river of the tūmān Tārāb (*rūd-i qadīm-i tūmān-i Tārāb*), in part by the *ḥarīm* of the common canal (*jūy*) of Qarā Qumārī and Mullā Shihāb villages, and in part by the public road that passes between Qarā Qumārī and Mullā Shihāb and goes towards Jāndār. On the north in part by the *ḥarīm* of the Daryā-yi Kūhak [Zarafshan], which flows to the *vilāyat* Qarākūl, in part to the lands of the village Burhān ad-Dīn [...], in part by the *ḥarīm* of the river of the tūmān Khayrābād and the tūmān Tārāb. On the east by the *ḥarīm* of the Daryā-yi Kūhak [...] in part of which there is the bridge of Ḥaḍrat Bābā Maḥmūd Shāh [...] In the south in part to the *ḥarīm* of the old river of Tārāb and in part to the Daryā-yi Kūhak, which they also call Daryā-yi Ḥarāmkām and which is the old boundary (*band-i qadīm*) [separating] the tūmān Tārāb from the tūmān Jūy Nau, in part by a cemetery of Muslims, which they call Ḥaḍrat Khwāja Se Tepe and which is adjacent

354 Erroneously identified in the translation with Sar-i Pul near Katta Kurghan.

355 Reading *ghārat* for *‘imārat*.

356 Cf. Jumanazar 2017: 291ssq.

353 See above p. 82.

to (*bi-jivār?*) these villages of the *tūmāns* of Sāmjan, Khayrābād and Tārāb.”

Modern Surveys and Reports

NPBE: Tārāb, *tūmān* Khayrābād

Sitniakovskii 1899b: 304: Torob’ (Amiakdarstvo Karakul’, aryk Khayrabat’, aryk Augir’-kalan’

10-verst’ map: Torap’.

100K map: Tarab

3.17 *Ṭavāvīs*

Site 0751 (Khwāja Bustān, Tavois)

40°3’58.89” N 64°48’58.97” E

Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 77.

Ṭavāvīs appears in 9th- and 10th-century sources as one of the most important settlements along the main highway from Marw via Bukhara to Samarkand. Said to have featured a “fire temple” and a “house of gods”,³⁵⁷ it had the status of *madīna* with a congregational mosque in the early Islamic period. Al-Iṣṭakhri lists it among the five “metropolitan cities” (*madīna*) inside the oasis wall, al-Maqdisi among 16 or 21 cities (*qaṣba, madīna*) of Bukhara.

Al-Ṭabarī and the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* explain the unusual Arabic name of the village, “the peacocks”, as a reference to the habit of the inhabitants to keep peacocks; some modern scholars consider a ritual significance of the peacocks.³⁵⁸

Ṭavāvīs combined economic, strategic and ritual importance. Al-Iṣṭakhri and the anonymous *Hudūd al-Ālam* mention its market and its large fair (al-Iṣṭakhri: *majma*’; *Hudūd al-Ālam: bāzār*, annually held for one day) where people from many regions assembled. The fair seems to go back to before the Islamic conquests. Al-Bīrūnī includes the annual Ṭavāvīs fair in his description of the Bukharan festival calendar. According to al-Bīrūnī it lasted seven days and attracted merchants from everywhere, making it the biggest and economically most important fair in al-Bīrūnī’s list. The *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* makes it last even longer: 10 days in the summer of every year, with 10,000 people from as far as Chach and Fergana attending. As the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* speaks of the fair in the past, it may have stopped functioning in the 11th or 12th century, if not earlier.

Ṭavāvīs owed its significance to its location at the intersection of the Marw – Samarkand highway³⁵⁹ and the northern highway from Bukhara to Khwarazm. It was the

first way station when entering the oasis from Samarkand, and it served as an orientation mark in intra-oasis itineraries. Whoever controlled Ṭavāvīs also controlled entry into and exit from the oasis to Samarkand.³⁶⁰

The toponym remains attached to a secondary irrigation canal (*jūy, aryk*) village next to the archaeological site 0751 until the present day, but Ṭavāvīs as a significant urban settlement all but disappears from the written record after the Mongol invasion. The *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* gives an alternative name Arqūd (*Urqūd³⁶¹), which can be identified with a village Arfakhna (*Urqūd Faghana) where the Jūybārī shaykhs acquired property in 1561 and which, judging on the adjacent toponyms, was located just south of Ṭavāvīs, in the area of modern Gumbaz and Bulakrabat.³⁶² The canal (*jūy*) of Ṭavāvīs in *tūmān* Kam-i Abu Muslim is mentioned in a 16th-century endowment deed.³⁶³ An endowment for the “middle mosque” (*masjid-i miyāna*) of Ṭavāvīs, a timber frame and adobe construction, was registered a few months before the end of the Emirate of Bukhara.³⁶⁴

Previously identified by Iakuboskii with the important fortress of Shahr-i Vayrān on the north-eastern section of the oasis wall (Dīvār-i Kampīrak), Mukhamedjanov and Valiev suggested the more plausible identification with Khoja Buston Tepe (i.e., site 0751).³⁶⁵

Historical Evidence

9th Century

Ibn Khurdādhbih, Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik

1889: 25 (= Qudāma 1889: 203): Bukhārā to Shargh 4 farsakh, Shargh to Ṭawāvīs 3 farsakh.

360 E.g., al-Ṭabarī s.a. 88/707, in the context of Qutayba b. Muslim’s campaigns; TB(Frye): 83–84, in the context of the conflict between the Sāmānid brothers Ismā’il and Naṣr b. Aḥmad in 272–73/885–86. On the sectors of the oasis wall (Dīvār-i Kampīrak) in this area, see Stark and Mirzaakhmedov 2015.

361 On the etymology of this not infrequent toponym, see Lur’e 2004: 129–30. The fact that the toponym Arqūd/Urqūd is Sogdian and Ṭavāvīs is Arabic may be explained by Arqūd being its older Sogdian name (ibid; Adylov and Babaev 2011: 72). But the two toponyms seem to belong in the (early) modern period to two adjacent but distinct settlements, and the possibility of a later (even post-Mongol) gloss reflecting a shift of importance from Ṭavāvīs (Shahr-i Vayrān) to neighbouring Arqūd (Faghna) should not be excluded.

362 Ivanov 1954: 311–12 no. 361. Pace Chekhovich 1974: 223 n.66. This village is not identical with a village of the same name east of Bukhara that is mentioned in a 14th-century document.

363 CGA: f.323:55 (1000/1591–92).

364 CGA: f.323:1164 (Ramaḍān 1338/May–June 1920).

365 Iakubovskii 1940: 113–63; Mukhamedjanov and Valiev (1978) and Rante and Mirzaakhmedov (2019: 73) categorise it as an urban category 3 site, i.e., between 6 and 9.9 ha.

357 See the translated passage from al-Ṭabarī below.

358 TB(Frye): 113 n.56.

359 Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 114.

1889: 26: “[Bukhara’s] cities are Karmīniyya, Ṭawāwīs, Bumijkat, Wardāna, Baykand Madīnat at-tujjār, Firabr.”

10th Century

al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*

1879–1901: II 1230 s.a. 91/710 (cf. trans. Hinds 1990: 177): “(Qutayba) returned (from Shūmān³⁶⁶) to Kish and Nasaf. Then he went on to (the oasis of) Bukhara. He stopped at a village that had a fire temple (*bayt nār*) and a house of gods (*bayt āliha*). There were (also) peacocks, and they called it ‘where the peacocks live’ (*manzil al-ṭawāwīs*). Then he went against the Ṭarkhūn in Sughd.”

al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqīya*

1923: 234; cf. trans. Sachau *ibid*: 221: “On the third day of (the month of) *mzyxnd* (August–September) is the festival of *kšmyn* on which they hold a fair in the village (*qarya*) KMJKT. On the 15th of the (same month) there is a fair in al-Ṭawāwīs at which the merchants gather from everywhere and hold (the fair) for seven days.”

al-Iṣṭakhri, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*

1870: 313: “Cities (*madīna*) within the oasis wall: Ṭawāwīs, Bamijkath, Zandana, Maghkān, Khujāda [...].”

Ibid: 313–14: “Ṭawāwīs is a city (*madīna*) with a market (*sūq*) and a huge festival (*majma’*) to which people from all over (*min aqṭār*) Transoxiana come together during a known time of the year [...] It has a citadel (*qal’a*) and an urban area (*madīna*), and its congregational mosque is in the *madīna*. The cities inside the wall are all of comparable size and construction (*imāra*). They all have a fort (*ḥiṣn*).”

Ibid: 315 (and similar on 342): “Būmijkath is on the left side of the traveler / of the road to Ṭawāwīs after 4 farsakh, ca. 0.5 farsakh off the highway.”

al-Maqdisī (al-Muqaddasī), *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma’rifat al-aqālīm*

1906: 49: *qaṣabāt* of Numūjakath: Baykand, aṭ-Ṭawāwīs, Zandana, Bumijkath, KhDĪMNKN [var. KhRSKN], ‘RWĀN, Bakhsūn, Sīkath, Aryāmīthan, Warakhshay, Zarmīthan, Kumijkath, Fagharsīn, Kishfaghan, Nawīdak, Warkay.

Ibid: 267–68: “Among its cities (*mudun* sg. *madīna*) are Baykand, al-Ṭawāwīs, Zandana, Bamijkath, Khujādī, Maghkān, Kharghānkath, KhDIMNKN, ‘RWĀN, Bakhsūn,

Sīkath, Jarghar, Sīshakath, Aryāmīthan, Warakhshay, Zarmīthan, Kumijkath, Fagharsīn, Kishfaghan, Nawīdak, Warkay.”

Hudūd al-Ālam

1937: 113: “Ṭawāwīs, a borough (*shahrak*) of Bukhārā on the frontier of Sughd. In it annually for one day a market (*bāzār*) is held at which many people assemble.”

10th/12th Century

Tārīkh-i Bukhārā

TB(Schefer): 11; TB(Frye): 13; TB(Russ): 27: “Another village is Ṭawāwīs, which is also called Arqūd. [...] It has a grand mosque and the (walled) town is strong (*shāristānī ‘azīm dārad*). In former times there used to be a fair (*bāzār*) for ten days in the season of the month of Tīr (June–July). [...] Every year more than 10,000 people came to this fair, both merchants and buyers. They even came from Ferghāna, Chāch and other places, and returned with much profit. Because of this the people of the village became rich, and the reason for that was not agriculture. It is located on the royal road to Samarqand, seven parasangs from Bukhara.” (trans. R. Frye)

See also TB(Frye): 83–84: (conflict between the Samanid brothers Ismā’īl and Naṣr b. Aḥmad).

12th Century

al-Sam’ānī, *al-Ansāb*

1912: s.v. al-Ṭawāwīsī: “A village of Bukhārā, at a distance of 8 farsakh from [the city]. It is the second way station (*marḥala*), well known to who travels to Samarqand.

A number of learned men and transmitters of *ḥadīth* originate from there, among them the jurist (*faqīh*) [...] Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid b. Hāshim al-Ṭawāwīsī [...] He transmitted from Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Marwazī, ‘Abdallāh b. Shīrawayh al-Naysābūrī, Muḥammad b. Fal al-Balkhī and others. From him transmitted Muḥammad b. Naṣr b. Gharīb al-Qā’id al-Shāshī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Idrīs, the maternal uncle (*khāl*) of al-Idrīsī al-Ḥāfīz, and others. According to al-Idrīsī he died in the year 344 [955–56] in Samarqand.”

13th Century

Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*

1956: s.v. Ṭawāwīs: “The name of a region (*nāḥiya*) in the province (*a’māl*) of Bukhara, between (Bukhara) and Samarqand. It is a city (*madīna*) with many gardens, water courses and fertile soil. It possesses a citadel (*quhandiz*) and a congregational [mosque]. It is located inside the [oasis] wall of Bukhara.”

366 Hisor/Dushanbe region in modern Tajikistan.

Documentary Sources
16th Century

Vaqfnāma CGA 323:55 (1000/1591–92)
(Description of boundaries of a plot of land in Ghāyibān,³⁶⁷ tūmān Abū Muslim):
W: vaqf kharājī for the benefit of the descendants of ḥaḍrat Khwāja Aḥrār; jüy-e Qishlāq ALBRZ
N: dry farming land of Mūsā Khwāja; vaqf kharājī (as W)
E: jüy-e Ṭavāyis; public road
(no southern boundaries).

20th Century

Protocol CGA 323:1164 (Ramaḍān 1338/May–June 1920):
“Protocol of a deposition in the district court (*dār al-qaḍā*) of the tūmān Kām Abīmuslim [sic]. Endowment of property in the mauḍi’ Ṭavā’is and the mauḍi’ Bāzārchā’ī [sic] Būstān,³⁶⁸ tūmān Kām Abīmuslim – the latter bordering on its east side on an elevated hill (tall-i arfa’) – for the benefit of the ‘Middle Mosque’ (*masjid-i miyāna*) of Ṭavā’is.”

Modern Surveys and Reports

NPBE: Ṭavāyis-i bālā, Ṭavāyis-i pāyān (Kām-i Abī Muslim).
Sitniakovskii 1899b: 266: Tavais’ (Amliakdarstvo Vaganzi, Kam’ i Abu Muslim second branch: Aksach’, aryk Tavais).

Modern Studies

Mukhamedjanov and Valiev 1978.

3.18 *Vābkand*

Site 0116

40°1’10.36” N 64°31’2.99” E

Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 65.

With a population of 27,500 inhabitants (2019), Vābkand (var. Vābkana, modern Uzbek Vobkent) is the second smallest of the nine urban district (tūmān, raion) centres in the oasis today. The modern highway from Bukhara to Samarkand runs through Vobkent. The modern town entirely covers the site of the earlier settlement.

There is little literary evidence for Vābkand in the early Islamic period, when the old Khurasan-Samarkand road through Chargh and Ṭavāyis bypassed it at a distance of almost 10 km. None of the 10th-century itineraries mention Vābkand, nor does it appear in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*. The early geographic texts mention it only in the extended list of large, town-like villages in the (undated) Var. C of

al-Maqdisī. Al-Sam‘ānī provides evidence on scholarly life in Vābkand in the early Samanid period.

Vābkand becomes more visible from the 12th century on. The famous minaret, built in 1197–99 CE, commissioned by the ruling Ṣadr family of Bukhara and modelled on the Minorai Kalon in Bukhara (completed in 1127), suggests the increased significance of the town in the Qarakhanid period, possibly connected with a realignment of the principle roads through the oasis, which moved one of the major intersections of the Bukhara-Samarkand and Khwarazm-Bukhara highways to Vābkand. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa stopped in April 1333 in the town of Wabkana (sic) upon entering the oasis from Khwarazm by the desert route before making the final day’s march to Bukhara city. A document almost contemporary with Ibn Baṭṭūṭa’s visit, an endowment deed for the suburban Bukharan shrine of Saif al-Dīn Bākharzī, contains a reference to the road between Bukhara and Vābkand.³⁶⁹

The countermarking of coins during the reign of the Shibanid (Abulkhayrid) Köchkünchi (reigned as khaqan 918–37/1512–30) in Vābkand suggests that in the first half of the 16th century it was a market town.³⁷⁰ But in the second half of the 16th century the town still appears in documents as Qishlāq-i Vābkana, perhaps implying a rather modest settlement. The modern name Vobkantdaryo (Vabkentdar’ia) for the Khitfar River on which Vobkent is located is attested since the 18th century.

Due to the presence of the modern settlement, only preliminary archaeological survey data are available so far (Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 65–66).

Historical Evidence

10th Century

al-Maqdisī (al-Muqaddasī), *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma’rifat al-aqālīm*

1906: 268, note: (Variant C) “It has many villages that are bigger than cities, [among them/they are the following:] Warakhshay, Barānīya, Afshina, Audana, *Wardana, *Chargh, SĪJKTh [= Iskijkath?], *Ghijduwān, *Zarangarī, *Wābkana, *Bānab.”

367 Sitniakovskii 1899b: 266; Gaiban’, modern Gayban, adjacent to site 0751 (Ṭavāyis) on its south.

368 Modern Buston.

369 Vaqfnāma CGA 323–1183/CGA 323–1196/Bukhara State Museum (ex Ibn Sina Municipal Library) 195; published with a Russian translation in Chekhovich 1965: 69 (Persian text), 149 (Russian translation). The endowment was made in August 1326, less than seven years before Ibn Baṭṭūṭa’s visit. The endower, Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī’s grandson Yaḥyā, hosted Ibn Baṭṭūṭa during his stay in Bukhara.

370 Davidovich 1983: 238.

12th century

al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*

1912: s.v. al-Wābkanī (cf. Ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmāl* 7:326): “[The nisba al-Wābkanī] refers to the village (*qarya*) Wābkana, a village of Bukhara, about three farsakh [from the city]. From it hail Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Abī Jandab al-Wābkanī, [...] Abū Ḥamid Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd b. Ṭālib b. Jīt b. Mūsā b. Sahl al-Ṣarām al-Wābkanī [and] [...] Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Naḍr b. Ilyās al-Wābkanī, a Bukharan.”

14th Century

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, (trans. Défrémery) *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*

3: 21: “One marches in this desert six [days] without water. Then we reached the town (balda) of Wabkana³⁷¹ [...] one day's march from Bukhara.”

Documentary Sources

16th Century

Jūybārī codex no. 277 (Ivanov 1954: 235) (27 Muḥarram 973/ca. 24 August 1565) and *Vaqfnāma* CGA 323:115/3 (Shavvāl 977/March–April 1570) mention Qishlāq-i Vābkand (tūmān Kāmāt) in the description of the boundaries of vaqf property.³⁷² Cf. *Vaqfnāma* CGA 323–55/15 (16th or 17th century), where the Vābkand canal (Kām-i Vābkand) north of the town is also mentioned.

18th Century

Vaqfnāma CGA 323:306/16 and 323:307/3 (Jumādā II 1161/May–June 1748) mention the Vābkant River (Daryā-yi Vābkant) as the southern boundary of land in Rāmī, tūmān Kāmāt.

20th Century

Vaqfnāma CGA 323:1145 (Rajab 1321/September–October 1903) mentions the *bāzār* at the minaret of Vābkand in the tūmān Kāmāt.

Modern Surveys and Maps

NPBE: Vābkand, tūmān Kāmāt.

Sitniakovskii 1899b: 232–63: Amliakdarstvo Kamad' (Komod') or Vabkent'. Besides the Vabkent'-daria (Vābkanddaryā) and its branch canals Sitniakovskii includes parts of the Shahrud irrigation system in the description of this amliakdarstvo.

10-verst' map: Vabkend'.

100K map: Vabkent.

Modern Studies

To'raev 1992.

3.19 Vardāna

Site 0084 (Vardanzi)

40.16031° N 64.43557° E

Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 67.

Vardāna is located in the north of the oasis, in an ecologically particularly sensitive zone. The *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* describes it as the “frontier of Turkistān” (*sar-ḥadd-i Turkistān*),³⁷³ a zone of uninhabited, uncultivated pastures (*hīch dīh nabūd va ābādānī nabūd marghzarī būd*).³⁷⁴ Travellers in the first third of the 19th-century noted the disruptive effect of sand drifts in this area.³⁷⁵ The area is said to have been heavily affected by disastrous sand drifts that hit the north-western marginal areas of the oasis in 1868.³⁷⁶ The 10-verst' map, based on data compiled in 1896, shows Vardanzi on the edge of the desert steppe, and still today the ancient settlement is surrounded by a patch of barren land. Site 0084 was finally abandoned in the 1930s in favour of a satellite settlement confusingly named “Old Vardanzi” (Kuhna Vardanzi) about a kilometre to the south,³⁷⁷ which appears already on the late 19th-century 10-verst' map as Kunia (i.e., *kuhna*) Vardanzi. The topographic survey by Sitniakovskii, based on the same data as the map, lists only Kunia-Vardanzi as a settlement and mentions Vardanzi in a note as “the adjacent Bazar of Vardanzi, which receives no water”.³⁷⁸ Early 20th-century Bukharan lists of villages list two distinct villages, Qūrgḥān Vardanza (Vardanzi fort) and Qishlāq Vardanza-i kuhna (Old Vardanzi village).³⁷⁹ The Qūrgḥān of Vardanza is mentioned in an endowment deed of 1830 CE. The deed describes the area below (probably south of) the citadel as a *namāzghāh* (a large open-air festival prayer area). The congregational mosque (*masjid-i jāmi'*) was located on its western (i.e., qibla side). The deed makes no reference to residential areas near the citadel and *namāzghāh*.

373 TB(Frye): 16.

374 TB(Frye): 32. *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* mentions “villages of Abūya” as a name for this region. No convincing etymology or explanation for this toponym has been suggested (e.g., Adylov and Mirzaakhmedov 2006, connecting it with the common Bukharan toponomastic element Uba and with the Persian *āb*). It may have entered the text as a gloss.

375 E.g., Meyendorff and Jaubert 1826; Eversmann 1823.

376 Tomaschek 1877: 172.

377 Adylov and Mirzaahmedov 2006: 31; however, “Old Vardanzi” was not founded in the 1930s but existed earlier.

378 Sitniakovskii 1899b: 229.

379 NPBE: f.-41, dated 1916, villages in the tuman Shāfurkām; NPBE: f.-35, undated, villages on Shāfurkām River (*rūd*) in amlāk Pirmast.

371 Sic, with verbal description of vowels.

372 CGA 323–115/3 is an endowment deed for the Gāvkušān madrasa in Bukhara, which includes the lands around Vobkent acquired by the Jūybārī shaykhs with the sales deed no. 277.

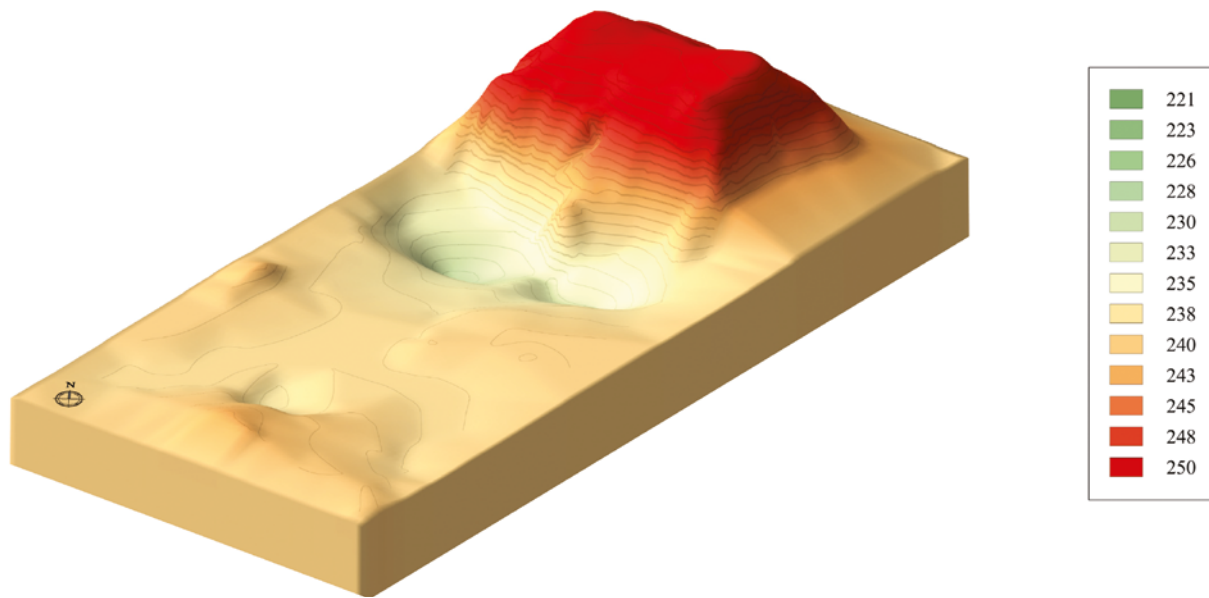


FIGURE 58 Digital Terrain Model of Vardana (site 0084)
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Modern irrigation feeding off the Dzhal'van canal has led to a re-expansion of arable lands reaching 5 to 10 km north and west of ancient Vardāna. This strip of modern improvements quite precisely coincides with the area occupied by archaeological sites 362 and 886–90. Modern settlements in this area have characteristic Soviet names, such as Yangiabad (New Cultivation), XVIII Parts'ezd (18th Party Congress), Pervoe Maia (First of May) or Gulistan (Flower Garden).

Archaeological investigations have so far focused on layers from the 5th century CE to the Islamic period. Some archaeological evidence from the citadel points to an occupation as early as the 2nd century BCE.³⁸⁰

The *Tārīkh-i Bukhāra* records two different traditions about the founding of Vardāna. According to one narrative, Vardāna was among the oldest settlements of the oasis, all located west and north of the Zarafshan and going back to the earliest colonisation of the wetlands by people from Turkistan. A second narrative makes the village and castle of Vardāna a foundation of a Sasanian prince Shāpūr, father of the first Vardānkhudā. In this narrative, the area was uncultivated hunting grounds, and the Bukhārkhudā granted it to the Sasanian prince for cultivation. Without taking either narrative for an actual historical account, the apparent contradiction – earliest cultivated and colonised area of the wetlands vs. late colonisation and cultivation of disinhabited land – may reflect memories of population and depopulation in the

ecologically fragile north-west of the oasis. The second narrative is of particular interest, though not so much for its unspecific reference to a Sasanian prince in the oasis. This has been taken quite literally by several modern commentators but may be owed to a popular etymology of the name of the Shāfurkām canal.³⁸¹ Of greater significance is the respective place attributed to the Vardānkhudā and the Bukhārkhudā. The narrative underscores the importance of Vardānkhudā as a successful developer and ruler of an important area of the oasis, and powerful opponent of the Bukhārkhudā and Qutayba b. Muslim. But the narrative makes the Vardānkhudā a son of a vassal of the Bukhārkhudā, thus affirming the overlordship of the Bukhārkhudā. This narrative appears to give a Bukharan spin on a Vardānian narrative.

The identity and background of the Vardānkhudā, his position in relation to the Bukhārkhudā and his role in the events of Qutayba's Bukharan campaigns have been a matter of intense academic discussion.³⁸² Possibly of Turkic background or with Turkic connections,³⁸³ the Vardānkhudā was powerful enough in the late 7th century to contend with the Bukhārkhudā for supremacy in the oasis. If the identification of various occurrences of a name KhNK in the TB and Arabic sources with the Vardānkhudā and with the issuer of Bukhārkhudā coins in the name of a certain *xwnk* are correct, the Vardānkhudā would even

380 Pozzi et al. 2019. For an overview of the archaeological evidence, see Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 67–68.

381 See above p. 37, section "A Sasanian Presence in Bukhara?".

382 For a review of the academic discussion and an excellent new appraisal and analysis of the sources, see Stark 2018.

383 Stark 2008: 228–32; Stark 2007; cf. de la Vaissière 2005: 200.

have adopted the title and position of Bukhārkhudā, possibly from around 690 CE to his defeat by Qutayba b. Muslim near Vardāna in 709 CE.³⁸⁴

The two contrasting narratives are of interest for the landscape history of the oasis insofar as they imply periodic (re-)development of the north-(west) of the oasis that were connected with political changes. Even in the ideal case that further archaeological investigation leads to a more differentiated diachronic picture of changes in the ecology, land use and settlement in this area, one should not jump to immediate conclusions and try to match this development with the elements of the two narratives on Vardāna without further critical analyses of these narratives.

It has been suggested that the toponym Fadi in Xuanzang's description of Transoxiana (second quarter of the 7th century CE) refers to Vardāna, but we prefer the interpretation as Betik on the north bank of the Oxus or possibly Amul on the south bank of the Oxus.³⁸⁵ Vardāna as a toponym for a major settlement or region in the oasis appears without ambiguity only in the period of the Islamic conquest. Islamic sources mention the Vardānkhudā, i.e., the

lord of Vardāna, a rival of the Bukhārkhudā and opponent to Qutayba b. Muslim in 89/708.

Vardāna does not figure very prominently in al-Samʿānī's *Kitāb al-Ansāb*. Al-Samʿānī records only two scholars, a father and son, from the town.

Beginning at least in the 18th century, and regularly in the 19th century, the name Vardanzī was used as an alternative to the name of the Shāfurkām district.³⁸⁶

Historical Evidence

9th Century

Ibn Khurdādhbih *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*

1889: 26: “[Bukhara's] cities are Karminiyya, Ṭawāwīs, Bumijkat, Wardāna, Baykand Madīnat at-tujjār, Firabr.”

10th Century

al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*

1879–1901: II 1198–99 (cf. trans. Hinds 1990: 146–50): s.a. 89/707–8 CE³⁸⁷:

[...] In that year (89 AH) Qutayba raided Bukhara and conquered Rāmīthana [...] after this conquest he returned to the road to Balkh. When he came to al-Fāryāb a letter from al-Ḥajjāj reached him, (ordering him) to go back to the Wardān khudāh. Qutayba returned in the year 89 H, crossing the river at Zamm. The people of Sughd, Kish and Nasaf combatted him on the route through the desert, but he defeated them, and he reached Bukhara. He came down on (*nazala*) lower Kharqāna to the south (*yamīn*) of Wardān.³⁸⁸ After a battle of two days and nights God granted him victory.

[...] Qutayba raided Wardān Khudāh, the lord (*malik*) of Bukhara, in the year 89 H, but he could not defeat him, and he did not conquer any part of the country, thus he returned to Marv and wrote to al-Ḥajjāj in this matter. Al-Ḥajjāj requested in writing a depiction of (Bukhara) (*ṣawwirhā li*), and so he did. Al-Ḥajjāj responded: Return to your wallow, repent from what you have done, and approach it from this and this place. It is said that al-Ḥajjāj wrote to him the following: Outwit Kish, scatter Nasaf and reach Wardān.”³⁸⁹

384 The identification of KhNK with the Vardānkhudā goes back to Marquart (Markwart 1898: 63); this hypothesis has been convincingly substantiated and enhanced with numismatic evidence by Naymark (2001: 256–88; and Naymark 2010: 10–13. According to Naymark (2001: 284f.) this power shift would have occurred in the last decade of the 7th century CE. See also Naymark 2003. On Qutayba's Bukharan campaigns in 88–90/707–9, see Stark 2018 and in this chapter pp. 80–82 (excursus on the campaigns of Qutayba b. Muslim).

385 Already Shiratori (1928: 121–22) proposed the identity of Fadi, Mu (Suishu) and Amul. For the identification with Amul, see Lur'e 2021. Markwart suggest that Fā dì 伐地 (EMC *buat di*^h), the name the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang records for a principality west of Bukhara on the way to Khwarazm, represents Vardāna (Markwart 1898: 63), followed by Chavannes (1903: 134 n.2), who emended the reading 伐地 (*mòu dì*, EMC *məw^h di*^h) in the 11th-century *Xin Tan Shu* 221 to 伐地. This identification would push the earliest evidence for the toponym back to around 629 CE. Naymark (2001: 205–11), Compareti (2002, 2004) and Huber (2020b: 410–12) follow Markwart in placing Fadi at Vardāna. If something is clear from Xuanzang's description, it is the location on one of the main routes to Khwarazm, i.e., via the Farab/Chärjew Oasis and further along the Amū Daryā (which would speak for Betik or Amul), or from the western rim of the oasis through the southern Qizilqum (which would match Vardāna). But more importantly, Fadi is described as distinct from the oasis of Bukhara, which makes it unlikely that it was situated in the northern sector of the oasis, but points to a location near the Oxus crossing between Betik (mentioned alongside Fārāb in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, TB(Frye): 6) and Amul (Chärjew). The relevant sources and literature are thoroughly presented and discussed in Huber (2020b: 410–12) and Lur'e (2021).

386 E.g., Sayyid Raḥmatallāh b. Sayyid ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm Ḥāshimī Atāʾī Bukhārī, *Risāla* Ms. B1 No.4576/3, begun in 1192/1778, cited in KSHT: 166–67 (no. 80).

387 Actually 90/709? On the problems of chronology, see Stark 2018; however, some of Stark's critical remarks require further analysis. For example, Stark's critique of the events grouped together in the year 88 AH in Balādhurī's *Futūḥ al-buldān* is based on the assumption that Balādhurī's Tūmushkath (*Nūmishkath) is Bukhara, but see above p. 80 n. 122.

388 Not right/east (Stark 2018: 390).

389 A play on words: *kis Kīssa wa-nsif Nasafa wa-rid Wardāna*.

al-Iṣṭakhri, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*

1870: 310–11: “[The river/canal] Sāfarī Kām: it flows to Vardāna, which it irrigates.”

*10th/12th Century**Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*

TB(Schefer): 5; TB(Frye): 7; TB(Russ): 23: (Context: the first settlers in the oasis under their leader Abrūi). “The city [of Bukhara] did not yet exist, but there were several villages. Among them were Nūr, Kharqān Rūd, Vardāna, Tarāvcha, Safna, and Īsvāna.” (trans. R. Frye)

TB(Schefer): 8; TB(Frye): 10; TB(Russ): 25: (Context: Qutayba’s campaigns in the early 8th century). “When this Khatun died, and her son Ṭughshāda had grown up and was fit to rule, everyone coveted the kingdom. A certain vezīr called Vardān Khudāh, who ruled the district of Vardāna, had come from Turkistān. Qutaiba had to fight many battles against him. Several times he drove him from this district so that he fled to Turkistān. Vardān Khudāh died, and Qutaiba seized Bukhara. Qutaiba gave Bukhara back to Ṭughshāda and made him ruler.” (trans. R. Frye)

TB(Schefer): 14; TB(Frye): 16; TB(Russ): 29: “Vardāna is a large village with a large citadel and strong fortifications. It was a stronghold of kings in ancient times, but it is no longer a royal residence. It is older than the city of Bukhara. It was built by king Shāpūr on the frontier of Turkistān. They have a market once a week at which there is a good deal of trading. Well-made Zandanījī also comes from there.” (trans. R. Frye)

TB(Schefer): 30; TB(Frye): 32; TB(Russ): 41:

“When [Shāpūr] arrived in Bukhara the Bukhār Khudāh showed him honor. Shāpūr liked to hunt. One day he went hunting and came to this district. At that time there was neither village there nor cultivated field but it was pasture land. The hunting area pleased him. He requested it as fief from Bukhār Khudāh in order to make it an inhabited locality. The Bukhār Khudāh gave him that place. Shāpūr dug a great canal and gave it his name, i.e.-Shāpūr-kām. He built villages and a palace on that canal. The locality is called ‘the villages of Abūya.’ He built the village of Vardāna and a castle, and made that place his residence. A great domain developed there, and at his death those villages remained with his children as an inheritance until the time Qutaiba ibn Muslim came to Bukhara. Vardān Khudāh was one of the children of Shāpūr, and he was a great ruler. He lived in the village of Vardāna and struggled with Ṭughshāda Bukhār Khudāh. Qutaiba also fought

much with him. Finally Vardān Khudāh died and Qutaiba gave the kingdom of Bukhara to Ṭughshāda.” (trans. R. Frye)

TB(Schefer): 43(u)–44; TB(Frye): 45–46; TB(Russ): 50–51: (Following the story of the looting of Paykand by Qutayba b. Muslim, dated in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* to 88/706)³⁹⁰

“When [Qutayba] was finished with Paykand, he went to attack Khunbūn. He took Khunbūn, Tārāb, and many small villages. [Then] he went to Vardāna, which was the see of a king named Vardān Khudāt. They fought many skirmishes. In the end Vardān Khudāt died, and [Qutayba] seized many villages. [But] a number of armies assembled in the villages of Bukhara between Tārāb, Khunbūn and Rāmītan and surrounded Qutayba. Ṭarkhūn, the king of Sughd, arrived with many troops. And KhNK KHudāt with a huge army and Vardān Khudāt with his army and Kūrmaghānūn, the nephew of the emperor of China, who had been hired with 40,000 men, [also] arrived to support [Ṭarkhūn] in the fight against Qutayba. The armies joined, and the situation became difficult for Qutayba.” (trans. F. Schwarz)

*12th Century***al-Sam‘ānī**, *al-Ansāb*

1912: s.v. al-Wardānī (cf. **Ibn Mākūlā**, *al-Ikmāl* 7:307; **Yāqūt**, *Mu‘jam*, 1956: s.v. Wardāna): “[...] the name of a village of Bukhara, Wardāna. [...] Abū Idrīs b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Wardānī, from the village Wardāna, a village of Bukhara, transmitted from [‘Īsā b. Mūsā] Ghunjār [d. 184/800], Abū Maqālat Ḥafṣ b. Salm and others. From him transmitted his son Abū ‘Amr Humām b. Idrīs b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Wardānī, and from Abū ‘Amr transmitted Sahl b. Shādhūya.”

*Documentary Sources**19th Century*

CGA 1.323.1298 (20), dated Ṣafar 1246 (July–August 1830): “[...] the congregational mosque (*masjid-i jāmi‘*) which is situated below the hill (*qūrghān*) of Vardānzah in the tūmān Shāfurkām of the splendid city [Bukhārā], and which is built from wood and unburnt brick. It borders on its well-defined four boundaries in the following way: in the west it is adjacent to the washhouse (*ṭahāratkhāna*) of [Vardānzah], in the north, east and south it is adjacent to the grounds (*‘arṣa-yi zamīn*) of the festival prayer area (*zamīn-i namāzgāh*) of [Vardānzah].”

390 See above p. 82.

Modern Surveys and Maps

NPBE: f.-41 (1916) and f.-35 (undated): Qurghān Vardanzah and Qishlāq Vardanzah-i kuhna.

Sitniakovskii 1899b: 229: Kunia-Vardanzi (aml. Pirmast/Talisafet right/ar. Iskagary). Note: “The Bazar or Vardanzi, which is adjacent [to Kunia-Vardanzi], receives no water.”

10-verst’ map: Vardanzi and Kunia-Vardanzi.

100K map: Vardanzi (modern village and ancient ruins).

Modern Studies

Adylov and Mirzaakhmedov 2006.

Pozzi et al. 2019.

3.20 Varka

Site 0644 (Khodzhabargi)

39°42'56.89"N 64°35'2.42"E

Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 87.

Varka (Warka) was the main settlement in the end zone of the Paykān canal. It has been convincingly identified with a tepe in the village of Khodza(m)bargi, now a quarter (mahalla) on the eastern outskirts of Kagan (site 0644).³⁹¹

Shishkin proposed the identification of Paykān canal with the lower course of the easternmost main irrigation artery of the oasis later known as Kam-i Abu Muslim (Abu Muslim’s canal).³⁹² This would imply that the irrigation system of the Abū Muslim canal reached considerably further south than in the early modern and modern periods. Maps and surveys from the second half of the 19th century show Khodzhabargi as part of an irrigation system that was connected to the Shahrud rather than to the Abū Muslim canal. But it is conceivable that it once was connected to the eastern rivers branching off the Zarafshan before the Shahrud.

Near Varka the medieval geographers mention hills where stone quarries, a rare commodity in the flatland of the oasis, as well as clay pits, used for construction in Bukhara, were located. They probably refer to the Kaynagach hills 10 km SE of Khodzhabargi.³⁹³

Varka was located on the highway to Nasaf³⁹⁴ and appears to have been one of the main entrance points to the oasis from the Qashqodaryo valley. Al-Sam‘ānī has a remarkably long entry on the town. In the 4th and 5th centuries AH/10th and 11th centuries CE it seems to have been

home to a thriving community of ‘ulamā’. Al-Sam‘ānī lists six scholars, giving the death years of four of them in 305/917–18, 308/920–21, 381/991–92 and 495/1101–2. They were mostly active in Varka and Bukhara, but interacted also with teachers and students from Khurasan, Tabaristan, Iraq and Mecca. The graves of Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. ‘Abd ai-Raḥmān al-Zubayrī al-Warkī (d. 495/1101–2) and his descendants had already become a pilgrimage destination in the 12th century. This family and their *mazār* may be the origin of the modern designation of the village as Khwāja Bargī.

Sitniakovskii mentions the existence of a “very old mosque” in the village.

*Historical Evidence**10th Century*

al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*

1870: 311: “A river known as TNKĀN [Paykān], which receives [its water] from the [Zarafshān] river. It irrigates villages until it reaches Varka, which it irrigates.”

Ibid: 312 (= **Ibn Ḥauqal**, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 1873: 361): “[...] There is no mountain nor desert within the wall. The closest mountain to it is the mountain of Warka, from which they take the stone for [...] construction, and the clay.”

al-Maqdisī (**al-Muqaddasī**), *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma‘rifat al-aqālīm*

1906: 49, 268: includes Varka (Warkī, Warkay) in his list of 16 or 21 urban settlements (*qaṣba, madīna*) of Bukhara.

al-Sam‘ānī, *al-Ansāb* (cf. **Ibn Mākūlā**, *al-Ikmāl* 2:556)

s.v. al-Warkī:

“[...] Warka, a village 2 farsakh from Bukhara on the road to Nasaf. I stayed there over night during my journey from Nakhshab to Bukhara. A number of scholars originate from it.

[Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Bakr Khalaf al-Warkī al-Muṭawwi‘ī, from Warka, d. 380/990–91; Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ al-Warkī al-Bukhārī, from Warka, travelled to Khurasan, Iraq and Hijaz, d. in Bukhara in 381/991; Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Manṣūr al-Warkī; Abū l-Layth Shākīr b. Ḥamdawayh al-Hamadhānī al-Warkī; Abū Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-Warkī, d. 304/917].

Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zubayrī al-Warkī. Jurist, prayer leader, ascetic, long living. He lived to the age of 130 years [...] People travelled to see him from [many] regions. There was no other [scholar] in his times who had recorded in writing dictations and accounts (*imlā’, riwāya*) (from other scholars)

391 Adylov and Babaev 2011: 47.

392 Shishkin 1963: 24; see also Adylov and Babaev (2011: 47) identifying the modern collector canal Shoraryk as the ancient course of the Paykānrūd.

393 Barthold 1928: 111; Adylov and Babaev 2011: 47.

394 Al-Sam‘ānī, s.v. al-Warkī. Al-Sam‘ānī spent a night here when returning from Nakhshab (Nasaf).

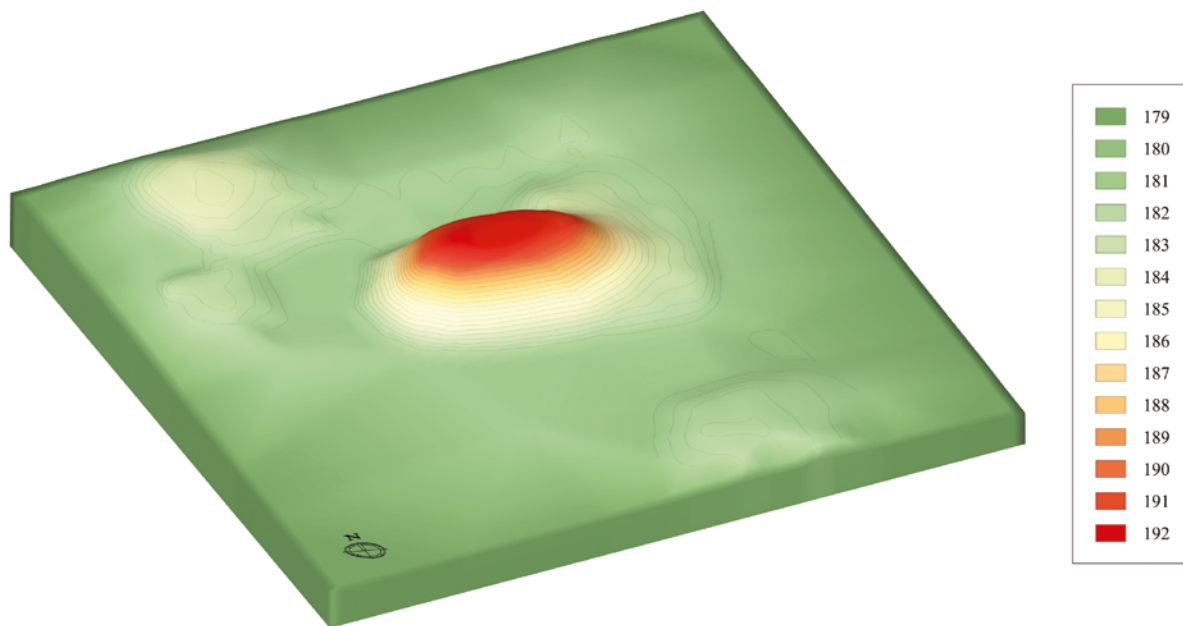


FIGURE 59 Digital Terrain Model of Varka (site 0644)
© RILIEVI SRL, R. RANTE 2020

over a period of 120 years. I received transmissions of accounts from his [students] [...] in Sarakhs, [...] in Tūs [...] and in Bukhara [...] He died in 495/1101–2 CE. His grave is in the village of Warka. He has descendants whose graves in Warka attract pilgrims.”

Modern Surveys and Maps

NPBE: none.

Sitniakovskii 1899b: 276: Khodzha-bargi (Amliakdarstvo Kamad/Kurak/ar. Ishan or Amir-abad): Khodzha-bargi. 100 houses. Very old mosque.

Markov map: Khodzha Bargi, on Khodzha Bargi aryq, branching off the Kurak aryq (on the right side) at the same point as the Emirabad aryq that flows to Kagan. Khodzha bargi appears on Markov’s map also as an alternative name of the Turkmen ogly aryq, which seems to branch off the Shahrud (on the left) north of Sorgun (probably near modern Charrakha) and ends at Gashkash.

Modern Studies

Barthold 1928: 111–14.

Shishkin 1963: 24.

Adylov and Babaev 2011: 47.

3.21 *Zandana/Zandani*

Site 0083 (Zandani Tepe)

40.08269° N 64.32619° E

Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 85–86.

Thanks to the continuity of occupation and toponym until the present day, the identification of Zandana/

Zandani presents no difficulties. The ancient settlement is located on the northern margin of the village Zandani, Peshku district. Known for a textile fabric produced there, Zandani (Zandana) appears to have been one of the principal settlements in the western part of the oasis.³⁹⁵

Zandana benefited from the reconstruction (or development) efforts in the oasis under Mongol rule. Around 1230 CE Ögedei’s Bukharan governor (*malik*) al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdān (Qut Arslan Ulugh Sayin Malikshāh) built a new madrasa there and appointed as mudarris a member of a prominent family of Ḥanafī scholars from Ushrūshana and Samarkand. Zandana is described as a *qaṣaba* (i.e., presumably a fortified town), possibly with some administrative role.

Since the early 19th century Zandana occurs as an alternative name for tūmān Khitfar.³⁹⁶

Historical Evidence

10th Century

al-Iṣṭakhri, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*

1870: 313: Cities (*madīna*) within the oasis wall: Ṭawāwīs, Bamiykath, Zandana, Maghkān, Khujāda. “[...] The cities

395 The common identification in modern literature of patterned medieval silk fabrics in European church treasures at Zandanījī is based on the misreading of an Arabic note (without a reference to Zandanījī) on one specimen as a Sogdian inscription with reference to Zandanījī. See Sims-Williams and Khan 2008.

396 E.g., Vaqfnāma CGA: 323:305 (1231/1816).

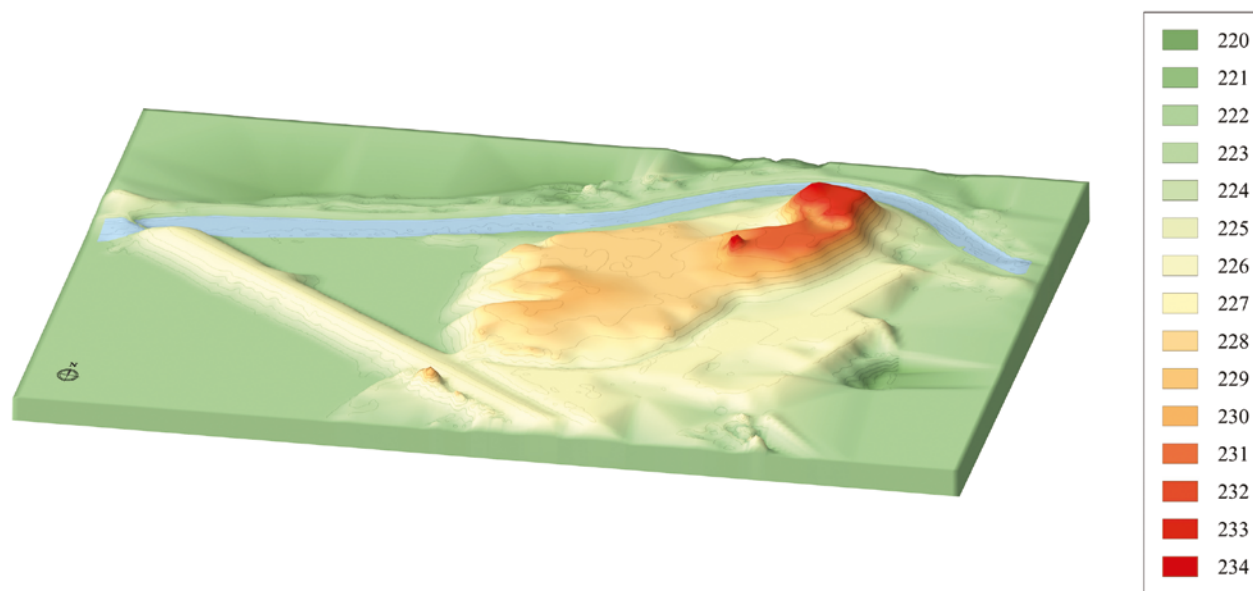


FIGURE 60 Digital Terrain Model of Zandana/Zandani (site 0083)
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(*mudun*) inside the wall are all of comparable size and construction (*imāra*). All are fortified (*hiṣn*).”

Ibid: 315 (and similar on 342): “Zandana is located approximately 4 farsakh north of the city (Bukhara).”

al-Maqdisī (al-Muqaddasī), *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm*

1906: 49: *qaṣabāt* of zu Numūjakath: Baykand, al-Ṭawāwīs, Zandana, Bumijkath, KhDĪMNKN [var. KhRSKN], ‘RWĀN, Bakhsūn, Sīkath Aryāmīthan, Warakhshay, Zarmīthan, Kumijkath, Fagharsīn, Kishfaghan, Nawīdak, Warkay.

Ibid: 267–68: “Among its cities (*mudun* sg. *madīna*) are Baykand, al-Ṭawāwīs, Zandana, Bamijkath, Khuḡādī, Maghkān, Kharghānkath, KhDIMNKN, ‘RWĀN, Bakhsūn, Sīkath, Jarḡhar, Sīshakath, Aryāmīthan, Warakhshay, Zarmīthan, Kumijkath, Fagharsīn, Kishfaghan, Nawīdak, Warkay.”

Hudūd al-‘ālam

1930: f.22b (cf. trans. Minorsky 1937: 112): “Mughkān, Khuḡādī, *Zandana (ms.: Dandūna), Būm[ij]kath, MDYAMJkath, *Kharghānkath (ms.: JZGhNkath): towns (*shahrak*) with minbars in the region of Bukhara. They are prosperous places with much cultivation.”

10th/12th century

Tārīkh-i Bukhārā

TB(Schefer): 13–14; TB(Frye): 15; TB(Russ): 29: “Zandana has a large citadel. The local product is called Zandanījī.

It is said to be a fine cotton fabric (*karbās*). Obviously the [variety produced in] Zandanī is of a nice [quality] and great quantity. A similar cotton fabric is woven in many [other] villages of Bukhara, they are [all] also called Zandanījī, because it originated in that village. They export this cotton fabric to every country, such as ‘Irāq, Fārs, Kirmān, Hindūstān and others. Every nobleman and king has his clothes tailored from this material. It is traded at the price of brocade.” (trans. F. Schwarz)

12th Century

al-Sam‘ānī, *al-Ansāb* (cf. **Ibn Mākūlā**, *al-Ikmāl* 4:146)

1912: s.v. al-Zandanī: “[...] a village in Bukhara called Zandana or al-Zandanī. The Zandanaj cloth is from there. It is located 4 farsakh from the city (Bukhara). From there is [...] Abū Ṣādiq Aḡmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zandanī, the preacher (*khaṭīb*) of that village. He took dictations from several (teachers) in Bukhara, and I heard *ḥadīth* transmitted from him by several of my shaykhs in Sāriya and in Bukhara. He died in the 490s AH, I think in 493/1099–1100 [...]”

Ibid: s.v. al-Zandī:

“[...] referring to a village in Bukhara [...] [From there is] Abū Bakr Muḡammad b. Aḡmad b. Ḥamdān b. Ghārim al-Bukhārī al-Zandī, a Bukharan. He relates on the authority of Ḥātām b. Aḡmad al-Baykandī, and on his authority relates Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḡammad b. Aḡmad al-Ghunḡār. I do not know if this nisba refers to Zandanī, the famous village in Bukhara, or to another village. Only God knows.

But Abū Kāmil al-Baṣīrī mentions in the *Kitāb al-Muḍāfāt*³⁹⁷ Ḥamdān b. Ghārim al-Zandanī, i.e., from the village Zandanī, and he has learned descendants there [i.e., in Zandadī]. I [i.e., al-Samʿānī] would say that this Abū Bakr is one of them. When Amīr Abū Naṣr ʿAlī b. Hibat Allāh Ibn Mākūlā mentions in the *Kitāb al-Ikmāl* this Ibn Ghārim in the entry al-Zandī and then lists the entry al-Zandanī [separately] referring to the village Zandanī, which has been mentioned here, it is obvious that he erred. Even though al-Baṣīrī does not reach the same level of memorisation, diligence and travelling [as Ibn Mākūlā], as a Bukharan he knew the people of his city better, and hence Ibn Ghārim was [indeed] from [the oasis of] Bukhara.”

397 Abū Kāmil Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Baṣīrī al-Anbarduwānī al-Bukhārī (d. 449/1056–57), *Kitāb al-muḍāhāt wa-l-muḍāfāt fī-l-asmāʾ wa-l-ansāb*.

13th Century

Ustrūshanī, *Tajnīs al-multaqaṭ*³⁹⁸

“Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd says: I completed (the copy) of the *Kitāb al-Multaqaṭ* [...] This occurred in the *qaṣaba* Zandana [...] in the new madrasa (*al-madrasa al-jadīda*) [...] which was built by al-Malik al-Kabīr [...] Fakhr al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn [...] Qut Arslān Ulugh Sāyin Malik Shāh al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh – may God give him a long life – to foster (*tarbiya*) the imams and the scholars. It was completed on a Thursday when two-thirds of the month of the month of Ramaḍān of the year 629 [AH] had been completed (20 November 1231).”

Modern Surveys and Reports

NPBE: Zandanī, tūmān Khitfar.

Sitniakovskii 1899b: 290: Zandani. Bazar.

10-verst' map: Zandany.

100K map: Zandani.

398 For the full note, see the edition in Sellheim 1976: 130–32.

Conclusion

Two central concerns of the study of the settlement and population dynamics of the Bukhara Oasis are highlighted in the two main chapters of this volume. The first chapter adopts a pluridisciplinary perspective on intra-oasis relations and communication, integrating archaeology and sociology through network analysis. The second presents a historical-geographical study aimed at providing a framework for the long-term development of the oasis from a historical-philological perspective. Each chapter is independent methodologically and in terms of the presentation of its findings. Read in combination, however, and before the background of the strictly archaeological evidence presented in the first volume, they support the contextualisation of the archaeological evidence and the understanding of the socio-archaeological tableau, framing it in a revisited historical context. This volume seeks to facilitate the apprehension of the social characteristics of the settlements within the oasis and to offer a historical perspective on their development within the long-term dynamics of the oasis as a historical – i.e., natural and human-managed – landscape.

The sheer mass of sites gives us a general map of settlements within the oasis that shows how important and dense the urbanisation of the oasis was from antiquity to the end of the Middle Ages. Focusing on urban and rural sites, the surveys and site investigations carried out over the entire territory of the oasis provide a general topographical framework and facilitate a differentiated analysis of the sites where people settled: tripartite, bipartite or even smaller “single tepes” (fortresses or isolated residences). To arrive at a sketch of the social dynamics of the oasis over the historical period under study requires contextualisation and interpretation of the strictly archaeological evidence. This volume approaches this task from two sides. Network analysis provides an analytical tool to conceptualise the dynamics of settlement and intra-oasis relations grounded in archaeological and topographic evidence. A comprehensive, critical review of the textual record, informed but not predetermined by the archaeological evidence or by the expectation of historical metanarratives, provides a new framework for interpretive contextualisation. It offers a number of substantial revisions and new findings on the interpretation of the historical geography of the oasis and presents a robust framework for further studies of the landscape history of the oasis of Bukhara.

The analysis of these networks is the instrument from which it has been possible to imagine and structure the

urban and the social settings of the oasis. One of the main outcomes is the intensity and complexity of relations between rural and urban areas, which does not concern a small group of sites but a huge number of settlements spread over the entire oasis. Based primarily on universal aspects of human behaviour – such as the time needed to reach point B from point A at a determined speed or choices of shorter paths to reach the same points – the analysis provides insights into social (but also economic) relations and dynamics that are otherwise difficult to observe in such a vast region with such a dense network of settlements. It allows us to identify and discern areas and settlements with high economic (and as a consequence political) potential and to gain an economically and socially structured picture of the oasis.

This archaeo-sociological framework began to develop after the transformation of the hydrological basin (the oasis) of the (lower) Zerafshan from an earlier northern and western orientation of its principal arms towards the west and south. In a very short time, considering its long geological life, this transformation of the natural environment generated new conditions for the human and social dynamics that are studied in this volume from a historical point of view and supported by robust archaeological evidence.

The human history of the oasis of Bukhara begins when the territory of the Zerafshan delta provided advantageous ground for settling, from circa the 4th century BCE, with clear human traces from the early 3rd century BCE. Local coin production may have set in as early as the 2nd century BCE, but the numismatic evidence is limited and its study still inconclusive, leaving the political, administrative and economic situation in that period opaque. Situated in the larger context of river oases north of the Oxus, the lower Zerafshan emerges only slowly and relatively late in the textual record as a historical landscape. For almost one millennium after the earliest written reference to the toponym/ethnonym Sogd in the royal Achaemenid inscription from western Iran, the lower Zerafshan remains elusive in the Iranian, Aramaic, Greek and Chinese written record. It is only towards the second half of Phase 3 – between the 5th and 7th centuries CE – that the oasis of Bukhara firmly materialises on the textual map.¹ While the archaeological evidence shows how the oasis, as a natural environment and human-managed

¹ Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 39–47.

space, begins to take shape in the 4th/3rd century BCE,² the late appearance of Bukhara in the written record is indicative of a relatively slow integration of the lower Zarafshan into the transregional communications networks between Southwest, South, Central and East Asia.

Phase 3 (late 3rd–8th century CE) coincides with a period during which the strategic interests of major military, political and commercial players from outside the region – Sasanians, Chinese, Chinonites, Hephthalites, Western Turks and finally Muslims – converged on the region north of the Oxus. Archaeologically speaking, the Bukhara Oasis was very active in this phase, presumably concomitant with its demographic growth. In marked contrast with eastern Transoxiana (Sogd), Chach or Bactria, however, the oasis of Bukhara remains elusive in the written record well into this period. The integration of the lower Zarafshan and the oasis of Bukhara into larger imperial formations continued to be a gradual and rather slow process. No conclusive historical evidence could be found in this study for the extension of direct Sasanian control over the lower Zarafshan basin that has been forcefully claimed in recent archaeological and historical debates. A strong Hephthalite influence after their conquest of Sogd around the middle of the 5th century, on the other hand, may have extended to the oasis of Bukhara, and likely had a significant integrating effect on the entire trans-Oxian riverine oases zone, including Bukhara.

In the period leading up to the begin of Islamisation in the 8th century, the oasis of Bukhara was politically fragmented. Influences by larger and more powerful neighbours, such as the Kushans,³ Kidarites,⁴ Hephthalites (of which the main centres were in Samarkand and Bactra) or Western Turks, can be traced in the material evidence, but this appears to have been very limited in political or military terms. In the second half of the 6th century, Turkic elites seemed to have gained control of a large part of the oasis, but the main cities, such as Ramitan, Vardana or Paykend, continued to function as major administrative and economic entities in the oasis.

It is finally from the 7th century onwards that the lower Zarafshan basin and the name Bukhara (for the oasis) clearly appears in the textual record. The earliest Chinese mentions appear in the *Weishu*, *Suishu*, *Beishi* and in

Xuanzang's travels to India. The toponym of Bukhara appears in the late 7th and early 8th centuries in Sogdian ("Bukharkhudat" coins, letters from Mt. Mugh from the first quarter of the 8th century, etc.), in Bactrian (698 CE), in Old Turkic (730s CE) and in an area reaching from the oasis of Bukhara to modern northern Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Western Mongolia.

The textual record becomes much denser and more granular in the early Islamic period, especially from the 9th century on, but the perspective also narrows to that of Abbasid imperial administration and the rise of a regional Islamic dynasty, the Samanids. The lists of districts, settlements and irrigation arteries provided by Muslim geographers and historians of the 9th to 12th centuries are crucial for the reconstruction and analysis of the internal structure and dynamics of the oasis.

In this period, the whole oasis presents a total inhabited area of circa 2,350 hectares. Assuming an average population of between 100 to 200 inhabitants per hectare, the population of the oasis may be roughly estimated at over 300,000 inhabitants.

The Islamic conquests and the rise of the Samanids favoured the integration of the fragmented, polycentric oasis and the rise of the city of Bukhara as the dominant political, economic and cultural hub of the oasis and one of the major urban centres of Transoxiana. However, this was a gradual process. Prosopographical data indicate, for example, that well into the 10th century Islamic scholarship was not exclusively centred in the city of Bukhara but extended to villages and towns all over the oasis.

It is rather by convention that this study ends with the period around the Mongol invasion. The undeniably heavy effect of the initial conquest in the 1220s and the establishment of the Chinggisid administration in the oasis of Bukhara (and Central Asian urban and rural societies in general) is widely under-researched and will require further focused archaeological and historical study. In the present study, we limited ourselves to a few observations that support the trend in recent scholarship to understand the Mongol period as a period of transformation rather than destruction and reconstruction. There is evidence that points to a certain degree of devolvement in infrastructure investment in the oasis and to changes in settlement structures that also affected the toponomastics of the oasis. However, the general organisation of the oasis of Bukhara, determined by its main irrigation arteries, remains remarkably stable since it is first documented by the 9th- and 10th-century Muslim geographers and administrators and into the 20th century.

² Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 25.

³ Some ceramic typologies can refer to a possible Kushan influence in the Bukhara Oasis, see Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 263–64.

⁴ Concerning the arrival of these populations, see Rante and Mirzaakhmedov 2019: 264.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

10-verst' map	Rodionov, R.L. 1923. <i>Karta desiativerstnaia Turkestarskago voennago okruga</i> , R.VII L.3, [Tashkent].
100K map	Karta Sovetskogo Soiuzo masshtaba 1:100,000, sheets j-41-009, j-41-010 (1986); k-41-141, k41-142 (1989).
BGMZ	Bukharskii Gosudarstvennyi Muzei-Zapovednik/Bukhara State Museum and Preserve. Bukhara.
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
CAJ	<i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>
CGA	Centralnyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Respubliki Uzbekistan. Tashkent.
CHIr	<i>Cambridge History of Iran</i>
El3	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam, 3rd edition</i>
Elr	<i>Encyclopædia Iranica</i>
IMKU	<i>Istoria Material'noi Kul'tury Uzbekistana</i>
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal for the Social and Economic History of the Orient</i>
JIAAA	<i>Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology</i>
KSHT	<i>Katalog sufischer Handschriften aus der Bibliothek des Instituts für Orientalistik der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Republik Usbekistan = Katalog sufijskich proizvedenij XVIII–XX vv. iz sobranij Instituta Vostokovedenija im. Abu Rajchana al-Biruni Akademii Nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan</i> . 2002. Compiled by B. Babadjanov et al. and edited by J. Paul.
KSIMK	<i>Kratkie soobshcheniia o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniiax instituta istorii material'noi kul'tury</i> . Moscow.
Markov map	Markov, E.L. Hand-drawn Map of Bukhara and Its Suburbs.
TB(Schefer)	Schefer, C., ed. 1892. <i>Déscription topographique et historique de Boukhara</i> . Paris.
TB(Frye)	Frye, R.N., trans. 1954. <i>The History of Bukhara</i> . Cambridge, MA.
TB(Russ)	Kamoliddin, S., M. Iskhakov, and E. Nekrasova, trans. and comm. 2011. <i>Istoriia Bukhary</i> . Tashkent.
NPBE	<i>Naselennye punkty bukharskogo emirata</i> . 2001. Compiled by I. Iuldashev, K. Ubeidullaev, O.D. Chekhovich, and K.Z. Hakimov. Tashkent.
ONU	<i>Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane/O'zbekistonda ijtimoiî fanlar</i> . Tashkent.

PTKLA	<i>Protokoly Zasedanii i Soobshcheniia Chlenov Turkestarskago Kruzhdka Liubitelei Arkheologii</i> . Tashkent.
RSO	<i>Rivista degli studi orientali</i> . Rome.
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

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Index

Page references marked in **bold type** indicate a more in-depth treatment of the subject.

- 10-verst map (R.I. Rodionov)
 canals/rivers on 96
 highways on 103n250
 individual settlements on 85, 104, 109, 110, 113, 114, 120, 122, 128, 134, 137, 144
- 100K map (1989) 10
 canals/rivers on 98
 individual settlements on 103, 104, 109, 120, 122, 126, 134, 137, 144
- abandonment of settlements 16, 24, **26–27**, 92, 101, 103, 108, 125, 128, 129–130, 131, 137
- Abarshahr (province) 67n38
- Abbasids/Abbasid period 61, 72n72, 82, 84, 92, 114, 146
- anti-Abbasid revolt of al-Muqanna‘ (775/6–780) 108, 108n275, 116, 126, 126n335, 127
- ‘Abdallāh II (Khan of Bukhara, r. 1583–1598 CE) 94n187
- ‘Abdallāh Khān 113
- ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān (Khan of Bukhara, r. 1647–1680 CE) 129, 131
- Abrūi/Abrūy (leader of first settlers from Turkistan, 5th–6th c. CE) 78, *78tab.*, 140
- Abū ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Ḥafṣ 119, 124
- Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan 128
- Abū ‘Amr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Šābir 128
- Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Sa‘d b. Naṣr 124
- Abū l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān (Khan of Khiva, r. 1643–1663 CE) 130, 131
- Abū Ḥafṣ Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān 124
- Abū Ḥafṣ Kabīr, Khwāja (d. 217/832) 114
- Abū Ibrāhīm Ishāq b. ‘Abdallāh 124
- Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Bukhhārkhudā (d. 301/913–914) 130
- Abū ‘Ismā Sa‘d b. Mu‘ādh 124
- Abū Maqālat Ḥafṣ b. Salm 140
- Abū Rajā‘ Aḥmad b. Dāwūd 113, 114
- Abū Ṭāhir Asbāt b. al-Yasa‘ 119
- Abū Ṭāhir (probably Khwāja Muḥammad Ṭāhir) 131, 132
- Abūya, villages of 137n374, 140
- Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb b. Ma‘bad b. Šāliḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Kharrāt 119
- Achaemenid conquest 63
- Achaemenid period/records 62–64, 67, 145
- adh-Dhar (Rūd-i Zar, river) 26, 58, 86, 86n151
- administrative districts/entities (*tūmāns*) 17, *18ill.*, 34, 87, *95ill.*, 96, *122ill.*, 146
 boundaries 96
 and corresponding rivers *88tab.*
 districts within and outside oasis wall 85, 87, *88tab.*, 97, 108, 110
 overview of main 96–100
 schematic representation 84, **87–89**, *88tab.*
- Adylov, S.T. 9, 60, 70n58, 80n122, 85, 86n149, 103, 104, 141, 142
- Afghanistan 74, 80n120, 97n205, 146
- Afrāsīyāb (mythical king of Turan) 72–73n72, 127
- Afshāna/Afshina (site 0330 or 0432, mod. Afshona) 85, 101–103, *102ill.*, 132, 136
 historical evidence/records 102–103
 location/identification 61, 101, 101n241, 132n352
 markets 76, 102
 mosques 102
 scholars 102
- afshūn* (regional lord, Sogdian title) 75
- Afshona *see* Afshāna/Afshina
- Afushiqie 74n87
- Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Idrīs 135
- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr 126
- Aḥmad b. Sa‘d b. Naṣr b. Bakkār 124
- Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (al-Maqdisī) 87–88, *89tab.*
 on Bukhara (city) 115
 on Chargh 105
 on Khujādā 111
 on Kumijkat/Nūmijkath 69, 87, 115–116, 118
 on Mughkān 121, 122
 on Ṭavāvīs 134, 135
 on Vābkand 136
 on Varka 141
 on Zandana 143
- Akhsīkat 88
- Alai (mountain) 6
- A lan mi/A-lan-mit 74
 see also Ramitan/Rāmītan
- Alexander the Great (r. 336–323 BCE) 64n15, 64n19, 92n171
- ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib 123
- ‘Alīds 114, 114n291, 123
- ‘Alī Ṭughril (Ṭughril Bik, Amir of Bukhara) 106
- Alram, M. 65n21, 67n42
- altars *see* fire altars/temples
- Ambēr (mod. Sar-i Pul, Afghanistan) 74
 see also Sar-i Pul
- American-Uzbek Bukhara Project 108, 120
- Amir-abad 142
- ‘Amir b. ‘Umrān (judge of Bukhara) 119
- amlakdarstvos* *see* administrative districts/entities
- Amotopo 32
- Amu Darya (river) 6, 63, 74n90, 139n385
 see also Oxus (river)
- Amul/Āmul 117, 139, 139n385
- An (Chinese toponym for Bukhara) 66n26, 70n62, 71, 72n69, 74, 76, 76n104
 see also Anxi
- Ānik (general) 75n95
- Anīs al-ṭālibīn* (Šalāḥ b. Mubārak Bukhārī) 93, 102, 133
- ansāb* *see* nisbas
- anthropic pollution 6
- Antonini, Chiara Silvi 10
- Anūsha Muḥammad Khān (Khan of Khwārazm, r. 1663–1687) 129, 130
- Anxi (Parthia) 64, 65, 66, 71, 72, 72n69, 74
 see also An; Buhuo/Buhua/Buhe
- Āq Bik 101
- Āq Tīpa 102n245
- Arab conquest *see* Islamic conquest
- Arabic textual evidence/records *see* Islamic textual evidence/records
- Arabic toponymy/terminology 76, 86, 89, 92n174, 104, 115, 116, 119, 134, 134n361
- ‘Arabkhāna 97
- Aral Sea 73

- Aramaic textual evidence/records 62, 63, 64, 65, 145
- Ar(ā)mitana 80n123, 117
see also Karmīniyya/Karmīniya
- Arbinjan 126n335
- archaeological evidence/materials 1, 11, 16n15, 31–32, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 83, 110, 122, 125, 138, 145
see also ceramics/pottery; coins/coins production
- Archaeological Institute of Samarkand 1, 10
- archaeological missions/expeditions 6, 9–10
see also excavations
- archaeological network analysis 31
see also social network analysis
- archaeology
 digital humanities and 4–5
 social network analysis/sociology and 29–31
 relationship indicators 31–33
- archeological survey 10
- Archive of the Office for Architectural Conservation (Tashkent) 125
- Arends, A.K. 114n291, 122, 125
- Arfakhna (Urqud Faghana) 134
- aridification 6, 16, 16n15
- Arjāsp narrative 72
- Arqud/Urqud 134, 134n361, 135
see also Tavāvis/Tavovis/al-Tavawīs
- Arrian (d. c. 160 CE) 64n15
- Arrowsmith, John 9
- Arslān Khān Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (Western Qarakhanid Qaghan, r. 1102–1129) 93, 93n175, 96, 106
- Artaxerxes IV (Bessos, King of Kings of the Achaemenid Empire, r. 330–329 BCE) 64
- Artjukov (team member of Negri's expedition) 6
- Arvān/Arwān (Urvān/Urwān, mod. Dzhilvon, river/canal) 61, 86, 103, 104, 138
- Arvān/Arwān (Urvān/Urwān, town) 88, 103
- Aryāmīthan 88, 111, 118, 121, 135, 143
- Asbāb-i Ūrūs 107
- Askarov, A.A. 9
- al-Āthār al-bāqiya* (al-Bīrūnī)
 on Chargh 76, 104, 105
 on festivals/markets/fairs 76, 77*ill.*, 104, 117
 on Kumijkat 76, 118
 on Rāmish 76, 128
 on Tavāvis 76, 134, 135
- Atquchī 94n189
- Attasii 64n17
- Audana 136
- authority, regionalised structure of 76
- autonomy 75
 of tripartite sites 48, 51
- Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā) 61, 101, 102, 132n352
- Avicenna Museum (Afshāna) 101
- ʿAzīzān, Khwāja Mīr (Rāzmāzī, d. 1091/1680–1681) 131
- Babaev, S.T. 104, 142
- Bābā Ilyās 131
- Bābā Qamarī 131
- Bactra 146
see also Balkh
- Bactria/Bactriana (region) 23, 60, 63, 64n13–15, 65, 66, 67, 72, 74, 146
- Bactrian textual evidence/records 74
- Badākādā/Badākādī/Badākārī/Badākār *see* Parkad/Barkad
- Badakhshan 63, 63n11, 64, 64n15, 67
- Badhikhūn 120
- Bāghcha 123
- Bāghcha *see* Parkad/Barkad
- Baghdad 84, 90, 113
- al-Baghdādī, al-Khaṭīb 90, 113n289
- Bāghī (commander of Muqannaʿ) 119
- al-Bahilī, Abū Naṣr 119
- Bahrām Chūbīn 70n62, 73, 73n74
- Bahrīnī 107
- Bākharzī, Saif al-Dīn 136, 136n369
- Bākharzī vaqfnāma (endowment deed) 70n58, 92, 108n275, 109, 110
- Bakhsūn 88, 105, 111, 118, 121, 135, 143
- al-Balādhurī, Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yahyā b. Jābir (d. ca. 892 CE) 84, 117, 139n387
- Balkh 80n118, 139
see also Bactra; Bactria/Bactriana (region)
- al-Balkhī, Abū Zayd 84
- al-Balkhī, Muḥammad b. Fal 84, 135
- Balkhī school 84, 115, 116
- Bamijkath 111, 115, 116, 117, 117*ill.*, 118, 118*ill.*, 119, 121, 135, 142
see also Kumijkat(h)
- al-Bamijkathī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Qaṣī al-Bakr (d. 912 CE) 119
- al-Bamijkathī, Abū Jumayl ʿIbād b. Hishām al-Shāmī 119
- al-Bamijkathī, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Shuʿayb b. Vathāj (preacher) 119
- al-Bamijkathī (nisba) 116
- Bānab/Bānāb (Ponop Tepa, site 0567) 103–104, 103*ill.*, 136
 abandonment 26
 centrality 46, 48, 52
 economic influence 48, 55
 endowments/ownership/property acquisition 103–104
 historical and modern evidence/studies/maps 103–104
 location/identification 23, 61, 86, 103
 richness 46
 scholarship in 103, 104
- al-Bānabī, Abū Ṭalīb Jilwān b. Samara b. Māhān 104
- Ban Yong 73
- Barākad/Barākādī *see* Parkad/Barkad
- Barāna 90n157
- Barāniya 136
- Baratova, L. 75
- Barkad/Barkādī *see* Parkad/Barkad
- al-Barkādī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Salām 124
- Barkad-i ʿAlaviyān *see* Parkad/Barkad
- al-Barkādī, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Janāḥ b. ʿAbdallāh 124
- al-Barkādī, Janāḥ b. ʿAbdallāh 124
- Barrāna/Barrānī/Brāniā (Farāna/Farranā/Farrānū/Farrānī) 85
- Bars(u) khan 85
- Barthold, Wilhelm 60, 85n144, 86n149, 91, 99n232
 on Bānab/Bānāb 103
 on Kakhishtuvan 108
 on Khāma 109, 110
 on Rāzmāz 126n335
 on Sivanj/Savinj 132
 on Varka 142
- Bash tepe 16, 16–17n15–16
- al-Baṣīrī *see* [al-]Bukhārī, Abū Kāmil Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Baṣīrī
 al-Anbarduwānī
- Basra 103, 116n308, 119
- Baykān (BTKAN/Baykān, river/canal) 86
- Baykand *see* Paykend/Paykand/Paikent/Paikand

- al-Baykandī, Ḥātam b. Aḥmad 143
 Baykand Madīnat *see* Paykend/Paykand/Paikent/Paikand
 Bāzārchāī 136
 Bāzārjāy 96
 Bei Dynasty 75
Beishi 70, 73–74, 74n83, 146
 Bernard, P. 64n15
 Bessos (Artaxerxes IV, King of Kings of the Achaemenid Empire, r. 330–329 BCE) 64
 Betik 74, 139, 139n385
 betweenness centrality *see* centrality of sites
 Bijand *see* Pinjan
 Bīk Qulī Ināq 130
 Binkat 88
 Bi (Paikand) 74, 76, 76n104
see also Paykend/Paykand/Paikent/Paikand
 bipartite sites 13–16, 17, 39*ill.*, 145
 centrality 40–43*tab.*, 44, 46
 citadels 13, 14
 cliques/cliue analyses 44, 45–46*tab.*
 connections/relations with tripartite sites 33, 35–49, 36*ill.*, 37–38*tab.*, 39*ill.*, 40–43*tab.*, 44*ill.*, 45–46*tab.*
 distribution of 1*ill.*, 2*ill.*, 2*ill.*
 economic (in)dependence 13–14
 evolution of ceramics/pottery 16
 evolution of human occupation 16, 33–34
 excavations 16
 fortification 13, 14, 24
 foundation/development 19
 richness 46
 self-sufficiency 14
shahrestans 13, 14, 14*ill.*, 15
 size 13
 social networks 34*ill.*
 territorial layout 33–35
 tripartite vs. 13–14
 unique tepes vs. 11
 al-Birūnī, Abū l-Raiḥān (d. 1048 CE) 76
see also [al-]Āthār al-bāqīya
 Black River/Black Swamp (Sām Khwāsh, wetlands of Lower Zarafshan) 93, 93n178
 Blake, Emma 31, 32
 B/NMShKT 116
 Borgatti, S.P. 33
 Bosī (Persia) 71, 71n64, 74n83
see also Persia
 Bourdieu, Pierre 31
 Brainerd-Robinson coefficient 33
 Brānīa *see* Barrāna/Barrānī/Brānīa
 Briant, P. 64n15
 bridges 93–96, 94*ill.*, 94n85–187, 189, 96n197, 203, 98n221, 107, 120, 133
 Bronze Age 63n8
 Brughmans, Tom 29–30
 BTKAN (Baykān/BTKAN, river) 86
 Buḥayr b. al-Naḍr 119
 Buhuo/Buhua/Buhe (Chinese toponym for Bukhara) 71, 74
 Bukhārā/Bukhārē, (first) appearance of toponym 72, 74–75, 146
 Bukhara (city, site 0097) 23, 55, 72, 76, 99, 101, 107
 campaigns against/conflicts/Islamic control 82–83, 82n126, 129–130, 139, 140
 cemetery 114
 centrality of/distances from 52, 70, 71, 71*tab.*, 89, 101, 104, 105, 106, 110, 113n286, 120, 122, 125, 130, 133, 134n361, 135, 137, 141, 143
 city/urban canals 85, 86
 expansion 26
 fire temple 128
 foundation 27, 140
 location/identification 115–116
madrāsas 106, 107, 107n264, 137n372
 mosque 110
 New Gate 114
 as political/economic/cultural centre 62, 78, 83, 104, 146
 population 17
 road connections/network 14, 27, 46, 66, 91, 93, 104, 107, 110, 111, 112, 113, 120, 126n335, 134, 136
 scholars/scholarship 83, 90, 106, 141, 142, 146
 suburbs 86, 106, 114
 surface/size 17n17
 toponyms/name change 61, 69, 72, 74–75, 88, 115–116, 118, 119, 146
 Bukhara (Emirate) 134
 Bukhara International Airport 109
 Bukhara (oasis) 8*ill.*, 9*ill.*
 emergence/development as historical landscape 60, 63, 73, 74, 75
 evolution/chronology of human occupation *see* chronology of human occupation
 geographical setting 6, 7*ill.*
 historical framework 62–100
 Sogd vs. 75
 surface 6
 inhabited 17, 146
 Bukhara-Samarkand highway 136
 Bukhār/Ghāw Khitfar (river) 85, 98
see also Khitfar (river); Khitfar Zandana/Zindanī (Lower Khitfar); Vābkanddaryā (river)
 al-Bukhārī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ al-Warkī (d. 381/991) 141
 al-Bukhārī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kākhustuwānī 108
 al-Bukhārī, Abū Kāmil Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Baṣīrī al-Anbarduwānī (d. 449/1056–57) 90, 90n157, 106, 144, 144n397
 Bukhārī, Ḥāfiẓ Tanish 113, 117, 132
 al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghunjār (d. 412/1021) 83, 90, 114, 119, 143
 Bukhārī, Muḥammad Amīn 94n187, 131
 Bukhārī, Nithārī 94n187
 al-Bukhārī, Sahl b. Aḥmad al-Dāghūnī 105
 Bukhārī, Ṣalāḥ b. Mubārak (Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā) 93n176, 96, 96n201, 99, 102, 133
 Bukhārī, Sayyid Raḥmatallāh b. Sayyid ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm Hāshimī Atāī 139n386
 Bukhārkhudā (Sogdian dynastic family) 75, 76, 78, 82–83, 100, 129, 130, 138–139, 140
 Bukharkhudat coins/drachms 62, 68, 68n48, 75, 75–76, 138, 146
Bukharskii vakf XIII v. (A.K. Arends) 114n291, 122, 125
 Bukhkomstaris (Committee for the Protection of the Historical Monuments) 9
 Bulakrabat 134
 Būmijkat(h)/Būmiskat 61, 69, 70, 83, 88, 89*tab.*, 111, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 121, 135, 139, 143
see also Bukhara (city); Kumijkat(h)
 Bunjikat (Panjikend) 88
 Buqaraq (toponym for Bukhara) 75
 Burany tepe (site 0941) 85
 Burdick, Anne 4

- Burhān ad-Dīn 133
 Burhān Khān/Burhān Sulṭān (r. 1554–1557) 103, 113
 Burnard, Lou 2
 Burnes, Alexander 9
 Busa, Roberto A. 2
 Byzantium 71
- canals 6, 18, 84, 85, 86, 87, 93, 96, 99
 natural 55*ill.*
see also water channels/water network; watercourses
- capitals of Bukhara, sequence of 70n62
- caravans
 caravan roads 1, 16n15, 23, 27, 33, 38, 44, 46, 49, 51, 101
see also road connections/network; trade routes/network
 stopovers for caravans (caravanserais) 1, 16n15, 18, 27, 46, 49, 51, 101, 102
 travelling speed 51
- cartographic tools *see* maps/mapping
- castles 15, 108, 109, 138, 140
- cemeteries 10, 11, 107, 114, 128–129, 131, 133
- Central Asia 71, 73
 climate/climatic changes 6, 26–27
 historical geography of 60, 91
 migration 65
 political situation 65, 66, 73, 74, 146
- centrality of sites 54*ill.*
 betweenness centrality 38, 44, 48*tab.*, 52–53*tab.*, 58, 59*ill.*
 degree centrality 38, 40–43*tab.*, 46, 48*tab.*, 51, 51–53*tab.*, 52, 58, 58*ill.*
see also cliques/cliue analyses
- centres of learning 83, 90, 92, 117
see also scholars/scholarship
- ceramics/pottery
 chronological sequence/dating 16, 23
 co-presence of materials 31, 146
 decorative motifs 16, 35
 production/firing techniques 35
- Chach/Chāch (mod. Tashkent) 65, 66, 67, 69n53, 73, 74, 134, 135, 146
- Chāchestān 66
- Chahārbakr complex 107n269, 120n314
- Chahār Minār bridge 94, 98n221
- Charghī, ‘Alavī 107
- Chargh (Shargh/Jurgh/Nahr Jargh, river/canal) 85, 98, 104, 105, 106, 107, 120
- Chargh (Shargh/Jurgh, site 0846) 48, 90n157, 104–108
 bridge 93, 96, 115
 citadel 106
 distances from 134
 economic development/trade/commerce 46, 104, 106, 107
 endowments/ownership/property acquisition 106, 107, 120
 fairs/festivals 76, 104, 105, 106, 107
 historical and modern evidence/studies/maps 105–108
 irrigation/water supply 85
 location/identification 104, 106, 107–108
 markets 76, 104, 106
 mosque 106, 107
 road connections/network 93, 115, 136
 scholars 106, 107
see also Iskijkat(h)
- Chārjew/Farab Oasis 139n385
- Charrakha 142
- Chārshanba (Sāmjan) *see* Sāmjan (administrative district)
- Chavannes, É. 139n385
- Chechovich, O.A. 60n2
- Cekhovich, O.D. 70n58, 110, 110n282, 112n284, 113
see also NPBE
- China 6, 65, 72, 140
- Chinese textual evidence/records 62, 64–66, 69, 70, 70n62, 72, 73–75, 76, 92, 97, 145
- Chinese travellers/merchants 62, 66, 74
- Chinggisid administration 146
 intra-Chinggisid conflicts (13th c.) 92
- Chinggis Khan 104, 107
- Chinonites 66, 146
- Chirchiq basin 73
- Cholbesina/Chombesina 64n15
- Chorasmia *see* Khorezm
- Chorikulboy bridge 96
- chronology of human occupation 6, 15–28, 33–34, 62, 77–78, 79–80*ill.*, 145–146
 phase 1: 3rd–1st c. BCE 18–19, 19*ill.*, 63–64
 phase 2: 1st–3rd c. CE 19–22, 20–21*ill.*, 64, 115
 phase 3: late 3rd–early 8th c. CE 22–24, 22–24*ill.*, 62, 66–69, 72, 145–146
 phase 4: 9th–12th c. CE 24–26, 25–26*ill.*
 phase 5: 13th–14th c. CE 26–27, 27*ill.*
 phase 6: 15th–16th c. CE 27–28, 28*ill.*
- citadels 106, 108, 128, 135, 138, 140, 143
 administrative buildings 15
 bipartite sites 13, 14
 establishment 18
 fortification 13, 14
 shape 14
 tripartite sites 11, 15
- cities
 hierarchy of 87–88
 morphology of 10–16
 Sogdian city(-states) 69, 70, 72
 within and outside oasis wall 87, 88, 89*tab.*, 101, 108, 110, 111, 113, 115, 118, 120, 121, 134, 135, 142–143
see also bipartite sites; tripartite sites
- clay pits 141
- climate/climatic changes 6, 16, 26–27
- cliques/cliue analyses 44, 45–46*tab.*, 48, 49*tab.*, 52, 55
- coins/coins production 65, 65n21–22, 67–69, 73, 75–76, 106n257, 136, 145
 Bukharkhudat coins/drachms 62, 68, 68n48, 75, 75–76, 138, 146
 imitative drachms 65, 67–68, 68n47–48
- Collar, Anna 31, 32
- colonisation *see* human occupation
- commercial areas 23
- Committee for the Protection of the Historical Monuments (Bukhkomstaris) 9
- Compareti, M. 139n385
- Comte, Auguste 3
- conflicts *see* Islamic conquest; Mongol conquests; political conflicts
- cooking vessels 32
- cotton 105, 106, 143
- Coward, F. 32, 33
- Ctesiphon (Suli/Seleucia, capital of Persia) 71
- culture/culture sharing, social relations and 32
- Curtius Rufus 64n15

- Dacos, Marin 2–3, 4
Dahbīdī, Khwāja Muḥammad Amīn Khwāja b. Makhdūm-i Aʿzām (d. 1005/1596–97) 131
al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Janāḥ al-Muʿaddib 124
Daimūn 90n157, 99
Dai (Northern Wei capital), distances from 70, 71, 71*tab.*
Dakhfandūn (Djmand(h)ūnī) 107
Daly, Patrick 4
Dandūna *see* Zandana/Zandīnī
Darāchūn 99
Daryā-yi Ḥarāmkām *see* Ḥarāmkām/Ḥarām Kām; Zarafshan/Zarafshan (river)
Daryā-yi Kūhak (post-Mongol toponym for Zarafshan river) 92, 92–93n174, 93, 93n176, 99, 133
see also Zarafshan/Zarafshan (river)
Daryā-yi Qarākūl (post-Mongol toponym for Zarafshan river) 92, 93, 93n177, 127
see also Zarafshan/Zarafshan (river)
Daxia *see* Bactr(i)a
Dayuan/Duyuan *see* Ferg(h)ana/Ferghāna
defensive walls 22
Degenne, Alain 29
Degī Ravan (mod. Derevan) 103
De Goeje, M.J. 69, 84, 88
degree centrality *see* centrality of sites
De la Vaissière, Étienne 16, 16n12, 75, 82
Demas Tepa (Katta Tepa) 107
demographic growth 22, 146
see also human occupation; population/depopulation
Dengizkul/Dengiz 93, 93n178
depopulation *see* population/depopulation
Derevan (Degī Ravan) 103
Devastich (Sogdian ruler, r. 706?–722 CE) 75
digital archaeology 4
digital cultural mapping 4
digital humanities 2–5
archaeology and 4–5
definition 2
history and development 2–3
link between social network analysis and 2, 3–4
Dīh-i Khamīna/Dīh KhMNH *see* Khamīna
dihqāns (local lords) 75, 82
see also property-owning/acquisition
Dīmas 107
al-Dīnawari, Aḥmad b. Dāwūd 73
diplomatic missions 6, 9, 64–65
distance
between Sogdian city(-states) 70, 72
between tripartite sites 50–53*tab.*
from Bukhara *see* Bukhara (city)
from Dai *see* Dai
as geographic indicator 89
matrix of distances 35
social relations and 31, 145
distribution
of population *see* population/depopulation
of settlements *see* settlements
districts *see* administrative districts/entities
Dīvār-i Kampīrak (north-eastern oasis wall) 112, 134
Djmand(h)ūnī (Dakhfandūn) 107
Dong An (eastern An, Kharqān) 74
drachms *see* coins/coins production
Drucker, Johanna 3–4, 4
Dumont, Louis 29
Durkheim, Emile 3
Dushanbe *see* Hisor/Dushanbe
Duyuan/Dayuan *see* Ferghana/Ferghāna
Dzhilvon (river/canal) *see* Arvān/Arwān (river/canal)
East Asia 146
Eastern An 76
Eastern Iran 62, 65, 66, 68, 72, 73, 83
Eastern Transoxiana *see* Sogd
Eastern Wei 70
École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) 2n2
ecological transformation 78, 96, 97, 111, 123, 125, 137, 138, 139, 145
economic development 6, 104–105
see also trade/commerce
economic (in)dependence 13–14, 104
economic relations/networks (between sites) 28, 55
see also centrality; network analysis
Egypt 106
elite families 78, 82, 146
Emirabad (river) 142
empires/imperial formations, integration into 61, 72, 82, 84, 146
endowments/endowment deeds (*vaqfīnāmas*) 60, 92, 93, 96, 99, 114
Bākhārzi endowment deed 70n58, 92, 108n275, 109, 110
Bānab 103, 104
Chargh 106, 107, 120
Kakhishtuvan 108, 109
Khubūn (East) 114, 114n291
Khujādā 110, 111–112
Khunbūn (West) 113, 114n291
Kumīkat 115, 120, 120n314
Mughkān 120, 121–122
Parkad/Barkad 122, 123, 124, 125
Pinjan 125, 126
Rāzmāz 127
Sivanj 130, 131
Tārāb 133
Ṭāvāvīs 134, 135, 136
Vābkand 136, 136n369, 137
Vardāna 137, 138, 140
Eranshah 99
Eratosthenes 63, 64n13–14, 64n19
Eshon (Khwāja Sad Pīrī) bridge 96
Euthydemus I (Graeco-Bactrian king, r. c. 230–195 BCE), Ps.-Euthydemus tetradrachms 65, 65n22, 68
Evans, Thomas 4
Eversmann, E.F. 6, 98n221
evolution of settlements *see* chronology of human occupation
excavations 9–10, 12, 16, 23, 66n31, 68n47, 69
Fadi 74, 139, 139n385
see also Amul; Betik; Vardāna/Vardanzi
Faghana (mod. Vagani) 120
Fagharsin 88, 111, 118, 119, 121, 135, 143
Faghna 125, 134n361
Faghniya 122, 124
fairs 76, 77*ill.*, 104, 117, 118, 134
Falanzi/Palanzi 85n146
Farab/Chārjew Oasis 139n385

- Farakhsha (river) 85
 Farāna/Farrānā/Farrānū/Farrānī (Barrānā/Barrānī/Brānīa) 85
 Farāvīz/Farāwīz (administrative district) 99, 103, 104
 Farāvīz/Farāwīz al-ulyā (Upper Farāvīz, river/canal) 86, 104, 126
 Farāvīz/Farāwīz as-sufā (Lower Farāvīz, Kām-i Daymūn, river/canal) 86, 104, 127
 Farāvīz/Farāwīz (Kām-i Farāvīz, river/canal) 99, 104
 Farāwar *see* Farāvīz/Farāwīz
 Far East 6
 Farghandad/Farghīdad (district) 88*tab.*, 110
 Farīshūn (river/canal) 110
 Farīshūn (village) 110
 Farkat 125
 Fars/Fārs 66, 143
 Faust, Katherine 29, 38, 44
 Ferg(h)ana/Ferghāna (Dayuan) 65, 65n24, 66, 134, 135
 festival prayer places (*namāzghāhs*) 107, 114, 131, 137, 140
 festivals 76, 104, 105, 114, 118, 135
 Firabr 113, 117, 135, 139
 fire altars/temples 67, 68, 76, 128, 134, 135
 flooding 6
 fords 93, 96
 Forsé, Michel 29
 fortification/s 18, 22, 96, 121, 140
 of bipartite sites 13, 14, 24
 of citadels 13, 14
 evolution of 22, 64
 (isolated) fortified residences 24, 145
 military 66
 of *shahrestans* 14–15, 22
 of unique tepes 13
 fortresses 11, 72, 108, 145
 Francfort, H.-P. 64n15
 Franco-Uzbek Archaeological Mission in the Oasis of Bukhara *see* MAFOUB
 Freeman, Linton C. 29
 Frye, Richard 77, 77n110, 78n114, 82n132, 93, 106n258, n262, 108, 129
 see also *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*
 Fuhuo (Bukhara?) 74, 74n87
 Fuluni/Fulin (Byzantium) 71
Futūh al-buldān (al-Balādhurī) 84, 117, 139n387

 Gallaosio/Galaosyo 94, 99
 Gandumakī, Ḥājī Muḥammad 132
 Garmāba 108n272, 109, 124
 Gashkash 142
 Gasli/Gazli 61, 125
 Genito, Bruno 10
 geographers, Muslim 62, 69, 83–84, 146
 geographical setting (of oasis) 6, 7*ill.*
 Geographic Information Systems *see* GIS
Geographika (Eratosthenes) 64n19
 geohumanities 4
 geomorphological survey/analysis 10
 Ghabdūn 110
 Ghadāna 90n157
 Gharīb, Khwāja 102
 Ghāw/Bukhār Khitfar (river) 85, 98
 see also Khitfar (river); Khitfar Zandana/Zindanī (Lower Khitfar);
 Vābkandaryā (river)
 Ghāyibān 136

 Ghijduvān/Ghijduwān/G'ijduvon (administrative district) 97,
 97–98, 99, 119, 131, 136
 Ghijduvan/Ghijduwān/G'ijduvon (city) 27, 83, 85, 96, 97, 107, 116,
 120, 126, 129
 Ghishtī (Sulṭānābād, administrative district) 97
 Ghishtī (town) 97
 al-Ghunjar *see* [al-]Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghunjar
 Ghūshak 125
 gifts exchange 32
 G'ijduvon *see* Ghijduvan/Ghijduwān/G'ijduvon
 GIS (Geographic Information Systems) 4, 5, 10
 Gjesfeld, Erik 31, 32
 GPS (Global Positioning System) 4
 Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom 61, 64, 65, 65n21
 Granovetter, Mark 31
 Greek inscriptions 66
 Greek textual evidence/records *see* Hellenistic textual evidence/
 records
 Grenet, Frantz 15, 64n15, 64n19, 69, 69n52, 70, 72n69
 Gudfar' (river) *see* Khitfar (river)
 Gulistan 138
 Guljamov, Ja. G. 9
 Gumbaz 134

 al-Ḥabībī, Abū Aḥmad 106
ḥadīth studies/scholars 90, 103, 104, 106, 113, 119, 124, 135, 140, 143
 Ḥaḍrat Bābā Ilyās 131
 Ḥaḍrat Bābā Maḥmūd Shāh bridge 96, 133
 Ḥaḍrat Khwāja Aḥrār 136
 Ḥaḍrat Khwāja Se Tepe 133
hajj *see* pilgrims/pilgrimage
 al-Ḥajjāj 139
 Ḥakim Aḥmad 119
 al-Ḥamawī, Yāqūt b. 'Abdallāh 61, 90n162, 91, 91n166, 116, 117
 see also *Mu'jam al-buldān*
 Ḥamza, Sayyid 102n245
 al-Ḥanafī, Abū 106
 Han Dynasty/period 64, 65, 66, 74
Hanshu (Chinese dynastic chronicle) 63, 65, 66, 66n26
 Ḥarām-kām/Ḥarām Kām (post-Mongol toponym for Zarafshan
 river) 85, 86, 92–93, 93, 93n175–177, 106, 107, 133
 see also Chargh (river/canal); Zarafshan/Zarafshan River
 Hārūn/Khorun (canal) 96
 Harvard University 2n2
 Ḥasan 'Arab 125
 al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdān (Qut Arslan Ulugh Sayin Malikshāh,
 Governor of Bukhara) 142, 144
 Ḥaydar (Amir of Bukhara, r. 1800–1826) 100
 Hazrat-Qiz-Bibi tepa (site 0003) 18, 22, 27, 70n58
 Hehan (Kharqān) 74, 97
 Hellenistic period 67
 Hellenistic textual evidence/records 63–64, 64n15, 67, 145
 Henning, W.B. 75
 Hepthalite Empire/Hepthalites 60, 61, 66, 67, 69, 72, 72n69, 75,
 78, 146
 Herat 67n38
 Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg) 9
 Hijaz/Hijāz 106, 141
 Hindukush 9, 63, 64, 66, 72
 Hindustān (Sindh) 67n38, 143
 Ḥiṣn Umm Ja'far 113

- Hisor/Dushanbe (region) 63, 135
 historical framework 62–100
 historical geography 60, 69, 145
 historical topography 61–62
History of Bukhara see Tārikh-i Bukhārā
 holism 29
 Holt, F.L. 64n15
 Hormiz IV (Sasanian King of Kings, r. 579–590 CE) 73, 73n74
Hou Hanshu 65, 73
 ḤShR/wī (commander of Muqannaʿ) 119
 Huber, M. 65n23, 73n79, 139n385
Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam (anonymous) 83, 84, 92
 on Khujādā 111
 on Kumijkat 117, 119
 on Mughkān 121, 122
 on Ṭavāvis 134, 135
 on Zandana 143
 Hulbuk 64n15
Humanités Numériques (Marin Dacos, Pierre Mounier) 2–3
 humanities computing 3
 definition 2
 see also digital humanities
 human occupation *see* chronology of human occupation
 hunting 138, 140
 Ḥusayn b. Muʿādh (Governor of Bukhārā) 119
 Ḥusayn, Shaykh Amīr 133
 Huyse, Philip 67, 67n37
 hydrography/hydrographic network 9, 55, 78, 83
 see also watercourses
 hydrology 96
 hydronyms 97, 98
 Hycodes coins 65, 65n22, 68

 Iakuboskii, Aleksandr 134
 Iaxartes River 64
 Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa 102
 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 136, 136n369, 137
 Ibn Ḥauqal 86, 88*tab.*, 105, 108, 126, 128n340, 141
 Ibn Khallikān 102
 Ibn Khurdādhbih 105, 113, 113n286
 Ibn Mākūlā 90, 104, 124, 137, 140, 141, 143, 144
 Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) 61, 101, 102, 132n352
 al-Idrīsī al-Ḥāfiẓ 135
 Ikhshīd Dynasty 82n125
al-Ikmāl (Ibn Mākūlā) 104, 137, 140, 143, 144
 Imāmquī Khān (Ruler of Bukhara, r. 1611–1642) 97
 Imāmzāda (preacher/literatus) 107
 Index Thomisticus 2
 India 63, 74, 146
 inhabitants/inhabited area *see* population/depopulation
 inscriptions
 imperial/royal 63, 64n15, 66
 multilingual 66
 Sogdian inscriptions in Kultobe 61, 62, 69–70, 70n58, 71, 72, 145
 on tombstones 128, 130
 see also coins/coins production
 internet 3
Introduction to Digital Humanities (Johanna Drucker) 3
 Iran 6
 mythological conflict between Turan and 72
 (North)-Eastern 62, 65, 66, 68, 72, 73, 83
 Western 63

 Iranian plateau 62, 65, 71
 Iranian textual evidence/records 145
 Iraq 106, 141, 143
 Iron Age 63, 63n8
 irrigation 6, 18, 55, 60, 94, 98
 by Soviet Union 26
 of individual settlements 109, 122, 124, 127, 129, 130, 132, 134, 137,
 138
 irrigation arteries 84–87, 87*ill.*, 90, 96, 97, 99, 141, 146
 Isaksen, Leif 31
 ʿĪsā b. Mūsā al-Ghunjar (d. 800 CE) 124, 140
 Isbijāb 88
 Iṣfahān 90, 113
 Isfāna/Isfānī 101, 132, 132n352
 see also Afshāna/Afshina
 Isfirī 96n203
 Ishan 142
 ʾIshān-i Qarāmān *see* Qarāmānī, ʾIshān Muḥammad
 Ishtikhān 126n335
 Iskijkat(h) (site 0847) 23, 93, 99, 104–108, 136
 bridge 93, 96, 115
 claims against people of 105
 depopulation 27
 economic development/richness 46, 104, 105
 endowments/ownership/property acquisition 105
 historical and modern evidence/studies/maps 105–108
 location/identification 1, 104, 108
 markets 76, 105, 106
 mosque 105–106
 palace 105
 see also Chargh
 Islamic conquest 63, 75, 84, 120, 146
 campaigns of Qutayba b. Muslim 76, 80–82, 81*ill.*, 82n123, 82n125,
 97, 112, 113, 117–118, 120, 133, 135, 138, 139, 140
 Islamic period 18, 33, 69, 136
 Islamic textual evidence/records 34, 62, 72, 73, 74, 83–92
 see also *Kitāb al-Ansāb*; *Tārikh-i Bukhārā*
 Islamisation/Islamic incorporation 63, 69, 102, 146
 Islamov, U.I. 9
 Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad (Ismāʿīl Sāmānī, Governor of Bukhara) 82, 83, 100,
 105, 106, 123, 124, 125, 126n335, 130, 134n360, 135
 isolated fortified residences 24, 145
 see also unique tepes
 al-Iṣṭakhri 84, 92
 see also *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*
 Isvāna 129, 132, 140
 see also Isfāna/Isfānī
 Italian expeditions/missions 10
 Iukhary-Khami *see* Khāma
 Iusopa, D.Iu. 77
ixshīd (king, Sogdian title) 75

 Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq 123
 Jakubov, Ju. 24
 Jakubovskii, A.Ju. 9
 Jāndār *see* Jondor
 Janūbī Rūd (administrative district) 99–100
 Jargh *see* Chargh
 Jarghar 111, 118, 121, 135, 143
 jarib (unit of weight) 16, 16n12
 Jewish Diaspora 32
 Jingān (JNKĀN) 110, 112

- Ji (principality) 66n26, 74
 Jondor (Jāndār) 94, 96, 98, 99, 112, 132, 133
 Jurgh *see* Chargh
 Jurgh (river) *see* Chargh (river/canal)
 Jurjān 90, 113
 Juvaynī, ‘Aṭā Malik 105, 107, 116, 117, 133
 Jūybārī, ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm Khwāja 96m91
 Jūybārī codex 110, 114, 137
 Jūybārī family/shaykhs 93n176, 97, 99, 108, 131, 134, 137n372
 Jūybārī, Khwāja Muḥammad Yūsuf 131
 Jūybārī, Khwāja Sa’d (Khwāja Amīr Kalān, d. 1589) 130
 Jūybārī, Muḥammad Islām 99, 101, 101n245, 103, 129
 Jūybārī, Muḥammad Ṭālib 103, 108–109, 131
 Jūybār (suburb of Bukhara) 103
 Jūy-i Mirzā 126
 Jūy-i Mūliyān (administrative district) 61, 100, 114
 Jūy-i Mūliyān (canal) 100
 Jūy Nau Shahr Islām (administrative district) 99, 99n234, 133
 Jūy Nau Shahr Islām (canal) 99
 al-Jūzjānī, Abū ‘Ubayd 102
 JZGhNkath (Kharghānkath) *see* Kharghānkath
- Ka’ba-ye Zardusht (Naqsh-i Rostam, Fars), inscription of
 Shāpūr I 64n15, 66, 67
 Kafshuvān (mod. Kashvan) 108n275
 Kafsisivān 108n275
 al-Kafsisivānī/al-Kāqshutwānī, Abū l-Faḍl Ḥamdān b. Yahyā 108
 Kagan (site 0644) 85, 109, 141, 142
 al-Kāghidhī (*hadīth* scholar and paper trader) 106
 Kai Khosrow (legendary king of Iran) 72, 127, 128
 Kākh-i Dāghūnī (palace, Iskijkat) 105
 Kakhishtuvan (canal) 108
 Kakhishtuvan (site 0317, Karaul tepa, mod. Kakushtuvan/
 Kokushtuvon) 23, 101, 108–109, 108n276, 124
 abandonment 27, 108
 citadel 108
 endowments/ownership/property acquisition 108–109
 fortification/fortress 12, 108
 historical and modern evidence/studies/maps 108–109
 location/identification 108
 road connections 48
 scholars 108
 Kakushtuvan’ *see* Kakhishtuvan
 Kalabadh 107
 al-Kalābādhi, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm
 (d. c. 380–385/990–995) 114
 Kalān, Khwāja Amīr (Khwāja Sa’d Jūybārī) 130
 Kamad’ (Komod’, district) *see* Kāmāt/Vābkand
 Kamaka (canal) 115
 Kāmāt/Vābkand (Kamad’/Komod’/Vābkand, administrative
 district) 48, 85, 87, 96, 98, 99, 104, 107, 120, 127, 137
 Kām Daymūn (river) *see* Farāvīz/Farāwīz as-suflā
 Kam-i Abu Muslim (administrative district) 99, 107, 134, 136
 Kam-i Abu Muslim (river/canal) 18, 19, 56, 57*ill.*, 86, 87, 97n205, 99,
 141
 Kām-i ‘Akka (river/canal) 98
 Kām-i Chargh *see* Chargh (river/canal)
 Kām-i Farāvīz *see* Farāvīz/Farāwīz (river)
 Kām-i Jargh (river/canal) *see* Jurgh (river)
 Kāmi Vābkand (river/canal) *see* Vābkanddaryā (river)
 Kamoliddin, Shamsiddin 60, 60n3, 77, 77n110, 91, 106n258, 1261–262,
 132n351
see also *Tarikh-i Bukhārā*
- Kampirduval *see* oasis wall
 Kangju 60, 65–66, 72, 73, 74
 Kang (Samarkand) *see* Samarkand/Samarqand
 Kāqishtuvān *see* Kakhishtuvan
 Karāk/Kārik-‘Alaviyān (Khūbūn East) 114
see also Khūbūn (East)
 Kara Kum (desert) 6
 Karaul tepa *see* Kakhishtuvan
 Karev, Yuri 129
 Karmana (site 0104) 27, 51, 51–52, 82n123
 Karmīna 76, 93, 93n176, 94, 97, 131
 Karmīniyya/Karmīniya 80n123, 117, 135, 139
 Karshi Oasis 18
 Karta *desiativerstnaia Turkestanskago voennago okruga see*
 10-verst’ map
 Karte Sovetskogo Soiuza *masshtaba see* 100K map
 Kāsh *see* Kāshghar
 Kāshfīghan 88
 Kāshghar 66, 67, 72
 Kāshifi, Vā’iz 101, 102
 Kāshkadarya Oasis *see* Qāshqadarya Oasis
 Kāshka Darya (river/valley) *see* Qāshqadarya (river/basin/valley)
 Kāshmīrī, Badr al-Dīn 103, 130
 Kāshutvān *see* Kāshutvān
 Kashvan (Khajuvān) 108n275
 Kasramysh (Qāsr-i Rāmish) 128
 Kasri Romish’ *see* Rāmish
 Kaththa (site 0320) 19, 120
 abandonment 27
 economic development/influence 48–49, 55
 road connections 49
 Katta Khoja tepe 110
 Kattaqurg’on 126n335
 Katta Tepa (Demas Tepa) 107
 Kayanids 72, 73
 Kayfur/Kayfar (Zar, river) 86
 Kaykhusraw *see* Kai Khosrow
 Kaynagach hills 141
 Kazakhstan 62, 69
 Kennedy, Hugh 24
 Kermān (province) 67n38
 Khajuvān (mod. Kashvan) 108n275
 Khalaj-i bālā 133
 Khalaj-i pāyān 133
 Khāma (river) 86, 109, 110
 Khāma (Tepa Khoja Sabr Ota/Tepa Kui-Khami, site 0012) 86,
 109–110, 109*ill.*
 endowments/ownership/property acquisition 92
 historical and modern evidence/studies/maps 109, 110
 location/identification 109
 pottery 109
 Khamibala *see* Khāma
 Khāmī (mod. O’rta Xomi) *see* Khāma
 Khamina 92, 122, 123, 124
 Kharghāna al-‘ulyā (district) 85, 139
 Kharghānkath 111, 118, 119, 121, 135, 143
 Khargūsh/Khayrkūsh (administrative district) 86, 99, 103
see also Farāvīz/Farāwīz; Shimālī Rūd/Shimālī-yi Rūd
 Kharkhur barrage 86, 98
 Kharmīthan/Khurmiṭhan 85, 98, 101–103
 historical evidence/records 102
 location/identification 101
 Kharqān (Hehan) 74, 76, 97

- Kharqān Rūd/Kharghān Rūd/Kharqānrūd (river) 56*ill.*, 82, 85, 97, 99, 103, 128n340
 Lower Kharqān Rūd 56, 56–57*ill.*, 82
 Kharqān Rūd/Kharqānrūd (administrative district) 97–98, 99
see also Ghijduvān/Ghijduwān
 Kharqān Rūd (village) 140
 Khasbudūn 96n196
 Khashāfaghna 122, 124
 Khashtuvān 108, 108n275, 116, 126, 127
 Khatun (mother of Ṭughshāda, King of Bukhara) 140
 Khayrābād (administrative district) 98–99, 99n228, 110, 111, 112, 121, 128, 133, 134
 Khayrābād (river) 98, 99, 133
 Khayrabatcha 99, 104
 Khayrākhar 90n157
Khazā'in al-'ulūm (al-Nishābūrī) 78
 KhDIMNKN (ḤRSKN/KhRSKN) 88, 111, 118, 121, 135, 143
 Khīna (*dihqān*) 82
 Khitfar (hydronym) 98, 98n219
 Khitfar Ramitan (canal) 18, 19, 23, 26, 57*ill.*, 58, 86, 93, 98
 Khitfar (river) 22, 57*ill.*, 85, 86, 93, 98, 127, 136
 irrigation 90, 96, 101
 settlements along 23, 35, 44, 48, 56, 56*ill.*, 58, 101, 115, 127
see also Vābkanddaryā (river)
 Khitfar (Zandana, province/district) 48, 90, 96n194, 98, 121, 132, 142, 144
see also Zandana/Zandanī
 Khitfar Zandana/Zindanī (Lower Khitfar, canal) 19, 23, 56, 57*ill.*, 58, 85, 98, 98n220
 KhNK [Khudāt] (Vardānkhudā) 113, 133, 138, 139n384, 140
 Khodzha(m)bargi/Khodzha-bargi *see* Varka/Warka
 Khodzhaparsan Tēpa 101, 101n243
 Khoja Buston Tēpe 134
see also Ṭavāvīs
 Khoja Ūbān 85
 Khomi (canal) *see* Khāma (river)
 Khorasan *see* Khurasan
 Khorazm/Korezm *see* Khwārazm
 Khorun/Hārūn (canal) 96
 Khosrow I (Anushirvan, Sasanian King of Kings, r. 531–579 CE) 72
 Khosrow II (Khosrow Parviz, Sasanian King of Kings, r. 590, 591–628 CE) 73
 Khotan (Yútián) 72
 KhRMNTHI (Karmīthan) *see* Kharmīthan/Khurmitān
 Khudfarj 107
 Khujādā/Khujādī (Khwāja Hādī, site 0149) 110–112, 111*ill.*, 118, 119, 135, 142, 143
 decline/abandonment 111, 129–130
 ecological transformation 111
 endowments/ownership/property acquisition 110, 111, 111–112
 historical and modern evidence/studies/maps 111–112
 location/identification 22, 61, 110–111, 120, 121, 122*ill.*
 road connections/network 112
 social network 34
 strategic importance 120
 Khumin/Khumyn/Khumyung (Khunbūn) *see* Khunbūn (West)
 Khu(n)būn (East, Kārak/Kārik-'Alaviyān, site 0101)
 endowments/ownership/property acquisition 114, 114n291
 festivals 114
 historical and modern evidence/studies/maps 114
 location/identification 114
 villas 114
 al-Khunbūnī, Abū l-Qāsim Wāsil b. Ḥamza al-Šūfi 90, 113
 Khunbūn-i Mughān (Khunbūn of the Magi) 114
 Khunbūn (West, Khūmīn, mod. Shahri Islom/Shahr-i-Islām, site 0040) 112–113, 112*ill.*, 114n291, 120
 campaigns against 82, 82n125, 112, 113, 133, 140
 endowments/ownership/property acquisition 113, 114n291
 historical and modern evidence/studies/maps 112–113
 location/identification 23, 112–113
 merchants 113
 road connections/network 120
 scholars 90, 113
 Khurasan 67, 78n114, 80, 83, 119
 oasis wall 112–113
 road connections/network 91, 112, 113
 scholars 103, 106, 141
 Khurasan highway 23, 85, 89, 90, 99, 112–113, 113, 120, 132, 136
 Khusrav II *see* Khosrow II
 Khwāja Auliya Pārsā (site 0926) 101, 102
 Khwāja Bargī *see* Varka/Warka
 Khwāja Bustān *see* Ṭavāvīs
 Khwāja Hādī *see* Khujādā/Khujādī
 Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā *see* Bukhārī, Ṣalāh b. Mubārak
khwājas 129
 Khwāja Sad Pīrī (Eshon) bridge 96
 Khwāja Ūbān (village) 124
 Khwān Sālār (governor) 106
 Khwārazmian-Bukharan conflict (17th c.) 111, 129–130, 131
 Khwārazmī, Maulānā Muṣṭafā Qulī 'Azīzān 131
 Khwārazmī, Muḥammad Ṭāhir (Ṭāhir Īshān) 131, 132
 Khwārazm (Khorezm/Chorasmia) 6, 91, 109, 124, 129
 conflict with Bukhara 111, 129–130, 131
 Kharazm/Khorezm highway 23, 48, 76, 91, 98, 101, 102, 108, 134, 136, 139n385
 Kidarites 69, 146
 Kirmān 143
 Kishfaghan 111, 118, 119, 121, 135, 143
 Kish (Shahrisabz) 63, 64, 65, 66n26, 67, 69, 70, 72, 73, 82, 127, 135, 139
Kitāb al-Ansāb (al-Sam'ānī) 61, 83, 89–92, 91*ill.*, 91n166, 97, 135
 on Banāb/Bānāb 104
 on Chargh 106
 on Kakhishtuvan 108
 on Khubūn (East) 114
 on Khunbūn (West) 113
 on Kumijkat 116–117, 119
 on Muḡhkān 120–121
 on Parkad/Barkad 123, 124
 on Rāmish 128
 on Tārāb 133
 on Ṭavāvīs 135
 on Vābkand 136, 137
 on Vardāna 139, 140
 on Varka 141
 on Zandana 143, 144
Kitāb al-Ikmāl ('Alī b. Hibatallāh Ibn Mākūlā) 90
Kitāb al-Kharāj (Quḏāma b. Ja'far) 113
Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik (al-Iṣṭakhri) 84–89, 93n180
 on Bānāb/Bānāb 103
 on Chargh 104, 105
 on Kakhishtuvan 108
 on Khāma 109
 on Kharqān Rūd 97
 on Khujādā 110, 111

- Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik* (al-Iṣṭakhri) (cont.)
 on Kumijkat 116, 118, 119
 on Mughkān 120, 121, 122
 overview of districts and towns 88–89, 88–89*tab.*, 101
 overview of main irrigation arteries 84–87, 87*ill.*
 on Rāmish 128n340
 on Rāzmāz 127
 on Sāmjan/Rāmītan 98
 on Shāfurkām 96
 on Ṭavāvis 134, 135
 on Vardāna 140
 on Varka 141
 on Zandana 142–143
- Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik* (Ibn Khurdādhbih)
 on Chargh 105
 on Khunbūn (West) 113
 on Kumijkat 117
 on Ṭavāvis 134–135
 on Vardāna 139
- Kitāb al-Muḍāhāt wa-l-muḍāfāt* (al-Anbarduwānī al-Bukhārī)
 90, 144
- Kitāb al-Multaqaṭ* (Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd) 144
- Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (Ibn Ḥauqal) 86, 105, 108, 126, 128n340, 141
- Kitāb al-ta'arruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf* (al-Kalābādhi) 114
 КМЖКТ *see* Kumijkat(h)
- Knappett, Carl 30–31
- Köchkünchi, Abulkhayrid (Shibanid Khan, r. 1512–1530 CE) 136
- Kogna-kala/Kuhna qal'a 109
- Kokushtuvon (Kakhishtuvan) *see* Kakhishtuvan
- Komod' *see* Kāmāt/Vābkand
- Korak *see* Khu(n)būn (East)
- Koryk *see* Khu(n)būn (East)
- KRDK (commander of Muqanna') 119
- Kūhak (river) *see* Daryā-yi Kūhak
- Kuhna Vardanzi ("Old Vardanzi") 137, 137n377
- Kuikhami *see* Khāma
- Kūkardlik 130
- Kul-i Hashtlam (Kulishturum) 99
- Kulob 64n15
- Kültegin (prince of the Second Turkic Khaganate) 75
- Kultoba/Kultobe (Kazakhstan)
 inscriptions 61, 62, 69–70, 70n58, 71, 72, 145
see also Nokmet(h)an
- Kumijkat(h) (mod. Kumishkent, site 0090) 22, 61, 88, 111, 115–120,
 117*ill.*, 118*ill.*, 121, 126, 135, 143
 abandonment 27
 campaigns against 117–118, 119
 centrality 58
 endowments/ownership/property acquisition 115, 120, 120n314
 festivals/fairs 76, 117, 118, 135
 historical and modern evidence/studies/maps 117–120
 location/identification 80n122, 115
 mosque 116, 119
 road connections 93, 120
 scholars 92, 106, 117, 119
 strategic importance 120
 toponym/spelling variants 107, 115–117, 120
- Kumijkatī (nisba) 107, 120
- Kumijkent *see* Kumijkat(h)
- Kumijkint 107, 120
- Kumishkand/Kumishkant/Kumushkant *see* Kumijkat(h)
- Kūmishkat (Bumijkat/Numijkat) 80, 82, 83, 92
see also Kumijkat(h)
- Kumishkent/Kumiyskent'/Kumushkent/Kumyshkent *see*
 Kumijkat(h)
- Kumrabat 104
- Kum Sultan 16n15
- Kunamachit 114
- Kunia-Vardanzi ("Old Vardanzi") 137, 137n377, 141
- Kunja Lake 85
- Kurak (river/district) 142
- Kūrān (mod. Kuron) 100
- Kuril Islands 31
- Kūrmaghānūn (nephew of Chinese emperor) 113, 133, 140
- Kuron (Kūrān) 100
- Kushāniyya 74, 126n335
- Kushans 69, 146
- Kushānshahr 66, 67, 67n38
- Kushk-i Āsyā 92
- Kūshk-i Fuḍayl 119
- Kūshki-i 'Umar 126, 127
- Kūshk-i Khashtuvān *see* Khashtuvān
- Kushna (canal and settlement) 85–86, 86
- Kuwayama, S. 72n69
- Kyzyl Kum (desert) 6
- Lahore 9
- land-owners 82, 97, 105, 106
- land salinity 6
- landscape analysis 10
- landscape history 60, 62, 145
- lapis lazuli* 63n11
- Laqlaqa 94, 94n187, 96, 96n203, 98n221
- Laṭā'if al-adhkār fi-l-manāsik wa-l-ādāb* (Muḥammad b. 'Umar Ibn
 Māza) 83–84, 85, 99
- layers of settlement (al-Narshakhi) 78, 78*tab.*, 79–80*ill.*
- Lerch, Peter 69, 116
- Lesser An 74
- Liabi Faraviz' 99
- literary and linguistic computing 2
- "Little Mughkān" (Mughkān-i khurdak) 120, 122
- Liu Song Dynasty/period (429–479 CE) 73, 116
- Liyi 73
see also Sogdiana
- Lmjkat (toponym for Bukhara) 116
- LMJKT *see* Numijkat
- Loginov, S.D. 67–68
- long-distance trade 52, 55
- lords *see* *dihqāns*; property-owning/acquisition
- Louvre Museum 1, 1n2
- lower cities *see* *shahrestans*
- Lower Farāvīz *see* Farāvīz/Farāvīz as-suffā
- Lower Kharqan Rūd (river) 56, 56*ill.*, 57*ill.*, 82
- Lower Khitfar (river) *see* Khitfar Zandana/Zindani
- Lower Zarafshan (river/basin) 64, 65, 92–93
 ecological transformation 78
 emergence as historical landscape 60–61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 72, 75,
 77, 145
see also textual evidence/records
- political landscape 74, 76
- toponymy and historical geography 69
- water management 94
see also Zarafshan/Zarafshan (river)
- Luhmann, Niklas 30
- Lumijkat 116
see also Numijkat

- Lunenfeld, Peter 4
 Lur'e/Lurje, Pavel B. 60n3, 67, 85n146, 91, 92n174, 93n179, 97n205, 109, 110, 114, 128, 132, 139n385
 Lykoshin, N. 100
- M-37 bridge and highway (Vobkent area) 94, 96n195
 McCarty, Willard 3
 Madaniyat (suburb, Bukhara) 114
 Madrasa Gävkushān (Bukhara) 137n372
 Madrasa Ghāziyān 104, 107, 107n264
 Madrasa Kalābād 133
madrasas 92n167, 99, 104, 106, 107, 107n264, 137n372, 142, 144
 Madrasa-yi Kūlārtegin 106
 MAFOUB (Franco-Uzbek Archaeological Mission in the Oasis of Bukhara) 2, 12, 16, 17, 128
 Maghancha 122
 Maghkān *see* Mughkān/Maghkān
 Magians 76, 128
 Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd 144
Majmā al-arqām 94n184–185
 Majubs 90n157
 Mākh 76
 Makhdūmzādas 130
 Makrān 67n38
malik (title) 76
 Manghit Emirate 100
 Manjikath 115
 Mans, J. 32
 Maṣṣūr b. Nūḥ 114
 manufactured products 33
 maps/mapping 10
 1893 map 10, 26
 digital cultural mapping 4
 print vs. web-based 4
 Russian 103
 see also 10-verst' map; 100K map; Markov map; SRTM map
 al-Maqdisi/al-Muqaddasi 69, 85, 87, 89*ill.*, 105, 115–116, 117
 see also *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*
 marble 31, 32
 Marghāsūn (mod. Margasym) 120, 122, 124, 125
 al-Marghbūnī, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Amr b. al-Mughīra 119
 Margiana 67, 72, 72n69
 markets 76, 77*ill.*, 102, 105, 106, 117, 134, 135, 136, 140
 Markov map 100
 Khāma 109, 110
 Khubūn (East) 114
 Varka 142
 Markwart/Marquart, J. 70, 70n62, 74, 74n90, 78n116, 117, 139n384–385
 Marshak, B. 15
 al-Marwazi, Muḥammad b. Naṣr 135
 Marw/Marv 66, 67, 67n38, 68, 71n64, 80, 80n118, 83, 86, 112, 124, 134, 139
 Marzangon/Mazrangān (site 0089) 96n195
 centrality 23, 58, 126
 depopulation 26
 Mashāfaghna 124
 Massagete/Saca tribes 64, 64n17
 Masson, V.M. 65n21
 Māstīn 113, 113n286
 material evidence 62, 65
 see also archaeological evidence/materials; ceramics/pottery; coins/coins production
- Maṭlab al-ṭālibīn* (Muḥammad Ṭālib Jūybāri) 103, 108–109, 131
 matrices
 adjacency 35, 38, 58
 bipartite sites-by-tripartite sites 39*ill.*, 47*ill.*
 case-by-affiliation/two-mode 38, 38*tab.*, 56
 Maui 100
 Maya Hieroglyphic Database 32
 Māymurgh 85
 Mazra'a-yi Khwāja Dīza 109, 124
 Mazrangān *see* Marzangon/Mazrangān
 MDYAMJkath 111, 119, 121, 143
 Mecca 141
 merchants 66, 74, 105, 113, 134, 135
 methodological individualism 29
 metropolitan cities (*amṣārs*) 62, 82n126, 83, 87, 90
 lists of 87, 115, 134
 see also cities
 Meyendorff, E.K. 6
 Middle Persian inscriptions 66
 migration/emigration 33, 65, 78
 Mihtar Qāsim bridge 94, 94n187, 94n189, 96
 Mihtar Qāsim (courtier) 94n187
 military architecture 72
 see also fortification/s
 military centres 69
 Mills, Barbara J. 31, 32, 33
 minarets 136, 137
minbars (pulpits) 111, 119, 121, 143
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs (France) 1
 Minorai Kalon (minaret, Bukhara) 136
 mints
 number and location of 65, 68, 69
 Sasanian 68, 73
 Sogdian 68
 Mīrābād (administrative district) 96, 97
 Mirzaakhmedov, Djamal 6, 9, 55, 60, 61, 107, 108, 110, 115, 141
 Miyānkāl 129
 Mizoguchi, Koji 30–31, 32
 MNJKT 116
 Mogancha/Mugkacha *see* Mughkān/Maghkān
 Mohi Sitara Khossa 61
 Mol, A. 32
 Mongol conquests 26, 77, 92, 105, 134, 146
 Mongolia 75, 146
 Mongol period 17, 83, 92, 123, 134, 142
 Moshui 74n87
 mosques 102, 105–106, 110, 116, 119, 125, 127, 131, 134, 135, 137, 140, 141, 142
 Mounier, Pierre 2–3, 4
 Mount Mug(h) 74–75, 146
 MRY (regional lord, Sogdian title) 75
 Mu (Suishu) 139n385
 mud brick structures, conservation 26
 Mughāncha *see* Mughkān/Maghkān
 Mughkān-i khurdak ("Little Mughkān") 120, 122, 124
 Mughkān/Maghkān (mod. Mugkacha/Mogancha, site 0271) 110–111, 118, 119, 120–122, 121*ill.*, 135, 142, 143
 endowments/ownership/property acquisition 120, 120n314, 121–122
 historical and modern evidence/studies/maps 120–122
 location/identification 61, 120–121, 120n319, 122*ill.*
 Mugkacha/Mogancha *see* Mughkān/Maghkān

- Muḥammad Pārsā, Khwāja *see* Bukhārī, Ṣalāh b. Mubārak
 Muḥammad Sharīf Ṣadr-i Zīyā (judge) 96n194
 Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir (governor of Khurasan, 862–873 CE) 105,
 105n253
 Muḥammad Ṭāhīr, Khwāja (Kubravī shaykh, fl. 16th/17th c. CE) 131,
 132
 Muḥammad b. ‘Umar Ibn Māza 83–84
 Muḥammad b. Wāḍiḥ 119
 Muḥammad b. Wāsi’ 102
 Muḥammad b. Zūfar b. ‘Umar 77
Muḥīṭ al-tawārīkh (Muḥammad Amīn Bukhārī) 131
Muḥjam al-buldān (Yāqūt b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥamawī) 61, 90n162, 91n166
 on Afshāna 102
 on Bānab 104
 on Chargh 106–107
 on Kakhishtuvan 108
 on Kumijkat 119
 on Mughkān 122
 on Parkad/Barkad 124
 on Rāmish 128
 on Sivanj 129, 130
 on Tārāb 133
 on Ṭavāvīs 135
 on Vardāna 140
 Mukhamedjanov, A.R. 9, 60, 84n140, 94n186, 134, 136
 Mullā Shihāb (village) 96, 133
 Mulu (administrative district) 74
 al-Muqaddasī *see* [al-]Maqdisī
 al-Muqanna’ 108, 108n275, 116, 119, 126, 126n335, 127
 Musakaeva, A.A. 65n22
 Mūsā Khwāja 136
 Mushfiqī, Mullā 94n187
 al-Musīb b. Ishāq 119
 Muslim conquest *see* Islamic conquest
 Muslim geographers 62, 69, 83–84, 146
 Muslims 66, 146
 al-Muṭawwi’ī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Bakr Khalaf al-Warkī
 (d. 380/990–91) 141
 al-Muwaḥḥaq billāh, Abū Aḥmad (Abbasid regent, r. 870–891 CE) 105
 Muzio, Lo 65n22
 mytho-geography 72
- al-Nabaṭī, Ḥayyāt 82n25
 Nadr Muḥammad Khān (Ruler of Bukhara, r. 1641–1645) 131
 Nahr Bārik (settlement) 112
 Nahr Jargh (river) *see* Chargh (river/canal)
 Nahr Sughd (River of Sughd, toponym for Zarafshan river) 86, 92
see also Zarafshan/Zerafshan (river)
 Naimark, A.I. 67n42
 al-Nakhshabī, Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad 128
 Nakhshapaya *see* Nasaf/Nakhshab
namāzghāhs (festival prayer places) 107, 114, 131, 137, 140
 Namijkat *see* Kumijkat(h)
 Nāmīk (old Iranian toponym for Zarafshan river) 92, 93
see also Zarafshan/Zerafshan (river)
 Nami(t) (toponym for Zarafshan River) 70, 70n62, 71
see also Zarafshan/Zerafshan (river)
 Namūjkath (administrative district) 87
 Naqshbandī family 101, 129
 Naqshband, Khwāja Bahā’ al-Dīn 96n201, 133
 Naqsh-i Rustam (Fars) 66
 Narjaq/Narshakh 116, 119
- al-Narshakhī, Muḥammad b. Ja’far 69, 77, 83, 106
see also *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*
 Narshakhī tepe (tripartite site 0457) 23
 centrality 52, 58
 economic influence 55
 social network 38
 Narshakh/Narjaq 116, 119
 Nasaf/Nakhshab 63, 80, 80n118, 82, 106, 127, 135, 139, 141n394
 fortifications 64
 road connections 91, 141
 scholars 90, 113
 as Sogdian city state 69, 70, 72
Naselennye punkty bukharskogo emirata *see* NPBE
 Naṣr b. Aḥmad (Naṣr Sāmānī, brother of Ismā’īl Sāmānī) 134n360,
 135
 Naṣr Khān b. Ṭamghāj Khān 114
 Naṣr b. Sayyār (Abbasid governor) 114
 Naubāgh al-amīr 86
 Naufaj/Nufan 120, 125
 Naufaj (river) 122, 124
 Naukanda (canal) 85, 86
 Naumitan (village and canal) 70n58
 Nautaca 64n17
 Nauzābād/Naujābād 91n166
 Navmetan/Navumetan 70n58
 Nawidak 88, 111, 118, 119, 121, 135, 143
 Naymark, A. 67, 67n31, 76n106, 97n205, 139n384, 139n385
 al-Naysābūrī, ‘Abdallāh b. Shīrawayh 135
 Negri, Alexander Fedorovich 6
 Nekrasova, Elizabeta G. 77, 100, 114
 Neogene relief 18, 22
 Neolithic Age 63n8
 NetDraw (software) 33
 network analysis 145
 methodological background 30–33
 theoretical background 28–30
see also economic relations/networks (between sites); social
 network analysis; social relations/networks (between sites)
A New Companion to Digital Humanities (Susan Schreibman) 4
 New Gate (Bukhara City) 114
 Nikitin, A.B. 68
 Nīkrūz 110, 111
 nisbas (*ansāb*) 89, 90, 91, 92, 133
see also *Kitāb al-Ansāb*
 al-Nishābūrī, Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad 78, 78n114
 Niu-mi/Niumi/Niū mī (Chinese toponym for Bukhara) 74n87
 identification with Nokmet(h)an/Nūmijkat/Bukhara 61, 69–70,
 70n58, 162–63, 71, 71n64, 72, 74, 75, 116
 reading/location of 70–72, 71tab.
 NMJKT/NMJkTh 119
 N/NMShKT *see* Kumijkat(h)
 Nokmet(h)an (“new residence”/Kultobe, Sogdian toponym for
 Bukhara)
 identification with Niu-mi/Bukhara/Nūmijkat 61, 69–70,
 70n58, 161–62, 71, 72, 75, 115
 location 71, 72
 nomadic tribal confederations/empires 65, 65n22, 66, 69, 72, 75
see also Hephthalite Empire/Hephthalites; Kanju; Yuezhi
 Northern Wei 70, 75
 North-Eastern Iran 66
 NPBE (*Naselennye punkty bukharskogo emirata*)
 Bānab 104

- Chargh 107
 Kakhishtuvan 109
 Kumijkat 120
 Mughkân 122
 Parkad/Barkad 125
 Râmish 128
 Râzmâz 127
 Târâb 134
 Ṭavâvis 136
 Vâbkand 137
 Vardâna 141
 Zandana/Zandani 144
 Nufan/Naufaj 120, 125
 Nuḥ b. Naṣr (Samanid Amîr, r. 943–954 CE) 77, 83, 100, 102
 Nukhûddiza (river) 122, 124
 Nûmijkat(h) 61, 69, 70, 70n58, 75, 115, 116, 126
 identification with Nokmet(h)an/Niu-mi/Bukhara 61, 69–70, 70n58, 75, 115
 mosque 116, 119
 see also Bukhara (city); Kumijkat(h)
 Nûmishkat/Nûmushkat 70n61, 80n122, 118, 139n387
 see also Bukhara (city); Kumijkat(h)
 Numûj(a)kat(h) 88, 111, 115, 118, 121, 135, 143
 see also Bukhara (city); Kumijkat(h)
 Nûr 97, 140
 Nur Ata 97
 Nuratau Mountains 98n221

 oasis wall (Kampirduval) 16n13, 22, 52, 112–113
 cities within and outside 87, 88, 89*tab.*, 101, 108, 110, 111, 113, 115, 118, 120, 121, 134, 135, 142
 defensive belt 22
 districts within and outside 85, 87, 88*tab.*, 97, 108, 110
 perimeter 16n13
 roads through 120, 132
 Obel'chenko, O.V. *see* Omelchenko, A.V.
 Ochos (Panj, river) 63, 63n11, 64n15
 Ögedei Khan (Emperor of the Mongol Empire, r. 1229–1241) 142
 Old Persian textual evidence 63, 64
 "Old Vardanzi" (Kuhna Vardanzi) 137, 137n377, 141
 Omelchenko, A.V. (Obel'chenko) 23, 66n31, 69n49
 Orkhon valley 75
 O'rta Xomi (Khâmî) 109
 see also Khâma
 Oxeiana (Takht-e Sangin) 64n15
 Oxus (mod. Amu Darya/Vakhsh, river/basin/region) 62, 63, 64, 72, 84, 93, 113
 crossing for campaigns 73, 80, 80n118, 117
 identification 64n15, 74, 74n90
 political landscape 65, 66, 73, 146
 settlements along/near 88, 139, 139n385
 Oyul Tarkan 75n95

 Paikent/Paikand *see* Paykend/Paykand/Paikent/Paikand
 Palanzi/Falanzi 85n146
 paleochannels (of Zarafshan River) 6, 7*ill.*
 paleodemographic data 16–17
 Pamir 64, 64n15, 67
 Pânâb/Ponop 104
 see also Bânab/Bânâb
 Panjikend (Bunjikat) 88
 Panj (river) 63, 63n11, 64n15
 Pârdân 67n38
 Pârghîn-i firâkh (extension of Lower Zarafshan) 93
 Parkad/Barkad (site 0944) 19, 109, 120, 122–125, 123*ill.*
 abandonment 27, 122
 ecological transformation 123, 125
 endowments/ownership/property acquisition 122, 123, 124, 125
 historical and modern evidence/studies/maps 122–125
 identification/location 122–123
 road connections 124
 scholars 123, 124
 toponyms 123
 Parkad (river) 122, 124, 125
 Parkand *see* Parkad/Barkad
 Parkat *see* Parkad/Barkad
 Paropamisos 63
 see also Hindukush
 Parthian inscriptions 66
 Parthia/Parthian Empire (Anxi) 64, 65, 66, 71, 72, 72n69, 74
 Parzinger, H. 63n8
 Paykân/Baykân (river/canal) 86, 99, 141, 141n392
 Paykend/Paykand/Paikent/Paikand (site 0095) 70n62, 73, 78, 88, 111, 117, 118, 121, 132, 135, 143, 146
 campaigns against 80, 80n118, 82, 82n125, 113, 133, 140
 depopulation 26
 excavations 9, 66n31, 68n47
 location 51, 74, 76
 rebuilding of 93n75
 road connections/distances 99, 110, 112, 113, 120
 shahrestans 15, 22–23, 24*ill.*
 social network 38
 topography 12*ill.*
 toponyms for/identification with 74, 76n104, 116
 water supply 26
 Payne, R. 66
 Pây-rûd (administrative district) 99
 peacocks 134, 135
 Pelliot, Paul 116
 Peroz I (Sasanian King of Kings, r. 459–484) 67
 Persia/Persians 9, 71, 75
 Pervoe Maia 138
 Peshawar 66, 67
 Peshku (district) 101, 142
 petrographic analysis 35
 Phillips, S. Colby 31, 32
 pilgrims/pilgrimage (*hajj*) 103, 141, 142
 Pindzkhan 126
 see also Pinjan
 Pinjan (site 0275) 27, 61, 124, 125–126, 126*ill.*, 129
 abandonment 125
 endowments 126
 historical and modern evidence/studies/maps 126
 location/identification 125
 mosque 125
 social network 35
 Pi (Paikand) 70n62
 see also Paykend/Paykand/Paikent/Paikand
 Pîrmast (administrative district) 96, 97
 Pîrmast (river) 96, 97
 political conflicts 78, 78n116, 92, 96n194, 111, 129–130, 131
 see also Islamic conquest; Mongol conquests
 political control/situation 65–69, 72, 74, 75, 76, 78, 82, 139, 146
 see also Islamisation/Islamic incorporation

- political fragmentation 75, 75n99, 146
 political-military centres 69
 polycentrism 83
 Polytimetus (Greek toponym for Zarafshan river) 92n171, 93
 Ponop/Pānāb *see* Bānāb/Bānāb
 population/depopulation 1, 6, 24, 26–27, 138
 demographic growth 22, 146
 distribution of population 1, 6
 number of inhabitants (per hectare) 16, 17, 146
 origins of population 23, 24
 relation between urban and rural population 1
 see also abandonment of settlements; chronology of human occupation
 pottery *see* ceramics/pottery
 Pozzi, S. 141
 PPA (Proximal Point Analysis) 31
 preachers 90, 106, 107, 119, 143
 precipitation 6
 Presner, Todd 4
 principalities 66, 66n16, 74, 75, 76
 producer cities *see* tripartite sites
 property-owning/acquisition 82, 83, 97, 105, 106, 108, 114, 134
 see also endowments/endowment deeds
 Proximal Point Analysis (PPA) 31
 Ps.-Juansher 73n76
 Ptolemy 64n15, 64n19
 Pul-i Laqlaqa (Chahār Minār) bridge 96, 96n203
 Pulleyblank, E.G. 70, 71*tab.*
 pulpits (*minbars*) 111, 119, 121, 143
- Qadr Khān Jibrā'il b. 'Umar b. Ṭughril Khān 106
 Qal'a-yi Dabūsi 78
 Qal'a-yi Siminch *see* Sivanj/Savinj
 al-Qa'nabī, 'Abdallāh b. Maslama 104
 Qarakhanid period 93, 136
 Qarākūl 93, 96n197, 111, 112, 130, 131, 133
 Qarākūl (Daryā-i Qarākūl, river) 92, 93, 93n177, 127
 Qarākūl highway 112
 Qarākūl (micro-oasis) 16n13–14, 17, 63
 Qarāmān 131
 Qarāmānī, Iṣhān Muḥammad (d. 1050/1640–1641) 131
 Qarāmānī, Muḥammad Jān 125
 Qaraqöl *see* Qarākūl
 Qarā Qumārī 96, 133
 Qaratau (mountain range) 66
 Qarshi 63, 64, 85
 Qarya Sivanj *see* Sivanj/Savinj
 Qashqadarya (Kashka Darya, river/basin/valley) 16n15, 18, 63, 65, 67, 69, 72, 141
 Qashqadarya Oasis (Kashkadarya/Qashqodaryo Oasis) 64, 80, 80n18, 85–86
 Qaṣr ALBK 125
 Qaṣr-i Rāmish (mod. Kasramysh) 128
 see also Rāmish
 Qaṣr Nukhūddiza 125
 Qishlāq ALBRZ 136
 Qishlāq (canal) 107
 Qishlāq Darūd (settlement) 112
 Qishlāq Ḥusām al-Din (canal/settlement) 107
 Qishlāq-i Vābkana/Vābkand *see* Vābkand/Vobkent
 Qishlāq Vardanza-i kuhna *see* Vardāna/Vardanzi
 Qiz Bibi (shrine) 70n58
- Qizilqum 139n385
 Qiziltepa 82, 96
 Qorakul Daryo (Zarafshan) 104
 see also Zarafshan/Zarafshan (river)
 quarries 141
 al-Qubavī, Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr 77, 77n108, 106, 106n256, 119
 Qudāma b. Ja'far 105, 113, 113n286, 134
 Qūrghān Vardanza/h *see* Vardāna/Vardanzi
 Qutayba b. Muslim 76, 80, 102
 campaigns of 76, 80–82, 81*ill.*, 82n123, 82n125, 97, 112, 113, 117–118, 120, 133, 135, 138, 139, 140
- R-68 bridge (Romitan area) 94
rabads see suburbs
 Rākhkan (mod. Rashkent) 131
 Rāmī 98n219, 137
 Rāmish bālā (upper Rāmish) 128
 ar-Rāmishī, 'Abī Iṣhāq Ibrāhīm b. Iṣhāq b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. [...] al-Miṣrī 128
 Rāmish/Ramish/Romish tepe (site 0059) 23, 72, 120, 127–128, 127*ill.*
 citadel 128
 festivals 76, 128
 fire temple 76, 128
 historical and modern evidence/studies/maps 127–128
 location/identification 128
 pre-Islamic ritual centre 127
 scholars 128
 shahrestan 128
 social network 34, 34*ill.*
- Rāmītan (administrative district) 131, 146
 see also Sāmjan (administrative district)
 Ramitan/Rāmītan (mod. Romitan, site 0074) 22, 23*ill.*, 61, 70n62, 76, 82, 94, 96n201, 98n221, 101, 125, 129, 130, 131, 132
 campaigns against 80, 81, 82, 82n123, 82n125, 113, 118, 133, 139, 140
 centrality 51, 52
 ceramics/pottery 16, 35
 depopulation 24, 26
 economic influence 55
 evolution of occupation 22, 23, 23*ill.*, 24
 excavations 16
 fortification 72, 128
 founding of 78
 location/identification 74, 86, 120
 road connections 124
 shahrestan 15
 social network 34, 34*ill.*, 35, 51
 socio-economic power 35
 suburb 12
 water supply 26
- Rāmīthana (Sāmjan, river) 86, 93, 98
 see also Khitfar Ramitan
- ramparts 22
 Rāmīn *see* Ramitan/Rāmītan
 Rāmush *see* Rāmish/Ramish/Romish tepe
 Rāmush āghām (festival of Rāmush) 128
 Rante, Rocco 2n2, 6, 55, 61, 110, 115
 Rapin, C. 64n15, 64n19
 Rashahāt (Vā'iz Kāshifī) 101, 102
 Rashkent (Rākhkan) 131
 Raspopova, V. 15
 Rauḍat al-riḍwān (Badr al-Dīn Kashmīrī) 103, 130

- Rawūs(h)/Rawāsh (Zāwūs/h, ZWSh) 85, 97, 128n340
 al-Rāzī, Abū 'Abdallāh 106
 Razmān/Rāzmān 126
 Rāzmāzī (Khwāja Mir 'Azīzān, d. 1091/1680–81) 131
 Rāzmāz (mod. Rozmas, site 0088) 126–127
 endowments 127
 historical and modern evidence/studies/reports 127
 location/identification 86, 116, 126
 mosque 127
 toponyms 126n335
 regional urban centres 87
 relational sociology 29
 relationship indicators (social network analysis) 31–33
 relationships, classification of 33
 reoccupation of settlements/re-settlement 24, 78
 resource distribution 29
 Rēzmāz *see* Rāzmāz
 richness 46, 48, 51, 104
 rituals/ritual centres 127, 134
 rivers
 and corresponding districts 88*tab.*
 hydrographic groups of 86–87
 main rivers 92–96
 schematic map 87*ill.*
 see also water channels/network; watercourses
 Rivers, Ray 30, 31, 32
 river trade *see* trade network
 Rīvqān 86, 126
 road connections/network 94, 136
 between tripartite and bipartite sites 38, 44, 46, 48
 between tripartite sites 48, 49–55
 settlements clustered around 91
 through oasis wall 120, 132
 see also bridges; Khurasan highway; Khwārazm/Khorezm highway;
 Samarkand highway; Silk Roads
 robbery 124
 Rodinov, R.I. *see* 10-verst' map
 Romish *see* Rāmish/Ramish/Romish tepe
 Romishi-balia/Romishi-poian *see* Rāmish/Ramish/Romish tepe
 Romitan *see* Ramitan/Ramītān
 Roomish' *see* Rāmish/Ramish/Romish tepe
 Rozmas *see* Rāzmāz
 Rtveldze, E. 65n22, 75
 Rūdakī (poet, d. 940/941 CE) 61, 100
 Rūdh-i Bukhārā (toponym for Zarafshan river) 92
 see also Zarafshan/Zarafshan (river)
 Rūd-i Shahr (administrative district) 99, 114
 Rūd-i Zar (adh-Dhar, river) 26, 56, 58, 86n151
 Rūhī, Ustād 110
 'RWĀN 111, 118, 121, 135, 143
 Saca 64, 64n17
 Šadr family 136
 Šafārī Kām (canal) *see* Šāfurkām (river)
 Safna 130, 132, 140
 Sagestān (Sīstān) 67n38
 Sahl b. Shādhūya 124, 140
 Sa'īda bt. Ḥaḥḥ b. al-Muhtadī 124
 Sa'īd b. Ayyūb 124
 St. Petersburg 6, 75n96
 Sakai 63
 Sakbiyān/Sakibān/Saktabān (mod. Saktafon) 116
 Sakhr/Shakhr *see* Chargh
 Saktari 96
 Saktofon (Sakbiyān/Sakibān/Saktabān) 116
 al-Sam'ānī, 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad (d. 1167 CE) 61, 83, 85, 89,
 97, 113n289, 116
 see also *Kitāb al-Ansāb*
 Samanid Empire/Samanids 17n17, 82–83, 84, 90, 108, 114, 115, 117, 123,
 129, 136, 146
 Sāmānī, Ismā'īl *see* Isma'īl b. Aḥmad
 Sāmānī, Naṣr *see* Naṣr b. Aḥmad
Samarīyya (Abū Taḥīr Samarqandī) 132
 Samarkand highway 85, 104, 126n335, 134, 135, 136
 Samarkandian Sogd *see* Sogd
 Samarkand/Samarqand 63, 66, 69, 70, 70n62, 72, 73, 74, 75, 82n125,
 88, 146
 road connections 27, 91, 135
 see also Samarkand highway
 scholars 106, 132, 142
 see also Sogd (Samarkandian)
 Samarqand gate (Bukhara) 106
 Samarqandī, Abū Taḥīr (d. 1874) 132
 Sāmjan (administrative district) 88*tab.*, 96n194, 98–99, 99n228, 108,
 109, 114, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 130, 133, 134
 see also Ramitan/Ramītān
 Sāmjan (Rāmīthana, river) 85, 86, 93, 93n181, 98, 98n220, 120, 122, 125
 see also Khitfar Ramitan
 Sāmjan (toponym) 93
 Sāmjan (wetlands of Lower Zarafshan) 93, 93n178
 Sām Khwāsh (wetlands of lower Zarafshan) 93, 93n178
 Sanjar's Garden 112
 Sarakhs 142
 Sardaf, Shaykh 131
 Sar-i Pul (Afghanistan) 74, 94, 133
 Sar-i Pul-i Mihtar Qāsim 94
 Sāriya 90, 143
 Sasanian Empire/Sasanians 57, 60, 61, 66–69, 71, 71n64, 73, 73n75, 75,
 97, 138, 146
 Sasanian textual evidence/records 66–67, 72, 73n76
 Saumidjan' (river) *see* Sāmjan (river)
 Sayāzī 90n157
 Schefer, Charles 77n110
 Schindel, N. 68, 68n46, 68n46–48, 68n48, 75
 Schnapp, Jeffrey 4
 scholars/scholarship 83, 90, 92, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 113, 114, 117, 123,
 128, 135, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143–144, 146
 Scholnick, J.B. 32, 33
 Schreibman, Susan 4
 Schwarz, Florian 77n110, 108
 Seleucia/Suli (Ctesiphon, capital of Persia) 71
 Seleucid Empire 64
 settlements
 depopulation/abandonment 16, 24, 26–27, 92, 101, 103, 108, 125,
 128, 129–130, 131, 137
 distribution/concentration of 1, 9*ill.*, 11*ill.*, 18, 19*ill.*, 21*ill.*, 22*ill.*,
 25*ill.*, 27*ill.*, 28*ill.*, 91–92, 91*ill.*
 evolution of *see* chronology of human occupation
 reoccupation/re-settlement 24, 78
 settlement layers (al-Narshakhī) 78, 78*tab.*, 79–80*ill.*
 sites vs. 10
 see also bipartite sites; cities; tripartite sites; unique tepes

- Shāfurkām (Sāfarī Kām, river) 56, 57*ill.*, 67, 96–97, 103, 137n379
 ecological transformation 97
 name 84, 97, 138, 140
- Shāfurkām (Vardanzī, district) 97, 137n379, 139, 140, 146
- shahrestans* 128
 bipartite sites 13, 14, 14*ill.*, 15
 fortification 14–15, 22
 foundation and evolution 15, 22
 tripartite sites 11, 15
- Shahri Islom/Shar-i Islām *see* Khunbūn (West)
- Shahrisabz *see* Kish
- Shahristānīhā i Ērānshahr* 72n72
- Shahr-i Vayrān (fortress) 134, 134n361
- Shahrud/Shārūd (river) 61, 86n151, 87, 99–100, 127
 branches of 86, 99, 109
 irrigation 78, 90, 137, 141, 142
- Shajara-yi tarākima* (Abū l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān) 130
- Shākh-i Pāyān *see* Parkad/Barkad
- Shālè *see* Kāshghar
- Shams al-Mulk Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm b. Ṭamghaj Khān (ruler of Transoxiana) 105
- Shanbe bridge 107, 120
- Shāpūr (hydronym) 97
- Shāpūr I (Sasanian King of Kings, 241–272 CE) 66, 67, 76, 140
- Shāpūr-kām (canal) *see* Shāfurkām (river)
- Shāpūr (Sasanian prince) 138
- Sharafnāma* 113
- Sharafnāmāyi Shāhī* (Ḥafīz Tanīsh) 113, 117, 132
- Sharaf, Shaykh 131
- Shargh *see* Chargh
- al-Sharghī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ṣābir 106
- al-Sharghī, Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Salām 106
- Sharghiyān (alley, Nasaf) 106
- Sharghiyānī (d. 1013 CE) 106
- Shargh (river) *see* Chargh (river/canal)
- al-Shāshī, Muḥammad b. Naṣr b. Gharīb al-Qā’id 135
- Shāsh (Tashkent/Chirchiq basin) 73
see also Chach/Chāch
- Shāvarī 101, 103
- Shenkar, Michael 69n53, 75
- Shepard, David 4
- Shih (Czach/Tashkent) 74
see also Chach/Chāch; Tashkent
- Shiji* (Sima Qian) 65, 65n20, 66n25
- Shi (Kish/Shahrisabz) 66n26
see also Kish
- Shimālī Rūd/Shimālī-yi Rūd 99–100, 104
- Shiratori, K. 139n385
- Shirberghan (toponym) 97n205
- Shīr-i Kishvar (Turkic prince) 78, 78*tab.*
- Shīrvān 116
- Shishkin, V.A. 9, 60, 86, 86n149, 86n151, 101, 103, 128, 128n342, 130, 141, 142
- Shofirkon 84, 96, 96n203, 97, 97n205
- Shoraryk (canal) 141n392
- shrines 70n58, 85, 107, 114, 131–132, 136
- Shūmān (Hisor/Dushanbe region) 82, 135
- Siam Qian 65
- Siemens, Ray 4
- SĪJKTh 136
see also Iskijkat(h)
- Sikath 88, 111, 118, 135, 143
- Sikath Aryāmīthan 111, 121, 143
- silk 142n395
- Silk Roads 6, 24, 62
- Silver City *see* Kumijkat(h)
- Simmel, Georg 3
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas 69, 69n52
- Sindbæk, S.M. 32, 33
- Sindh (Hindustān) 67n38, 143
- single tepes *see* unique tepes
- Sinjobū Khāqān (Ishtāmi, Western Turkish qaghan) 73
- Sishakath 111, 118, 121, 135, 143
- Sistān (Sagestān) 67n38
- site 0002 70n58
- site 0003 *see* Hazrat-Qiz-Bibi tepa
- site 0005 18, 22, 26
- site 0012 *see* Khāma
- site 0040 *see* Khunbūn (West)
- site 0043 *see* Tārāb
- site 0045 (bipartite site) 14
- site 0058 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0059 *see* Rāmish/Ramish/Romish tepa
- site 0060 (bipartite site) 14, 34
- site 0061 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0067 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0069 *see* Varakhsha
- site 0074 *see* Ramitan/Rāmītan
- site 0075 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0076 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0077 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0078 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0079 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0083 *see* Zandana/Zandani
- site 0088 *see* Rāzmāz
- site 0089 *see* Marzangon
- site 0090 *see* Kumijkat(h)
- site 0095 *see* Paykend/Paykand/Paikent/Paikand
- site 0097 *see* Bukhara (city)
- site 0101 *see* Khu(n)būn (East)
- site 0104 *see* Karmana
- site 0108 35
- site 0116 *see* Vābkand/Vobkent
- site 0133 22, 27
- site 0149 *see* Khujādā/Khujādī
- site 0150 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0158 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0161 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0164 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0165 (bipartite site) 13, 14, 34
- site 0168 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0169 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0177 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0190 (tripartite site) 23
 centrality of 52, 55, 58
 depopulation 27
- site 0193 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0194 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0195 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0197 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0216 (bipartite site) 34
- site 0231 *see* Sivanj/Savinj

- site 0247 (tripartite site) 23, 26, 35
 site 0250 (bipartite site near Ramitan) 13, 14*ill.*
 citadel 14
 self-sufficiency 35
 social network 34–35
 site 0271 *see* Mughkân/Maghkân
 site 0275 *see* Pinjan
 site 0301 (bipartite site) 38
 centrality 44
 site 0302 (bipartite site), centrality 44
 site 0317 *see* Kakhishtuvan
 site 0320 *see* Kaththa
 site 0330 (tripartite site) 23, 26
 see also Afshāna/Afshina
 site 0357 23, 26
 site 0390 (bipartite site) 44
 site 0402 (bipartite site) 44
 site 0403 (bipartite site) 44
 site 0404 (bipartite site) 44
 site 0427 (bipartite site) 44
 site 0432 (tripartite site) 26, 48, 55
 see also Afshāna/Afshina
 site 0436 (bipartite site) 44
 site 0438 (bipartite site) 38, 44
 site 0439 (bipartite site) 38, 44
 site 0441 35, 38, 44
 site 0444 (bipartite site) 44
 site 0447 44
 site 0451 (bipartite site) 44
 site 0452 (bipartite site) 44
 site 0453 (bipartite site) 44
 site 0456 (bipartite site) 44
 site 0457 *see* Narshak tepe
 site 0464 (bipartite site) 44
 site 0465 (bipartite site) 44
 site 0466 (bipartite site) 44
 site 0467 (bipartite site) 44
 site 0483 (bipartite site) 14
 site 0495 (tripartite site) 51–52
 site 0513 (tripartite site) 14
 site 0518 19, 27
 site 0531 23, 26
 site 0546 (tripartite site) 26, 52, 55
 site 0558 35, 38, 44
 site 0560 (tripartite site) 22, 27
 centrality 46, 48, 52
 economic influence 55
 site 0566 (tripartite site) 26, 52, 55
 site 0567 *see* Bānab/Bānāb
 site 0571 (tripartite site) 26, 51, 52, 55
 site 0572 (tripartite site) 51, 55
 site 0577, citadel 14
 site 0609 (tripartite site) 23, 26, 52, 55
 site 0622 (tripartite site) 26, 52, 55
 site 0644 *see* Kagan; Varka/Warka
 site 0670 (bipartite site) 4
 site 0751 *see* Tavāvis/Tavovis
 site 0846 *see* Chargh
 site 0847 *see* Iskijkat(h)
 site 0885 (bipartite site) 4
 site 0896 23, 26
 site 0914 (bipartite site) 4
 site 0926 *see* Khwāja Auliya Pārsā
 site 0941 *see* Burany tepe
 site 0944 *see* Parkad/Barkad
 site 0978 (bipartite site) 34
 site 0986 (bipartite site) 34
 site 1126 (bipartite site) 4
 site 1127 (bipartite site) 38, 44
 site 1135 (bipartite site) 34
 site catchment analysis 34n26
 sites
 settlements vs. 10
 SRTM map of 44*ill.*, 47*ill.*
 see also bipartite sites; cities; tripartite sites; unique tepes
 Sitniakovskii, N.F. 9, 70n58, 103
 on Chargh 104, 107
 on Kakhishtuvan 108, 109
 on Khāma 109
 on Khubūn (East) 114
 on Khubūn (West) 113
 on Kumijkat 120
 on Mughkân 120, 122
 on Pinjan 126
 on Rāmish 128
 on Rāzmāz 127
 on rivers and bridges 96, 96n197, 97, 98n220, 99
 on Tārāb 134
 on Tavāvis 136
 on Vābkand 137
 on Vardāna 137, 141
 on Varka 142
 on Zandana 144
 Sitora Mohi Khossa (19th c. palace) 100
 Sivanji, Amīr Sayyid Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīr 130
 Sivanji-i bālā (upper Sivanj) 128, 131
 Sivanji-i kalān 131
 Sivanji, Khwāja Khaṭīb 131
 Sivanji, Shaykh Bābā Ḥajji Bukhārī (d. 1086/1675–76) 131
 Sivanji, Shaykh Muḥammad (d. 1014/1605–6) 130, 131–132, 132
 Sivanj/Savinj (Qalʿa-yi Siminch/Suyunich, site 0231) 128–132
 campaigns against 111
 cemetery/tombstones 128–129, 130, 131
 decline/abandonment 128, 129, 129–130, 131
 ecological transformation 111
 endowments/ownership/property acquisition 129, 130, 131
 historical and modern evidence/studies/maps 129, 130–132
 irrigation/water supply 18, 129, 130
 location/identification 61, 82, 120, 128–129, 129*ill.*
 mosque 125, 131
 social network 34, 34*ill.*, 35
 Siyavunj *see* Sivanj/Savinj
 Siyāvush (legendary Iranian prince) motif 72, 73n72, 127
 škz *see* Kaʿba-ye Zardusht
 sluices 94, 96, 96n195
 “social” (concept) 28, 29
 social network analysis 145
 archaeology and 29–31
 relationship indicators 31–33
 characteristics of 29
 link between digital humanities and 2, 3–4
 term 3

- social reality 28, 29
social relations/networks (between sites) 28, 30, 34*ill.*, 36*ill.*
 between tripartite and bipartite sites 36–38*ill.*, 40–43*tab.*, 44*ill.*,
 45–46*tab.*
 relationship indicators 31–33
 see also centrality; network analysis
sociology 29, 30
 links with archaeology in social network analysis 29–31
Sogd (toponym) 63, 66, 73, 145
Sogd (Samarkandian) 60
 conquest of 72, 146
 titles of rulers 75
 see also Samarkand/Samarqand
Sogdian Ancient Letters 69n52
Sogdiana (Sughd)
 Bukhara vs. 75
 campaigns against 133, 135, 139
 city(-states) 69, 70, 72
 definition of territory/boundaries 61, 63–64, 64n15, 67
 distances between city(-states) 70, 72
 emergence/development as historical landscape 63–65, 73, 75,
 145
 festivals 76
 governance 75
 historical textual evidence 60, 63, 69n52, 74, 146
 Sogdian inscriptions (Kultobe) 61, 62, 69–70, 70n58, 71, 72, 145
 identification 15, 63, 63n9, 66, 73
 Kangju and 65–66
 (titles of) rulers 75
 toponymy 63, 63n8, 63n9, 66, 73, 134n361, 145
 urban crisis 15, 23
 see also Samarkand/Samarqand
Song Dynasty/period (429–479 CE) 73, 116
Sorgun 142
South Asia 146
Southwest Asia 146
Soviet expeditions/missions 6, 9
Soviet Union, irrigation work 26
Spandiyāt narrative 72
spatial humanities 4
Speziale, Fabrizio 2n2
Spitames 64, 64n17
Sprenger, A. 105
SRTM map, view of sites 44*ill.*, 47*ill.*
Stark, Sören 70n63, 71n64, 73, 78, 80n119, 80n122, 108, 139n387
steatite vessels 32
Stefanos of Byzantium 64n17
Strabo 64
structural interactionism 29
study approach 1, 2–5
suburbs (*rabads*) 11, 17, 23
Sughd *see* Sogdiana
Sug(u)da *see* Sogdiana
Sui Dynasty/period (581–618 CE) 71
Suishu 70n62, 71n64, 73–74, 73–74n83, 146
Suishu (Mu) 139n385
Suliakion/Sulukuan 96
Suli/Seleucia (Ctesiphon, capital of Persia) 71
Sultānābād (Ghishtī, administrative district) 97
Sultānābād (river) 56, 57*ill.*, 97
Sumitan 114
Surkhkath 107
Surmārā 120
Susa foundation charter 63n11
Suxie 65, 66n26
Sūyanj *see* Sivanj/Savinj
Suyunich *see* Sivanj/Savinj
swamps 35, 78, 93
Syr Darya (river/basin) 63, 65, 66, 66n26, 67, 72, 73, 78
Syria 106
al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad ibn Jarīr (d. 923 CE) 76, 84, 117, 134, 135, 139
Tabaristan 141
Ṭabghach Khan 106n257
Tadhkira-yi Ṭāhir Īshān (Muḥammad Ṭāhir Khwārazmī) 131, 132
Tafaev (team member of Negri's expedition) 6
Ṭāhir Īshān *see* Khwārazmī, Muḥammad Ṭāhir
Tajikistan 6, 65, 146
Tajnis al-multaqaṭ (Jalāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusayn Ustrūshānī) 144
Takht-e Sangin (Oxeaiana) 64n15
Tall-i Mārān 99
Tall-i Pāch 114
Tall-i Parkan 122, 124
Tall-i Pinjan 126
Tall-i Zāghān 133
Tang Dynasty/period (617/18–907 CE) 70n62, 71, 74, 76
Tārāb (administrative district) 133, 134
Tarab (channel) 22, 22n20, 35, 44, 48, 133
Tarabi, Mahmud 133
al-Ṭārābī (nisba) 133
Tārāb (Torob tepa, site 0043) 82, 82n125, 111, 113, 132–134
 campaigns against 113, 133, 140
 cemetery 133
 endowments 133
 fortress 120
 historical and modern evidence/studies/maps 132–134
 irrigation 132
 location/identification 22, 86, 99n232, 132–133
Tarāvcha 140
Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk (al-Ṭabarī) 76, 84, 117, 135, 139
Tārīkh Baghdād (al-Baghdādī) 113n289
Tārīkh-i Bukhārā (al-Ghunjār al-Bukhārī) 83, 90, 114
Tārīkh-i Bukhārā (al-Narshakhī) 61, 62, 72, 77–80, 77*ill.*
 on Afshānā 102, 102n246
 arrangement of rivers and canals in 84–87, 96
 on Bānab/Bānāb 104
 on Bukhara (city) 69, 116
 on Chargh (Shargh)/Iskijkat 104, 105–106
 on evolution of settlements/human occupation 77–78, 79–80*ill.*
 on festivals/fairs 76
 on hydrography of oasis 78
 on Islamic conquest 80n119, 82–83, 82n125
 on Jūy-i Mūliyān 100
 on Khāma 109
 on Kharqān Rūd 97
 on Khitfar 98
 on Khubūn (East) 114
 on Khunbūn (West) 112, 113
 on Kumijkat 116, 117, 119
 on Mughkān 120
 on Parkad/Barkad 122, 123–124
 on Paykent/Paykand 140
 on Rāmish 127, 128
 on Rāzmāz 126, 127
Samanid perspective in 83

- on Sāmjan/Ḥarām Kām/Rāmītan 93, 93n178, m180–181, 98
 settlement layers in 78, 78*tab.*, 79–80*ill.*, 93
 on Shāfurkām 67, 97
 on Sivanj 129, 130, 132
 on Tārāb 133
 on Ṭavāvis 134, 135
 translations/editions 60n3, 77, 77n110
 on Vābkand 136
 on Vardāna 137, 137n374, 138, 140
 on Zandana 143
Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy (ʿAṭā Malik Juvaynī) 107, 117, 133
Tārīkh-i Mullāzāda 117
Tārīkh-i Rāqīm 92n171, 94m87
 Ṭarkhūn (Sogdian ruler, r. c. 705–710 CE) 113, 133, 135, 140
 Tarnāv 133
 Tashkent 65, 66, 67, 74, 125
 see also Chach/Chāch
 Tatarmahalla 114
 Ṭavāvis *see* Ṭavāvis/Tavovis/al-Ṭavāwīs
 Ṭavāvis (channel) 134
 Ṭavāvis/Tavovis/al-Ṭavāwīs (Khawāja Bustān, site 0751) 82, 99, 111, 120,
 121, 134–136, 139, 142
 centrality 52
 citadel 135
 depopulation 27
 endowments/ownership/property acquisition 134, 135, 136
 festivals 135
 fire temple 134, 135
 historical and modern evidence/studies/maps 134–136
 irrigation 134
 location/identification 18, 19, 134, 135
 markets/fairs 117, 134, 135
 mosque 134, 135
 ritual importance/peacocks 134, 135
 road connections 115, 116, 134, 135
 scholars 135
 strategic importance 120
 toponyms 134, 134n361
 Ṭavāvis *see* Ṭavāvis/Tavovis/al-Ṭavāwīs
 Tavovis *see* Ṭavāvis/Tavovis/al-Ṭavāwīs
 Tavovis *see* Ṭavāvis/Tavovis/al-Ṭavāwīs
 Ṭawāis *see* Ṭavāvis/Tavovis/al-Ṭavāwīs
 al-Ṭavāwīs 76, 88, 111, 118, 119, 121, 135, 143
 Ṭavāwīs *see* Ṭavāvis/Tavovis/al-Ṭavāwīs
 al-Ṭavāwīsī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid b. Ḥashim
 (d. 344/955–56) 135
 Tekin, T. 75n95
 temples *see* fire altars/temples
 Tēpa Khoja Sabr Ota *see* Khāma
 Tēpa Kui-Khami *see* Khāma
 Teraklik/Tīraklik 96n196, 131
 territorial fragmentation 75, 75n99
 tetradrachms *see* coins/coins production
 textile production 142, 143
 textual evidence/records 62–100, 72
 Achaemenid/Early Post-Achaemenid 62–64, 67, 145
 Arabic/Islamic 62, 72, 73, 83–92, 92–93
 Aramaic 62, 63, 64, 65, 145
 Bactrian 74
 Chinese 62, 64–66, 72, 73–75, 76, 92, 97, 145
 Hellenistic 62, 63–64, 64n15, 145
 Mongolian period 92
 pre-Islamic vs. early Islamic records 83–84
 Sasanian 66–67, 72, 73n76
 Sogdian 74
 see also *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*
Thamarāt al-mashāyikh (Zinda ‘Alī) 96, 96n203, 99, 125, 127, 130,
 131–132
 Thierry, F. 71n64, 74n83
 Thomas Aquinas 2
 Timoteev (team member of Negri’s expedition) 6
 Timurid Dynasty/period 12n8, 17, 26
 Tīraklik/Tēraklik 96n196, 131
 titles
 on coins 75–76
 rulers’ titles 75–76
 TNKĀN (Baykān/BTKAN, river) *see* Paykān/Baykān (river)
 Tomaschek, W. 64n15
 tombs/tombstones 128, 129, 130, 131
 topographical analysis 1, 10
 toponyms 60, 69, 72, 91, 91n166, 115–116, 118, 119
 gazetteer of 61, 100*ill.*, 101–144
 To’raev, H. 137
 Torap’ *see* Tārāb
 Torob tepa *see* Tārāb
 towns
 identification of 88, 89*tab.*
 see also bipartite sites; tripartite sites, cities
 trade/commerce 44, 105, 146
 long-distance trade 6, 52, 55
 trade routes/networks 31, 35, 66
 connections through watercourses/watercourse network 20*ill.*,
 55–59, 55*ill.*
 road connections/network 38, 44, 46, 48, 49–55, 94, 120, 132, 136
 transformation of oasis 92, 145, 146
 Transoxiana 62, 63, 65, 66, 71, 72, 75, 75n99, 78n114, 83, 116, 135, 139
 tribal confederations/empires 65, 65n22, 66, 69, 72, 75
 see also Hephthalite Empire/Hephthalites; Kangju; Yuezhi
 Trionfetti, Federico 11n7
 tripartite sites 47*ill.*, 145
 administrative districts/autonomy 17, 18*ill.*, 48, 51
 bipartite vs. 13–14
 centrality 46, 48–49*tab.*, 51–53*tab.*, 54*ill.*, 58, 58–59*tab.*
 as centres of socio-economic system/economic influence 28, 55
 citadels 11, 15
 cliques/cliue analyses 48, 49*tab.*, 52, 55
 composition/territorial layout 11–12, 33–35, 34n24
 connections/relations between bipartite and 33, 35–49, 36*ill.*,
 37–38*tab.*, 39*ill.*, 40–43*tab.*, 44*ill.*, 45–46*tab.*
 connections/relations between tripartite sites,
 road/trade networks 48, 49–55
 watercourses 55–59, 55–57*ill.*
 dating/chronology 12–13, 17
 depopulation/abandonment 27
 distances between 50–53*tab.*
 distribution of 11*ill.*, 13*ill.*, 20*ill.*, 21*ill.*
 evolution of human occupation 12, 16, 19, 33–34
 excavations 12
 expansion 12
 foundation/development 19
 richness 46, 51
 shahrestans 11, 15
 social networks 34*ill.*
 suburbs 11, 17
 unique tepes vs. 11
 Ṭughril Bik (‘Alī Ṭughril, Amir of Bukhara) 106

- ʿUbaydallāh Khān (Ruler of Bukhara, r. 1533–1540) 94n187
 Ūba-yi Tāj al-Dīn 124
 Ūbūqār 86, 126, 127
 Uch Kulakh/Qulak (unique tepe) 10, 13, 15*ill.*
 Ucinet 6 (software) 33, 35
 Uhbān (companion of the Prophet) 85
 Umayyad caliphate 61
 Umniakov, I.I. 114
 Unamuno, Santos 4
 unique tepes 10, 11, 17, 145
 distribution of 11*ill.*
 fortification of 13
 tripartite/bipartite sites vs. 11
 University of Tokyo 2n2
 University of Verona 1n2
 Unsworth, John 4
 Upper Farāvīz *see* Farāvar/Farāwīz al-ulyā
 Upper Karqan Rud (watercourse) 56, 56*ill.*, 57*ill.*
 Upper Kharqāna (river) 85, 97
 uprisings 82, 108
 urban agglomerations
 Bukhara vs. Qaraqōl 17
 see also tripartite sites
 urban expansion 12, 24
 urbanisation 16, 22–23, 24, 33, 145
 Urqūd/Arqūd 134, 134n361, 135
 see also ʿAvāvis/ʿAvovīs/al-ʿAvāwīs
 Urta-Khami *see* Khāma
 Urvān/Urwān (Arvān/Arwān, canal/river) 61, 86, 103, 104
 Urvān/Urwān (Arvān/Arwān, town) 88, 103
 Usrūshana 142
 Ustrūshanī, Jalāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusayn 144
 Uzbek Academy of Sciences 1
 Uzbekistan 60

 Vābkana *see* Vābkand/Vobkent
 Vābkanddaryā (mod. Vobkantdaryo/Vabkentdar'ia, river) 85, 86, 93,
 96, 96n195, 98, 98n220, 115, 126, 136, 137
 see also Khitfar (river)
 Vābkan (district) 104, 127
 Vābkand (Kām-i Vābkand, river) *see* Vābkanddaryā (river)
 Vābkand/Vobkent (site 0116) 27, 48, 61, 82, 85n146, 86, 92, 96, 98, 99,
 108n275, 115, 116, 131
 bridges near 94
 centrality 52, 58
 endowments 136, 136n369, 137
 historical evidence, documentary sources, modern surveys/
 maps 136–137
 irrigation 137
 location/identification 136
 markets 136
 minaret 136, 137
 richness 46
 road connections 46, 48, 107, 136
 social/economical network and importance/influence 38, 44, 55
 Vābkant (Daryāyi Vābkant, river) *see* Vābkanddaryā (river)
 Vabkend (district) *see* Vābkan (district)
 Vabkentdar'ia (Vobkantdaryo) *see* Vābkanddaryā (river)
 Vafā, Khwāja 131
 Vāfkand (river) 98n221
 see also Khitfar (river); Vābkanddaryā (river)
 Vagani (Faghana) 120
 Vaganzi (administrative district) 99, 136
 Vakhsh (river) *see* Oxus (river)
 Valiev, P.S. 134, 136
 Vanandūn 85
vaqfiāmas see endowments/endowment deeds
 Varakhsha (site 0069) 10, 23, 78, 82, 85, 120, 129, 132
 depopulation/abandonment 26
 irrigation/water supply 26
 pottery 26
 sharestan 15
 social network 34, 34*ill.*
 Varakhsha (V.A. Shishkin) 60
 Vardāna/Vardanzi (administrative district) *see* Shāfurkām
 (administrative district)
 Vardāna/Vardanzi (site 0084) 74, 137–141, 138*ill.*, 140, 146
 abandonment 137
 campaigns against 76, 82, 97, 113, 133, 139, 140
 castle 138, 140
 citadel 137, 138, 140
 ecological transformation 137, 138, 139
 endowments 137, 138, 140
 fortifications 140
 founding of 138
 historical and modern evidence/studies/maps 138, 139–141
 location/identification 115, 137–139, 139n385
 markets 76–77, 140
 mosque/open-air festival prayer area 137, 140
 ruler of *see* Vardān Khudāt/Vardānkhudā
 scholars 139, 140
 strategic importance 76–77
 toponym 139n385
 washhouse 140
 water supply/irrigation 96, 137, 138, 141
 Vardān Khudāt/Vardānkhudā (ruler of Vardāna) 76, 82, 113, 133,
 138–139, 139n384, 140
 Vardānzah *see* Vardāna/Vardanzi
 Vardanzi *see* Vardāna/Vardanzi
 Varganzi (ford) 82
 Varishūn *see* Farishūn
 Varka (river) 109
 Varka/Warka (Khodzhambargi, mod. Khwāja Bargī, site 0644) 141–
 142, 142*ill.*
 historical and modern evidence/studies/maps 141–142
 irrigation 18, 86, 141
 location/identification 88, 141
 mosque 141, 142

- road connections/network 141
 scholars 141
 Vāshī (canal) 107
 Vāshī (village) 107
 Vazidan 133
 Vikings 32
 villages
 acquisition of 105, 106
 see also bipartite sites; *shahrestans*
 villas 61, 100, 114
 Vobkantdaryo (Vabkentdar'ia, river) *see* Khitfar (river); Vābkanddaryā (river)
 Vobkent *see* Vābkand/Vobkent
 Vobkent (river) *see* Vābkanddarayā (river)
 Volkonsky, V.D. 6
Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa) 137
- Wābkana/Wābkana 136, 137
 al-Wābkani, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Naḍr b. Ilyās 137
 al-Wābkani, Abū Ḥamid Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd b. Ṭālib b. Jīṭ b. Mūsā b. Sahl al-Ṣarām 137
 al-Wābkani, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Abī Jandab 137
 al-Wābkani (nisba) 137
Wafayāt al-a'yān (Ibn Khallikān) 102
 Wahram V (Sasanian King of Kings, r. 420–438 CE), imitative
 drachms 67–68, 68n47–48
 al-Walīd b. Ismā'il 124
 Warakhshay/Warakshī 88, 105, 111, 118, 121, 135, 136, 143
 Wardāna/Wardān 117, 135, 136, 139, 140
 see also Vardāna/Vardanzi
 al-Wardāni, Abū 'Amr Humām b. Idrīs b. 'Abd al-'Azīz 140
 al-Wardāni, Abū Idrīs b. 'Abd al-'Azīz 140
 al-Wardāni (nisba) 140
 Wardān khudāh 139
 Warka *see* Varka/Warka
 Warkay 111, 118, 119, 121, 135, 141, 143
 see also Varka/Warka
 Warkī *see* Varka/Warka
 al-Warkī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Manṣūr 141
 al-Warkī, Abū l-Layth Shākir b. Ḥamdawayh al-Hamadhānī 141
 al-Warkī, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zubayrī (d. 495/1101–2) 141–142
 al-Warkī, Abū Sulaymān b. Dāwūd (d. 304/917) 141
 washhouses 140
 Wasserman, Stanley 29, 38, 44
 water channels/water network 6, 18–19, 19*ill.*, 20*ill.*, 55–59, 55*ill.*
 water conflicts 96n194
 watercourses 9*ill.*, 20*ill.*, 38, 57*ill.*, 87*ill.*
 artificial vs. natural 55
 connections between tripartite sites through 55–59, 55–56*ill.*
 identification of 55–56
 natural 55*ill.*
 navigable 56
 see also rivers
 water-logging 6
 water management system 94
 water supply 6, 18, 26, 27, 137, 141
 see also irrigation
 water transport 56
 wealth *see* richness
 Weber, Max 3
- Wei Dynasty/period (4th–6th c. CE) 69, 70, 73, 74n83, 75, 116
Weishu 70, 71n64, 71*tab.*, 72, 73–74, 73–74n83, 74n87, 116, 146
 Wellman, Barry 29
 Western An 76
 Western Iran 63
 Western Mongolia 146
 "Western Sogdiana" (term) 63n9
 Western Turks 66, 69, 72, 73, 75, 78, 78n116, 146
 wetlands 93, 93n180, 93n175
 White Garments 119
 written records *see* textual evidence/records
 Wudi (Han Emperor) 64
 Wuxu River 74, 74n90
- Xin Tangshu* 66n26, 70n62, 71, 74, 75
 Xiongnu Empire (tribal confederation) 64, 66n25
 Xuanzang (Chinese pilgrim) 74, 97, 139, 139n385, 146
xūn (local lord, Sogdian title) 75
 XVIII Parts'ezd 138
- Yaḥyā (grandson of Sayf al-Dīn Bākhari) 136n369
 Yale University 2n2
 Yancai (steppe) 73
 Yangiabad 138
 Ya'qūb b. Ma'bad 119
 Yāqūt b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥamawī *see* [al-]Ḥamawī, Yāqūt b. 'Abdallāh
 Yār 'Alī Bāy b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Bāy 112
 al-Yasāraghī, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥanīf b. Ja'far b. Zayn 119
 Yen (fur-producing region) 73
 Yoshida, Yutaka 76
 Yuan Wei period 71, 75
 Yuezhi 64–65, 65n22, 66n25, 69
 Yurūn 110
 Yútián (Khotan) 72
- Zamm 80, 80n118, 80n120, 117, 139
 Zandana/Zandani (site 0083) 23, 55, 85, 88, 90, 90n157, 98, 111, 118, 119, 135, 142–144, 143*ill.*
 citadel 143
 historical and modern evidence/studies/maps 142–144
 location/identification 121, 122*ill.*, 142–143
 madrasas 92n167, 142, 144
 scholars 142, 143–144
 strategic importance 120
 textile production/Zandanijī 142, 143
 see also Khitfar (province/district)
 al-Zandani, Abū Ṣādiq Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. (preacher) 90, 143
 al-Zandani, Ḥamdān b. Ghārim 144
 Zandanijī (fabric) 140, 143
 Zandani (river) *see* Khitfar Zandana/Zandini
 Zandany *see* Zandana/Zandani
 al-Zandī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān b. Ghārim al-Bukhārī 143–144
 al-Zandī/al-Zandani (nisba) 143
 Zarafshan/Central Bukhara Collector Canal 94
 Zarafshan mountain ranges 63
 Zarafshan/Zerafshan (basin/delta/valley) 6, 27, 55, 63, 69, 72
 archaeological evidence 63
 ecological transformation 61
 emergence/development as historical landscape 60–61, 63, 66
 textual evidence 63, 65

- Zarafshan/Zerafshan (river) 57*ill.*, 61, 63, 116, 128
 abandoned sites along 27
 branches 85, 86, 87, 87*ill.*, 96, 98, 99, 105, 127, 141
 identification 85, 92n171
 paleochannels of 6, 7*ill.*, 99, 103
 settlements along 19, 22, 23, 35, 44, 46, 48, 51, 56, 58, 82, 115
 sluices, bridges and fords 93–96, 94*ill.*, 115, 126, 133
 textual evidence/records 92–93
 toponyms 92, 92n171, 93
 wetlands 93, 93n178, 180, 138
see also Lower Zarafshan
- Zarangārī 136
- Zaranjar 107
- Zar (Kayfur/Kayfar, river) 86
- Zarmān 126, 126n335
see also Rāzmāz
- Zarmāz 126, 127
see also Rāzmāz
- Zarmīthan 88, 111, 118, 119, 121, 126, 135, 143
- Zawūs/h (Rāwūs/h, ZWSh) 97
see also Rawūs(h)/Rawāsh
- Zeimal, E.V. 65n21–22
- Zerafshan *see* Zarafshan
- Zerevshan (term/toponym) 63n8
- Zhang Qian (envoy of Wudi, Han Emperor) 64
- Zhaowu family 74
- Zhou Dynasty/period (c. 1046–256 BCE) 73
- Ziadin 78
- Zimin, L.A. 9, 128, 128n342
- Zinda ‘Alī 94n189, 96n203, 125, 127, 131
- Zindani (river) 85
- Zindavis/Zindavist/Zindavīstī 98, 99, 133
- ZWSh *see* Zāwūs/h 97