

QALA OF MUQANNA: ROUTES OF SEARCH (PRELIMINARY REPORT)

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ABSTRACT

Rebellion of Muqanna was one of the interesting pages in the history of Central Asia of 8th century. However, search of Qala of Mukanna fortress where he lived several years was not the subject of special study. The goal of this article is to compare the data of important written sources with archaeological situation and specifically recently discovered site located in the mountains north of Hissar ridge surrounding Shahrissyabz Oasis on the south side. Location and the special features of this fortress nearby Kesh-Shakhrysyabz largely correspond to the descriptions of medieval authors. Discovery of stone structures located near the fortress are likely to be houses, buildings of Arab commander al-Harashī. Further archaeological studies may confirm or refute the assumptions.

Key Words: *Muqanna, Qala, Kesh, Shakhrysyabz, Maverranaqr.*

MUKANNA'NIN KALESİ: ARAŞTIRMANIN GÜZERGAHLARI (ÖN RAPOR)

ÖZET

Mukanna isyanı, 8. yüzyıl Orta Asya tarihinde ilginç sayfalardan biriydi. Bununla beraber, bir kaç yıl yaşadığı kalenin araştırılması, özel çalışma alanı olmamıştır. Bu makalenin amacı, önemli yazılı kaynaklardaki bilgiyle arkeolojik durumu ve özellikle Şehrisebz Vahası'nın güneyini çevreleyen Hisar sıradağlarının kuzeyindeki dağlarda yakın zamanda keşfedilen yerleşim yerini karşılaştırmaktır. Kiş-Şehrisebz yakınında konumuyla ve özellikleriyle bu kale, Orta Çağ yazarlarının anlattıklarıyla bağlantılıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Mukanna, Kale, Kiş, Şehrisebz, Maveraünnehir.*

INTRODUCTION

One of the remarkable pages in the history of Central Asia of eighth century is associated with the rebellion of Muqanna and "people in white robes» (mubayyida - Arab., Safedzhamagan - Pers.). The way Central Asians confronted the arrival of Islam as a new religion in Central Asia was mostly hostile, and the whole 8th century was the series of anti-Khalifat movement against foreign invasion and conquest of independence. In most cases, this struggle was covert in different heretical religions and it was attended by "prophets ", «Messiah " and even "gods", which, however, served to some extent successful and consolidating power for the various segments of the population .

Rebellion led by al-Muqanna' a personality, which is described in Muslim sources in a very negative light, but who clearly has an outstanding personal qualities - began in the second half of the 8th century AD and soon engulfed almost the entire Maverranaqr. How in such a short time al-Muqanna' became possible to unite a huge number of people, attract Turks on their side? That is an intriguing question, but finding an answer to it is not the purpose of this article. Certain aspects of this historical event including personality of the leader himself remain disputable. This is largely due to the critical in sometimes judgmental attitude of authors who were defenders of orthodox religion and cover events from the viewpoint of a true Muslim.

LITERATURE

Written sources on Mukanna' attracted scientists working on historical geography of Mavarannahr (Transoxiana) and we have some localization issues of important geographical points. They are reflected in the works of such famous scientists as V. Tomaschek¹, J. Marqwart², V. Minorski. Localization issues of V.V. Bartold concern in majority of his works, but especially it would be noted such work as "Turkestan Down to the Mongol invasion" which has become a classic for researchers of Central Asia.³

Geographical and topographical surveys of historical regions by military surveyors and engineers give important information. They are virtually almost the first mapmaker of archaeological "ruins" and "mounds". Preserving sometimes even in a distorted form of names of villages, rivers, passes, etc., the old (ancient) maps play an important role for localizing of historical sites.⁴

The Muqanna's rebellion was a subject of research at the end of the 1930s in the work of Gh.Sadighi, who wrote about religious movements in Iran of first century Hijra analyzing Arabic and Persian sources.⁵ Y.A. Jakubowski in his work gives a general

¹ Tomaschek W. Centralasiatische Studien. Sogdiana. Wien, Karl Gerold's Sohn, 1877. 120 pp.

² Marqwart J. Eransahr nach der Geographie des ps. Moses Xorenacci mit historisch-kritischen Kommentar und historischen und topographischen Excursen. Berlin: Weidmann, 1901; Ibid. Wehrot und Arang; untersuchungen zur mythisen und geschichtlichen landeskunde von Ostiran. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1938.

³ Bartold V.V. Turkestan v epohu mongolskogo nashestviya // Sochineniya. Tom I. Izdatelstvo Vostochnaya Literatura, Moskva, 1963, pp. 45-610; in English: Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion. London: Luzak & Co, 1928. Trans. T. Minorsky & C.E.

⁴ In this respect it is necessary to mention such names as B.N. Kastalsky, I.T. Poslavsky, N.A. Maev and others.

⁵ Sadighi Gh.H. Les mouvements religieux iraniens au II-e et au III-e siècle de l'hegire. Paris, 1938.

historical evaluation of Muqanna's period and social roots of his rebellion.⁶ His student T. Kadyrova has devoted to this topic a monographic study. Besides Narshakhi as the main source of previous researcher used the works of Bala'mi and Ibn al-Athir.⁷ O.G. Bolshakov, who devoted a small but capacious content article on the chronology of Muqanna's rebellion, gives a thorough analysis of the sources, comparing various authors and correcting some mistakes of T. Kadyrova.⁸

In the field of numismatic study discovery of coins of Muqanna' minted in Sogdia and identified by B.D. Kochnev was the next step for research on Muqanna'.⁹ The political situation of Maverannahr prior to the rebellion of Muqanna' and time of Abu Muslim was investigated in work of Yu. Karev.¹⁰ The Overview of written and some archaeological sites are in a relatively recent article of F.Grenet.¹¹ P.Crone and M. Jafari Jazi who implemented a detailed analysis and translation of a source such as *Tarikname*.¹²

Among recent works on the history of movements in Central Asia and Iran during first centuries of Hijra it is important to emphasize a capital monographic study of P. Crone, encompassing characteristic teachings of all leaders - prophets of movement of the early medieval Iran, including the territory of Central Asia.¹³

SEARCHES OF MUQANNA'S QALA

Amongst archaeologists the interest for the fortress of Muqanna' was existed permanently and it was provoked in certain measure by the bright and extraordinary personality of Muqanna' himself and mysterious intrigue that accompanied the life and activities of this man who pushed almost the entire population of medieval Maverannahr to fight against the Khalifat. A fortress had relatively a complex structure - one castle inside of another - arousing a great interest. However, to find the fortress (Qala) was difficult for various reasons, first and foremost, the location in the highlands and its inaccessibility. Almost in all publications relating to archeology and history of Kesh, the authors certainly mention Muqanna' and fortress where he was hiding.

Localization of Muqanna's Qala till present time was not the subject of special study, although there were attempts to detect it. The fortress was located in a remote mountainous area, and all indications of the written sources are vague and uncertain. We

⁶ Yakubovskiy Y.A. Vosstanie Mukanny – dvizhenie "lyudey v belyh odezhдах" Якубовский Ю.А. Восстание Муканны - движение «людей в белых одеждах» //Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie. Tom V, 1948г., pp. 35-54.

⁷ Kadyrova T. Iz istorii krestyanskih vosstaniy v Maverranakhre i Khorasane v VIII – nachale IX v. Tashkent, 1965.

⁸ Bolshakov O.G. Xronologiya vosstaniya Mukanny// Istoriya i kultura narodov Sredney Azii, 1976, pp. 90-98.

⁹ Kochnev B. Les monnaies de Muqanna'//Studia Iranica 30/1 (2001), pp. 143-150.

¹⁰ Karev Y. La politique d'Abu Muslim dans le Mawara'annah: nouvelles donnees textuelles et archeologique// Der Islam 79, 2002, 1-49.

¹¹ Grenet F. Contribution a l'etude de la revolte de Muqanna (C. 775-780): traces materiales, trace heresiographiques//Islam: identite et alterite. Hommage a Guy Monnot, O.P. Turnhout, Brepols, 2013, pp. 247-261

¹² Crone P., M. Jafari Jazi, The Muqanna' narrative in the *Tariknama*// BSOAS 73/1 (2010, pp. 157177; 73/3, pp. 381-413.

¹³ Crone P. The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran. Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrinism. Cambridge University Press. New York, 2012.

know that this fortress was built in Kesh area (modern Shakhrisyabz). However, taking into consideration the location of Shakhrisyabz city, which surrounded by mountains on all sides problem is much more complicated. On the northern and eastern sides Shakhrisyabz-Kesh is surrounded by mountains of Zerafshan range, while the southern part of the ring is covered by western and northern spurs of Hissar Mountains.

It should be noted that in late June of 2010 an archaeological survey was carried out by one of the authors.¹⁴ The territory in eastern direction from the modern Kitab city towards Matmon village and along the river Dzhindidarya to the village Denov Bolo was explored. Denov Bolo is located at 1869 m above sea level. The Village is bordering by the river Dzhindidarya. Bilingual population speaks Uzbek and Tajik. They are natives of Samarkand and according to their stories they have migrated to this region in the 15th century. Denov Bolo is located at the foot of an ancient high fortress (Fig. 8) overlooking the western end of the village (1938 m above sea level). The archaeological site has no name. On its destroyed part (trench made recently by villagers) cultural layers dating back to 7-8 centuries were fixed. Here on the surface of the site fragments of pottery, beads, referring to the same time were found. Besides the study of this particular monument Archaeological Survey was done. The area in east-southern direction between village Denov Bolo and foot of Mount Hazrat Sultan (village Shut) was investigated. And then return back along the River Dzhindidarya towards large village Jawuz.

Another route of survey was the direction from the village Normon (another name Obi Gardon), located in the northwestern part of the village Jawuz. The village is situated at an altitude of 1124 m above sea level. On the western extremity of the village there is Obi Gardon an archaeological city-site, destroyed by modern road. On the surface fragments of pottery were collected and in majority they represent glazed wares dating to the late medieval time 18-19 centuries.

Surface of the site is occupied by modern houses. The size of the archaeological site is considerable and elongated side stretches over 200 m. The traces of early habitation were not fixed, although it is possible that the settlement relates to an earlier period. However, for this purpose it is necessary to carry out archeological excavations.

From this site further path lay in southwestern direction through a mountain pass Alibobo to the village Siob. The road was not rugged and promotion was only possible on foot or on horseback or donkey. The road was constantly on the rise. Highest point was Alibobo, Siob village located along the eponymous river Siobsoy and has about 30 households. Unlike the villages Denov Bolo and Jawuz, there is virtually no land suitable for agriculture. The River flows in mountain gorge. The population is mainly engaged in animal husbandry. An archaeological site was found in vicinity of Siob village.

Next, the path ran in a western direction towards the village Gouhona and the Rudaki and further Kitab. Here about 4-5 km south from the village Siob there was a place called Archamazar (Tombe of Juniper). The name comes from a large juniper tree. Nearby

¹⁴ K. Abdullaev. Archaeological Survey in Kitab area of Kashkadarya Region in 2010. In Press.

traces of an ancient road were found. According to the regional ethnographer Akhat Berdyev, in the area there is a necropolis and there was a major battle between the Arabs and the army of Muqanna' (?). The terrain in this area which is of several acres is relatively flat.

From this place it offers views of the mountainside, which locals call Moh-i Kish, i.e. Moon of Kesh (Fig. 9). Even from this point you can see the village, located at the foot of the mountains. It seems quite clear that from the top of the mountain the whole valley of Kitab can be seen.

After completion of the route it could be possible to make some assumptions. Obi Gardon from the archeological point of view can be considered as the largest site of the area. Despite the large size of the settlement, it is located on a flat plain available and scarcely pretend for the mountain fortress of Muqanna'. Relatively large fortress nearby Denov Bolo, possesses cultural layers in its structure. They can be associated chronologically to the activities of Mukanna'. However, if we consider the fact that many thousands of troops could be managed in interior of the Qala, in this case it is difficult to identify Qala Mukanna with fortress of Denov Bolo.

Evidently that population of those villages was also involved in the unfolding events in the region. However, we could not find any archaeological site more or less similar, which could be convincingly associated to Qala of Mukanna'. It was clear that we had had to search Qala in another direction.

The spurs of Zerafshan range - a mountain area located to north of Kitab remained completely unexplored, i.e. territory close to the modern pass to Samarkand (Takhta Karacha). In this part Kitab city is bordered by the mountain on the north side, and from there we have the same panorama of all Kesh. Another part of the mountains, i.e. the northern and western spurs of Hissar Range adjacent to the Kesh on south side (Kamashi and Yakkabak districts) remain also weakly studied. To clarify the location of Muqanna's Qala it was necessary to conduct archaeological exploration in this part of the region.

Considering how quickly influence spread in Bukhara, Samarkand, Sangardak directions, it can be assumed that the fortress was of great strategic importance and was located on the site of the crossing roads in different directions. By this we must add that the relationship with the army, part of which was supposed to be around for the protection and mobility of the army depended on the location of the fort, is a kind of headquarters, from where the orders of leader were given.

WHEN THE QALA OF MUQANNA' WAS BUILT

There is no accurate information on the exact date of the construction of the fortress. There is every reason to assume that it fits into the general chronological framework of leader's movement and activities of his missionaries and the subsequent rebellion. Chronology of Muqanna's rebellion is a controversial aspect of the sources and discussion in the scientific literature. Here we will not deal with this issue in detail, and present the basic data structures affecting the history of the fortress.

Time *post quem* can serve as a departure of Muqanna' from the village near Marw, where he was hiding after the order of the governor of Khurāsān Humayd b. Qahtaba to arrest him.¹⁵ This event was preceded by a campaign Arab Abdallah ibn 'Amr, who gave his daughter for Muqanna'. He crossed the Oxus and came to Nahshab and Kesh, promoting Muqanna's teaching and converting people to the new faith. Narshakhī reports that numerous people of Kesh and its suburbs were going astray.¹⁶ Most likely, the arrival of Muqanna' in Kesh could be related with beginning of construction. The population of this part of Maverranaqr was loyal and reliable supporters of the movement. Construction of fortress itself corresponds to the following sequence of events - the arrival Mukanna in Kesh, turned to the moment a reliable stronghold of his teachings. Chronologically, this step can be attributed to the preparatory phase before the rebellion, i.e. while escape of Muqanna' from Marw to Maverranaqr after 768. Theoretically, the same 768 could be the year of construction of the fortress. Further, omitting a number of events that have occurred in Maverranaqr¹⁷ we shall focus on the most important of them. Early of 80th's are marked by conquest of the valley of Kashkadarya by Sa'īd al- Harashī and Musayyab.

Although there took place a siege of the Muqanna's Qala, it was stopped or delayed due to the onset of winter. In all probability, the construction of houses on the orders of al-Harashī belongs to the same time (possibly autumn 782). Command of the army passed completely into the hands of al-Harashī, while Musyaba leaves for Marw. It should be

¹⁵ This order was preceded Muqanna's arrest for participation in rebellion of Abd al- Jabbar , which, according to O.G. Bolshakov , could take place in the events of 758-759 years (Bolshakov , p. 95). However Narshakhī does not connect this arrest with the rebellion, noting that " he began to claim the prophecy and for awhile it did, and Abu Ja'far Davaniki sent to him, and he brought him from Marw to Baghdad, where he was imprisoned for several years in prison» (Discription topographique et historique de Boukhara par H. Zotenberg, vol. IV, Paris, 1874, p. 64). After the liberation Muqanna' returns to Marw and in his new sermon declares himself as an incarnation of a deity, which represents a real threat to the requirements of Islam. Narshakhī dates this event in broad chronological framework - reign Humayd b. Qahtaba (with 150/20.VIII-17.IX Sha'ban 768 years - Hamzae Ispahanensis annalium libri X, ed. IME Gotwald, t. I, textus arabicus, Petropoli - Lipsiae, 1884, p. 221; Bolshakov , p. 95 . Humayd died in early May 159/ late Sha'ban 776. Consequently, escape of Muqanna' from Marw to Maverranaqr falls between these time frames.

¹⁶ Richard N. Frye. History of Bukhara. Translated from Persian Abridgment of the Arabic Original by Narshakhi. Th Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1954, p. 67.

¹⁷ According to the chronology proposed by T. Kadirova (T. Kadyrova, *Iz istorii krestyanskih vosstaniy v Maverannahre i Khorasane v VIII - nachle IX v.* Tashkent, 1965, p. 119) to the 775 one can relate such important events as the displacement of al- Mansur and Humayd appointment in his place Abu Aoun Abd al- Malik. However, this suggestion has been revised in the article of O.G. Bolshakov (O.G. Bolshakov "Khronologiya vosstaniya Mukany" In: *Istoriya i kultura narodov Sredney Azii.* Moscow, Vostochnaya literature, 1976, pp. 90-91), who notes that Humayd b. Qahtaba was not removed by al-Mansur, but died as governor in Sha'ban 159/25.V-22.VI. 776 and left his son as his successor. According to Kadirova, by the same date (775) refers deployment of military action around Samarkand (Abu Aoun sending reinforcements led by Ukba to help the newly appointed governor of Samarkand Jibra'il b. Yahyā) and Termez - and capturing by rebels Chaganian and Nakhshab. Bolshakov believes that Abu Aoun could not be governor in 775, as he was already appointed by al-Mahdi, a double reference to arrival Mu'aadh with army in Mawarannahr in 776 and 777-778, respectively, according to Bolshakov, is also erroneous (Bolshakov, p. 91). To the 776 (April) can be referred the battle against "people in white robes" nearby Narshakh. The date of beginning of revolt in Sughd remains unknown, although to the spring of 776, according to Bolshakov, Navaket, Subakh, Sangardak and some castles in Kesh area were captured. It is interesting to note that Sangardak is placed amongst the villages of Kesh. We shall concern that localization below. In 777-778 Samarkand was captured by rebels and to the same time belongs the arrival to Marw od Mu'aadh b. Muslim. Next to the 780 there was battle near Samarkand. Said al-Harashī after two years of siege captures Samarkand.

noted, that the exact date of death of Mukanna' could serve as point for correlation of other dates. However, that date is also disputable. For example, At-Tabari in his extremely brief chronicle relates to the beginning of the revolt, the 161/777-78 "Among what happened this year was the rebellion of al- Hakim Muqanna in Khorasan, he talked about the transmigration, attributing it to himself. He misled many people, reinforced and moved to Marw. To fight against him al-Mahdi sent several generals, among them Mu'aadh b. Muslim, who was that time governor of Khorasan, and with him Ukba b. Muslim, Jibra'il b. Yahya and Lays, Mawla al-Mahdi. Then al-Mahdi instructed Sa'yd al-Harashī, giving him these warlords. And al- Mukanna began to collect products to lay siege to the castle nearby Kesh. "¹⁸

The death of Muqanna' Tabari relates to 163/779-80: among what happened this year - the death of al-Muqanna'. It was like this; Sa'id al-Harashī besieged him near Kesh and it was hard for him in the siege. When he felt approach of his death he drank the poison and poisoned his wives. They all died. Muslims entered his castle, cut off his head and sent it al-Mahdi, who was that time in Aleppo.¹⁹ It seems, that chronological frameworks proposed by at-Tabari do not embrace entire duration. Specifically the History of at-Tabari does not include earlier preparatory period of Muqanna's rebellion. Time of the final surrender of the fortress and Muqanna's death, as we see, is defined in different ways in written sources. Sources are usually given 163/779 year, while Salami puts this date in 166/782; others offer 167/783 a year or even 169/785.²⁰

There is another possibility to definite the dating of Muqanna's fortress. In this respect a fragment from History of Bukhara of Narshakhī is important. . In particular, on Muqanna' he says: "He was in the castle with his wives. He was wont to eat and drink every day with these women. So he spent 14 years."²¹ Lykoshin translates this passage as follows: "So he withstood the siege 14 years until Emir of Herat is not pressed him and while his army was not dispersed."²²

But it is hardly possible to believe in reality of a 14- year siege. Narshakhī writes himself that Arab warlord Said al-Harashī was at the gate of fortress blocking it. And he was standing there summer and winter. It can mean that the siege of the fortress itself lasted less than a year - until the next spring. Interestingly, the figure "14" is mentioned by Al Biruni (Biruni, 211):²³ "He broke the armies of al- Mahdi and ruled for fourteen years, until it was besieged and killed in one hundred sixty ninth year of the Hijra."²⁴ More likely

¹⁸ Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at Tabari, ed. M.J. De Goeje, Lugduni Batavorum, ser. III, 1892. p. 486

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 494.

²⁰ Crone, p. 113.

²¹ "He stayed in the castle with his women. He had the custom of eating and drinking wine every day with those women. So he passed fourteen years in this manner". Richard N. Frye. History of Bukhara, 1954, p. 74.

²² Muhammad Narshakhi. Istoriya Bukhary. Translated from Persian by N. Lykoshin, p. 94.

²³ Biruni. Pamyatniki minuvshih pokoleniy. Translated into Russian by M.A. Salye. Selected works. Izdatelstvo Akademii Uzbekskey SSR. Tashkent, 1957, p. 217.

²⁴ This is the latest date in the version of Muqanna's death from written sources. If we subtract from the date of death of 485/486 Hijra 14 years of ruling, the beginning (not the ruling) and especially the construction of the fortress is no longer fit into our proposed scheme.

it seems to us that the period of 14 years means the total Muqanna's stay in the fortress from the beginning to the last days. If to reason in a logical sequence, the date of the fortress should be referred to the time after 768, i.e. after the order of Qahtaba for the arrest of Muqanna' and escape of latter in Mawarannahr. If we take into account the foregoing number of staying in fortress, the date of its construction we get depending on the above mention of versions of time of Muqanna's death.

It seems that the most likely date of death in 167/783 year, and the year of construction of the fortress, respectively - 769, if we consider the fact that some time Muqanna' hiding near Marw.²⁵ "Humayd son of Qahtaba who was the Emir of Khorasan, ordered to seize Mukanna, but he ran away from his village and hid until yet learned that a lot of people passed in his faith, and that these people began to manifest a new faith."²⁶ This is to some extent inspired leader of the movement to move closer to his followers. Despite the protection of the coast Jayxun (Amu Darya) 100 riders, especially exiled by Qahtaba, Muqanna' with its 36 people manage to cross the river and reach the Kesh area.

Theoretically, the time of construction of the fortress could be 768 (after a month of Shaban-August) when Qahtaba was joining in his duties and when the primary task for him was to capture the leader of the banned movement. However, it is too short time to construct a fortress because in October in this highlands is very cold and rainfalls and snowfalls start.

WHERE A FORTRESS WAS BUILT

In the sources there is no any accurate information near what village or city fortress was built, but almost all authors agree that the fortress was built in the vicinity of Kesh. One of the first settlements, which acceded to Muqanna' and took his teaching was village Subakh, there was a leader Amr Subakhī (they revolted and killed their Amir, a pious man of Arab origin). Village Subakh, according to Samani, is in the neighborhood of Huzar (modern Guzar), in distance of 6 farsakh from Nesef (Karshi).²⁷

V.V. Barthold, citing Istahri (Istahri 337) places Subakh on the main road from Nesef in Balkh, at 1 passage from the first, and by Ibn Haukal (Ibn Haukal 403) - a distance of 2 farsakh from Kesh. However, according to the scholar, "the second definition (contrary to de Gue - KA) is undoubtedly wrong, and instead of" 2 farsah "should be read" 2 passages " like Istahri (Istahri 343).²⁸ Thus, Subakh is localized in Huzar vicinity.²⁹

²⁵ However, as P. Crone suggests, this is simply a scribal mistake for 167. The more preferable date of Muqanna's death according to P. Crone is 166 of Hijra (P.Crone, p. 113).

²⁶ Muhammad Narshahi. *Istoriya Bykhary*. Translated be Lykoshin, p. 87.

²⁷ About it see note no 1 on the page 86 in: Muhammad Narshahi. *Istoriya Bykhary*. Translated be Lykoshin, 1897.

²⁸ V.V. Bartold. *Turkestan v epohu mongolskogo nashestviya*. Sochineniya. Tom 1, p. 189.

²⁹This village was localized in 1960-ies during the works of archaeological expedition led by M.E. Masson with ruins called Ulyuktepa ("Dead Tepa"), located in 8 km to north-west from the modern town Gusar. See Masson M.E. *Stolichnye goroda v oblasti nizoviyev Kashkadary s drevneyshih vremen*. Tashkent, "Fan", 1973. p.33; See also: Rtveladze E., Sagdullaev A. *Pamyatniki minuvshih vekov*. Tashkent, "Uzbekistan", 1986, p.57.

It is interesting to note that on the old maps of the 19th century, and on the maps of the Soviet period and modern one, up to day, there is a village called Saubak, preserved, in all probability, its original name (Fig. 2) in some modified form.³⁰

To select a place of considerable importance was the geographical location, with independent source drinking water and food, designed for ease of maneuvering and rapid postal communication with the fortress representing at the same time a Staff. Narshakhī says that "in the mountains of Sam was a very strong fortress and channel with running water, trees and fields."

The name "Sam" varies from medieval authors, and Gardizi spells it as Siyam. It is interesting that Ibn Haukal amongst provinces (Rustaq) of Kesh mentions name Siyam (or Sinam).³¹ About toponym Keshk-rud which is associated with the name of the current river, V.V. Barthold notes that this name bore (according Haukal) district (Rustak), where were sources of the river. As-rud is another branch of the river, flows from the mountains of Siam or Sinam; near his bed were South Gate of Kesh; the same name is used for mountains, from which the river Karatag Darya flows. The name is extended to the entire northern part of Hissar ridge. In Siyam Mountains, according to Barthold, there was a fortress where a prophet Muqanna' with his followers in the 70s of VIII century were locked ' for several years and successfully repelled the attack of Arabs.³²

In his very brief description Narshakhī notes that "there were a stream, trees and cultivated fields."³³ The following fragment contains very important information for us. "There was another fortress, stronger than that one, which he ordered to rebuild.³⁴ There he collected a lot of wealth and innumerable things and placed guards."³⁵ However, if the second fortress located in the same mountains, is not specified. Theoretically, if the name itself means highlands-district Siyam, in our opinion, the second fortress was localized on the same area only on other hill. Describing the second fortress, which was settled by Muqanna' with his entourage, Narshakhī mentions again that "inside the fort there were a source of water, trees and planted fields. His (Muqanna') close people and generals with a powerful army were seated in the fortress. But inside this fortress there was another fortress (evidently a citadel) on the top of the mountain. No one could enter into the citadel. Muqanna' and those women were in the fortress (citadel).

³⁰ The etymology of this geographic point is not specifically studied. To some extent, this is consonant with the Pahlavi name Sawah, avest. Savahi. In the Pahlavi texts - the name of the eastern Kishvar (in Avestan texts - Western one), among other seven Kishvars. See: O.M. Chunakova. Pehleviyskiy slovar zoroastriyskiy terminov, mificheskikh personazhey i mifologicheskikh terminov. Moscow, "Eastern Literature", 2004, p. 135, 195. However, analysis of these Kishvari and their localization represents a significant difficulty on this, see: Henning W.B. Sogdica. 1977, Selected Papers II. The hypothesis of a possible link Subah and Sawah still remains a hypothesis, which requires a more detailed analysis of experts and additional arguments.

³¹ Bartold. *Turkestan v epohu mongolskogo nashestviya*. Sochineniya. Tom 1, p. 189.

Provinces of Kesh-rud and Siyam Bartold places in upper stream of Kashkadarya River. *Ibidem*, p. 189.

³² Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 188.

³³ Richard N. Frye. *History of Bukhara*, 1954, p. 74.

³⁴ In translation of Richard Frye the action denoted by the word rebuilt (reconstructed) (Richard N. Frye, *ibid*, p. 74), whereas in translation of Lykoshin (Narshakhi, *History of Bukhara*, p. 87), the same word is translated as "corrected".

³⁵ Richard N. Frye. *History of Bukhara*, 1954, p. 67.

Narshakhī writes that Arab warlord al-Sa'yd al-Harashī approached to the gates of fortress with a big army thus blocking it. In the inner fortress (citadel) were women - the wives of Muqanna' (daughters of dihkans of Sogd, Kesh, Nakhshab) and close slave - elsewhere he calls his name - Hadjib. "With regard to the necessary food, then once daily to open the gates of the fortress, while outside the fortress was one trusted person who was preparing everything they need. Slave called this man brought to the fortress products and again locked gates of the fortress until the next day."³⁶ At-Tabari's information that "al-Mukanna began to collect the food for the siege of his castle near Kesh" suggests too that the fortress could not contain sufficient alimentation for the inhabitants.

Choosing the most convenient place for a fortress, Muqanna' was guided by quite reasonable reasons, the main among which were the security and strategic location of the place about what we mentioned above. However, were only these moments of fortification strategy sufficient to the choice of fortress on the hill? And why the fortress had to stand on the mountain, and its castle on a hilltop? After all, with the same success could build a fortress and on the plain, and to strengthen it and make it impregnable, although in this respect the natural inaccessibility of some rocks is more advantageous.³⁷ As we have noted, the siege of the fortress was relatively short-lived and that a long period of 14 years does not mean the length of the siege, and likely indicates a general term of Muqanna' on the mountaintop.

We do not know whether Muqanna' possessed of knowledge of mythology and religion of ancient peoples, even though his ruthless opponent such as Narshakhī, was forced to recognize him as a man fairly educated and versed in the sciences, although these sciences are specific, "he indulged in the study of science and collected information of all kinds. He studied trickery, the science of how to cheat and talismans, good studying magic tricks; he began to impersonate as a prophet."³⁸ This kind of action and cognition suggest a decent introduction to psychology, the ability to manipulate the mind, powers of persuasion. So, choosing a residence Muqanna' had to take into account the psychological aspect.

In submissions and mythology of many peoples mountains are perceived as sacred element of nature. The highest peaks symbolize the connection of earth and heaven, being like a ladder to the heaven spheres. Very often the tops of the mountains are considered the abode of the gods. In Hindu mythology it is Mount Meru, in Avestan mythology it is Haukarya a legendary mountain from which rush down the sacred waters and sent to sea Vorukasha. In the view of the ancient Greeks Olympus was the abode of the supreme gods of the Greek pantheon. We could cite a lot of other examples of cults of the mountains

³⁶ Muhhamad Narshahi, History of Bukhara. Translated by Lykoshin, p. 93.

³⁷ Tradition to build castles on impregnable rocks dating back to the ancient period and is typical of many mountain regions of East and West. In Central Asia, such a tradition recorded in written sources from the time of Alexander the Great's campaigns (Sogdian Rock, Rock Horien, Rock Arimaz etc.)

³⁸ Muhhamad Narshahi, History of Bukhara. Translated by Lykoshin, p. 85.

among the various peoples considering high inaccessible places as inhabited by higher creations.

In this respect it is notable the statement of Sumbad who was a leader of previous rebellion that engulfed Khorasan after the assassination of Abu Muslim by Abbasids.³⁹ According to Nizam al-Mulk,⁴⁰ Sumbad taught that Abu Muslim lives with Mahdi and Mazdak in the distant and the High Castle (Nizam al-Mulk, Siaset Name 182).⁴¹

We can assume that at the beginning of vigorous activity of Muqanna' the cult of Abu Muslim was popular and the legends formed about him were widely known already among the people of Khorasan. Perhaps it is to a certain extent could affect the formation of the program of Muqanna' in general and in particular in choosing of a place for the construction of fortress and its fortification. Preference of highlands and mountain peaks was not accidental, and is fully consistent with its religious outreach program. It is likely that the residence on the top of a mountain was, according to the Muqanna', perceived by the population as the abode of God. It is possible that other part of the same program, the "deification" was the idea with a veil, which he always wearied newly-born "god."⁴²

Hidden under the veil "face of God", this was not given to see the sight of men, creating a halo around the personality of the leader and the sanctity of the sacrament.⁴³ An interesting thought is expressed by Biruni (211) when said that "al Muqanna' claimed the divine dignity and [said] that he became incarnate for the reason that no one can see [deity] before the Incarnation."⁴⁴

This fact forces us to turn again to the episode of Muqanna's death. By Narshakhi after "Muqanna' commander, who was in the outer fortress, opened the gate and walked out of the fortress with the expression of humility and accepted Islam, the Muslims captured the fortress, Muqanna' realized that he would not be able to stay in the inner

³⁹ More details about this movement and personality of Sumbad see: Crone P. *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islam*, p. 32-45.

⁴⁰ Here we give this passage of Nizam al Mulk (182) by: Siaset Name. Translation of B.N. Zakhoder. Moscow, USSR Academy of Sciences Publishing House, 1949, p. 206. "When Abu Jafar al- Mansur in the one hundred and thirtieth of the Hijra of the Prophet - peace be upon him ! - Killed in Baghdad, Abu Muslim, cheaf of sermon the Rais in Nishapur was Sumbad named gyabr who served long for Abu Muslim, and exalted by him. He arose after the murder of Abu Muslim, came from Nishapur in Rhea called gyabrs of Tabaristan. He knew that the population Kuhistan mostly rafizits, mushabbihits, mazdakits and determined to start openly propaganda. First he killed Heyfi Obeid, who was on behalf of Mansur amyI of Rhea, and seized the treasury, laid there by Abu Muslim for storage. He began to demand revenge for the blood of Abu Muslim, declaring that Abu Muslim was a messenger of God. He told to the people of Iraq and Khurasan : " Abu Muslim said the greatest name of the Almighty, and turned into a white dove flew away, and now is in some kind of citadel, which was built from copper, he sits with the Mahdi and Mazdak, all three of them will come. Abu Muslim will be leader, Mazdak his vizier. "

⁴¹ It is very interesting in cited fragment (see previous note) the idea indicating that Abu Muslim turned into a dove. In such a legend guessed idea of reincarnation (transmigration) to another entity, which was typical not only for the teaching of Muqanna' but also for other sects of this period.

⁴² Gardizi (XXXV.45) says that "he had made for himself a golden veil and covered his face with that one, so it was very ugly. Narshakhi writes that "green veil was always on his face."

⁴³ Almost all Muslim authors explain veiling Muqanna' by terrible flaws - baldness, one-eyed, etc.

⁴⁴ Biruni. *Pamyatniki minuvshih pokoleniy (Vestiges of the Past)/Izbrannye proizvedeniya T.1*. Translated by Salie. Tashkent, 1967, p. 217.

fortress."⁴⁵ Next, referring to the story of one of the wives of Muqanna', who later became the grandmother of one of dihkans of Kesh Abu Ali Muhammad son of Harun, Narshakhi tells how Muqanna', as usual, making a meal with his wives, added poison in the wine, all the women drank wine and fell dead. Survived only one on whose behalf the story goes, she poured wine in neckband and pretended to be dead. "Muqanna' stood up, looked, found all the women dead and went to his slave. He hit his sword and cut off his head. ... Muqanna' approached the stove, took off his clothes and jumped into the fire. When he plunged in the oven it was emitting smoke. I walked over to the stove and did not notice any signs of Muqanna' and not a single person was not living in a fortress. The reason for his self-immolation was what he always said: "When my servants indignant, I will ascend into heaven, and bring out the angels with me, to punish people. Therefore, he set himself to the people thought that Muqanna' ascended to heaven, to bring out the angels and give them help with the sky and thus to his faith remained in the world."⁴⁶ It seems that Muqanna' wanted to stay incognito even after his death.

We have already cited the fact that almost all sources paint the face of the leader ugly or frightful. Veil that hides the face gave the space of imagination and provoked such a negative portrait feature, although it seems that the soldiers of the Khalif did not manage to see the faces of the "prophet." Biruni (211) gives an interesting and quite plausible version of Muqanna's death. "Surrounded on all sides, he burned himself for his body to be disappeared and his followers would have believed him. And he burned, but what he wished failed: [his body] has not disappeared and was found in the oven. He was beheaded and sent to al- Mahdi, the Commander of the Faithful, which was that time in Aleppo."⁴⁷

A somewhat different version of the death of Muqanna' can be found in the book of Abu Sa'id Gardizi "Zayn al-Akhbar", however, leader of rebellion tends to remain unrecognized. According Gardizi (XXXVIII) «When Muqanna' despaired of his situation, he gathered all his wives, prepared poison and promised to all of them heaven when they drink that poison. All at once died. Muqanna' also drank poison and died. He ordered one of his companions cut off his head. Muqanna' bequeathed his body to burn in the fire, so he was not found. Some of those misguided followed his teaching and said, that [47] he gone to heaven."⁴⁸

Among followers of Muqanna' there existed always an uncontrollable desire to contemplate the newly appeared "god". According Narshakhī about "50 000 from the troops of Muqanna' and inhabitants of Mawerannaqr, of Turks and others, gathered to the gate of the Muqanna's Qala and with prostrations requested that he honored his beholding them, but received no reply"⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Muhammad Narshakhi, History of Bukhara. Translation from Persian by Lykoshin, p. 95.

⁴⁶ Muhammad Narshakhi, History of Bukhara. Translation from Persian by Lykoshin, p. 95.

⁴⁷ Biruni. Pamyatniki minuvshih pokoleniy, p. 217.

⁴⁸ Abu Sa'id Gardizi. Ukrashenie izvestij. Zain al-Ahbar. Translated in Russian by A.K. Arends. Tashkent, 1991, p. 230.

⁴⁹ Muhammad Narshakhi, History of Bukhara. Translation from Persian by Lykoshin, p. 93.

Solicitation of adherents to see the face of their God, even at the cost of life, forced to call Muqanna' the day when they all could come. Narshakhī tells a witty device, applied leader of the movement, which had been commissioned as a miracle, which was so desirable for people loyal to him. "He ordered those women (women of Muqanna' - KA) to each of them took over the mirror and went to the top of the fortress, and that they kept the mirror one against the other. When the rays of the sun fell on the ground and all the women took up their mirrors and kept them exactly, one against the other, the people have already gathered, and when the sun lit mirrors, then by reflection, the whole neighborhood was flooded with light. Then Muqanna' said to the servant, "Tell my servants that God will show them his face - let them look. They looked and saw that the whole world as it is suffused with light, and they were frightened, and all at once fell down, exclaiming: O Lord ! This force and this greatness that we have seen enough; see if more than that, it will break our hearts (fear). "And so they lay prostrate until Muqanna' ordered that the servant, "Tell my followers that they raised their heads from the bow, because God is pleased with them and forgive their sins."⁵⁰

It is noteworthy in this episode the posture of women who had to stand in front each other holding mirrors. Day was appointed by Muqanna', but nothing was said about the time of day. However, the expression "when the rays hit the ground," clearly indicates that it was morning. Moreover, when the first rays of the sun touched the top of the hill where the castle of leader stood, its foot had not yet lit and was in the shadow of the mountains. We will return to this important circumstance in the description of the archaeological site, here we should like to point out that the action counted on effect of brightness, like a blinding flash of light, was possible only under certain conditions. Sun rising from the east casts first rays of lights on the fortress located on the top of hill. Respectively adjacent area on the west side of the hill is still in the pre-dawn twilight.

And to reinforce this twilight, it was necessary a double reflection of sunlight. Catching a ray of the rising sun reflected in the opposite mirror, i.e. in an easterly direction, and the second mirror reflected its rays in a westerly direction i.e. the crowd gathered at the west side of the base of the hill on which the castle stood.

This episode, if it has under some real basis, gives us an orientation of gate of the fortress, which had to be located on the west side with a possible deviation to the north or south. The army and the rest of the population, respectively awaited appearance of Muqanna' at the adjacent gate space, i.e. in the west area.

OTHER FEATURES OF THE FORTRESS FROM WRITTEN SOURCES

Gardizi in his work (Gardizi 126) notes that Muqanna' chose for himself Siyam fortress located in the county [city] of Kesh and that the fortress was surrounded by a fence. In all likelihood, under the "fence" should be understood wall as another guard in case of siege could hardly have a protective function. In another passage, when people of Muqanna' after clashes with the forces of al- Harashi suffered considerable damage, and

⁵⁰ Muhammad Narshakhi, History of Bukhara. Translation from Persian by Lykoshin, p. 94.

the rest moved to the Kesh direction to Muqanna' Gardizi notes that Muqanna' lodged in his fortress Siyam, surrounded it by a moat and came into the fight with the Muslims.

When things went bad people of Muqanna' precipitated sued al-Harashī for peace. Harashī agreed. Thirty thousand people came and went from the moat and Muqanna' left with two thousand people male and female slaves, his followers. Above all, in this passage we are interested in the mention of the moat. Practically, that element of defense in the highlands is hardly possible because of rocky ground. And it is difficult to imagine that the builders of the fortress could dig a moat in the rocky terrain which is typical for this mountain area. They could call moat a deepening of the natural character. However, the moat is mentioned in other author, namely, Ibn al-Athir, who says that during the siege the "Muslims, led by Raja crossed the moat of the citadel."⁵¹

Another fragment of Gardizi (101) can be set when "troops stormed into that fortress, there was not any people. Everything found in it, to take with them."

ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF KASHKADARYA AND QALA OF MUQANNA'

Regular archaeological exploration of the ancient sites of Central Asia, and in particular in Kashkadarya began in the first half of the 20th century. During those researches of Kashkadarya region some towns and villages associated with Muqanna's time were located.

One of the earlier researches of ancient routes along upstream of Kashkadarya was Sergey Kuzmich Kabanov. In 50s of 19 century he explored Yakkabag and Tashkurgan districts adjacent Shakhriyabz oasis on its south side. Kabanov wrote that Hissar ridge was known in medieval sources under the name of Siyam or Sinam. Further he notes that "these mountains are mentioned in connection with a large popular movement in VIII century – Muqanna's rebellion or "people in white robes," directed against the Arab invaders. One of the episodes of this revolt was longstanding defense of Muqanna' Sinam in the mountains, and sources indicate that in these mountains there were inside and outside fortresses of Muqanna'. What is the inner fortress and whether it is in the mountain valleys, inspected by us, or in neighboring area - this cannot be said till to complete survey of all mountain river valleys, carrying their water from the south to the Kashka-Darya. The external fortress as now already clear, could be one of these valleys, as each of them could be an impregnable stronghold, with water and crops, which could be protected for many years, it was a natural fortress."⁵²

Thanks to the systematic work of archaeologists it was possible the identification of historical monuments mentioned in sources with specific archaeological monuments. Here we should mention the archaeological exploration and stationary excavations of the Department of Archaeology of Tashkent University and Kashkadarya Archaeological and Topographic Expedition led by M.E. Masson, individual units, engaged in excavation of

⁵¹ Bolshakov, *Khronologiya vosstaniya*, p. 94.

⁵² Kabanov S.K. *Arheologicheskie razvedki v verhney chasti doliny Kashka-Dary*//Trudy Instituta istorii i arheologii. Vypusk 7. Materialy po arheologii Uzbekistana. Tshkent, Izdatelstvo Akademii nauk Uzbekskoy SSR. 1955, p. 104.

selected archaeological sites and worked on inventory of those sites. These works are of S.B. Lunina, N. Krashennikova, Dresvyanskaya, Z.I. Usmanova and others. Contribution to the study of ancient culture of Karshi oasis (Nakhshab) was made by a group of researchers of the Institute of Archaeology, led by R.H. Suleymanov.⁵³

During exploration of a mountainous area in Kesh region ruins of a fortress have been found. It was located in vicinity of Maydanak more than 2000 m above sea level. According to the superficial finds it was dated to VII-IX cc. A.D.⁵⁴ ancient Kesh and Nakhshab there was fixed the ruins of the fortress in Maidanak areas (more than 2000 m above sea level). The main period of habitation of this site falls on VII-IX centuries. The peculiarities of this site including layout and location in explorers' opinion, were similar to these mountain fortresses where Muqanna' could hide. However, they stipulate that more accurate conclusions will be possible only after thorough archaeological excavations.⁵⁵

In spring 1975 archaeologists of the Tashkent State University investigated over 60 different archaeological sites - castles, fortresses and settlements - located downstream Kyzyl-darya from Yakkabag to Tatar villages for over 30 km.⁵⁶ How populous was oasis Kesh in the early Middle Ages (5-8 cc.) show the results of exploratory work. For example, in Chirakchi district 38 archaeological sites were fixed, in Kamashi district - 29 sites and in Yakkabag area during examining more than 200 sites in 120 of them were collected ceramics of early medieval period.⁵⁷ These figures give some possibility to imagine the overall extent of anti-Khalifat movement and the quantity of people involved in the tumultuous events of the Muqanna's time.

One of the few archaeologically investigated sites associated with the events of the rebellion of Muqanna' and "people in white robes" is a city-site of Narshahtepa (Fig. 5). It is located in 2 km south-west from the regional center Vabkent (Bukhara region), partly were surveyed in 1944 by V.A. Shishkin and V.A. Nilsen.⁵⁸ In 1979 Bukhara Archeological group of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy UzSSR during archaeological researches in Vabkent district (Bukhara region) made a trench in southern part of the citadel. The resulting material allows dating earlier layers of Narshahtepa (the first stage of habitation) by V-VIII centuries AD. The second phase is dated to IX-XII centuries.⁵⁹ It should be noticed that charred layers of dark red color attributable to the early stage, probably reflecting the military events of VIII century in connection with the siege of the troops of the Emir of Bukhara Husayn b. Maaz (776 year) the city Narshah inhabited by supporters of Muqanna' and fire engulfing the city.

⁵³Suleymanov R.H. *Drevniy Nakhshb*. Tashkent, «Фан», 2000.

⁵⁴ Rtveladze E., Sagdullaev A. *Pamyatniki minuvshih vekov*. Tashkent, 1986.

⁵⁵ Rtveladze E., Sagdullaev A. *Pamyatniki minuvshih vekov*, p. 49.

⁵⁶ Lunina S.B. *Goroda Yuzhnogo Sogda v VIII-XII vv.* Tashkent, 1984, p. 15.

⁵⁷ Lunina S.B. *Goroda Yuzhnogo Sogda v VIII-XII vv.*, pp. 18-19.

⁵⁸ Nilsen V.A. *Stanovlenie feodalnoy arhitektury Sredney Azii V-VIII vv.* Tashkent, "Fan", 1966, p. 120.

⁵⁹ Abdirimov R. *Novye dannye o gorodische Narshahtepa//Istoriya materialnoy kultury Uzbekistana*. Vypusk 18, p. 152.

Among other cities, conquered by people of Muqanna' is mentioned Navaket. O.G. Bolshakov associates it with the geographical name with Navaket- Quraysh, however, with a question mark. Localization of the place, as well as other towns and villages of Kesh conquered by Muqanna's followers is not definitive. Already in the years 1963-1967 archaeological expedition led by M.E. Masson, surveyed big archaeological sites of medieval period in the eastern part of the Kashkadarya valley. Thus, the settlement of Kamaytepa area of 24 hectares, located near the village Cheam, was identified by M.E.Masson with Navaket - Quraysh; Khoja Buzruktepa that 9 km north of Guzar - with Iskifagn and Uliktepa settlement, as well located in Guzar area - with Subah.⁶⁰ However localization of Navaket-Quraysh on the place of Kamaytepa site was not accepted by all researchers.

Navaket-Quraysh, according to the written sources (Istahri) was a major city and a stopping point on the way in from Kesh to Neseif. Thus, al-Istahri writes that it was at a distance of 5 farsahs from Kesh (by Samani - 6 farsakh from Neseif). V.V. Bartold assumed that this city could be located somewhere near the modern village of Qarabag. Archaeological survey at this site attracted the attention of researchers, two major archaeological sites Altyntepa and above mentioned Kamaytepa. Excavations conducted at Altyntepe by S.B. Lunina gave base to associate this site with Navaket-Quraysh. However, taking into account that the sources placed this city in the floodplain of Surkhob river (which may correspond in the Turkic Kyzyl-darya) and that could be another way from Kesh to Neseif, namely in this area in southern direction, A.S. Sagdullaev proposed to search Navaket-Quraysh.⁶¹

In any case, there is no irrefutable argument to identify Navaket-Quraysh with Navaket that mentioned in connection with Mukanna's story, but there is no reason to refute this supposition. We do not have sufficient reason to identify any Navaket-Quraysh with Navaket mentioned in connection with the events related to the followers of Muqanna' nor deny it. We cannot exclude also the possibility of existence of other Navaket.

It is interesting in this regard information of Gardizi (XXXV), which states that "they (the people of Muqanna' - K.A.) came to the district Kesh took the road and took the fortress Nevakes in Siam and Sengerdih."⁶² In the list of objects of Kesh area Ibn Haukal mentions 14th as "Inner Sang-gardak" and 15th as "Outer Sang-gardak." According to Bartold the order in which these points are listed obviously is not due to their location. Names of provinces show that the Kesh area also included Guzar principality and even Sangardak Valley, although the city of that name, as we have seen,⁶³ is mentioned among

⁶⁰ Masson M.E. *Stolichnye goroda i oblasti.*, p.46.

⁶¹ Sagdullaev A.S. *Drevnie poseleniya Kashkadary//Stroitelstvo i arhitektura Uzbekistana.* 1970, № 7, pp. 32-37.

⁶² Different authors name this geographical point differently (by Ibn Khordabex - Sankardar - mountain village 10 farsakh from Nishapur, V.V. Bartold reads this as Sang-gardak (also indicated version given by Maqdisi as Sengerdih) and places it on within a day's journey from Termez, at the confluence of the river Sanggardak and Surkhandarya (Ibn Khordabex, p. 172 note no. 36; Bartold, *Turkestan.*, p. 124).

⁶³ Bartold, *Turkestan.*, p. 124.

the cities of Saganian.⁶⁴ From archaeological point of view there are numerous sites concentrated along the mountain rivers Sangardak, Tentaksay and Tupalang. They are dated mostly by early medieval ages (V-VIII cc A.D.).⁶⁵ Among them there is big archaeological site Budrach (about 50-60 ha).⁶⁶ In the early middle Ages it was a capital of Saganian principality.⁶⁷ As for the "internal" Sang-gardak adjacent to the northern slopes of Hissar (Siam), we can say that archaeologically this part was not investigated thoroughly. It is possible that namely in this area next to Sang-gardak "external" (Saganian), was located "fortress" of Navaket mentioned by Gardizi.

EXPLORATION AND SEARCH OF QALA OF MUQANNA'

For determining on the terrain above mentioned assertions and assumptions in September, 2013 a small group was organized. We went by car to Yakkabag district of Kashkadarya region from Shakhriyabz city.⁶⁸ We took direction for Yakkabag district center. Before reaching Yakkabag in the village Kyzyltepa we turned in southern direction to Langar (see itinerary Fig. 1). Sometime went along Lyangardarya; on the approaches to Lyangar village on the left side there is an architectural site. It represents construction in burnt bricks with a dome and belongs to the Middle Ages (the building, according to local residents dated to the Timurid period). Passing from Langar short distance, made a stop in Dara (Dara or Dara Orta). Passing mountainous area and point Maidanak we turned in north-western direction and come to Kyzyltom village.

Kyzyltom is a small village (kishlak)⁶⁹, located on both banks of the river Turnasay and to the South with a small deviation to the east from the mountains Maidanak (Fig. 11). The mountain Maidanak is slightly more than 2,900 m above sea level. The local population is engaged in mixed farming, cattle - cattle and increasingly small cattle combined with farming. A mainly potato of a great taste is cultivated, which in Soviet period was exported over long distances and, according to local residents, even in Russia as a delicacy grade. The local people control spring and water of Turnasay river using skillfully peculiarity of landscape (Fig. 10).

Kyzyltom from our path lay in a northwesterly direction along Turnasay. From this place Darwaza (Gates) were photographed. Darwaza is a cleft formed by steep slopes - spurs of Hissar, on the bottom of the gorge aforementioned river flows (Fig. 12). The modern road to the archaeological site goes along the right bank of Turnasay river (other

⁶⁴ Bartold, Turkestan., p. 189.

⁶⁵ Arshavskaya Z.A., Rtveladze E.V., Khakimov Z.A. Srednevekovye pamyatniki Surkhadary. Tashkent, Izdatelstvo literatury i iskusstva G.Gulyama, 1982; Rtveladze E.V. Ravedochnoe izuchenie bactriyskih pamyatnikov na Yuge Uzbekistana//Drevnyaya Bctria. Leningrad, Nauka, 1974, pp. 74-85, fig.1.

⁶⁶ Rtveladze E.V. Issledovanie na gorodische Budrach//Arheologicheskie otkrytiya 1979 god. Moskva, Nauka, 1980.

⁶⁷ Pugachenkova G.A. K istoricheskoy geografii Chaganiana//Trudy Tashkentskogo Gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Vypusk 200. Arheologiya Sredney Azii. Tashkent, 1963, pp.49-65.

⁶⁸ The driver and the conductor was Sobir Ismailov, Tutok villager who knew the district and familiar with the peculiarities of the road. Thanks to the experience and enthusiasm of this man we could get there by car as possible from distant places available, while saving time and effort for the rise in the mountains. The authors express their deep gratitude, as well as resident of the village Kyzyltom Holmurod for the hospitality.

⁶⁹On the old maps it is Kyzyltam.

version of the river's name are Tirnasay or simply Tirna.⁷⁰ That country was covered with brushwood and some of brushes have a pretty thick trunk and lush crown. In late September, the soil is covered with a dried grass, sometimes quite high, in the spring and early summer these places resemble alpine meadows - very comfortable and rich pastures for livestock. In winter, these places are covered, according to local residents, a thick (more than 1 meter) layer of snow and almost uninhabitable and grazing. According to the shepherds on the opposite hillside of Turnasay there is a lake, which dries to late fall, and then, in the absence of water in the winter, all the cattle herded down to the plain.

Approximately 5 km to the north with a slight deviation to the west from the village Kyzyltom there is tract called Cotov.⁷¹ This area is relatively flat plateau (Fig. 13) with small hillocks and depressions, it is suitable for plowing for wheat and potatoes, and Tutok villagers engaged than seasonally settled here. That village is situated to the north-west from the tract Kotov, the road should be there on the floodplain Turnasay. Seasonal dwellers of Kotov use tent and small clay constructions (Figs. 14, 15). From Kotov we moved in a northerly direction: first walked down the slope to the bottom of the dried river (*a say* in local terminology), then climbed up. Distance from Kotov to the archeological site of approximately 2 km, but the road in this part is very difficult - steep descent and a steep climb.

On the southern side of the archaeological site there was a drayed riverbed which was formed by mountain stream. That riverbed is connected with ravine. The latter was formed by waters flowing down from the hill where site located. With the ascent of the hill on the left side of the ravine was fixed wall, built by rubble stones (Figs. 16, 17). Subsequently, it was studied in more detail. Starting of this ravine adjacent to the southern part of the site; all accumulated water flowing from the settlement, flowing away in a southerly direction and merge with the above mentioned say, flows during the rainy season in Turnasay.

The site representing a fortress to the north and north-west side adjoins to the steep part of the hill. The fortress (Qala) has an irregular circle form, which in its south - eastern part of the adjacent appendix extended to the south (Fig. 7). Fortress is divided into two parts: the so-called shahristan and citadel, in terms of having a rounded shape, fortified ramparts along the crest of the elevated part of the northern and north-western sides. On the south the citadel walled off from the "appendix" which we conventionally call shahristan. Shahristan itself is fortified by wall along the right bank of the ravine (orientation downstream flowing water). It should be noted that in terms of protection from the enemy - it is the only vulnerable part of the fortress. Accordingly, the second line of defense can pass through the wall, which dissociates shahristan from citadel. In the southern and south- eastern part of the fortress it is impregnable because of natural features.

⁷⁰ Turnasay originates from the slopes of Mount Maidanak then flows in the meridional direction to the north with a small deviation to the west and flows into the river Kyzyl-darya.

⁷¹ On the map of *Kashkadaryo va Surhondare viloyatlari* Uzgeodezcadastre 1996, this place is designated as Ezlik, i.e. Summer pasture.

The wall which follows from the outbreak of ravine to the west and divides the citadel from shakhristan was built with large rubble stones. It preserved to a height from 60 cm to more than 1 meter. At the base the wall has a width of 1.5 meters, but it should be noted many stones concentrated on both sides of it, which was the result of its prolonged destruction for centuries (Figs. 18, 19, 20, 21). Stones covered with bright red bloom, resembling "rust", which also can indirectly indicate the age of the building. In the westernmost section of wall in its thickness juniper trees sprouted, like tearing the wall. The thickness of the trunks of these trees can also testify about old age of the wall.

In northern and north-western parts the wall of the citadel follows along the crest of the hill in south-south-eastern direction for distance of 260 m. It is considerably destroyed and in a preserved part has a height of 1.20 m, in destroyed section has height of 30-40 cm. The wall was constructed by large stones of irregular form with dimensions of 50-60 cm in combination of small pieces of 20-25 cm.

The wall of shakhristan following along the right bank of the ravine in direction north-south is also considerably destroyed. At the base it has width of 3.00-3.50 m, in certain sections it is visible the traces of destruction in shape of heaps of fallen stones concentrated along the line of the wall. In well preserved section the wall has height of 1.50 m.

In interior space of the citadel there are no traces of any architectural construction except one that is located in 150 m from angle which was formed by fortified walls of south and north-western parts of the site. Remains of the architectural construction represent a long wall in shape of masonry of big stones. The base of destroyed wall has width of 4.70 m; height about 0.50 m. It stretches in north-south direction for a distance 33.40 m. On the distance 9.40 m from its southern extremity it is connected perpendicularly by other wall which continues in east-west direction for a distance 8.20 m.

Only one fragment of an unglazed pottery was found on the surface of the site which is not diagnostic. As we discussed above the fortress (Qala) of Muqanna' was dwelled for very short period (14 years). So, it seems very probable that there is practically no archaeological layer. There are also no any traces of rebuilding or repairing of the walls. All this is indicative for the fact that the fortress been settled in certain particular period. Judging by the meager materials and practically absence of any fixed cultural layer to the present study, we can assume that vital activities were relatively short.

ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION OF THE SITE

As mentioned above, fortress located on the right rocky bank of Turnasay which flows here in deep gorge. Along this road the river follows in a northerly direction to the villages Tutok (located to the west, with a small deviation to the north) and Ishkent,⁷² located north-west of the fortress about 5 km away (Fig. 24). This road is clearly seen from the above described site. From the height of the citadel in the distance, in a northerly

⁷² On the old maps the name Ishkent has preserved, it is, probably, more ancient name of Ichkent.

direction it is clearly visible green oases of Kitab and Shahrisyabz, and more further to the north, these oases are closed by spurs of Zeravshan ridge behind which Samarkand Sogd stretches (Fig. 23). According to local residents, in a southeasterly direction for the mountains that could be seen across the valley of Tournasay, the road leads to Sangardak located currently in Surkhandarya (Fig. 4).

We would like to focus on a small village Ishkent. On some old maps of the late 19th - early 20th centuries, the name of the village is given as Ichkent. Such a geographical point mentioned by Mahmud Kashgari (Mahmud Kashgari B. 442.) as "Inch kend - a city in which people of Muqanna' lived. It was subsequently destroyed (abandoned? - K. A.)."⁷³

Another geographical point, located near the fortress, is the village Zarmas. It was one of villages where people continued to be for a long time under influence of Muqanna's teaching. "Ahmad, son of Muhammad, grandson of Nasr says that now Muqanna' sect remained in Kesh and Nahsheb and in some villages of Bukhara what are, for example, castle of Ular, castle of Hyshtyvan, village Zarmas."⁷⁴ In the note of Lykoshin's translation of History of Bukhara by Narshakhi is said on Zarmas that it was "probably a mistake, instead Zarman."⁷⁵ However, Zarman with Arbindzhan mentioned by Narshakhi elsewhere and are located on the road between Samarkand and Bukhara.⁷⁶ The name of Zarmas clearly transfers to another geographic location. The village with the same name exists today and it is located close to the proposed Fortress of Muqanna' to the east with a slight deviation to the south and east of the village of Kyzyltom. It was listed on old maps of 19th - early 20th century till modern one (Fig. 1).

BURIAL STRUCTURES (?). "GAURGAN"

Another important object of archaeological survey was area at the top of the river on the left bank of Turnasay with structures, which locals call "gaurgan".⁷⁷ The locals associate these stone structures with funerary practice of their ancestors and are believed to date from the pre-Islamic times. Villagers believe that the people were buried in them. There have been attempts, as it turned out, to open some of structures in order to find gold inside. One of the villagers of Kyzyltom (Soat Mirzoev, was born in 1961) retold about a tradition that was existed in remote past. According to the tale of his grandfather grown old and feeble people were brought in especially designated areas and left there putting in mouth a dried apricot. The stone structures have until recently been considered as a habitat of spirits, and it was prohibited even to approach them. However, as it turned out later, many of these buildings were destroyed. Set when this happened, was difficult even approximately. However, one of the structures was subjected to autopsy recently, according to the ground.

⁷³Mahmud Qoshg'ariy. Turkiy so'zlar devoni. (Devoni lug'ati turk). III jild. Trjimon va nashrga tayerlovchi S. Mutallibov. Toshkent, Fan, 1963, B.442 (in Uzbek).

⁷⁴Narshakhi. History of Bukhara. Translated by Lykoshin, p. 95.

⁷⁵Narshakhi. History of Bukhara. Translated by Lykoshin, p. 95, note1.

⁷⁶Narshakhi. History of Bukhara. Translated by Lykoshin, p. 92.

⁷⁷To the question what does "gaurgan" mean none of the residents could not give an explanation.

Buildings "gaurgan" were localized by us in 1 - 1.5 km from the village Kyzyltom on upstream of Turnasay. They settled mostly on the slopes, on the left bank of Tournasay at small distances from each other. We have made measurements and localization installed with the measurement of distance and orientation (Figs. 38, 43,44).

Number 1. Nearest construction to the village Kyzyltom is constructed of flat stones, the largest of them at the base of 50 cm. Length of the south- eastern wall of the base is 4, 95 m to the top 4.50 m, preserved height in the southeastern corner is 1.80 - 1.90 m; length of the eastern side of the base 4.70 m - it corresponds the length of the west wall. North Face is almost completely destroyed and set its dimensions is almost impossible. Structure, as discussed above, was built of local stone from the rock, the outputs of which can be traced everywhere on the slope. Stones of grayish-brown color covered with a touch of rust of bright color. The thickness of the stones is different - from 10 up to 20-25 cm. Despite the different sizes of the stones, they were carefully selected taking into consideration their peculiarities and forms that allowed builders to bring quite smooth wall structures. From the base to the top of the building gradually tapering, which makes the construction of a pyramid (or tented) form. This is achieved by a small ledge of each subsequent row of masonry. Around construction there are piles of stones collapsed over time or as a result of willful destruction.

Number 2. Construction is completely destroyed and is an accumulation of stones lying horizontally on an area that does not have a correct configuration. It is located at a distance of 107 m east of the number 1.

Number 3 is located in 10 meters to the north with a slight deviation to the west of facilities number 2. It is also completely destroyed.

Number 4 is situated at a distance of 21 m to the northwest of the number 3. Eastern face has a wall with length of 5.15 m at the base. On this building survived the opening overlapped top jumper. Jumper is a huge stone flat shaped length of which is 1.20 m, the thickness of the stone 23 cm, width 70 cm stone lintel, opening width 55 cm (Fig. 42). Distance from the northeast corner to the opening is 2.10 m. Along the western side wall has length of 4.80 m at the base. Around the construction there are piles of stones fallen after the destruction.

Number 5 is situated at a distance of 44 m from the number 4 to the north with deviation to the west. It is completely destroyed.

Number 6 is situated at a distance of 119 m to the west. Construction destroyed in southern traced stonework, inside walls have rounded corners. Dimension of a room (?) is about 2.0 to 2.4 m.

Number 7 is situated on the south-west of the number 8 in the distance 59 m completely destroyed (Fig. 40).

Number 8 is situated at a distance of 89.6 m to the north-north-west of the construction number 6. It s completely destroyed.

Number 9 is situated at a distance of 60 meters in a northerly direction with a slight deviation to the west of facilities number 8. It is completely destroyed.

Number 10 is situated at a distance of 136 m to the east from number 9. Construction was destroyed in antiquity, but the middle of the cluster of stone slabs bears the traces of recent activity. In particular, in a limited area there are selected stones and earth ground remaining and fragmented plurality of human (?) bones.

Number 11 is situated at a distance of 90 m east of the number 10. It is completely destroyed.

Two constructions of similar type (nos 12 and 13) are located apart at a distance of approximately 700 m to the west upstream of Turnasay. No 13 preserved in good condition.

Number 12. Construction remained partially only one facet of the wall at the base can be traced to a length of 4.10 m and it extends at right angles to the wall length 0.76 m (Fig. 37).

Number 13. It is situated at a distance of 30 meters west of the number 12. It represents a pyramid-shaped structure (Figs. 32-36). Height of the preserved part of the south- eastern corner is 1.40 m, thickness of wall is 1.10 m, wall length at the base of the northern facades is 4.60 m , while on the verge of the top preserved length of the wall - 3.90 m. Thus, vertical deviation from the base to the top of the construction is 0.50 m. West face at the base of wall has a length of 4.50 m, on the upper face of preserved wall - 3.70 m. The height on the north- western corner is 1.70 m. The length of southern face of the construction at the base is 4.70 m; on the upper face is 4.50 m. Southwest corner is preserved to a height of 1 meter. Best preserved northeast corner height reaches 2.70 m.

The above described "funeral" constructions remained virtually unexplored until now. There is no accompanying archaeological material that could date these stone constructions. We have only fragments of human bones which do not give any possibility for the any cultural identification. There is another possible explanation for this situation, namely, that the bones were collected outside after exposing the corpse or corpses in a special area and subsequently placed in these facilities. It is possible also that proposed "burial" structures could be left by ancient population of neighboring archaeological site Mamour Konishtepa.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE MAMOUR KONISHTEPA

The name of archaeological site translated from Turkish means camp (stay) of Mamur - the name of a shepherd. The site is located in the 1-1.5 km from the village Kyzyltom upstream on the right bank of Tournasay River. The mound⁷⁸ has an oval form with a small citadel and the adjoining space shakhristan (Fig. 44). In the spring of April 2013 a small collection of pottery was gathered on its surface. It was completed by

⁷⁸ *Tepa* is usually translated as the mound and it is added to own name. As rule, *tepa* has artificial origins represents an archaeological site.

another fragments assembled in September of 2013. Majority of fragments represents ceramics made by hand (hand modeled) without using potter's wheel. It would be noted that this way of pottery fabrication is typical for the mountain population.

CERAMICS

The clay from which the vessels are made consists of loess, river sand, plaster, chamotte and other appropriate components (Figs. 45-48). Fractures of these fragments show of qualified firing. They have red color to the edges and dark grayish-brown to the center. Mainly, there are no any traces of slip covering outside surface of the potteries.

Among the ceramics it should be noted a decorated fragment of a stand for hearth made of coarse clay (Fig. 46). However, the outer surface painted in a pinkish color and decorated with carvings in several rows. Two rows deep cut of triangular shaped holes of various sizes and a larger pattern on the edge, shaped like a keyhole. One of the decorative strips performed using the impressions. Amongst ceramic material there are also some fragments of covers also made by hand-molding (Fig. 47). There are some fragments with ornamentation made by scratching or deep carving in the form of wavy lines or combination of concentric lines of the body to the vessel. The dishes are represented mainly by fragments of pots and larger vessels pithos type. Complex of ceramics on set taking into consideration that they are unglazed and way of decoration can be expected to be attributed to the 7-8 centuries A.D., though a few fragments of high quality more reminiscent of the late antique and early medieval pottery.

CONCLUSION

Comparing the data of written sources concerning Qala of Mukanna' and archaeological site that we discussed above we can find certain coincidences. Strategic position of the fortress located on the crossroad of communications (Bukhara, Samarkand, Saganian). The fortress locating on a high cliff was inaccessible for the enemy at the same time it was very easy to control the roads and all approaches to the fortress .

In the highest northern part of the site, apparently citadel was located. It was fenced off from shakhristan, judging by the remains of the preserved wall in southern part. Shahrستان was located on a natural elevation elongated from north to south and fortified by stone wall along the perimeter. In reality citadel was protected by fortification of shakhristan that located in picket (*avant-poste* in French), protecting fortress in south most vulnerable side in contrast to north and western sides having precipitous nature. In general fortress represented an unite defensive complex. And indications of authors about "one inside the other" imply in fact citadel protected by shakhristan. Thus, we can say that here is a two-part structure on a high cliff, surrounded by a wall that which some authors call "fence." The moat mentioned by some authors (Gardizi; Al Athir) could be in reality a ravine which currently has an appearance of natural origin. Ravine that stretches from north to south over a large area, and, as noted in the description of the monument was formed by waters flowing down from the fortress. It is not impossible that the medieval authors could consider this part as ravine, and no doubt that during twelve centuries it had significantly mutated.

The stone structures, in our opinion, are another significant object, which we tentatively called "funeral." The finds of "human" bones need further investigation by specialists and identification of them as human remains is hypothetical. So, interpretation of these stone structures as funeral remains disputable for the following reasons:

1. Construction no 13 even under the condition that it was destroyed in the most preserved part has a height of 2.70 m, such considerable height is not typical for the funeral constructions known in Sogdia and even whole Central Asia.
2. Monumental form of these buildings with thick walls and neatly laid masonry does not look quite normal for burial structures of Central Asia.
3. Construction no 4 has an opening width 55cm resembling window, facing east, clearly intended for daylight lighting. This window could hardly be for the burial chamber. , more fitting room for a living, could hardly be left to cover the burial chamber. In any way, it would be categorical at present time to identify that element as window. It could be also an entrance; in any case it will be clearer after archaeological excavation.

Judging by the more or less preserved stone constructions (buildings), one can say that they are built on the same model and have approximately the same size and resemble by their shape and size the tents of soldiers. They are located in a short distance each from other. Majority of them were destroyed and evidently originally they were much more numerous. It is probable that in this case we have a military camp. It is probable also that these houses were built by order of al-Harashī. Narshakhī says "Sa'yd, who was the Emir of Herat, located at the gates of the fortress with a large army. He built a home and bath and stood there summer and winter." Strong walls of above mentioned structures are quite suitable for the harsh and snowy winter in the mountainous terrain. Location selected on a gentle hillside, also made these structures is quite safe from avalanches or snow. The expression "at the gates of the fortress," which uses Narshakhī likely is shaped character and indicates that the enemy came close. Given the nature of the relief of the fortress, could hardly stay at the gate - the foot of the mountain. It would be noted that above discussed stone constructions (military camp) located on the road to Kesh and could control approaches for the fortress. We can push also a suggestion that some of these structures could be used as a burial subsequently, after leaving them by warriors of al-Harashi. However for confirming that proposition we need more detailed archeological investigation.

All arguments advanced for the identification the discovered archaeological site with fortress (Qala) of Muqanna'. Confirmation of this hypothesis may provide additional archaeological excavations on the site.



Fig. 1 Itinerary of archaeological survey.



Fig. 2 Subah. Map of 1932.



Fig. 3 Sangardak 1884.

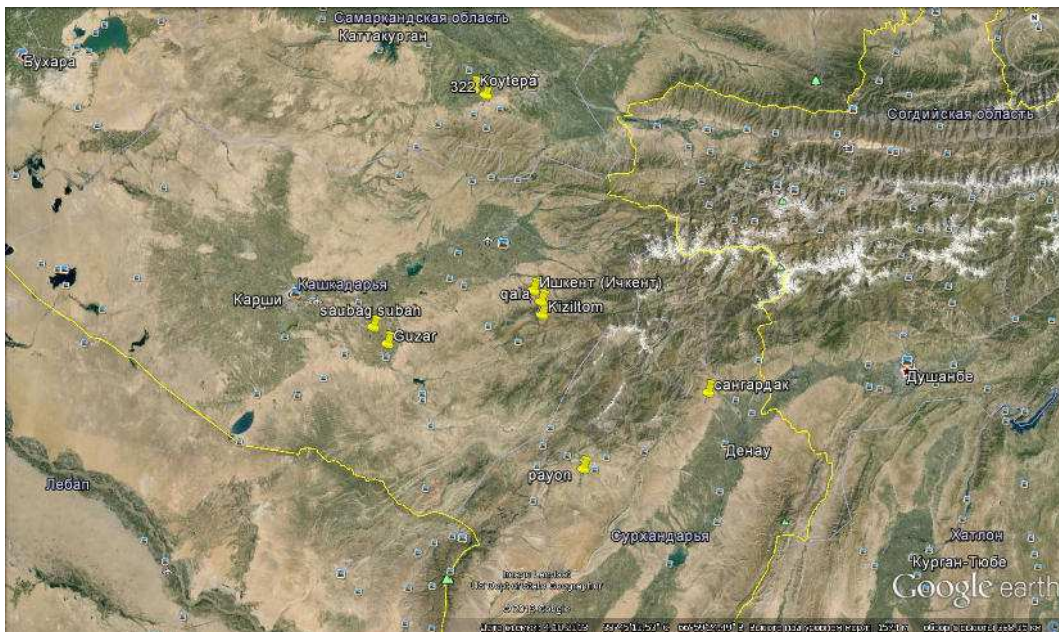


Fig. 4 Localization of sites. Google Earth.

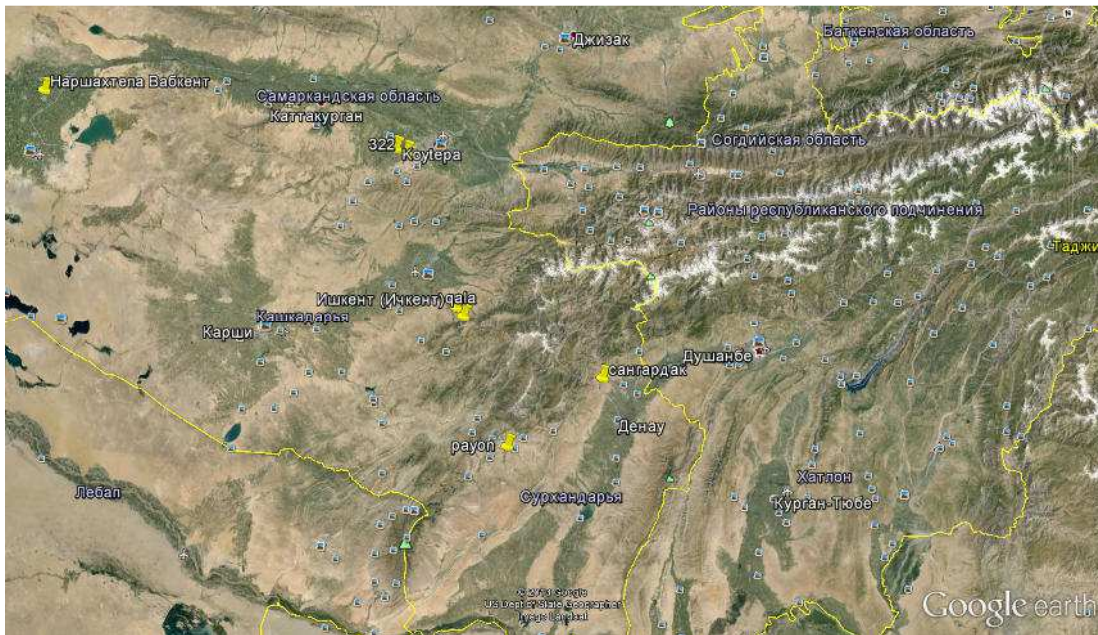


Fig. 5 Localization of sites. Google Earth 2014-02-05.



Fig. 6 Qala of Muqanna' and village Kyzyltom. Google Earth.



Fig. 7 Localization of Qala of Muqanna'.Google Earth 2014-02-05.



Fig. 8 Fortress of Muqanna's period near village Denou Bolo.



Fig. 9 Hill named by local population as mohi-kish.



Fig. 10 Valley of Tyrnasay River.



Fig. 11 Village Kyzyltom.



Fig. 12 Darvaza. Gorge on the south west of the site.



Fig. 13 High valley to the south of the site. Kotov.



Fig. 14 Seasonal dwelling of inhabitants of the village Tutok. On the right archaeologist N.Khushvaktov.



Fig.15 Photo of villagers of Tutok on summer pasture Kotov. To the right K.Abdullaev. In the background slope with archaeological site.



Fig. 16 Remnants of the wall of shahristan. View from the opposite of the ravine.



Fig. 17 Wall of shahristan. Southern part. View from ravine.



Fig. 18 Remnants of fortification wall along the ravine from north to south



Fig. 19 Wall separating citadel from shahristan. East-west direction.



Fig. 20 Base of preserved part of shahristan wall.



Fig. 21 Wall of shahristan along ravine. Direction from north to south.



Fig. 22 Continuation of the shahristan wall. North-south direction.



Fig. 23 Panorama of Kesh from the citadel.



Fig. 24. Village Ishkent from citadel of Qala.



Fig. 25 Wall of citdel. Northern side.



Fig. 26 Wall of shahristan eastern side.



Fig. 27 Same wall in north south direction.



Fig. 28 Wall separating citadel from shakhristan. Southern side of citadel.



Fig. 29 Wall of citadel. Western side



Fig. 30 Eastern part of citadel.



Fig. 31 Architectural remains in interior of citadel.



Fig. 32 Construction no 13.



Fig. 33 Construction no 13 view of angle nw.



Fig. 34 Construction no 13 eastern side.



Fig. 35 Construction no 13 east-southern side.



Fig. 36 Base of construction 13 with fallen block of stones.



Fig. 37 Construction no 12.



Fig. 38 General view of construction.



Fig. 39 Destroyed facade of a construction.



Fig. 40 One of the destroyed construction.



Fig. 41 Construction no 6 from northern side.



Fig. 42. Construction no 4 with window or entrance



Fig. 43 Qala. General view from southern side.



Fig. 44 General view to Turnasay valley and Mamur Konish site.

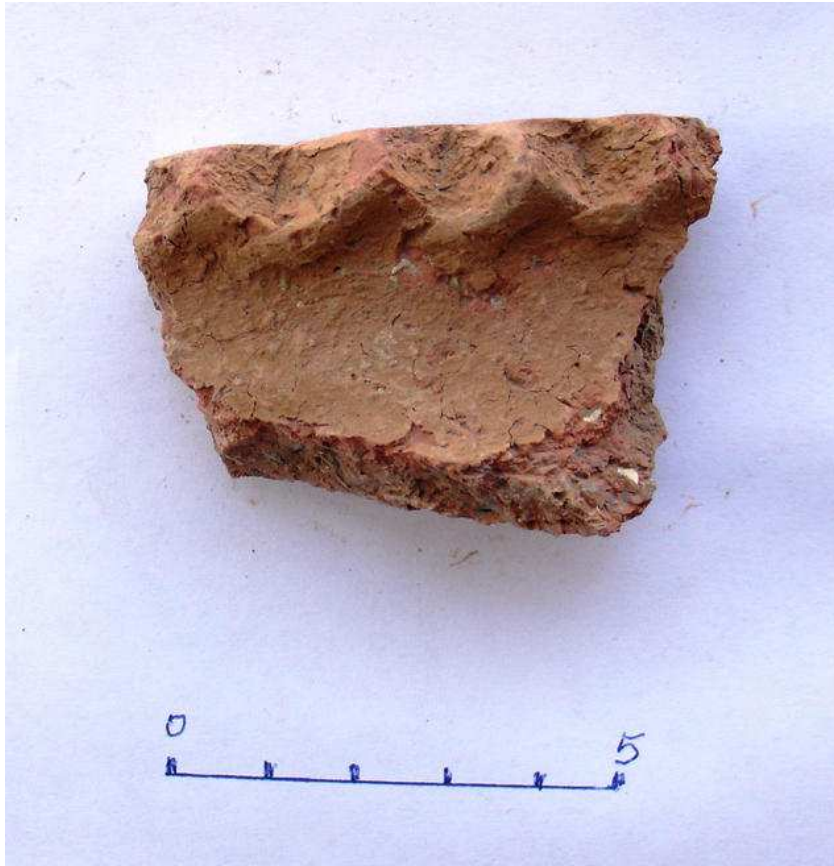


Fig. 45 Fragment of the mouth of the vessel with wave ornamentation.



Fig. 46 Fragment of the stand for hearth with incised ornamentation.



Fig. 47. Fragment of cover with incised decoration.

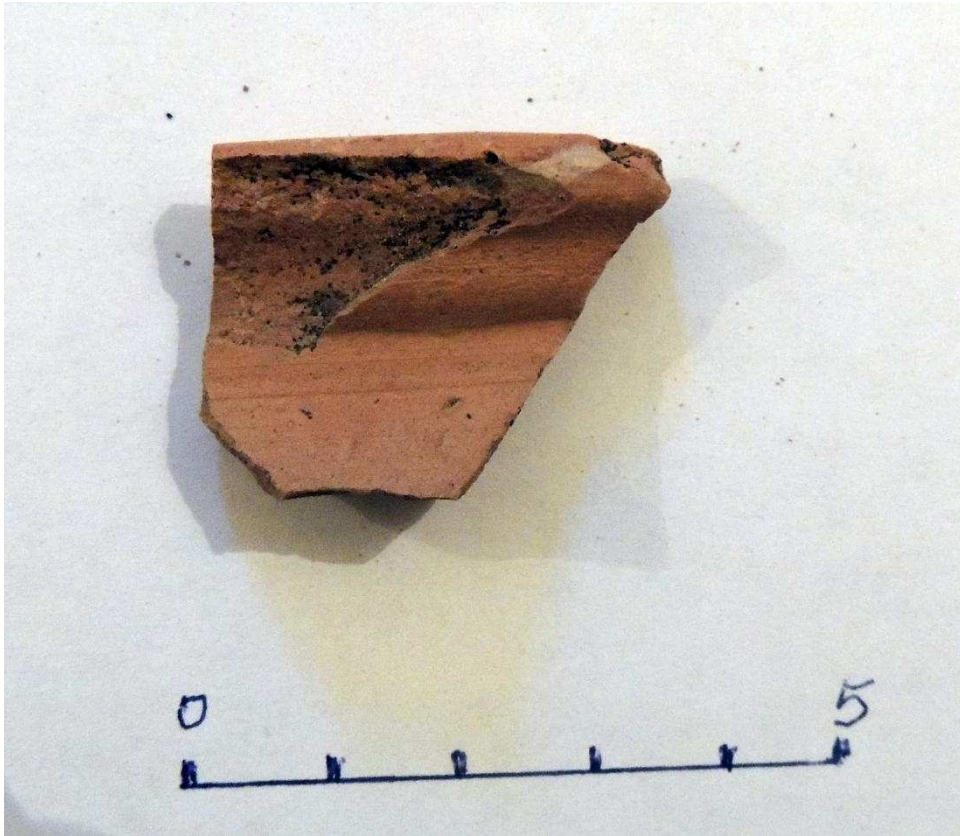


Fig. 48 Fragment of ceramic fabricated on potters wheel. Late antique period.



Fig. 49 Fragment of gray clay pottery.

