The Saffarid Capital of Sistan, Afghanistan

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Smithsonian Institution

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This is a presentation of the Helmand Sistan Project that operated in southwest Afghanistan in the 1970s and was directed by my coauthor William B Trousdale, curator emeritus from the Smithsonian, who is 88 years old and could not be here. I was a junior archaeologist on the project and am now involved in the long overdue process of finishing its publication. We are still largely in the descriptive stage of the project so I apologize for a lack of detailed analysis of what we have found.

Every field project is the work of many people and we thank those here among many others. Notable is the work of project members Jim Knudstad and Bob Hamilton, who surveyed this enormous and complex site and produced the maps, plans and elevations you see here.

One of our colleagues, John Whitney, the geologist on the project who lives here in Colorado, is here today. He was responsible for the important geological, climatic, and hydrological research we did. He produced an important summary publication on the geology of Sistan through the US Geological Survey in case you are interested in it. https://pubs.usgs.gov/sir/2006/5182/pdf/SIR06-5182_508.pdf

This talk will be about SG, the City of Screams, locate in the desert of southwest Afghanistan. This is not to be confused with another site named SG located in central Afghanistan near Bamiyan. Earlier researchers called our site Sar-o-Tar "Emptiness and Desolation", but our discussions with local villagers clarified that the region is called ST and the site itself SG.

The research area was in southwest corner of Afghanistan, where it borders on Pakistan and Iran, and along the Helmand River, the largest river in Afghanistan, which begins in the Hindu Kush in the eastern part of the country and empties into the shallow hamun lakes on the Afghan-Iran border. It currently comprises the Helmand and Nimruz provinces of Afghanistan, an area of active Taliban activity and equally active opium growing, so returning to the area at the moment would not be possible. Nor has it been since our work in the 1970s, so the publication we are completing is likely to be the last word on Sistan for quite a while to come

Sar-o-Tar is 200 square km of wind created plain, now heavily covered with sand dunes, which at various times in the past contained large agricultural populations. Our project was to examine both the Helmand Valley and the Sar-o-Tar area. We spent five seasons in the field, 1971-1976 and reconnaissance and analysis for several additional years. The project was a joint product of the Smithsonian and the Afghan Institute of Archaeology. Our Afghan partner, Ghulam Rahman Amiri, in addition to his archaeological work with us, also completed an ethnography of the Baluch villages in which we worked, which will be published along with our archaeological findings.

The HSP Survey produced almost 200 sites and excavated at 15 of them. We worked heavily in Sar-o-Tar where there were large numbers of visible sites, as can be seen here. From this, we developed a cultural history of the region, as shown here, going back to the Bronze Age. I made a presentation last year about the Parthian period. Today's talk concerns the Islamic periods, particularly at SG.

We are not the first to work here. The British Boundary Commission, surveying the border between British India, Iran, and Afghanistan was here in the first years of the 20th century. One of the Commission members, GP Tate, wrote an extensive volume about Sistan and drew the first map of SG. The French DAFA expedition to ST was there for about a month in 1936, but the principal researchers were killed in WWII and their brief report was published by others only in 1959.

Sar-o-Tar is shaped by winds, constantly out of the northwest. Most famous is the Wind of 120 Days, which often blows at hurricane force for the entire summer, a time when field work is not practical. The sand raised by the winds can act like sandpaper, both destroying sites and artifacts after a brief time on the surface, as seen here.

Sar-o-Tar, now a desert, can be rich agricultural land if canals bringing water are built. This happened sporadically in the history of the region. Mostly through Whitney's work, we have been able to trace three major canals leading from the river near Rudbar, past the headland at Qala-I Fath and into the basin. Extreme weather conditions require a much greater degree of social organization to build and maintain canals, more so than would be needed in Mesopotamia or the Indus Valley. The Sar-o-Tar canals are an impressive sociological as well as technological achievement. The first canal system, we're not sure of its extent or size, dated to the Early Iron Age. After a period of abandonment, the canals were rebuilt and maintained during Parthian and Sasanian times. Another gap followed until the time period we will discuss today. The reasons for periodic abandonment are unclear: climate change, catastrophic events like floods, changes in the path of the river, or political and economic conditions are all possible causes. Part of our work is to examine this question.

One of the large canals passed just north of SG and is still visible on the landscape. It may have originally been dug for an Early Iron Age site, one that we call Qala 169, just to the south of SG.

The visible city is probably a product of the earliest Saffarid kings, who ruled this area from the late 9th century until the arrival of the Ghaznavids in 1003. It is that city I will give you a tour of now.

The city was clearly built with defense in mind. At the outside was a large Square Wall—though not really square-- surrounded by a moat 40 m wide and 2 m deep. The wall stands `1000-1300 m on a side and created a city of more than a square km inside. The walls are still 10 m high in places. There is heavily defensible gates on each of the 4 sides of the Square Wall leading into the compound of the city. We found little occupation before Timurid times in this outer area.

Inside this wall was a second defensive wall, we'll call it the Circular Wall. This wall is also surrounded by a moat, 25 m in width and 3 m in depth. It has only two gates, on the north and south, reached by narrow bridges over the moat. The circular wall is enormous, 22-25 m high and 40 m thick at its base. It is pocked with defensive towers along its length, each one different in design than the others.

Once inside the second wall, there is a terrace 60 m wide along its inner side and an equally large lower terrace toward the center of the site and a meter lower. This terrace is bordered by a third moat, also 25 m wide at the base of the citadel. The citadel is defended by a wall at the level of the moat and another higher citadel wall. A single gate on the north side was the only entrée through each of these walls. The

Palace had its own defensive wall.

If you wanted to enter the Citadel Palace, you had to pass through 5 walls and cross 3 moats, changing from north to south sides several times before arriving.

There are a number of key structures built by the Saffarids inside the circular wall and on the Citadel. Crossing the innermost moat, one had to pass through a heavily defensible gate, walk up a steep ramp and pass through a second inner gate to access the Citadel. This second gate had a narrow, hidden exterior passageway that allowed defenders to view those entering and arrow slits to be able to shoot at invaders.

Once inside the citadel, 168 x 82 m in size and 25 m above the terraces, there was a walkway, made of vertical parquet baked bricks along the west side of the palace. We excavated a small section of this passageway in 1973, shown here. Oddly, the walls of the palace aren't straight, but serpentine in shape, made of baked bricks 32 square x 8 cm in size, 4 courses thick and 38 courses preserved in height. We know of no similar palace construction at this time.

After walking along the west side, you can turn left and walk along the south side, then ascend a steep ramp or stairway, now destroyed, into the sole gate into the palace along the south wall, defended by a large tower.

The citadel palace itself is 63 m square and consists of 55 rooms surrounding five courts, including an elaborate public area to the west. You'll note that, in addition to the serpentine walls, the angles are not squared. And, equally oddly, the palace is built along the east edge of the citadel mound rather than in the center.

But this is not all of the palace. Entering the building, you walk along a narrow hallway, which ends in a wall that has large air ducts going below the floor and a staircase, both leading to a basement floor. We were unable to explore the lower level but it retains a footprint identical to the second floor. Air and light also enter into the lower level through some slit windows that we uncovered on each side of the palace, as seen here. Interestingly, from what we can see inside, the floors of the basement rooms extend below the bottom of the brick serpentine walls, made instead of hard packed clay.

To either side of the second floor entryway there are courtyards with rooms around each. Courtyard D is particularly important because one of the surrounding rooms, Room 41, showed clear evidence of a flooring above the main floor rooms. There was a also upward staircase in the corner of the courtyard. Both led to a third story of the building. There is little evidence of this level in most of the palace, so we believe that it covered part but not all of the south and eastern sides. If there were "royal apartments," it is likely that they were here.

If you went west from the central area of the palace, you would enter the ceremonial area. First a vestibule (Room 23), then a large courtyard, to the north of which was what we are calling the Audience Hall. Room 23 is unique in the building, it has decorative keyhole arches on its north side, common in Ghaznavid architecture of the 11th and 12th century, but found nowhere else in this palace. Instead, the floors and walls are heavily plastered. We found some evidence of painting on some of the plastered walls in blue, but no indication of the amount or nature of the decoration of the palace.

The domed audience hall is in simple chahar taq form. Behind it sits a patio open to the north and bordered on that side by three large pillars and a nice view. The open room here in the direction of the

constant northwest wind would have provided breezes into the audience hall.

Most of the rest of the main floor along the W, N, and E walls, were small rooms, some with windows. We think these were used by functionaries or for storage.

Dating this building is difficult because we did not excavate it. Instead, we dug a small trench outside and beneath the west wall in 1974. Sherds from the area beneath the serpentine wall were largely pre-Islamic storage jars and basins. We did find some indications of Islamic incised, glazed, and sgraffioto wares, but our excavation controls were not strong enough to be able to date the building to Ghaznavid times despite the Ghaznavid green and yellow glazed ceramics we found below it. These might be associated with the later drain that intersected our area. Given the architectural features of the building, for which we find no parallels in Ghaznavid architecture, we believe the palace was built in the late 9th or early 10th centuries by the rulers of the local Saffarid dynasty, though further excavation could prove us wrong.

Investigating the city further, another trench 2 m x 50 m was excavated along the east edge inside the Circular Wall in 1973 on the upper terrace to examine its contents. There we found remains of several large buildings but are unable to say much about their plans because of the narrowness of our trench. This area, though, produced the largest collection of ceramic glazed wares at SG, many of the polychrome ones confirming our dating of the area to the 9th and 10th centuries. The area also, not surprisingly, contained later Ghaznavid glazed and moulded sherds as well. There was some elite living on this terrace, clearly.

The other major area of Saffarid occupation was just inside the north gate of the Circular Wall. Here we excavated a mosque and neighboring street first identified by the French in the 1930s. On the other side of the street was another large building that we believe to be a caravanserai because of its plan but did not excavate.

The mosque has a baked brick qiblah wall and mihrab on its west side, an iwan on the east and a central court surrounded by 2-3 rows of columns all around. A large pile of baked bricks just west of the building are what we believe to be the remains of the minaret of the mosque.

Note that the northeast wall is cut at an angle. The mosque was set against the Circular Wall and this was their solution of trying to fit a square building into a rounded space. Entrance to the building was from the south, the commercial street.

The mihrab shows at least two levels of building. The original square baked brick mihrab was later replaced with a rounded one that was set in bricks and covered with a thick plaster. Interestingly, the earlier building contained entrances directly into the mihrab from both the north and south sides from an area west of the building. Behind and attached to the qiblah wall was a large façade with windows, now covered. The qiblah walls at the edge of the mihrab were highly plastered with faux columns.

Just to the north of the mihrab was a minbar staircase and platform. This was constructed at least twice, maybe three times, and featured baked brick steps.

Decoration on the qiblah wall and elsewhere in the mosque was distinctive. Baked bricks set on end appeared in many walls. In some cases, bricks were placed into the wall face front. We don't know if these were covered with plaster or were visible to those inside the mosque, though covering the elaborate brickwork with plaster would have been surprising.

The south entrance to the mosque was built and rebuilt several times leading to a street that contained a bazaar area along the exterior wall of the mosque and toward the north gate and was rebuilt at higher and higher levels over time.

When the Ghaznavids took over Sistan after the year 1003, they made some changes to the site—note the spots highlighted in green.

First, there were modifications made to the Citadel Palace, notably the keyhole niched wall leading to the audience hall. Parts of the serpentine walls were heavily mudded to shore up eroding bricks.

More evident was the new palace constructed along the west side of the compound inside the circular wall, which we call the Lower Palace. Like the mosque, it was a squared building built into a rounded space just inside the circular wall and so exhibits a curved circular wall surrounding the palace. We have a preserved area of 60 x 150 m but both the north and south ends are deeply buried in sand so we don't know the building's full extent. The burial in sand has helped preserved parts of the building well, some walls still stand 20 m high. Fragments of a staircase along the eastern wall indicate that some parts of the building had a second floor.

The design of the building is around two courtyards. The northern one, some 40 m square had a large, highly decorated iwan on each side along with other rooms. More impressive was the southern octagonal courtyard 23 m in diameter, which featured 8 decorated iwans. We know of no parallel to this in the eastern Islamic world. Large rooms were featured on both the east and west sides and the entire structure was enclosed by a highly decorated exterior wall.

Ornamentation of the building was in an extensive series of keyhole arches and niches, with baked brick also serving to decorate the walls. The walls were plastered, though not as carefully as the Citadel Palace, and we found bits of evidence that they were painted in red, blue, and black when in use.

Finding parallels for this building was easy, as the nearest Ghaznavid palaces, those at Lashkari Bazar have similar decorative patterns.

The plan of this building is also reminiscent of Lashkari Bazar. The South Palace there has two large courtyards, the larger on the north and framed by an iwan on each side. A smaller one on the south, but with 4 iwans in the case of the Lashkari Bazar palace. Other rooms filled in the east and west sides of the palace.

Interestingly, there seems to be a parallel also between the South Palace at Laskhari Bazar and the Citadel Palace at SG. If you look at the construction of the ceremonial area, the audience hall, there is in each case a central room and, behind it, a large patio. It is unclear whether the one at Lashkari Bazar was open to the Arghandab River behind it the way the one at SG was, but the similarities are striking and the parallel in conception likely.

In the Lower Palace, one moved from the large courtyard to the octagonal one through a room draped with several arches. One of the arches still remained standing when we went into the field. Note that the bricks used to cover the 10 m span were unusual—each 1 m or more in length, 60 cm in width and a very narrow 2 cm in depth. They were stacked next to each other to create an overall 1 m width for the span. We find a close parallel to this also at LB.

Sadly, the rains between our 1973 and 1974 season brought the last remaining arch down.

Much of the Palace was buried deeply in sand, so we found a side room on the east in order to conduct a 5

test excavation. In it, we discovered a series of 3 successive baked brick floorings. The bottom was pristine, it may never have been used. Underneath it and the floor above were channels to bring in heat, air, water, it is unclear what. The middle floor was heavily damaged from extensive use. We believe that this one was in use for most of the life span of the palace. Above the top floor, there is Timurid occupation, including this tandur on a mudbrick platform.

As mentioned earlier, we have no evidence that the lower terrace inside the circular wall, the one closest to the palace was ever occupied, with one exception. Between the Lower Palace and the Citadel, we found evidence of an open colonnade at the edge of the inner moat surrounding the Citadel. We can only speculate as to its use, but it would have been a good spot to catch breezes by the water on a hot summer day.

Another addition in Ghaznavid times was a bath house at the west edge of the Citadel Palace, excavated in 1973. It had an entry room on the east , followed by cold, tepid and hot rooms. A fire chamber and basin for holding water stood on the west and a channel to get heated water to the rooms along the south side of the building. Niches were inserted in each room for sitting.

The destruction of Saffarid SG was likely part of the attack on Sistan by the armies of Ghenghiz Khan. We have ample evidence of this at the site. Along the street bordering the mosque, we found numerous hoards of small copper-covered lead coins jammed between bricks in the wall. The largest one, containing 214 coins, was at the southwest corner of the mosque, seen here. Dates on those coins are from two rulers of the Saffarid dynasty, ending in 1222.

More sobering was the discovery in the mosque of a smashed Koranic stucco inscription. This likely was originally on the qiblah wall of the mosque, but it is clear that it didn't just fall off from the dessication of the building. We found over 100 pieces of this inscription inside and outside the mosque, all very fragmentary. It is clear that someone deliberately removed it, smashed it, and scattered the pieces. We attribute that to the fall of the city to Ghenghiz's armies.

The canals of Sar-o-Tar were likely filled up after this conquest and only a century later the city was reoccupied in Timurid times, but at a much lower level. The inhabitants, who we believe were wealthy land owners from Herat and elsewhere, had little use for the palaces and other monumental structures other than to rob them for bricks. They built large manor houses inside the Square Wall of the city, ran a canal over a destroyed portion of the outer wall and used the area for agriculture.

The lower palace was reused, as mentioned before, as an industrial area.

The bath was also reoccupied with a higher level, but less refined, flooring and a roughly built drain to pull water away. At the west end of the bath atop the pile of ashes from the fire pit, we uncovered 8 skulls detached from their bodies with holes punched in each forehead. A collection of decapitated skeletons were found a distance away buried along the southwest corner of the Citadel Palace. We don't know the historical context for this event.

Having spoken of the end of the Islamic site, we also wanted to address its origin. The Citadel Mound is 25 m above the terraces surrounding it. Where did that come from in an otherwise flat plain? So we dug a trench along the west side of the Citadel Palace 2 m x 40 m to find out what was below the palace. After approximately 2 me we came across two rooms of a well made mudbrick structure with an attached baked brick floor and other baked bricks placed vertically between the two. The large bricks 70 x 46 x 8 are best known from Sasanian buildings elsewhere in Sistan. Ceramics on the floor of this

building confirmed that there was an extensive Sasanian building below the Saffarid palace.

Another meter below this building we found remains of the wall of another building that ran parallel to our trench and was linked to floorings in several places. Parthian ceramics of the first couple of centuries CE were associated with these walls and floors. A small test pit dug 1 further m below brought out no additional cultural materials. We take this to mean that large public buildings from both the Parthian and Sasanian periods in ST stood on this site and the Saffarids chose to build their palace on the already existing mound. Further excavation would be required to get a greater sense of what the pre-Islamic structures looked like.

We called this talk The Saffarid Capital of Sistan. The founders of the Saffarid Dynasty in the late 9th century, Yaqub ibn Layth and Amr ibn Layth, tried to build their own political entity within a world of larger enemies. Not surprising that they chose a remote spot, heavily defended and easily defensible, to build their fortress capital. Previous researchers have identified this city variously as Tak and Zaranj. We're not yet ready to jump into that debate, but it is clear that we have a large city with oddities of architectural style that make it unique within the Islamic world and likely the capital of the Saffarid dynasty of Sistan.

The Saffarid Capital of Sistan, Afghanistan

Mitchell Allen and William B Trousdale Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History Smithsonian Institution ASOR Annual Conference, Denver, November 17, 2018

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- Analytic suggestions, Warwick Ball

Shahr-i Gholghola, "The City of Screams"

Test High I and

Located 3

35 km east of the Helmand Rive

Lashkar Gah Bost (Qal<u>a-i Bist)</u>



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Post-i Gau Darwisan Zabul Chigini Chakansurak Dasht-i Margo Chihil Burj Zárani Hamun Lakes Sar-o Tar Šna qala (Qala Sabz) Malakhan Shahr-i Gholghola Qala-I Fateh Deshu 🖌 Qala-i Sirak Sehyak Surkh Qala Rud-i Biyaban Char Borjak Koh-i Khan Nashin Tarakhun Khwaja Ali Sehyaka Rudbar Kona Qala II Shela Rud Jali Robat Khaima Barang Gaud-i Zirreh Afghanistan Туре Ancient site Pakistan Modern town 100 Kilometers 50 25

CAMEL

Arghandab

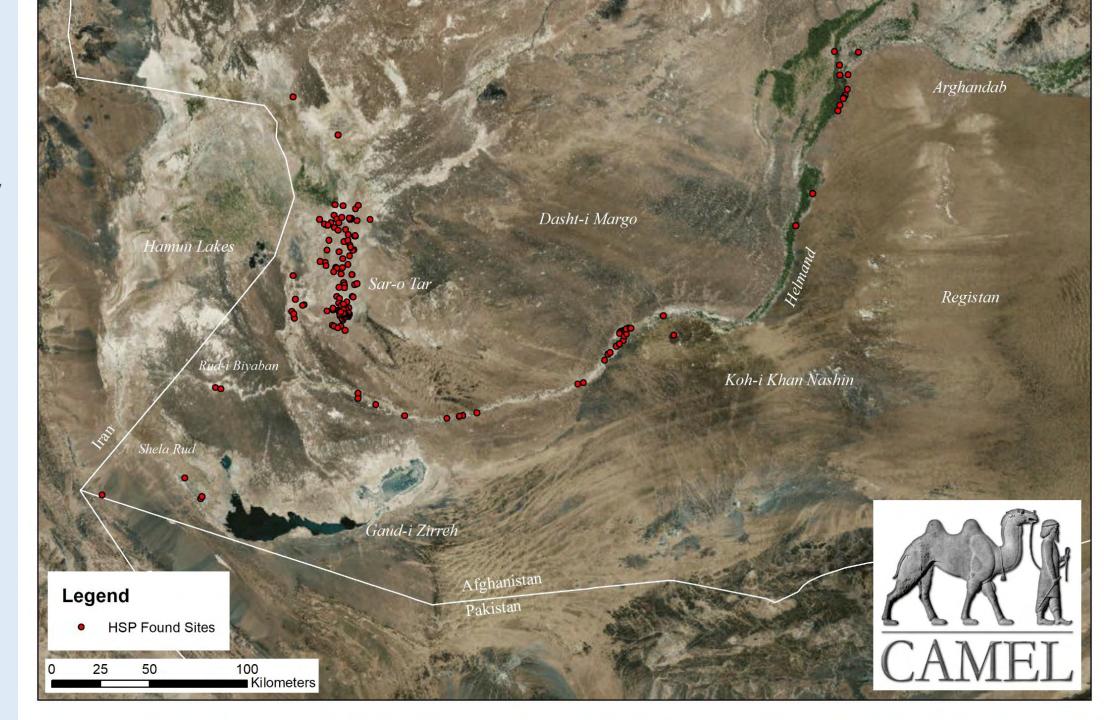
Registan

In the Sar-o-Tar Plain of southwest Afghanistan



Part of the Helmand Sistan Project, 1971-1979

HSP Survey Sites



Afghan Sistan archaeological chronology

- Bronze Age 3rd early 2nd millennium BCE
- Early Iron Age 12th-6th C BCE
- Achaemenid 6th-4th C BCE
- Hellenistic 3rd 2nd C BCE
- Parthian 2nd C BCE- 2nd C CE
- Sassanian 3rd C CE- 7th C CE
- Saffarid 9th -10th C CE
- Ghaznavid $11^{th} 12^{th} C CE$
- Ghorid 13th C CE
- Timurid 15th C CE

Previous research

SEISTAN

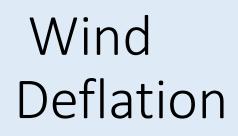
RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES DANS LA PARTIE AFGHANE DU SEISTAN

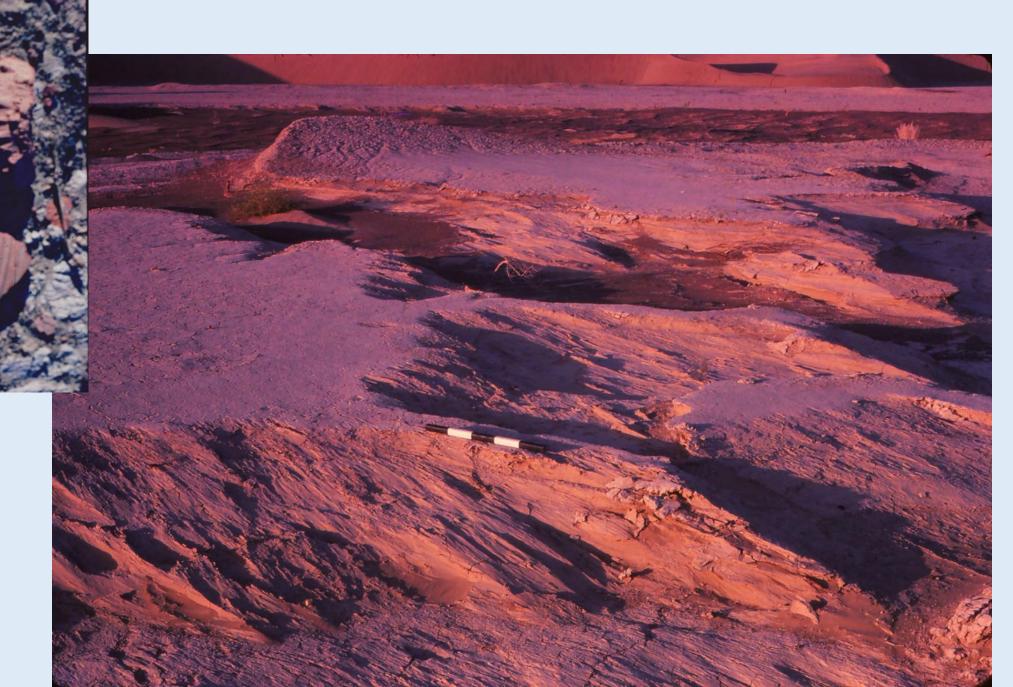
(Rapport de J. HACKIN, 19 décembre 1936)

Au cours de l'automne 1936, la D.A.F.A., dirigée par J. Hackin, organisa une reconnaissance à travers le Seistan afghan. Cette vaste région, aujourd'hui désertique, connut pendant des siècles une grande prospérité jusqu'au jour où ce pays de vieille civilisation fut ruiné par un raid de Tamerlan. Divers sondages mirent en évidence, d'une part l'existence d'une civilisation remontant aux environs du premier millénaire avant notre ère; d'autre part, une superposition de fondations se rattachant aux dynasties iraniennes précédant l'arrivée des Arabes. Ces fondations étaient couronnées par une imposante architecture musulmane finalement ruinée par les troupes de Tamerlan au x15° siècle. Tandis que MM. J. Carl et J. Meunié devaient repérer les différents sites anciens, M. R. Ghirshman faisait un soudage d'acteur en succes des des devients des diversions des devaient couronnées par une des différents sites anciens, M. R. Ghirshman faisait un soudage d'acteur en succes des devaient couronnées d'acteur des différents sites anciens. BUINS, AND PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY



Shaped by the winds

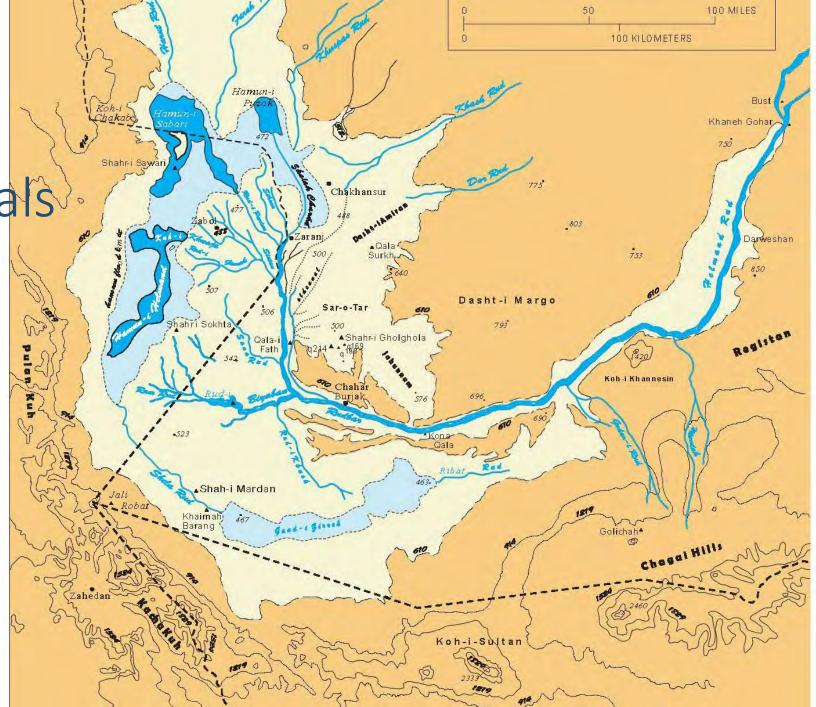




Sar-o-Tar is fed by large canals from the Helmand River



Three large canals leading from Rudbar area in the Helmand Valley





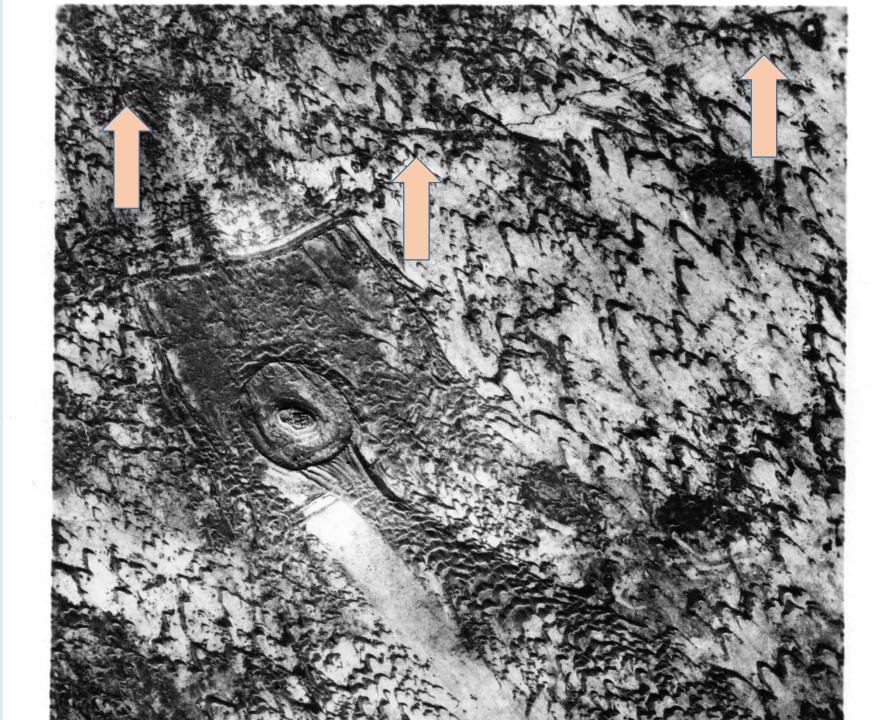
Canal system first built in the early Iron Age, ca 1200 BCE

Reused during Parthian and Sasanian periods (2nd C BCE- 7th C CE)



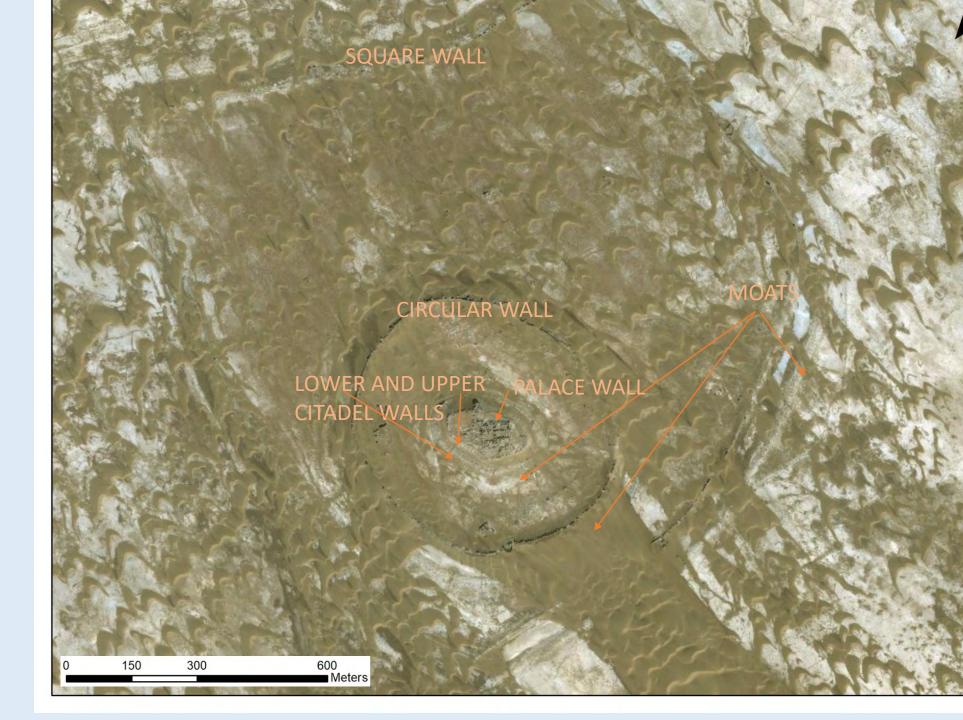


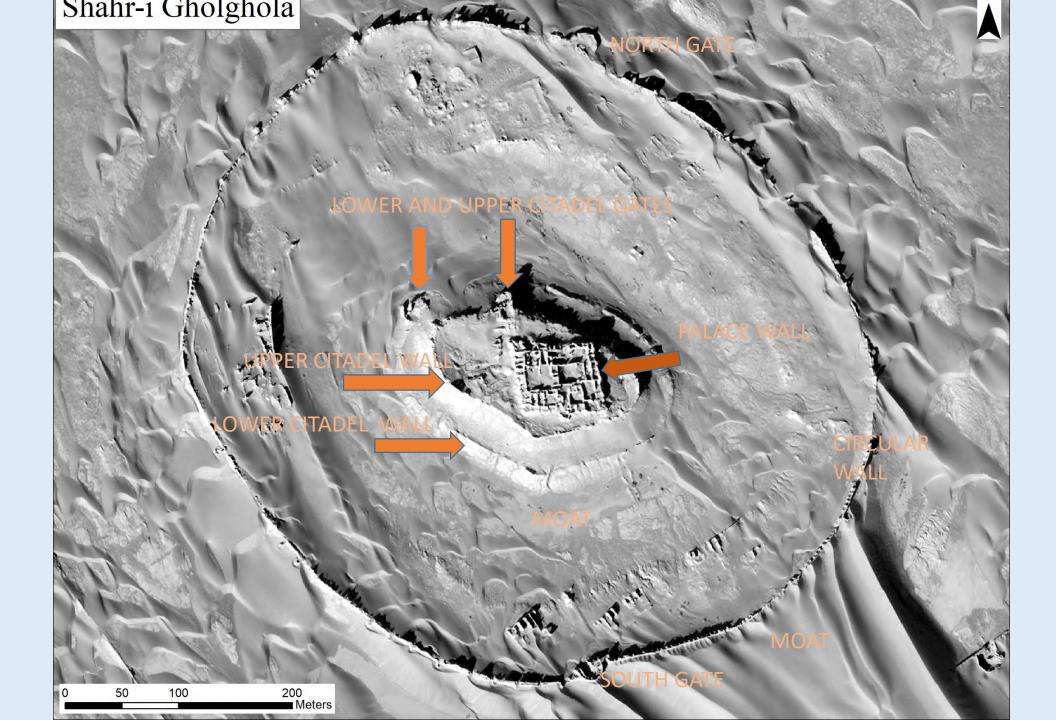
Passed just north of Shahr-i Gholghola and built for it



The Saffarid City of Shahr-i Gholghola

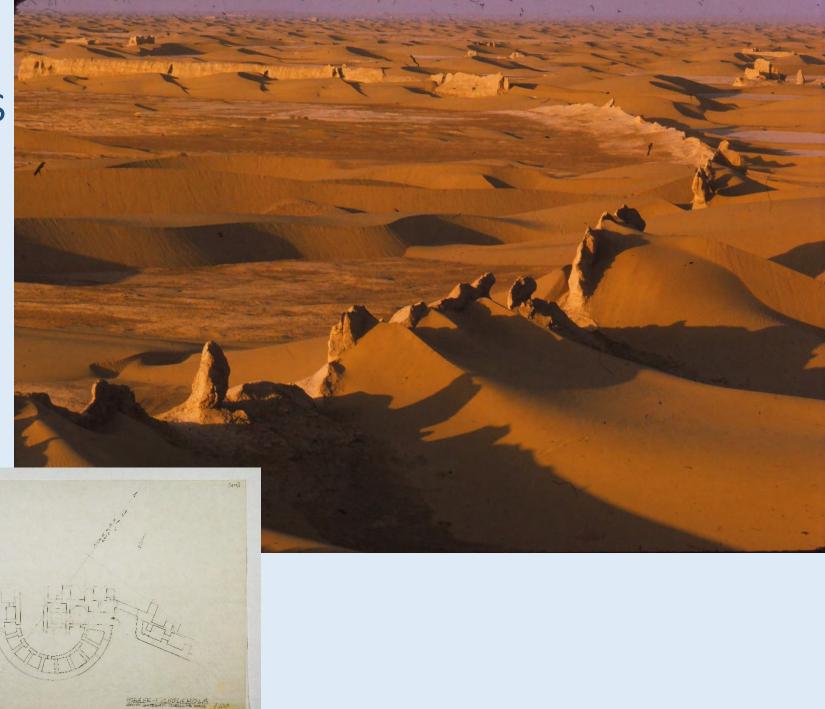
Built with defense uppermost in mind



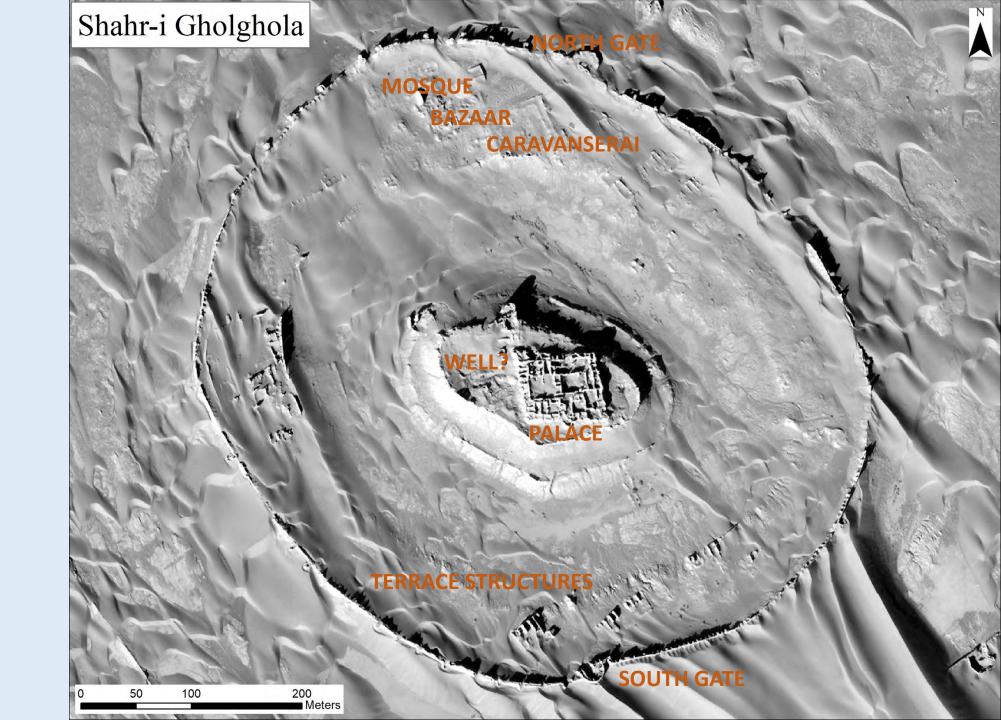


Walls and gates





The Saffarid City



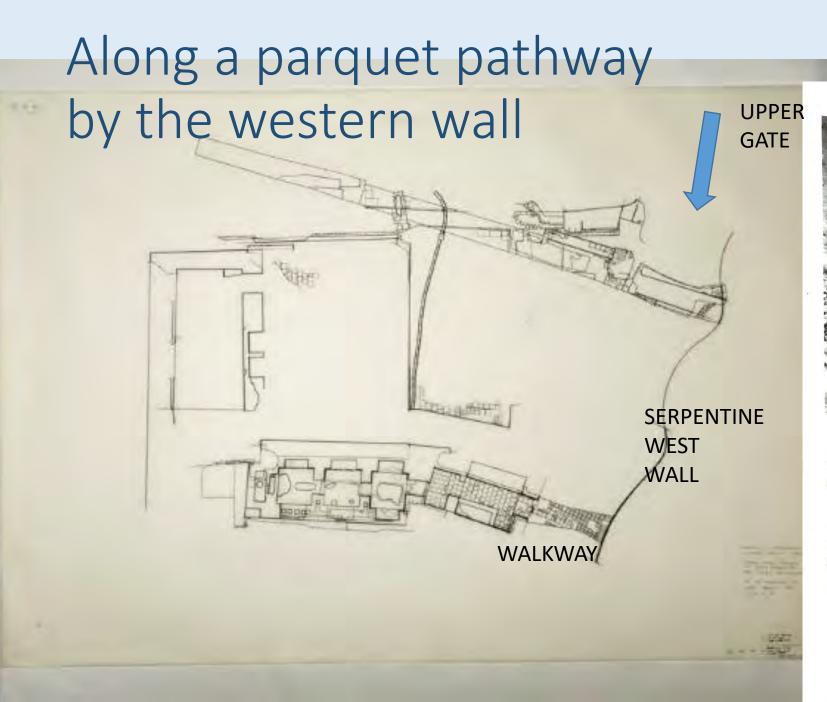
The Citadel and Citadel Palace

Entering the Citadel: The Lower North Gate

Up a ramp to the Upper Gate

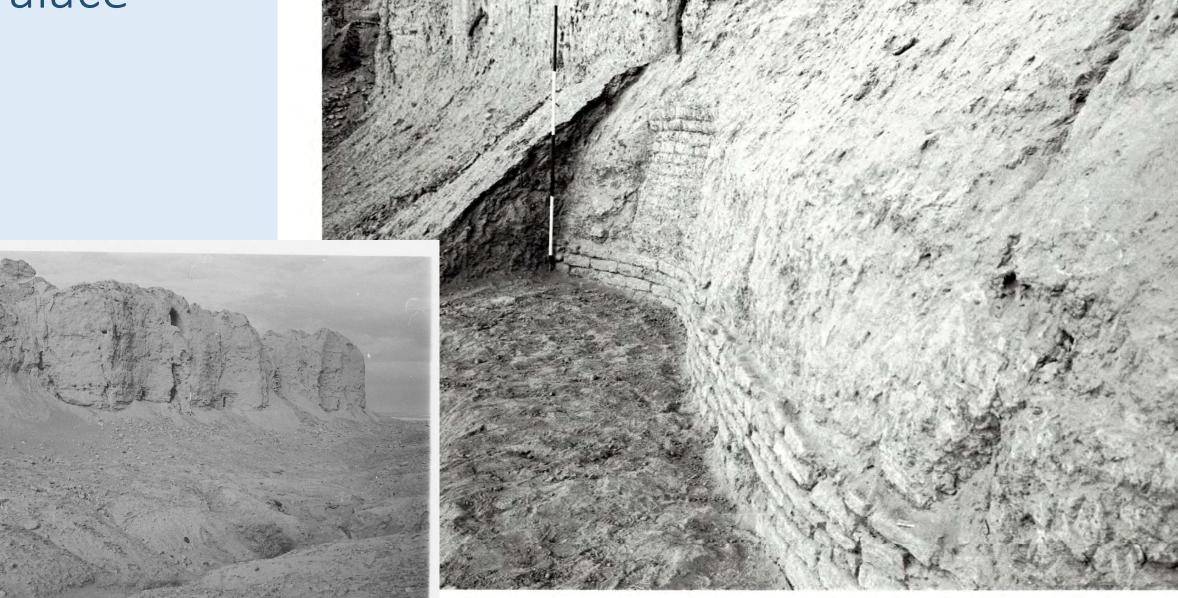




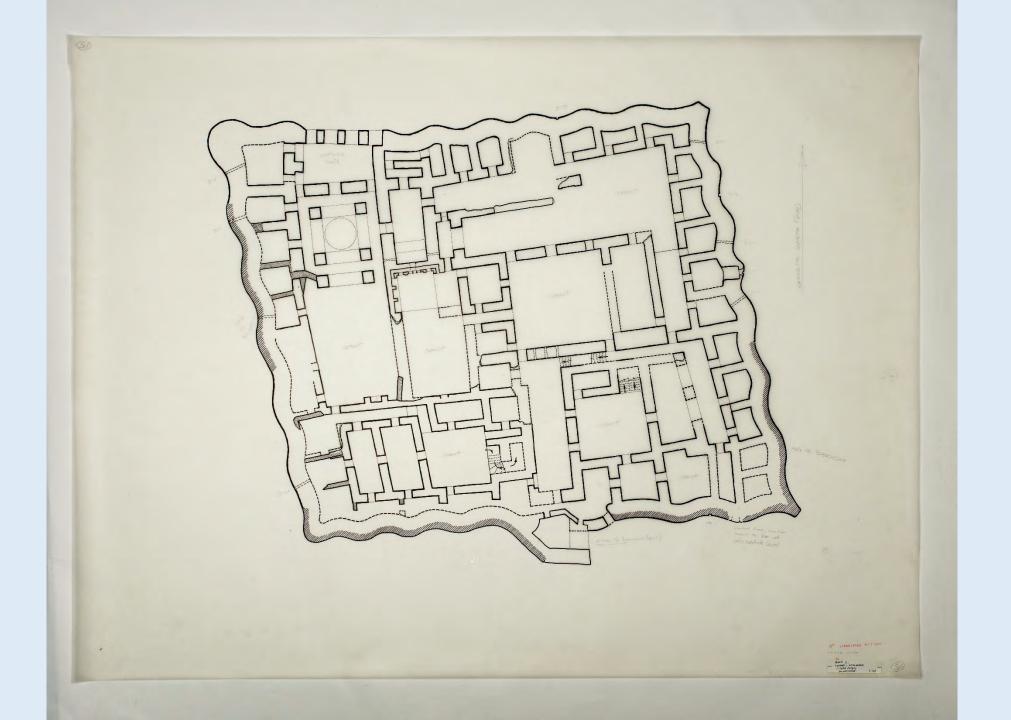




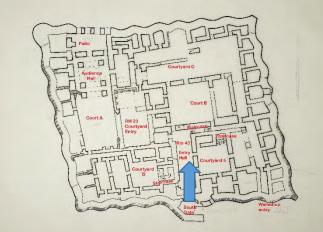
Along a serpentine wall surrounding the Citadel Palace

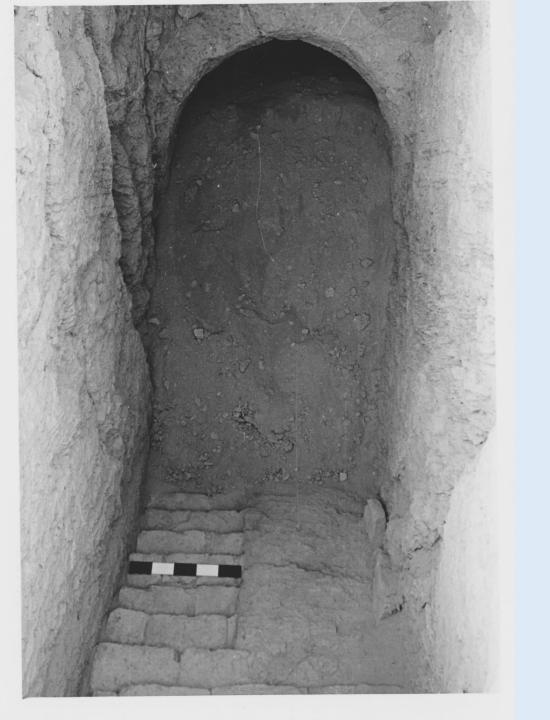


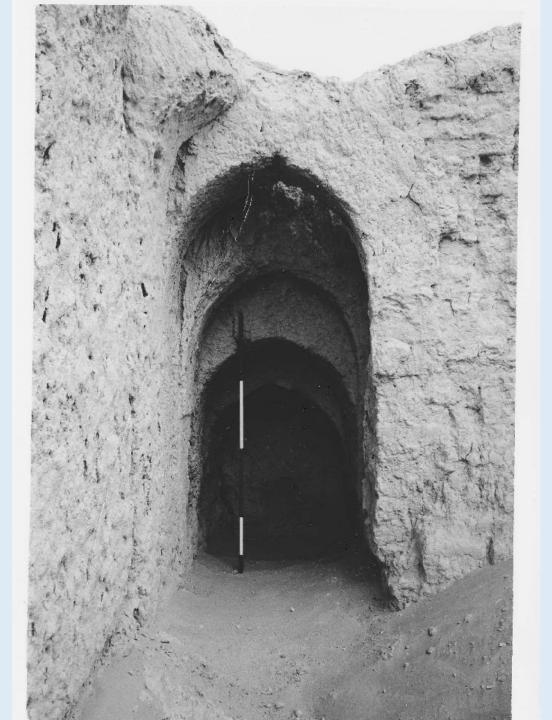




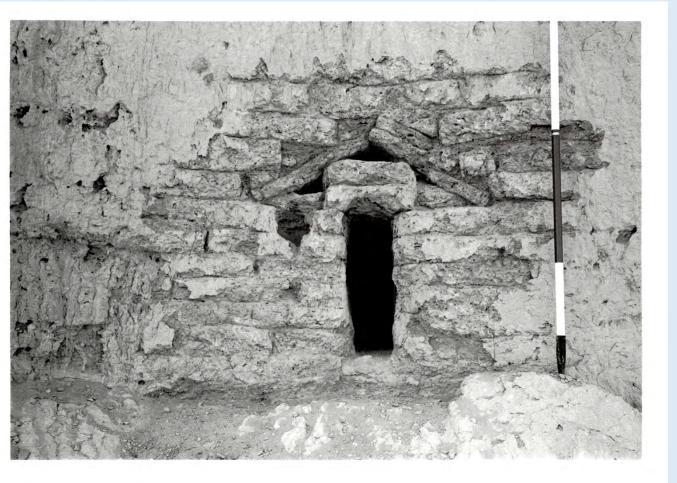
A hallway led to a central courtyard, with air ducts and a staircase leading down







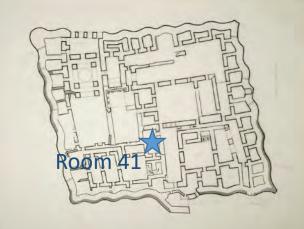
To a lower level of rooms





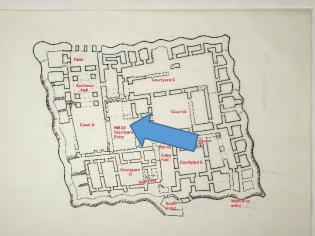


Likely a third story with spacious apartments



Courtyard A

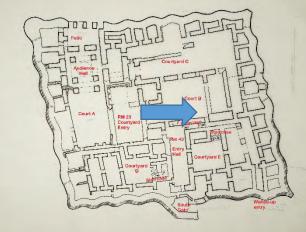
To the west, entry to the ceremonial area



And a domed audience hall



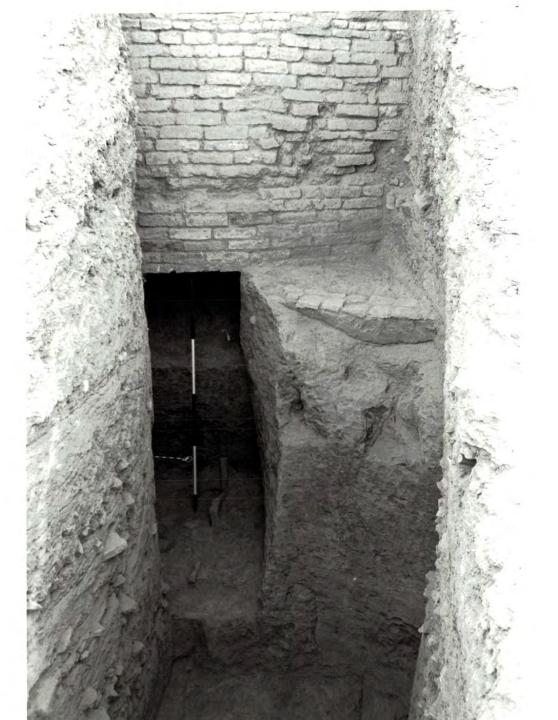
Around the edges, smaller cells



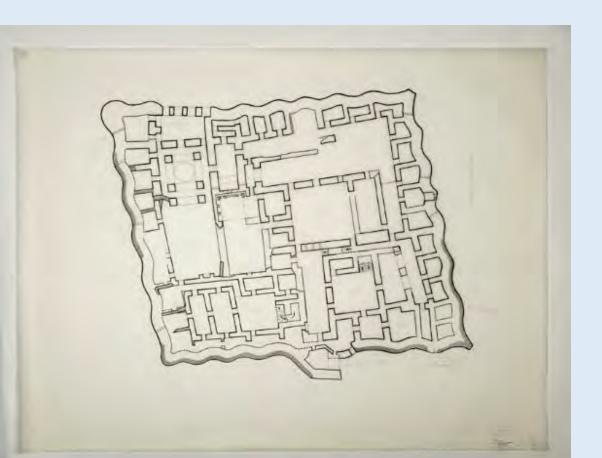
Dating the Citadel Palace

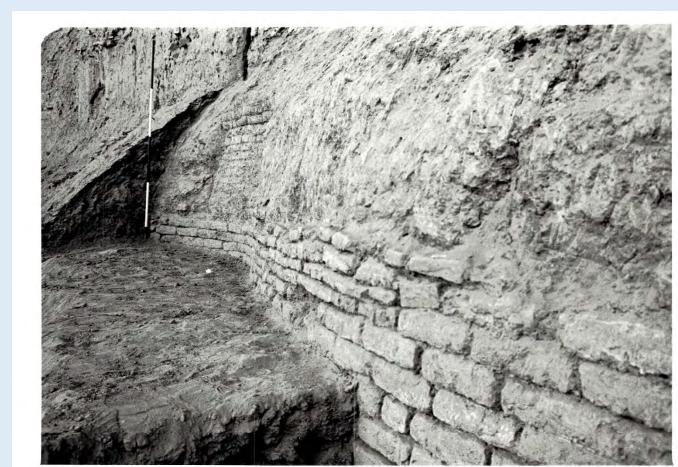






Hard to find parallels



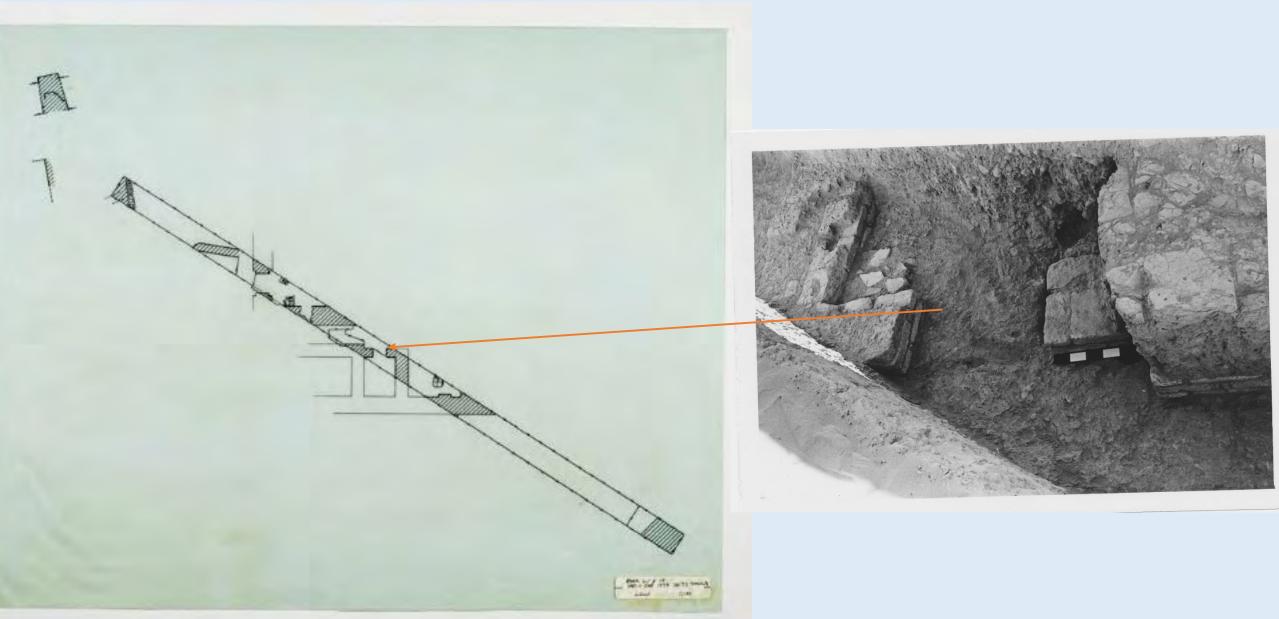


A terrace running inside the Circular Wall

- - - ----



Containing structures, some now buried





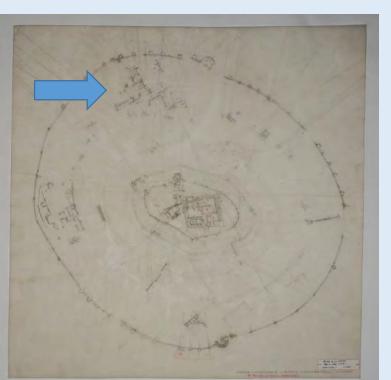
Predating and including Ghaznavid Period

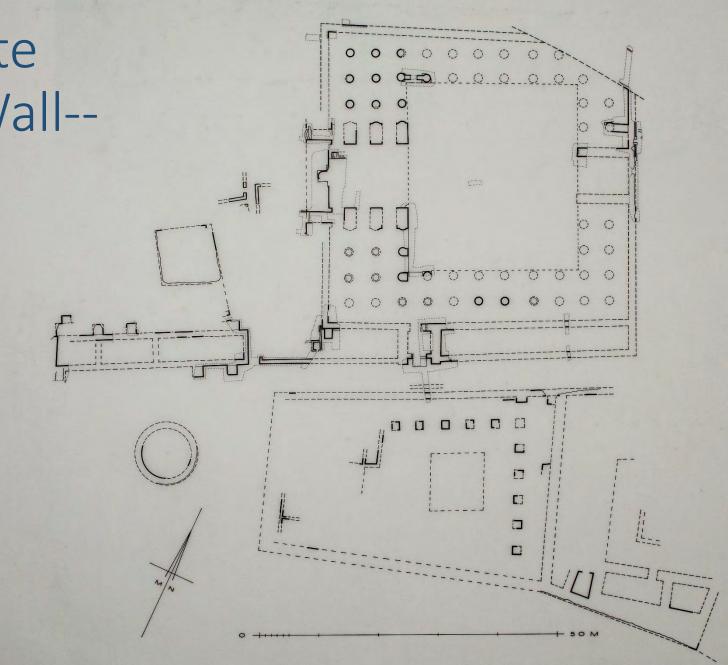






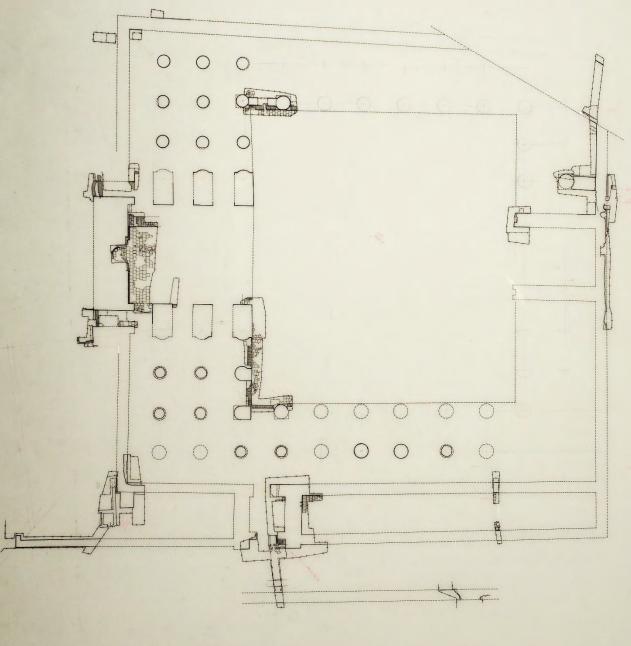
By the North Gate of the Circular Wall-mosque, bazaar, caravanserai





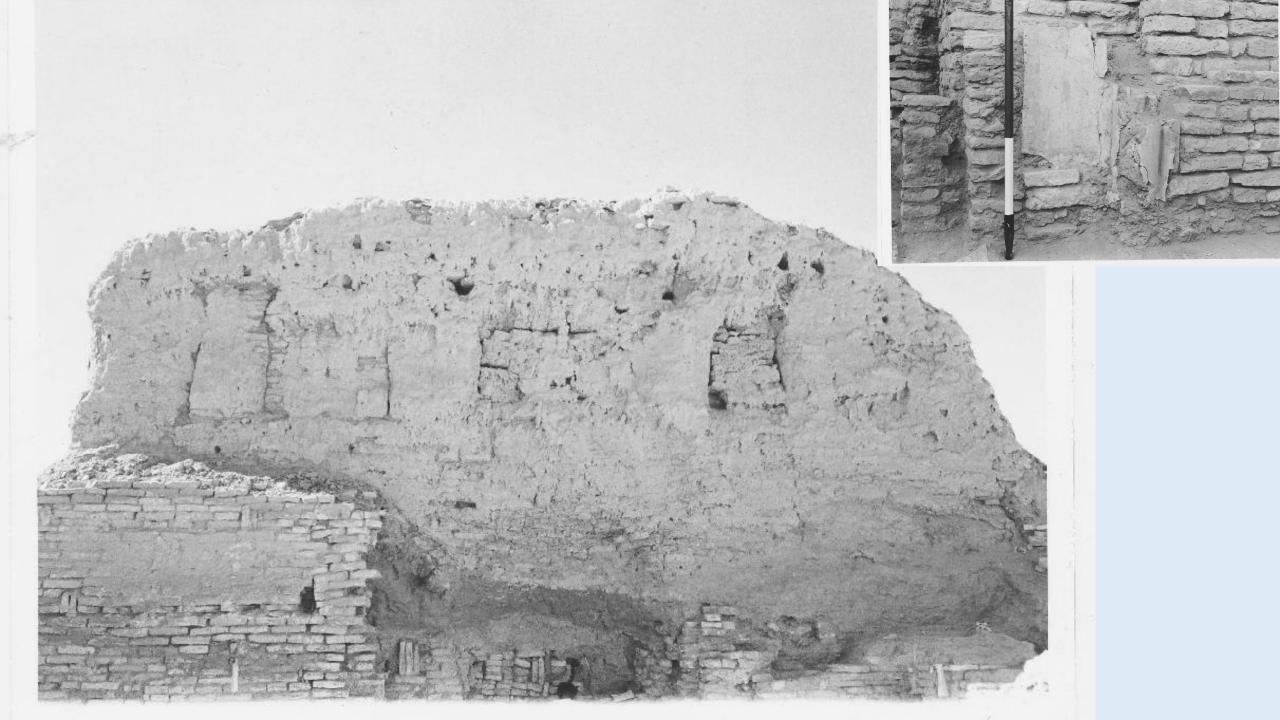
The Mosque



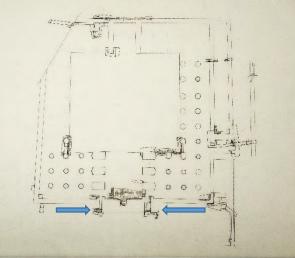


Mihrab

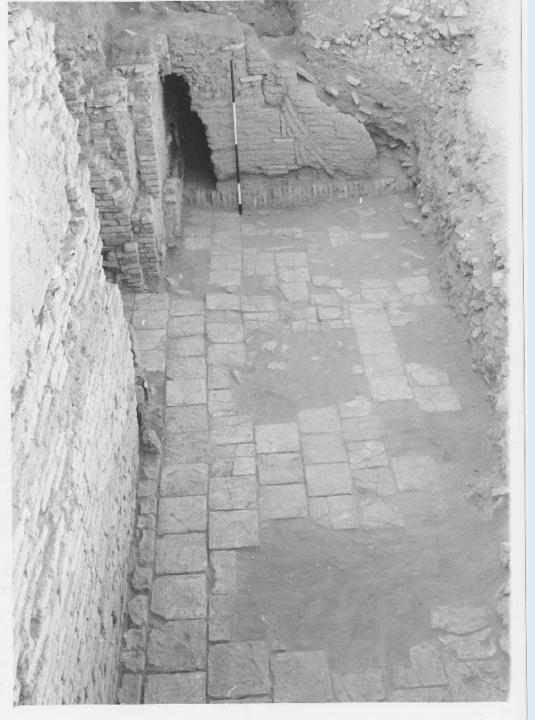




A previous entrance

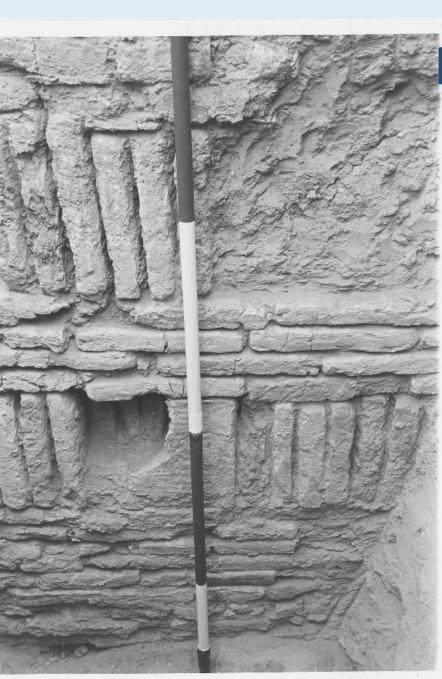


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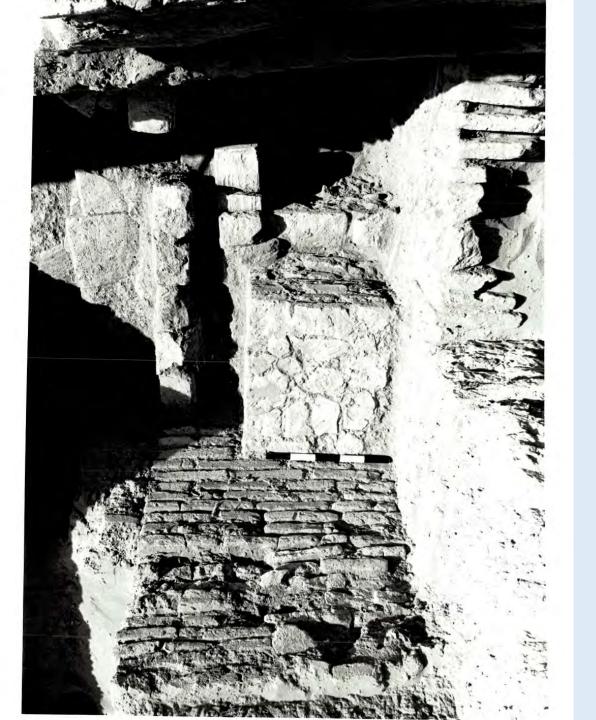


Minbar

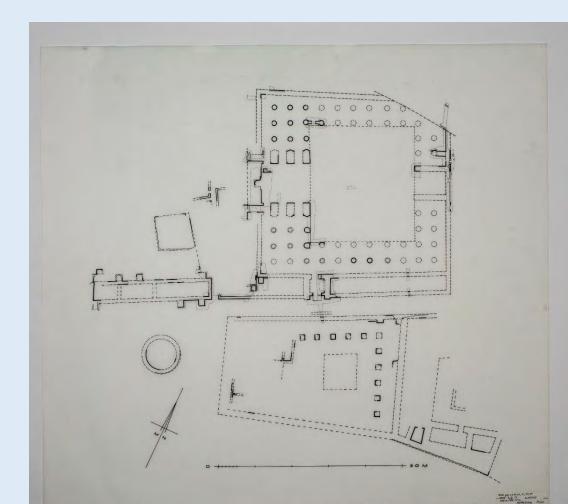




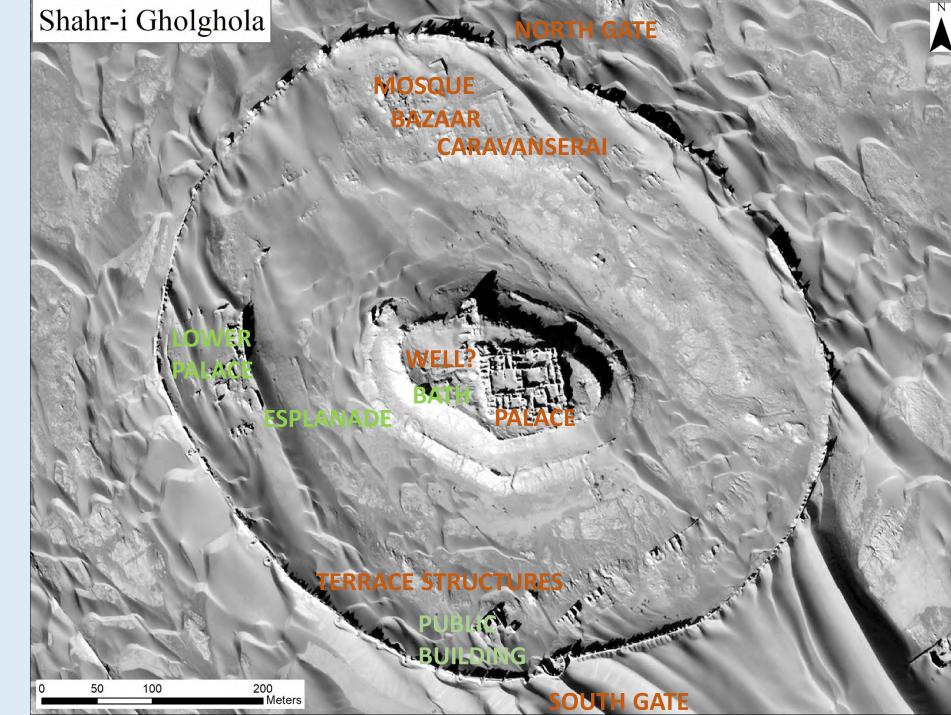
Decorative motifs



The street/ bazaar



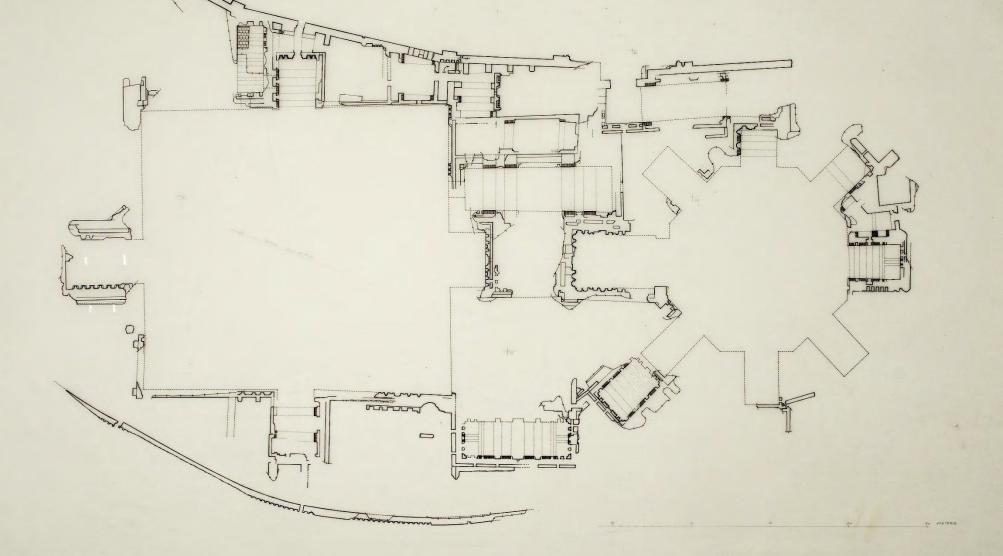
The Ghaznavid City



Fancified the entrance to the Citadel Palace audience hall



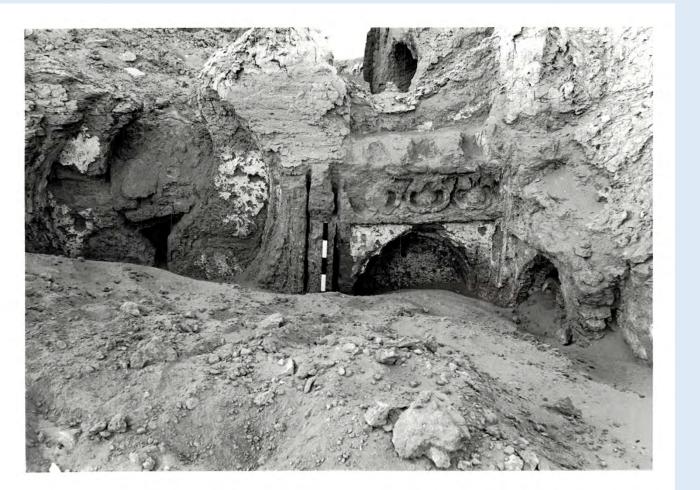
A sumptuous Lower Palace

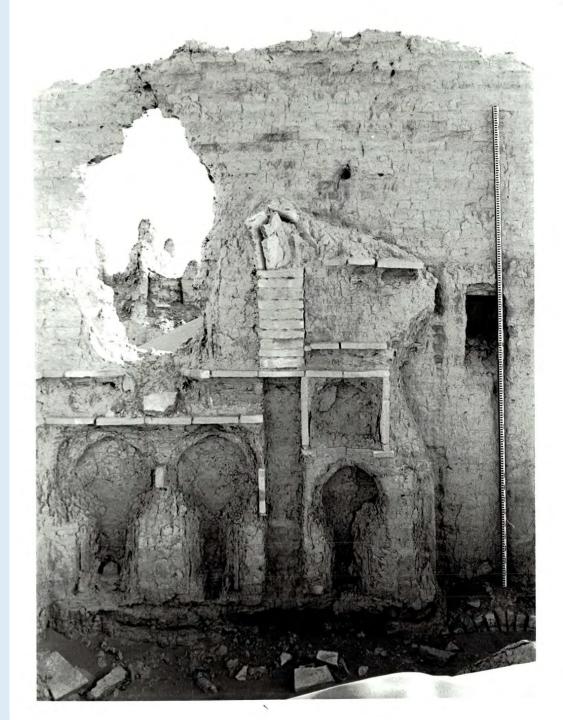


The eight iwan courtyard

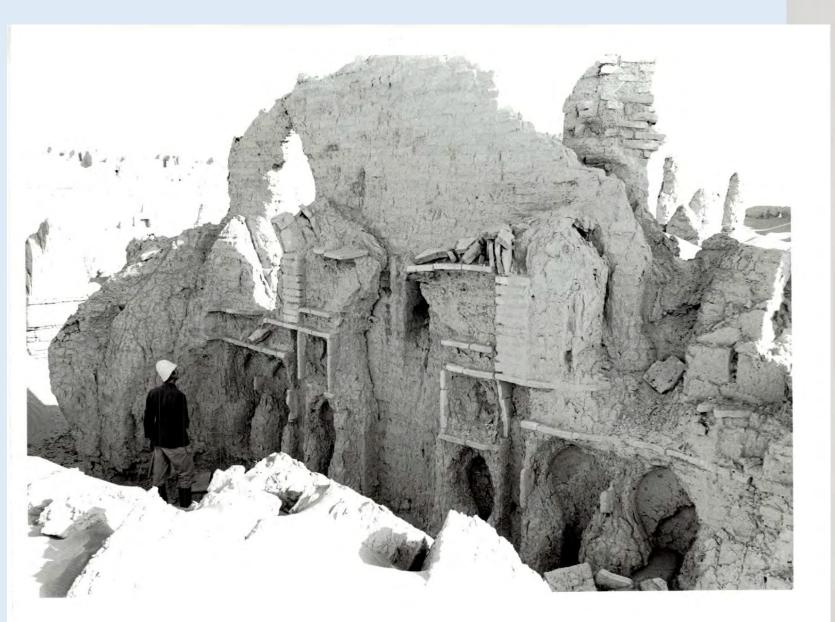


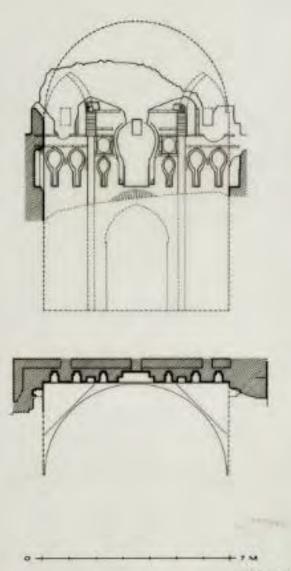
Dating to Ghaznavid times





North court, south iwan





man him the state



a) Arcades avec restes de stucs au voisinage de la tour Sud-Ouest.

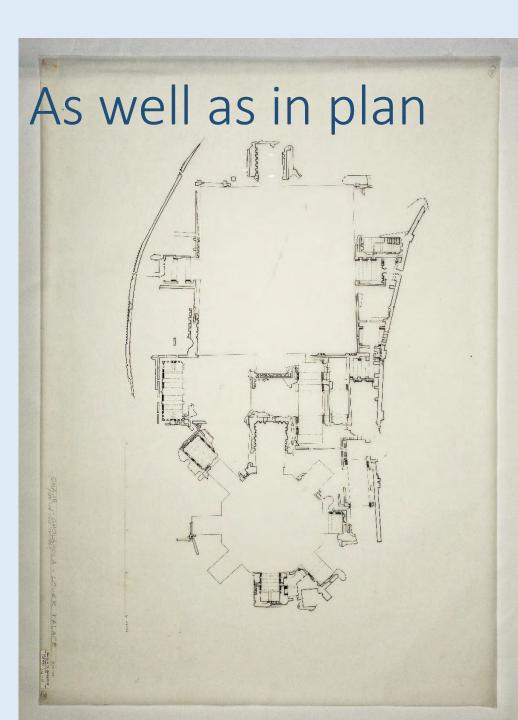
Similar in ornamentation to Lashkari Bazar

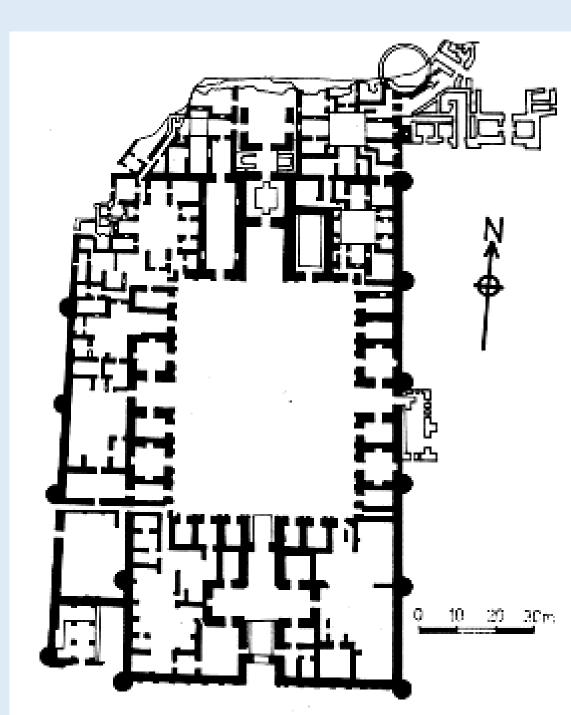


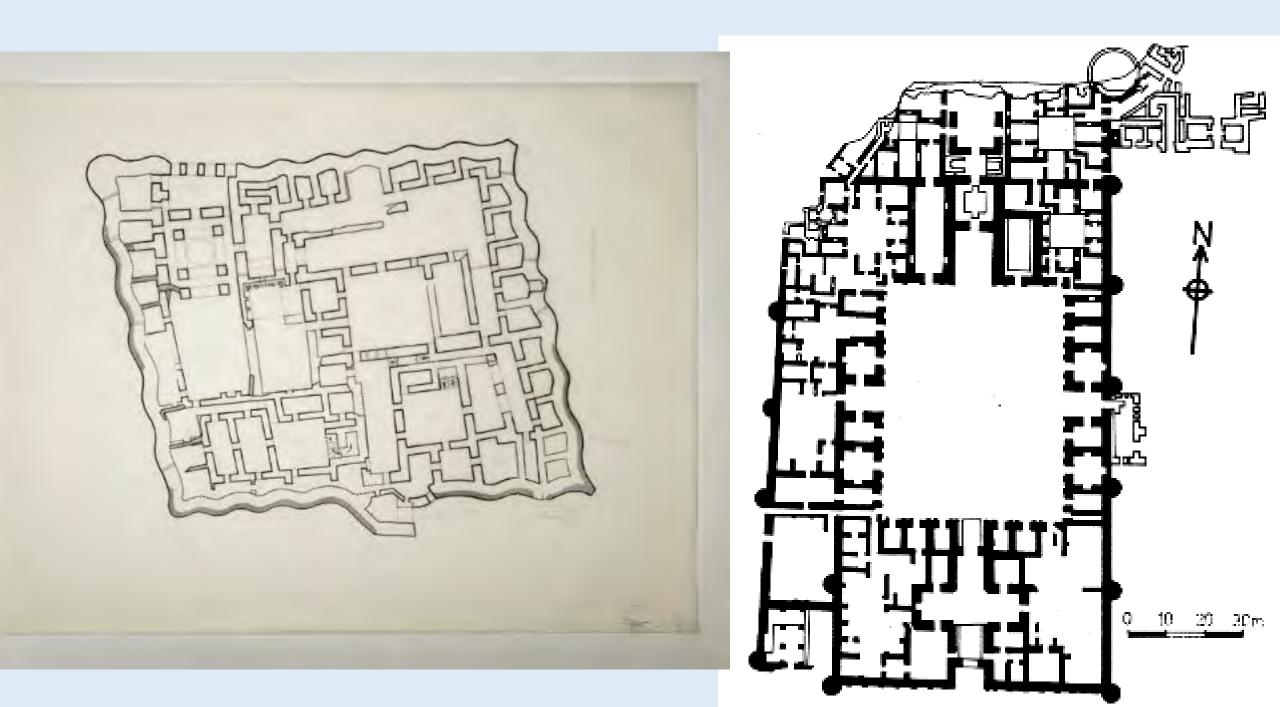
a) Vue générale prise de l'Ouest



b) Vue générale plongeante prise du Sud-Ouest.







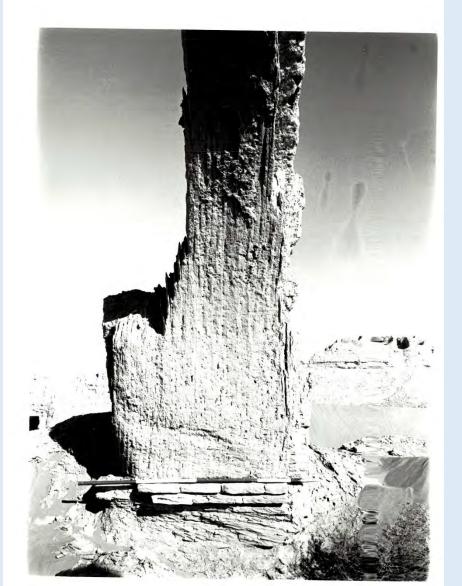
Courtyards behind the audience hall?

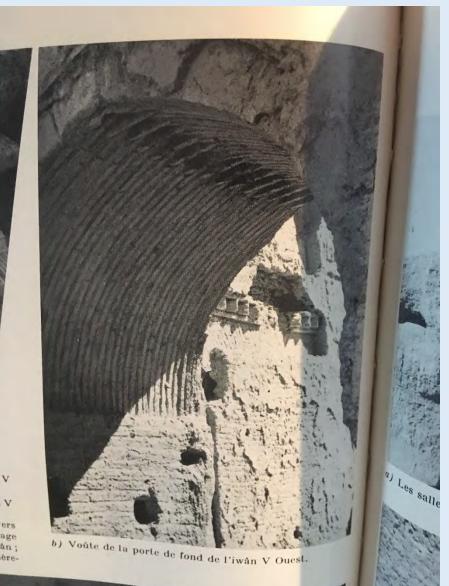


The Hall of Arches between north and south courtyards

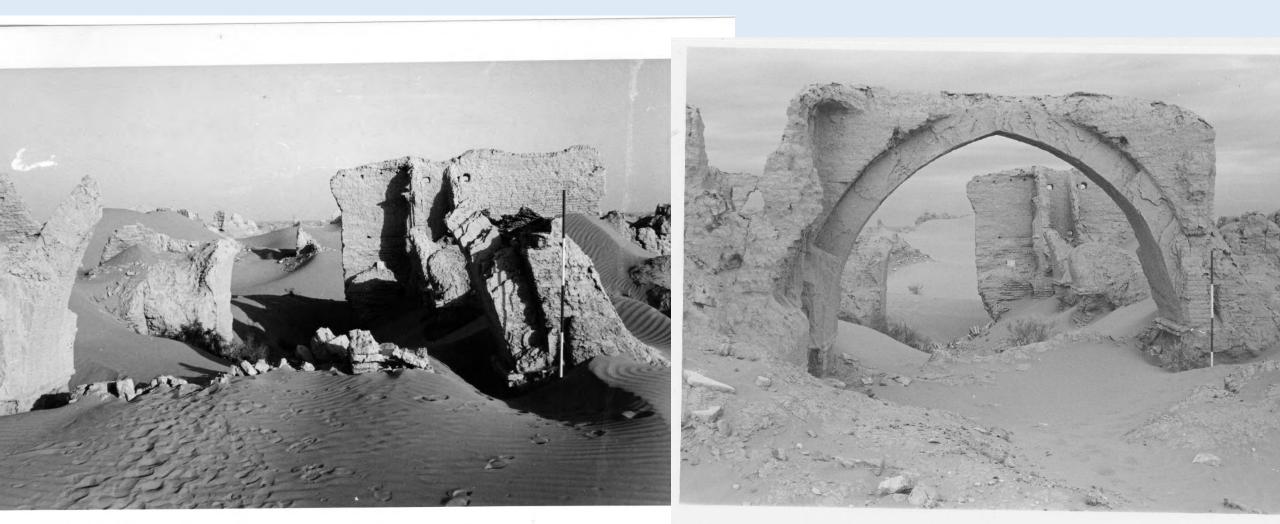


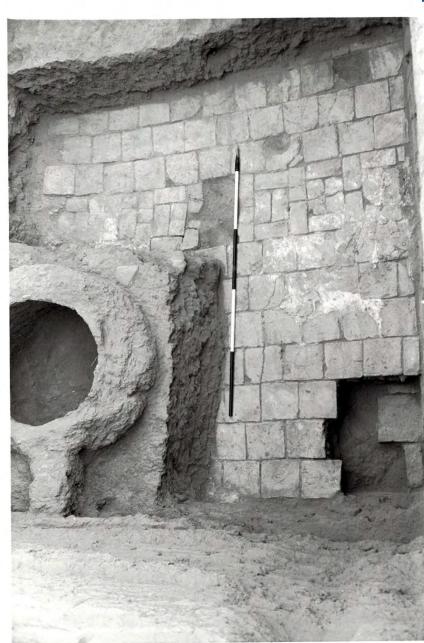
Constructed of long narrow bricks





Between 1973 and 1974 season



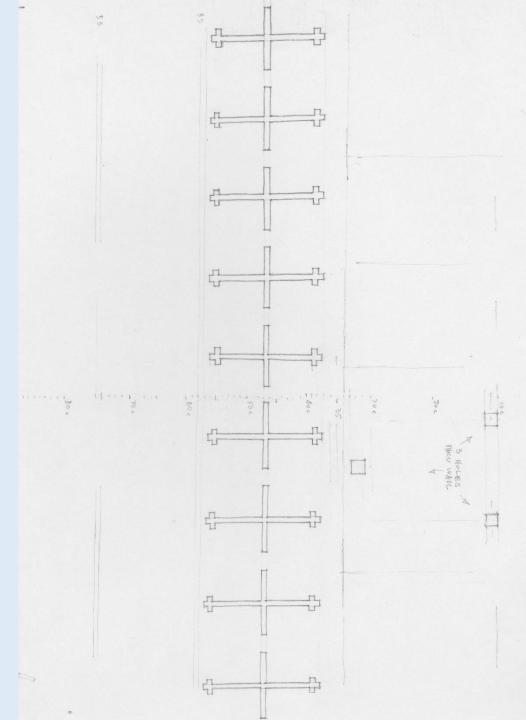


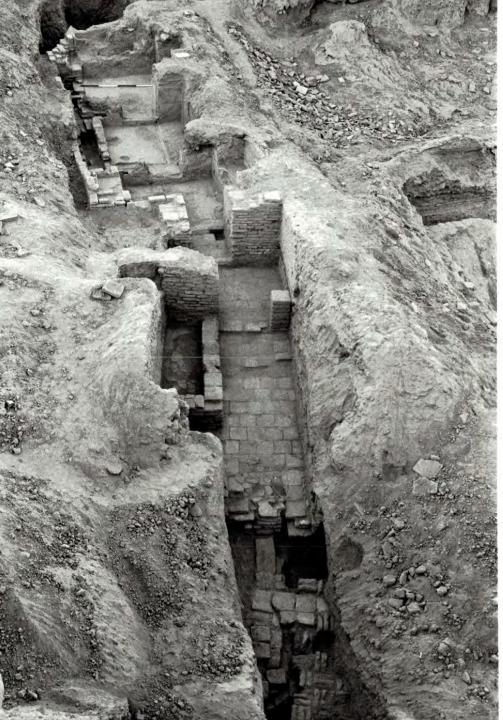
A room on the eastern side was excavated



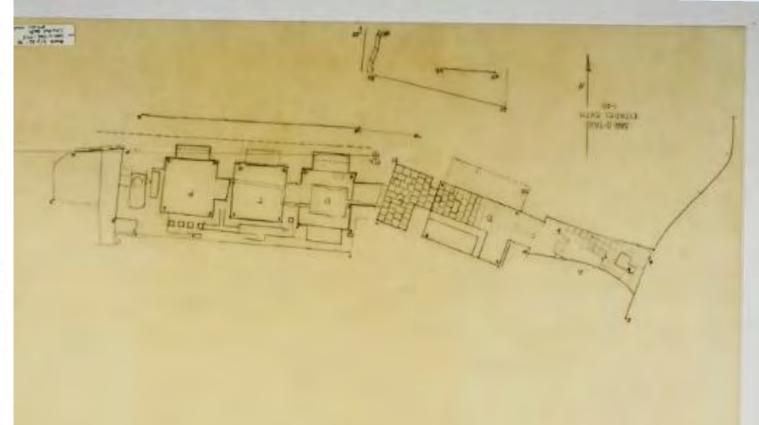


The Esplanade

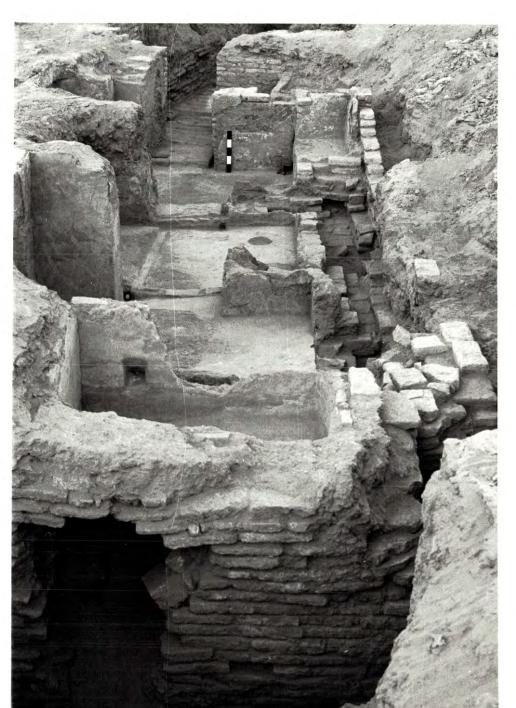




The Bath







Shahr-i Gholghola destroyed by Genghiz Khan's army in 1222 CE



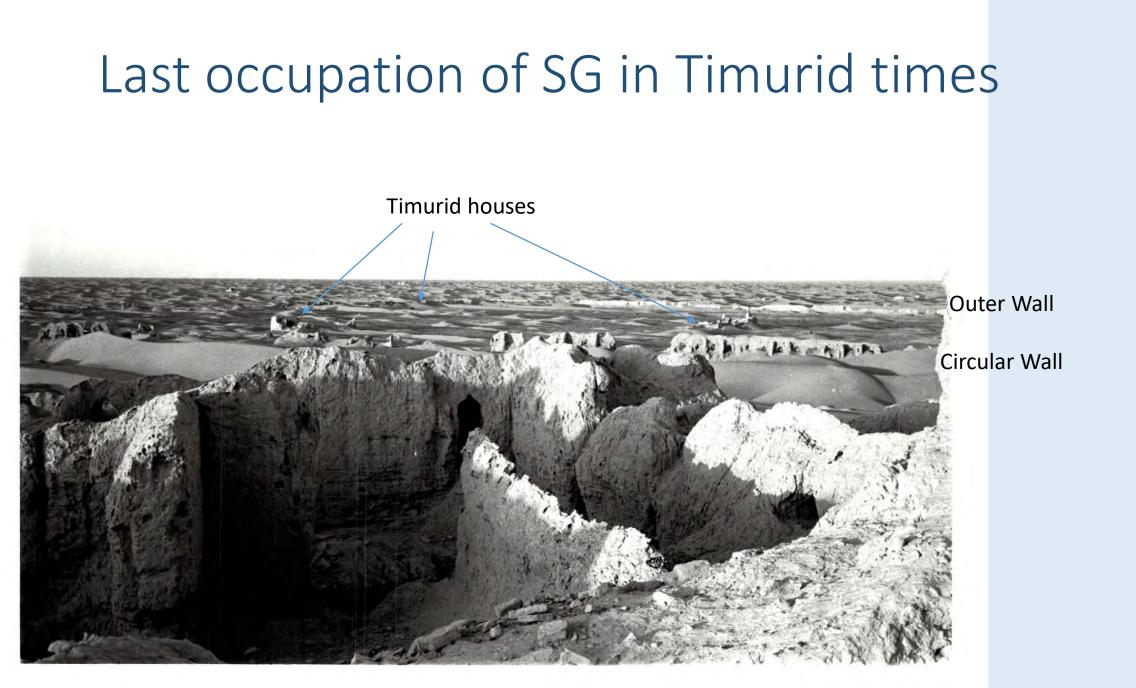


The Mosque Inscription

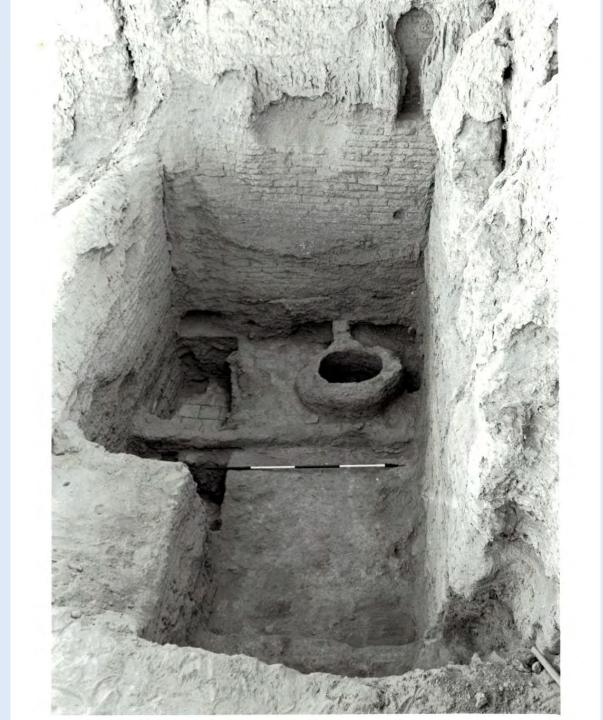








Timurid reuse of a well-built Ghaznavid palace

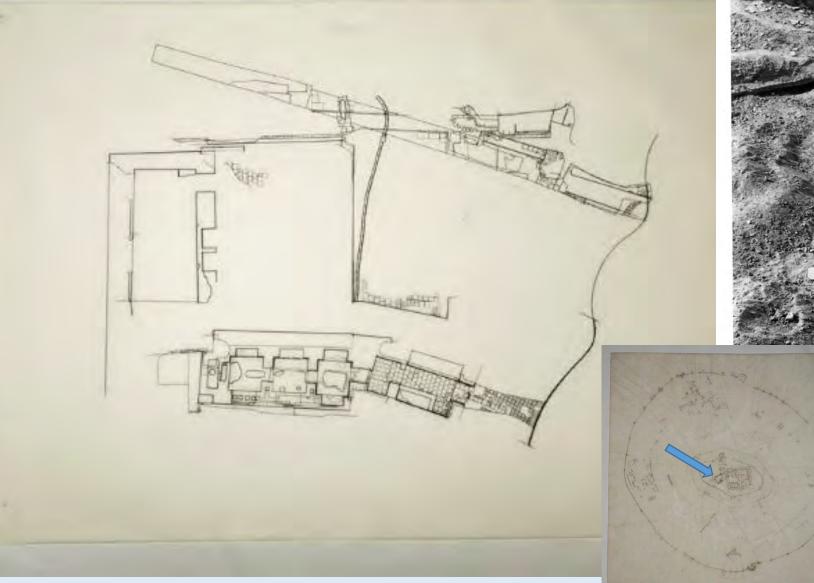


The Bath Reoccupied





Who Built Shahr-i Gholghola





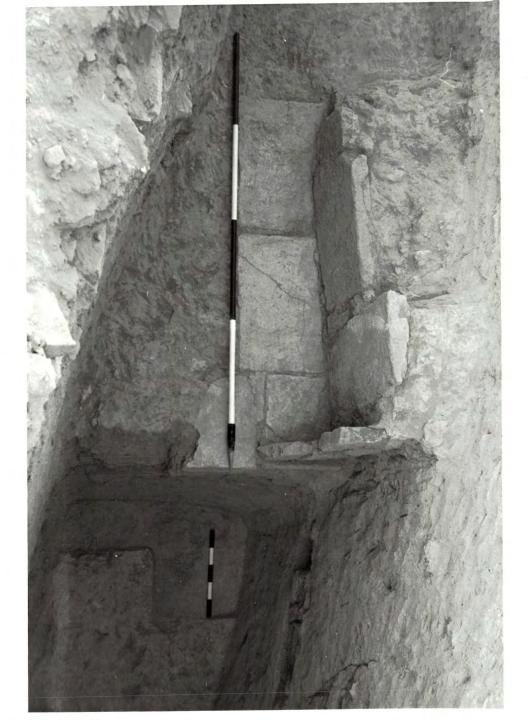
SG74A-Trench 3, Level 2





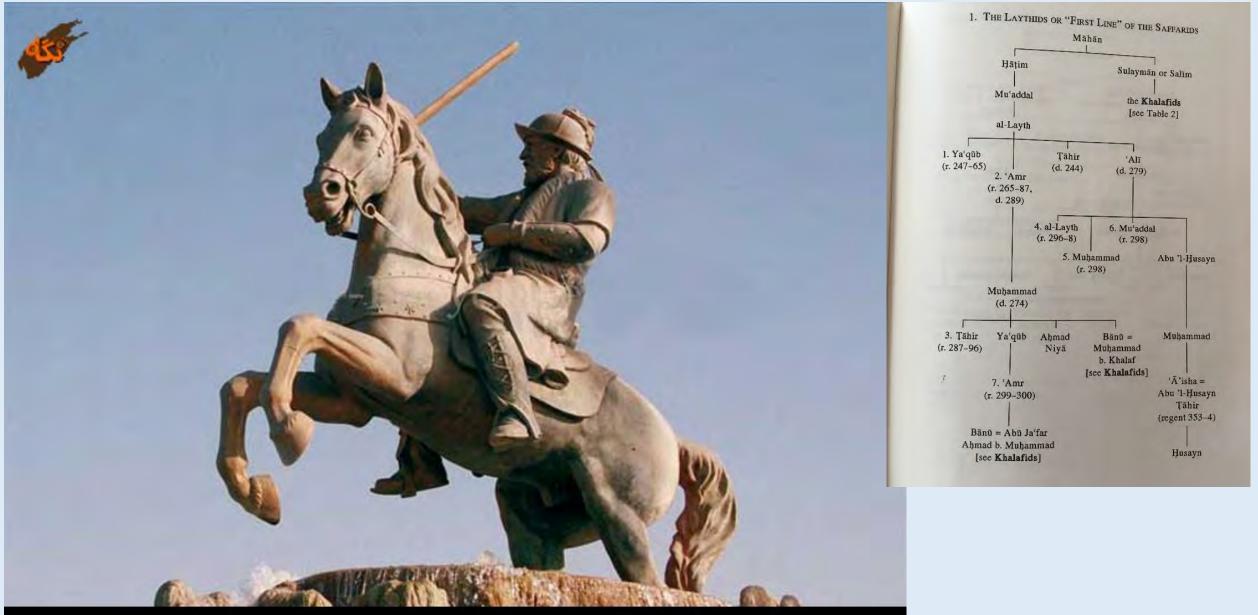








Was this the Saffarid capital of Sistan?



سیستان و بلوچستان - میدان یعقوب لیث زابل