Volume 2

DAMAGED

TEXT

IN

ORIGINAL

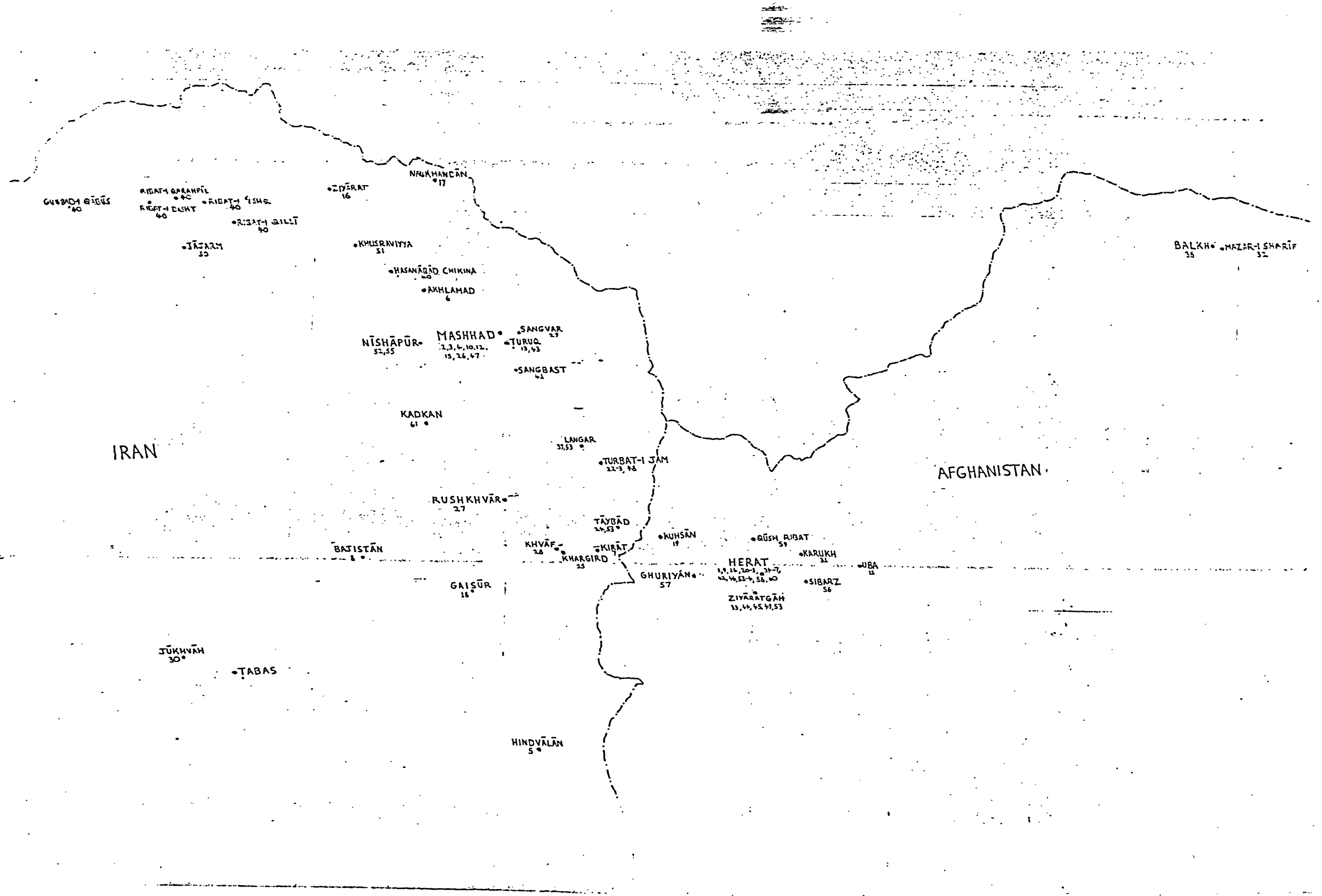
CATALOGUE OF MONUMENTS

		Page
1	Herat, Citadel	1
2	Mashhad, Works of Gauhar Shād	7
3	Gulistān, Dam	31
4	Mashhad, Madrasa Parīzād	33
5	Hindvālān, Masjid-i Jamiᶜ	39
6	Akhlamad, Dam	45
7	Kirāt, Dam	48
8	Bajistān, Masjid-i Jamiᶜ	49
9	Gāzur Gāh, Shrine of ᶜAbdallāh Ansārī	53
10	Mashhad, Gunbad-i Khishtī	61
11	Uba, Masjid-i Jamiᶜ	66
12	Mashhad, Madrasa Bālā Sar	68
13	Turuq, Mausoleum	75
14	Herat, Masjid-i Jamiᶜ and Madrasa of Gauhar Shād	82
15	Mashhad, Madrasa Du Dar	103
16	Ziyārat-i Tīmūr Lang	121
17	Tomb of Auliyā Shādmīn	125
18	Mausoleum of Jaghatain	128
19	Kuhsān, Madrasa of Tūmān Āghā	130
20	Herat, Gunbad-i Chūpān	138
21	Ghalvār, Masjid-i Hauż-i Karbās	141
22	Turbat-i Jām, Masjid-i Jamiᶜ and Madrasa of Fīrūzshāh	145
23	Turbat-i Jām, Madrasa of Amir Shah Malik	146
24	Tāybād, Buqᶜa of Shaikh Zain al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tāybādī	147
25	Khargird, Madrasa al-Ghiyāthiyya	148
26	Mashhad, Masjid-i Shah	151
27	Rushkhvār, Masjid-i Jamiᶜ	171

UNIV. EDINBURGEN EX BIBL

28	Khvāf, Masjid-i Jami^{c}	178
29	Mazar-i Sangvar	183
30	Mazar-i Sipahsālār-i Mālik	186
31	Ghār-i Karukh	189
32	Mazar-i Sharīf, Shrine of ^{c}Alī	194
33	Ziyāratgāh, Masjid-i Jami^{c}	198
34	Dih-i Manār, Khanqah of Shaikh Sadr al-Dīn Armānī	207
35	Pūrān, Buq^{c}a of Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Yazīd Purānī	210
36	Āzādān, Mazar-i Khvaja Abu'l-Walīd	215
37	Herat, Mazar-i Shāhzāda ^{c}Abdallāh	225
38	Mausoleum of Mīr-i Ruzadār	231
39	Langar, Mausoleum of Qāsim-i Anvār	234
40	Jurjān - Mashhad Road, Caravanserais	238
41	Ribat-i Sangbast	252
42	Gāzur Gāh, the Namakdān	256
43	Turuq, Dam	259
44	Ziyāratgāh, Masjid-i Chihil Sutūn	261
45	Ziyāratgāh, Masjid-i Gunbad	267
46	Gāzur Gāh, Zarnigar Khāna	273
47	Mashhad, Shrine of Imam Riżā, Works of Mīr ^{c}Alī Shīr	276
48	Turbat-i Jām, ^{c}Īdgāh of Mīr ^{c}Alī Shīr	280
49	Ziyāratgāh, Khanqah of Mullā Kālān	283
50	Jājarm, Masjid-i Jami^{c}	288
51	Khusraviyya, Mazar-i Bābā Husain va Bībī	293
52	Nīshāpūr, Mausoleum of Farīd al-Dīn ^{c}Attār	297
53	Cisterns	304
54	Herat, Madrasa of Sultan Husain	309
55	Nīshāpūr, Masjid-i Jami^{c}	319
56	Sibarz, Ziyārat of Khvaja Nizām al-Dīn	327

57	Ghuriyān, Masjid-i Jami^{c}	330
58	Herat, Masjid-i Jami^{c}	333
59	Qūsh Ribat	343
60	Herat, Ghār-i Darvīshān	349
61	Kadkan, Mazar-i Nizām al-Mulk	352



2) Map of Iran and Afghanistan showing location of monuments in the Catalogue

HERAT, CITADEL

Location To the N of the old walled city of Herat.[1]

Historical sources According to Hāfiz-i Abrū, the citadel was built by Fakhr al-Dīn Kart in sun-dried bricks and rebuilt by Shah Rukh in baked brick and stone.[2] Other Timurid sources give the name of its builder as Ikhtiyār al-Dīn, a general of Shams al-Dīn I Kart and Fakhr al-Dīn Kart, and give its date of construction as 818/1415-6.[3] Hāfiz-i Abrū gives the date in his text as 810H., and says that it took two years to finish, although in the poem which he composed for it the date is given as 818H.[4]

On the half-round tower at the NW of the citadel are the remains of a decorative revetment which is incontrovertibly Timurid (Pl. 1).[5] Can the same be said of any other part of the building? Recent excavations by UNESCO should be able to shed more light on this subject. For the moment, one should notice that the Timurid revetment on the NW tower covers some earlier decoration of blind niches and a denticulated moulding.[6] The tower was therefore erected earlier,[7] and it is likely that Timurid work was confined to the extensive redecoration programme, and perhaps to some consolidation. Contrary to the statement by Hāfiz-i Abrū, most of the citadel was probably constructed in baked brick before the reign of Shah Rukh. While the excavations may present evidence for original Timurid construction, I propose for the moment to assume that the plan of the citadel had been essentially realized before the Timurid period, and to discuss here only the decoration and inscriptions.

Decoration NW tower: Above a brick base is a facing of four courses of ashlar sandstone blocks, the upper and lower courses

citadel towering high above the city.

The inscription in cuerda seca tiles on the wall beside the NW tower, mentioned above, was therefore not the foundation inscription. It was probably part of the panegyric which Hāfiz-i Abrū composed for the occasion, sections of which were, according to him, written in tiles on the citadel.[10]

As there would have been space for all of this poem on the walls, I give a full translation of it here:[11]

Until the day of judgement the world will not be empty of the
descendants of Tīmūr Khān
From that pure lineage, so excellent a race will follow that one
conqueror will follow after another
Where a pearl should be, they will not see other than pearls; they
should not look for anything other than gold from a gold mine
The King of Islam, Shah Rukh Bahādur, the world has become resplendent
with his justice
(He is) so magnificent that the stars are like his army, he is the
commander of his nobility which reaches the summit of the heavens
The world is trifling compared to his power like the surging sea
The heavens are an atom and his outlook is luminous
May the world be adorned with his descendants, may the world be
perfumed with his race
Shahinshah Ūlūgh Beg and Sultan Ibrāhīm
who are deserving of kingship
One sitting on the throne of Tūrān, the other's dominion is
conquered Iran
The eyes of the world have become bright from both stars
One the sun of the kingdom the other the moon of the dominion
(Another is) the pādshah of the world Bāysunghur whose power
is of a higher nobility than the summit of the heavens
With the face of Minūchihr and the kingship of Farīdūn,
with the strength of Jamshīd and the rank of Sikandar
The lowest of his banquet is like a Khusrau
His meanest official is like a flower
What is gilded becomes golden in its essence by his power

ca. 60 x 40cm, the intermediate ca. 60 x 30cm. A bold Kufic inscription in banna'i-technique almost 2m tall runs above this. Next, on top of the earlier denticulated moulding, a single tier of stalactites in three colours (white, light- and dark-blue) leads to the main body of decoration, a field of banna'i-technique epigraphic lozenges. In the outline of the lozenges diamond-shaped white-glazed tiles are inserted in the field of larger rectangular dark-blue glazed tiles, a feature which is also found in the banna'i work in the Mosque of Bībī Khānum and Madrasa of Ūlūgh Beg in Samarqand.

Wall beside NW tower: At the E edge of the tower are some cuerda seca border tiles, and slightly further along the wall are two larger cuerda seca tiles with the remains of an inscription in white thulth on a dark-blue background with a light-blue spiral (Pl. 4). Other fragments of cuerda seca tiles, mostly used as borders with arabesque and rosette designs, have been found in the course of excavation (Pl. 3). Some have touches of lime-green and gold leaf, colours typical of Khurasanian cuerda seca, although none seem to have any of the red which is found on most of the tiles of this group.[8] These, however, are the earliest of the series in Khurasan, although red had been used on Timurid cuerda seca tiles in Transoxiana.[9]

Inscriptions In the course of the excavations a fragment of a monumental mosaic-faience inscription was found (Pl. 2). The field is 1m tall: upper register Kufic (al-mulk li'llāh/the kingdom is to God) in alternating dark-green and amber letters; lower register white thulth on dark-blue ground with light-blue spiral:

امر بينا هذه القلعه . . .

Ordered the building of this citadel...

This is the largest of all mosaic-faience inscriptions in the catalogue, and was designed to be clearly visible on the walls of the

By his (sun-like) nature the heart of the ocean boils in its core
The foot of the cloud will not reach his hand
If he withdraws his head to the heavens
Another is Suyurghatmish the prudent and wise
Beside whom the world is a trifle
Another is Shāhzāda Jūkī[12] Muhammad
Whose miracles of justice are famous
All (these) kings are meritorious and worthy
All of them are capable and suitable
These five valiant and eminent ones
Time will never bring their like again
Glorying in the manifestation of the religion of God
Assisting in the augmentation of the faith of the prophet
Anyone who is a descendant of this kind
The kingdom in his family is forever stable
Shah Shah Rukh will remain until the day of judgement
With increasing good fortune and ascending success
The prosperity of the world comes from his sound rule
Just as one attains heaven by proper devotions
They laid the foundations of this lofty citadel
In an auspicious time and a favourable horoscope
Rabīᶜ II 818[13] hijrat
As the prophet went from Bathā to Yathrib
If you take four hundred from its date
Its year will become more evident from its date
First they assigned a location for Herat
So that five gateways were fixed in it
See those five doors of the five towers of its fortress
And consider them gates of victory
Know the proof of the permanence of the building
Regard it well even if you are meticulous
(Your kingdom) will be increased and it will not be destroyed
This prosperity will remain until the day of judgement
The engineer placed within and without it
Muqarnas mansions and round towers
The stars are proud of its architecture
Its completion has brought glory to the army
In elegance like the aivan of Kisrā

In solidity like the dam of Sikandar
In the completeness of its strength like the aivan of Kaivān
The passage of time will not destroy it
It will not be subjected to the damage of calamities
Calamities cannot touch the king
From top to bottom it is beautiful and decorated
Its corners are golden and bejewelled
Its essence is like life in the pillars of the universe
Its splendours are like light in the eye of the stars.

It is perhaps surprising that Gauhar Shād is not mentioned in the inscription, unless the bejewelled (gauhār) corners of the citadel are intended as an oblique reference to her. However, the days of her political ascendency and her major sponsorship of architecture were yet to come. The poem gives prominence to Shah Rukh's sons in accordance with the political power which they held at the time, but the praise which they are given is always intended to reflect back on their progenitor. As a panegyrist Hāfiz-i Abrū had certainly done a competent job, and in combination with the mosaic-faience inscription this would have been an impressive symbol of the power of the Sultan.

Recorded June 1975, June 1978.

Notes

1) See Allen, Catalogue, Map 2 and UNESCO, Citadel, p. 3.
2) HA, p. 13.
3) See Allen, Catalogue, p. 34.
4) See below, p. 4.
5) Plan in UNESCO, Citadel, p. 6, elevation in ibid., p. 19.
6) Clearly visible in UNESCO, Citadel, p. 17.
7) As pointed out by Lézine, "Hérat," p. 132.
8) E.g. on those from Khargird, Kuhsān and Turbat-i Jām: see O'Kane, "Tāybād," p. 99.
9) E.g. on the Āq Sarāy at Shahr-i Sabz and the Mosque of Bībī Khānum.
10) Allen, Catalogue, p. 34, mentions this poem, but writes that

"none of the section given corresponds with the inscription on the tower, which has the form of a foundation inscription in Arabic." However, he has confused the mosaic-faience inscription found in the excavations with the banna'i Kufic on the tower, and has ignored the fragment of the cuerda seca inscription which is still intact. The poem was written by Hāfiz-i Abrū and not, as Allen would have it, by Shah Rukh.

11) I would like to thank Abbas Daneshvari for his assistance in translating this. The text is in HA, pp. 13-5.

12) For Jūlī read Jūkī.

13) The date is assessed by abjad reckoning, according to the textual emendation suggested by Haravī. The subsequent lines also refer to some computation in abjad, but I have been unable to determine their exact significance.

Bibliography

UNESCO, Citadel, pp. 3-33.

Allen, Catalogue, pp. 34-5.

Hill and Grabar, Fig. 136.

Lézine, "Hérat," pp. 129-33, Pl. VIIa.

North front side – present state (1975) 1:500

3) Cat.no.1. Herat, Citadel: elevation of N wall (after UNESCO)

MASHHAD, WORKS OF GAUHAR SHĀD

The Masjid-i Jami^{c}, Dār al-Huffāz and Dār al-Siyāda adjoing the tomb of Imām Riżā were erected by Gauhar Shād in the same building campaign. The monuments will be considered in turn.

The Mosque of Gauhar Shād

Location Fortunately, the published section of the waqfiyya of Gauhar Shād gives us detailed information on the boundaries of the mosque at the time it was erected:

> "on the east by the holy tomb and the resplendent grave within it; on the west by the public thoroughfare and the ribat whose founder is the receptacle of (prayers for) forgiveness, the pure Nizām al-Mulk b. Hasan ^{c}Alī Tūsī and the shops of his late excellency; on the north it is bounded by the small bazar (bāzārcha) which is waqf to the masjid-i jami^{c} and the land which is waqf to the aforementioned (mosque) and by the public thoroughfare."[1]

The mosque therefore seems to have been free on one side (the S), partially free on two others (the W and N), and completely enclosed by other buildings on the E. One would need to know more about the location of other buildings surrounding the Shrine in the early fifteenth century, however, before the decision to build the mosque where it is can be fully explained. The most striking aspect of its present location is the way in which the mosque is robbed of a conspicuous entrance portal of the kind which dominates the Mosque of Bībī Khānum in Samarqand. In the place where one would expect to find it, opposite the sanctuary dome chamber, there is instead an entrance to the Dār al-Siyāda. If the mosque had been situated E of the mausoleum of Imām Riżā, in the space now occupied by the sahn-i ^{c}atīq, it would have been possible to erect an imposing entrance portal. Or even with the mosque in its present location, a tall lateral entrance aivan like

that of the Yazd Masjid-i Jami^{c} could have been considered. Another surprising aspect is its lack of axiality with the mausoleum of the Imām, which on the W is connected to the Dār al-Huffāz. The main E-W axis of the mosque, as mentioned above, is connected with the Dār al-Siyāda instead. This is all the more puzzling when we learn from the waqfiyya that the area to the S of the mosque consisted of open land and a public street. On paper it is not difficult to envisage the plan of the mosque shifted 19m S, which would bring it exactly in line with the axis of the mausoleum. Two possible explanations can be suggested why this was not done. Firstly, Gauhar Shād, by erecting the building in a subsidiary location, may have been trying to ensure that it was truly a complement to the mausoleum and not a rival attraction. However the size of her Friday Mosque and its sanctuary dome chamber tend to negate this. More likely is the question of land holdings, including those which were public thoroughfares. Legally it may have been impossible to acquire any large block of land in the vicinity of the Shrine other than that which was actually obtained. It would have been illegal in theory to build on a public right of way, such as that which existed to the S of the mosque. The plan of the Shrine published in the nineteenth century by Sanī^{c} al-Daula shows that a public passageway still existed immediately S of the Mosque of Gauhar Shād (Fig. 4).[2] Shah Rukh was a greater respecter of the shar^{c}īa than his father, and Gauhar Shād, in a pious donation to the Shrine, may also have been unlikely to have risked any legal infractions, lest they invalidate the waqf.

Historical references Compared with the complex which Gauhar Shād erected in Herat, her works in Mashhad received little notice from contemporary historians. ^{c}Abd al-Razzāq relates how in Sha^{c}bān 821/ Sept.-Oct. 1418 Shah Rukh made a pilgrimage to Mashhad and presented

the Shrine with a chandelier with three thousand mithqals of gold, and "before this the exalted cradle Gauhar Shād Āqā had erected a masjid-i jami[c] finely constructed and decorated beside the dome chamber of the imam, on him be blessings and peace. It was nearing completion at this time, and Shah Rukh gave his wholehearted approval to that fine building."[3]

This is essentially the same account as that of Hāfiz-i Abrū, who interestingly adds that she ordered other buildings around (dar atrāf) the mosque.[4]

Mīrkhvānd quotes Samarqandī almost word for word,[5] while Khvāndamīr, although mentioning the present of the chandelier, says not a word about the mosque.[6] Surprisingly, neither do the obituary notices of Qavām al-Dīn Shīrāzī mention the mosque.[7] It is fortunate that his signature still remains on the tilework inside the building.

Plan (Fig. 4) Courtyard encompassed by four aivans joined by two-storey arcades; dome chamber behind qibla aivan; single-storey shabistāns link the various parts of the mosque. Two doors on the E lead to the Dār al-Siyāda and the Dār al-Huffāz; two on the N to the bazar; and two on the S and one on the W, beside the qibla aivan, to what was a public thoroughfare at the time the mosque was built.

Although it is not shown on the published plan, the shabistān in the NE corner of the mosque is one room shallower than the others on the N side, due to the encroachment of the bazar route.

Elevation a) exterior: Until very recently, when the new maidān was erected around the Shrine precinct by demolishing the surrounding buildings, very little was visible of the exterior of the mosque other than the upper part of the walls of the sanctuary, and the dome above it. Qavām al-Dīn, the architect, seems to have forsaken any attempt at providing the highly decorated exterior facades of earlier buildings

in Samarqand, such as the Mosque of Bībī Khānum or the Madrasa of Ūlūgh Beg, and which he used for his later complex of Gauhar Shād in Herat. His decision may have been prompted by the nearby presence of other buildings, such as the ribat of Nizām al-Mulk Ṭūsī on the W and the bazar on the N. He may even have been percipient enough to realise that the complex which he was constructing would itself attract other buildings to the Shrine which would impinge on any exterior facade. But this lack of emphasis on the exterior is in keeping with the prior decision to build the mosque with its E side adjoining the tomb complex of the Imam: its main purpose was to be an extension of the interior space of the Shrine.

The rear of the sanctuary at any rate seems to have survived in a relatively unaltered form, and it does present an arrangement of forms designed to impress from the outside (Pl. 7). In the centre a semi-circular buttress indicates the recess of the mihrab inside, although its function is chiefly symbolic, since the depth of the recess could easily have been contained within the wall. To either side of the buttress the wall is divided into two superposed arched niches, the lower ones blind, the upper ones forming a gallery which originally continued round either side. Above this section the rear of the semi-dome of the bay in front of the mihrab is visible, which in turn leads to the drum. The top of the drum had an inscription dating from 1077/1666-7,[8] while the dome above was rebuilt in concrete in the 1960's. The present profile is more bulbous than the previous,[9] which with its sharp curve at the shoulder and straighter upper section was similar to that of the Masjid-i Mīr Chaqmāq in Yazd. Considering the numerous restorations which the mosque has undergone, however, and the Safavid inscription on the drum, it is doubtful if the original tilework on the dome survived into the twentieth century.

Fortunately one entrance portal, that on the NE leading from the bazar, has survived with most of its decoration intact. It consists of a shallow aivan, vaulted with a later stalactite semi-dome, but with fine panels with a variety of tilework to either side of the doorway. They will be considered more fully in the section on decoration below.

b) interior: When discussing the mosque at Bārsīān, Myron Smith wrote of the way in which "Iranian architects, like our theatre designers, were allowed to choose arbitrary viewpoints for their creations."[10] Nowhere is this more apparent than with the Mosque of Gauhar Shād, where the arbitrary viewpoint chosen was that of the spectator in the courtyard. The most obvious indication of this are the upper galleries between the courtyard aivans (Pl. 11). The bays of the galleries are identical in shape and size to those which lead to the shabistāns below, but behind the gallery arches there is not the solid, substantial building that these would lead us to expect, but only the roof of the shabistāns. A possible source for this type of facade is the Masjid-i Jami^{c} of Varāmīn, where they appear to either side of the qibla aivan. A closer analogy are the two-storey arcades between the aivans of the Isfahan Jami^{c}, although their dating is as yet uncertain.

From the courtyard, however, the visual impact of the galleries is extremely successful. Byron's comparison of the design of the vertical panels between the bays with the illusion of weight-reception in the classical orders is particularly apt,[11] and is further reinforced by the use of materials for the lozenges to which he refers: banna'i bricks set in relief above the mosaic-faience background. It is surprising that such an effective composition was never repeated, although the banna'i-technique uprights on the facade of the Khargird madrasa are related.[12] The parapet visible in earlier photographs[13] to either

side of the qibla aivan has since been removed. It was certainly part of a Safavid restoration, put there, as Godard remarked,[14] to buttress the aivan. Its visual function, however, is taken up by the arcades below. These have a small-large-small rhythm, with the arch in the middle being slightly wider than those of the other arcades in the courtyard, emphasizing its strength and solidity. Qavām al-Dīn later reused this rhythm to equal effect in the facade of the Khargird madrasa.

It is the aivans which dominate the courtyard, of course. The N and S aivans are identical. Their side walls carry on the same theme of two-storey niches used to link the aivans, their upper balconies here being equally for aesthetic effect. The E aivan falls in size between the qibla aivan and those on the N and S. Its portal screen of superposed niches is similar to the N and S aivans, although its shallower depth meant that only one two-storey niche was fitted in on each side.

The sanctuary aivan is distinguished by its flanking minarets, the only ones which were built on the mosque. The model for these, rather than the minarets flanking the qibla aivan of the Mosque of Bībī Khānum, as has been suggested,[15] are the engaged towers on its entrance portal which are cylindrical rather than octagonal. Like them the minarets of Gauhar Shād have a base of large banna'i Kufic, with the shaft divided into lozenges above.

On the ground plan it looks as if there is an almost continuous space between the aivan of the sanctuary and the dome chamber and semi-domed recess behind it. Although the aivan is stepped in slightly towards the rear, the dome chamber is only as wide as the front of the aivan, and the semi-domed recess in front of the mihrab is the same width and height as the rear of the aivan. Where did this unusual

combination of forms come from? A possibility is the Herat Jami^{c}, where before the restoration of Mīr ^{c}Alī Shīr there was also a dome chamber behind the qibla aivan.[16] Judging from the remaining piers, which were probably not substantially altered in the Timurid restoration, a deep niche the width of the aivan, probably supporting a semi-dome, would also have been located in front of the qibla.[17]

The zone of transition of the dome is fairly conventional, consisting of a squinch-net leading to a sixteen-sided base for the dome. It contrasts uncomfortably with the stalactite semi-dome in front of the mihrab, to which one can justifiably apply the strictures of Pope: "overdone, crowded and incoherent."[18]

An unusual aspect of the sanctuary dome chamber are the three tiers of balconies on the side walls, above the bays which lead into the shabistāns. The dome chamber of the Yazd Jami^{c} had one tier on each of the side walls, but this hardly prepares us for the number of extra tiers in Mashhad. Again, the question of function arises. While some of these tiers communicated with open bays on the exterior, their major purpose was presumably the twofold one of achieving a visual and structural lightening of the side walls.

The shabistāns all seem to have been vaulted in the same way, with small domes supported by simple kite-shaped squinches. The walls and piers had a cavetto moulding above a stone dado, although these may well be due to restoration. No other decoration was observed, the rest of the wall surfaces being covered in white plaster.

Decoration A major problem with this mosque, even before the recent demolition and reconstruction in concrete of the N and S aivans, is the difficulty of distinguishing original work from repairs. An idea of the extent to which the mosque has been repaired over the years may be gained from the dates of some of the inscriptions in it mentioned by

Sanī^{c} al-Daula (in hijra only): 862, 1008, 1052, 1053, 1084, 1087, 1088, 1111, 1195, 1214, 1232, 1243, 1274 and 1276.[19] Fortunately Pope's photographs provide us with a good record of the state of the mosque before the most recent reconstructions.

The short visit which I was permitted to make to the mosque in 1977 is the basis for the following tentative proposals concerning the preservation of original decoration.

All of the E aivan seemed to be restored. The banna'i-technique of the N aivan seemed restored, while several of the spandrels which were originally decorated in mosaic-faience had been replaced by cuerda seca tiles. The S aivan was totally reconstructed in the 1960's. The qibla aivan seemed to be mostly original work, with the exception of the spandrels.

The two-storey arcades between the aivans had been mostly restored, one exception being the three bays E of the S aivan, where a considerable amount of original work remained.

In many cases it seemed that the restoration work copied the design and colours of the original, although the spandrels of the four aivans are notable exceptions. Cuerda seca often replaced mosaic-faience.

Before going on to examine some of the range of patterns and techniques used, we can gain a good idea of the quality of the Timurid work from the NW portal, which due to its location in the bazar has fortuitously survived with most of its decoration intact (Pls. 8-10). To the right of the door is a tall mosaic-faience panel divided into two parts: on top a strapwork design of dark-green outlined in amber on a dark-blue ground; below an arched panel containing a pattern based on ten-pointed stars using the typical range of colours: white, black, light- and dark-blue, dark-green and amber. The sides of the aivan are more adventurous. They are framed by a series of quatrefoil cuerda

<u>seca</u> tiles set in a banna'i brick framework, a motif that was taken up in the adjoining Madrasa Parīzād. The spandrels of the arched panel within this are of mosaic-faience: large abstract blossoms with an outline of small petals on a tangle of flowering shoots. The arch below has a design of eight-pointed stars and polygons, outlined in raised underglaze-painted tiles with flowering stems reserved in blue on a white ground. Two slightly different patterns are used, one following the profile of the arch, the other for the pattern within.

Within the mosque underglaze-painted and <u>cuerda seca</u> tiles were used sparingly. <u>Cuerda seca</u> tiles were used for the angular mouldings which framed the lower arches of the bays between the aivans. At least two patterns were used, one of continuous quatrefoils,[20] the other a two-plane lattice design of flowering stems. The colours are typically Timurid: light- and dark-blue, dull red and unfired gold, all on a white slip, with manganese/black used to divide the colours.

Underglaze-painted blue and white tiles were probably used in some of the raised polygons of the decoration on the gallery arcades. The work which remains here seems to be all restoration (Pl. 17),[21] but some of the blue and white tiles which have arabesque or epigraphic motifs (<u>Muhammad</u> or <u>ʿAlī</u> repeated five times in a pentagon) may well be copying original designs. The most conspicuous use of blue and white tiles was reserved for the bevel framing the arch of the N and S aivans.[22] A comparison of these with their counterparts at Gāzur Gāh[23] shows that the design of the epigraphic medallions and embossed circular medallions of both monuments is virtually identical.

It is mosaic-faience, however, which sets the keynote of the tile decoration in the mosque. While banna'i-technique was used extensively inside each of the aivans, it is the decoration of the courtyard facades which would be first to impinge on the spectator's consciousness. As

mentioned above, the mosque seems to have been conceived with the viewpoint of the spectator in the courtyard in mind, a feature which the use of mosaic-faience to decorate most of the courtyard facades emphasises. Predominant are the inscriptions, while for a tour de force of craftsmanship one turns naturally to the tree of life panels which one expects to find at the beginning and end of the foundation inscription (Pl. 14).[24] There are three key-points in the composition: the vase, and two medallions above it. The vase, instead of the usual splay-footed stand below, is supported above its base by a cross-lattice. The main medallion above it has a striking centrepiece of diminishing triangles within a circle, a miniature version of the famous mosaic in the bath hall at Khirbat al-Mafjar. Prototypes are closer to hand, however—a similar flower dominates the tree of life panel on the facade of the buq^{c}a of Tūmān Āghā in the Shah-i Zinda. Another borrowing from this panel is the double outlining in amber faience of the polylobed surround, although the version in Mashhad is complicated by a loop on every lobe. While the finest work in mosaic-faience is reserved for these tree of life panels (and the two below the inscription on the inner arch of the W aivan), many other panels, particularly the spandrels of the courtyard arcades, display work of a high standard.

One use of mosaic-faience in particular deserves comment: the raised floral panels on a geometric background on the soffit of the W aivan.[25] These are constructed in such a way that if the raised panels were moved towards each other they would form one continuous surface. This scheme was to gain popularity in later Persian architecture. This appears to be its first appearance in tiles, although an earlier version of the theme can be seen in the raised wooden panels of the 548/1153 minbar from ^{c}Amādiyya.[26]

Inscriptions As can be gathered from the preceding section, a great many of the inscriptions in the mosque have been subjected to not only repair but also complete renewal, making publication of a complete corpus of the original inscriptions impossible. The scope of this section will therefore be restricted to the foundation inscription and such others whose present condition indicates that they may also be originals or copies of originals.[27]

Qibla aivan 1) Large frieze on the rectangular frame of the portal screen, mosaic-faience, upper register الملك لله (the kingdom is God's) in Kufic; lower register white thulth on dark-blue ground, amber spiral scroll.

Text: Sanī^{c} al-Daula, p. 147.

In the name of God the compassionate the merciful: He only shall tend God's sanctuaries who believeth in God and the last day and observeth proper worship and payeth the poor due and feareth none save God. For each (only) is it possible that they can be of the rightly-guided (Quran IX/18). The prophet, on him be peace, said, "Whoever builds a mosque for God, so likewise God will build a house for him in Paradise." After these words which God, may His splendour be exalted and His favour be widespread, and Muhammad, the blessing of God upon him and his family, spoke; her great highness and exalted (one), the sun of the heaven of purity and rectitude, famous for honour and glory and integrity, Gauhar Shād, may her majesty be perpetuated and her purity endure and her blessings be increased, excelling in extreme justice and great firmness of faith, obtaining her expectations, hoping for complete acceptance by God, from her own funds, for the benefit of her (final) goal and the improvement of her soul on the day on which every soul is recompensed for his deeds; seeking the sight of God and searching satisfaction and giving thanks for His favours and praise

for His benefits, built this great Masjid-i Jami[c] and this holy abode in the reign of the great Sultan and the most kind and just Khāqān, master of the kings of the Arabs and the non-Arabs, Sultan b. al-Sultan b. al-Sultan Abu'l-Muzaffar Shah Rukh b. Tīmūr Kūrkān[28] Bahādur Khān, may God perpetuate his kingship and sultanate and increase in the two worlds his holiness, justice and goodness. May God accept her work willingly and reward her with the best recompense for benefactors and by the completion of that which she prepared for[29] the pious worshippers. Bāysunghur b. Shah Rukh b. Tīmūr Kūrkān[30] wrote it with hope in God, in the year 821/1418.[31]

2) and 3) Above the tree of life panel at the beginning and end of 1); mosaic-faience, two lines of white thulth on a dark-blue ground (unless the contrary is stated, subsequent inscriptions are also in mosaic-faience, and in white thulth on a dark-blue ground).[32]

N side:

اتفق تحريرها في اوائل شهر الله المبارك رجب المرجب
سنه احدى عشرين و ثمانمائه

The writing of this inscription was accomplished at the beginning of the holy month of God, the honoured Rajab in the year 821/August-September 1418.

S side:

عمل العبد الضعيف الفقير المحتاج بعنايت[33] الملك
الرحمن قوام الدين بن زين الدين شيرازى الطيان

The work of the poor weak slave, needing the mercy of the Compassionate Ruler, Qavām al-Dīn b. Zain al-Dīn Shīrāzī the plaster mason.

4) Series of square and rectangular panels set in a banna'i brick frame surrounding the foundation inscription. The rectangular panels contain:

الله الباقى — God is eternal.

5) Inside the aivan, following the profile of the arch.

Quran XXIV/35(?)-42.[34]

6)-9) Above the tree of life panel at the beginning and end of 5).[35]

N side: 6) سبحان ربی الاعلی و بحمد ٥

Praise and thanks to my Lord the most high.

In amber Kufic above it:

7) لا حول و لا قوة الا بالله العليم

There is no power and no strength save with God the wise.

S side: 8) repetition of 6)

In amber Kufic above it:

9) سبحان الله و الحمد لله و الله اكبر

Praise God and thanks to God and God is great.

10)-11) [36] In a keel-arched panel on the side of the aivan; colours unknown.

N side:

10) قال النبی علیه السلم المؤمن فی المسجد کا لسمك فی المأ

The prophet, on him be peace, said, "The believer in the mosque is like a fish in water."

S side:

11) المنافق فی المسجد کا لطیر فی القفس فی شهور سنه احدی و عشرین و ثمانمائه

The hypocrite in the mosque is like a bird in a cage; in the months of the year 821/1418.

12) and 13)[37] Mihrab, outer frieze, lower register:

12) قال الله تبارك و تعالی و سبحان الله

followed by Quran II/255-7 as far as النور, followed by

صدق الله العظيم و صدق رسوله الكريم

God, may He be blessed and exalted, said... God spoke the truth and his noble prophet spoke the truth.

Upper register, Kufic:

13) قال الله تبارك و تعالى و سبحان الله

followed by Quran XXX/17 (from حين) to 19.[38]

God, may He be blessed and exalted, and praise God, said...

14) Mihrab, inner frieze of carved green marble, lower register, thulth, painted black. Quran XVII/78-85 (part).[39]

15) On the top tier of stalactites inside the semi-dome of the mihrab, Kufic: الله الباقى الملك لله (several times)

God is eternal, the kingdom is God's.

16) Rectangular panel above the inner arch of the mihrab, black painted marble, thulth:[40]

عجلوا بالصلوة قبل الفوت و عجلوا بالتوبه قبل الموت

Hasten to prayer before passing away and hasten to repentance before death.

This is one of the most elegant inscriptions in the mosque, where the calligrapher has effectively arranged the ascenders in two clusters, broken symmetrically by the lām̄s of qabl and the tā̄'s of faut and maut.

17) Minarets, mosaic-faience lozenges, several restored: several of the sacred names of God (al-asmā̄' al-husna).

18)-23)[41] Minarets, on larger cartouches near the base of the field of lozenges. These have been at least partially restored, but probably reflect the original. The same schema of small cartouches with the names of God and larger ones below with hadīth was used later in the Masjid-i Shah in Mashhad.

On the S minaret:

18) قال النبى عليه السلام الدنيا مزرعة الاخرة

The prophet, on him be peace, said, "You shall reap what you sow."

19) قال النبى عليه السلام الدنيا جيفة و طالبها كلاب

The prophet, on him be peace, said, "The world is carrion and dogs seek it.

20) قال النبى عليه السلام الدنيا سجن المؤمن و جنة الكافر

The prophet, on him be peace, said, "The world is the prison of the believer and the paradise of the unbeliever."

On the N minaret:

21) قال النبى عليه السلام من ترك الصلوة متعمدا فقد كفر

The prophet, on him be peace, said, "Whoever abandons prayer deliberately is an unbeliever."

22) قال النبى عليه السلام الدنيا ساعة فاجعلها طاعة

The prophet, on him be peace, said, "Life is an hour, hurry to worship God."

23) قال النبى عليه السلام عجلوا بالصلوة قبل الفوت

The prophet, on him be peace, said, "Hurry to prayer before death."

24) On the piers of the group of three bays to the S of the qibla (W) aivan, in mosaic-faience. Above the dado is a keel-arched panel which usually contains a floral design. In one case this is replaced by an inscription in amber Kufic, with the letters forming the polylobed outline of an arch:

فسيكفيكهم الله و هو السميح العليم

"God will suffice thee (for defence) against them. He is the Hearer, the Knower" (Quran II/137, part).

It is interesting to find that this phrase occurs in almost identical form in two versions in the interior of the Rukniyya in Yazd,[42] a rare example of a direct borrowing by the Timurids of an archaic Il-Khanid epigraphic motif.

25)-28) Surrounding these keel-arched panels at the base of the piers of the courtyard arcades are several Quranic phrases. Four of these have been recorded on the W arcades:

25) Quran II/95 and LXII/8 as far as الغيب :

"But they will never long for it (death), because of that which their own hands have sent before them. God is aware of evildoers. Say (unto them, O Muhammad): Lo! the death from which ye shrink will surely meet you, and afterward ye will be returned unto the Knower of the invisible"

26) continuation of 25) to LXII/9 as far as الله :

"and the visible, and He will tell you what ye used to do. O ye who believe! When the call is heard for the prayer of the day of congregation, haste unto remembrance of God."

27) Quran LXII/10 from كثيرا to 11, complete:

"(and remember God) much, that ye may be successful. But when they spy some merchandise or pastime they break away to it and leave thee standing. Say: That which God hath is better than pastime and than merchandise, and God is the best of providers."

28) Basmala and Quran XCVIII/1-2 as far as يتلوا . This is on the pier at the SW corner of the courtyard; its two halves are out of alignment, and the second half is completely restored.

"Those who disbelieve among the People of the Scripture and the idolaters could not have left off (erring) till the clear proof came to them. A messenger from God, reading purified pages."

29) On the piers, framed by banna'i bricks, above the Quranic inscriptions: الله الباقى , God is eternal, repeated many times.

30) The upper section of each pier has four rectangular panels with identical inscriptions on each: in the lower register the shahāda, in the upper الملك لله , the kingdom is God's, in amber Kufic.

31)-33) On rectangular panels between the upper and lower storeys of those courtyard arcades beside the corners and the qibla aivan. On the bottom register, in amber Kufic, repeated five times:

31) الحمد لله Thanks to God.

The interlacing stems of the Kufic are extrapolated to form fields for the other inscriptions.

32) Middle register: سبحان الله Praise God, repeated five times.

33) Upper register: لا اله الله اكبر الله اكبر لا اله الا الله

God is great, there is no deity but God.

34) Spandrels of the centre of the group of three arches flanking the qibla aivan: يا الله O God, repeated eight times in a circular composition.

35) Soffit of 36): octagonal stars containing eight of the asmā' al-husnā.[43]

36) Soffits of the arches flanking 34): eight cartouches containing يا سلطان O Sultan, in pairs.

The above is clearly only a small sample of the epigraphic riches which the mosque contained. The portal screens of the N, S and E aivans, now occupied by restoration inscriptions, would probably have contained Quranic inscriptions originally.

While the Quranic inscriptions on the W aivan and mihrab clearly announce the attributes of God and the tenets of the faith, a prominent theme is that of the transitoriness of life on earth, emphasised by the insistent repetition all round the courtyard facades of الله الباقى, God is eternal, and echoed by the hadīth on the minarets.

The waqfiyya In his publication of the inscriptions of the Mosque of Gauhar Shād, Sanī^{c} al-Daula included some extracts from its waqfiyya, dated beginning Rajab 829/May 1426.[44] The document from which he quotes is not the original, but apparently one of several copies which were made of it.[45] Missing from the extracts, unfortunately, are the list of properties bequeathed to the mosque and an

account of employees and their salaries. It begins with, at length, the titles of Shah Rukh and Gauhar Shād. This introduction is concluded by useful documentation of the boundaries of the mosque, quoted above.

Some of the conditions pertaining to the waqf are then stated. These are summarised below.

1) ᶜAlā' al-Daula wa'l-Dīn ᶜAlī Ḥamīd al-ᶜAlavī al-Mashhadī is named as the mutavallī of the waqf and the holy buildings (biqāᶜ-i mutabarraka), the post being hereditary, or if he should have no descendants, one of the holy sayyids of Mashhad to be appointed. He should take one-tenth of the waqf revenue for administering it (haqq-i tauliyya) and another tenth was to go to the workers (kārkunān), officials (ẓābitān), functionaries (ᶜammāl) and the architect (miᶜmār).

2) Government officials and tax gatherers of any kind had no authority over the waqf revenue.

3) The waqf funds should be invested for a period of not more than three years, and until the three years had elapsed, a new investment should not be made.[46]

4) Profit from the funds could be lawfully spent, in accordance with the decision of the mutavallī, on the pious and Arab visitors to the Shrine from Mecca and Medina, without prejudice to the tenth of the administration and the other tenth (mentioned above).

5) The endowments should not be bought, sold, transferred (istibdāl) or given away; every few years the draft of the waqfiyya should be renewed.

The date of the waqfiyya is exactly eight lunar years later than the foundation of the mosque. A considerable delay in drawing up waqfiyyas is also attested in the case of several Anatolian Seljuq foundations.[47] The dearth of contemporary waqfiyyas makes it difficult

to know whether this delay was typical, but that this was so is suggested by the case of the Mīr Chaqmāq complex in Yazd, where the foundation inscription is dated 841H. and the waqfiyya 849, again a gap of eight years.[48]

It has been noted in the case of some Anatolian Seljuq buildings that the titulature in foundation inscriptions and waqfiyyas are similar.[49] This is not the case here.[50] Although the Chancery certainly drew up sample inscriptions for use on religious foundations,[51] the unlimited space which was available and made use of in the waqfiyyas for panegyric titles is sufficient to explain most of the differences. This is so despite the fact that the foundation inscription of the Mosque of Gauhar Shād is the longest surviving of the fifteenth century.

The list of employees who received one tenth of the waqf revenue - workers, officials, functionaries and the architect - is tantalisingly brief. It is likely that these would have been elaborated in greater detail, with accounts of their salaries, in another part of the waqf.[52]

Furnishings The mosque possesses an extremely fine wooden minbar. In form it is not unlike that of the Nā'īn Masjid-i Jami^{c}, with an arched canopy with stalactite cornice on top, although the sides are decorated with angular interlacing strapwork rather than the rectangular panels of Nā'īn.[53] Similar decoration was used on the minbar of 859/1454-5 in the Gurgān Masjid-i Jami^{c}. That of Mashhad may be contemporary with the foundation of the mosque, and if so represents the only Khurasanian Timurid minbar to have survived.

Condition The extensive recent repairs have been mentioned above. That part of the building which has been least restored, the bays of the W aivan, is noticeably inclined towards the courtyard—its shift in position with regard to the S wall of the courtyard can be determined

from their join (Pl. 16). It is to be hoped that it does not share the fate of the N and S aivans and the dome, and be rebuilt in concrete.

Recorded February 1977.

The Dār al-Huffāz and Dār al-Siyāda

Both these buildings are traditionally ascribed to Gauhar Shād, although they contain no Timurid inscriptions. The only decoration which either has which is likely to be Timurid is the dado of the Dār al-Siyāda,[54] consisting of mosaic-faience panels with a design of hexagons, and the engaged marble columns with vase, shaft and stalactite capitals at the corners. We have seen above that Hāfiz-i Abrū mentioned the erection by Gauhar Shād of other buildings around the mosque, and it could well be these halls to which he refers. There seems no good reason to doubt the popular attribution.

The form which both halls now assume is probably similar to their original disposition, despite the reworking of the upper walls and vaults with mirror work.

The Dār al-Huffāz, situated between the mosque of Gauhar Shād and the W entrance to the tomb of Imām Riżā, is vaulted by three transverse arches, each of which has a small lantern dome in the centre (Fig. 6).[55] It has seven niches, three in each of the N and S walls and one in the W leading to the mosque of Gauhar Shād.

The Dār al-Siyāda is conceived on a much grander scale (Figs. 5, 7). A central dome with a lantern is flanked on the W and E by smaller domed recesses, and on the N and S by semi-domed recesses.[56] The Masjid-i Bālā Sar, which lies between the E recess of the Dār al-Siyāda and the tomb of Imām Riżā, had a dado of superb lustre tiles.[57] It was presumably thought that this was too valuable to demolish, which might

explain why a cruciform plan was chosen for the Dār al-Siyāda. Given the space which had to be filled between the mosque of Gauhar Shād on the W and the tomb of Imām Riżā and Bālā Sar mosque on the E, Qavām al-Dīn realised the impossibility of incorporating any symmetrical building in this area and opted for variety instead. From the mosque of Gauhar Shād one could approach the tomb chamber (or vice versa) either directly via the Dār al-Huffāz, or more likely, since it is on the main axis of the mosque, via the Dār al-Siyāda. In the latter case one proceeds from the aivan into the small W recess, through the large central dome-chamber to the small E recess opposite, then right into the Bālā Sar mosque (essentially a small vestibule), and finally into the soaring space of the tomb chamber, lit by Shah Rukh's magnificent chandelier. This carefully modulated progression must have been one of the highlights of the pilgrimage to the Shrine.

Notes

1) Sanī^{c} al-Daula, p. 155. The waqf is considered in greater detail below.
2) Reproduced in Survey, Fig. 424.
3) MS, pp. 378-9.
4) Zubdat al-Tavārīkh, quoted in MS, p. 379, n. 2.
5) RS, VI, pp. 648-9.
6) HS, III, p. 603.
7) I have been unable to trace the variant reading of MS which, according to Golombek, Gazur Gah, p. 76, n. 3 mentions the mosque in Mashhad.
8) Khurāsānī, p. 123; photograph in Hill and Grabar, Fig. 325.
9) An unnumbered photograph in the Royal Geographic Society shows its previous state clearly.
10) "Corpus...II, Barsīān," p. 38.
11) Survey, p. 1141.
12) O'Kane, "Khargird," Pl. IIc.
13) Survey, Pls. 429-30.

14) "Compte-rendu," p. 11. One wonders whether Byron's misplaced praise of its aesthetic qualities (Survey, p. 1140) caused its demise: Godard in his review referred to it as "l'affreux extra parapet" and goes on to record that repairs would be made to the qibla aivan in the year following his review, 1940 (p. 12, n. 31). He was head of the Department of Antiquities at the time—might the parapet have disappeared then?

15) Hoag, p. 267.

16) Allen, Catalogue, p. 106.

17) See Stuckert, "Baubestand," Fig. A. An indication that the piers near the mihrab are substantially intact from the Ghurid foundation is the presence of Ghurid decoration in the area: see Melikian Chirvani, "Eastern Iranian Architecture," Pl. III.

18) Persian Architecture, p. 261.

19) Pp. 140-53.

20) Survey, Pl. 434B.

21) Ibid., Pl. 435C.

22) Ibid., Pl. 433.

23) Ibid., Pl. 425.

24) Ibid., Pl. 434A.

25) Ibid., Pl. 431.

26) Arts of Islam, No. 452.

27) I was unable to obtain complete photographic coverage of this area, and the published photographs are insufficient for a detailed epigraphic study.

28) Not Kūrkānī as in all printed versions.

29) Read li ᶜibādat for bi ᶜibādat.

30) The nūn of Kūrkān is missing. Perhaps Bāysunghur relied on the rā' of Kūrkān being read twice, since the form of the two letters can be identical in thulth.

31) The inscription has been restored according to Sanīᶜ al-Daula between مضمون and و طلبا, reputedly the work of Muhammad Riżā al-Imāmī. There is certainly a change in the style of the inscription at these points, although to judge from the titulature the words of the original have been copied.

32) Text in Sanīᶜ al-Daula, p. 147.

33) Not li ᶜināyat as in all printed versions.

34) The inscription ends with verse 42, and to judge from its length

may have begun with verse 35. According to Sanī^{c} al-Daula, p. 146, the inscription is by Muḥammad Riżā al-Imāmī who composed many of the Safavid repair inscriptions in the mosque. However, it is not signed and stylistically is almost identical to the foundation inscription.

35) Text in Sanī^{c} al-Daula, p. 148.

36) Text in ibid., p. 146.

37) Text in ibid.

38) The end of this verse is at the top left corner of the mihrab; the left side of this inscription is unread.

39) The upper register of this inscription, in Kufic, is unread. The few words which Sanī^{c} al-Daula gives (p. 146) do not correspond with the available evidence on Pl. 13.

40) Text in Khurāsānī, p. 122 (omit قال انبی علیه السلام).

41) Text of Nos. 18-20 in Sanī^{c} al-Daula, p. 148, of Nos. 21-4 in Khurāsānī, p. 123.

42) Ghulam, Introduction, p. 53.

43) Text in Sanī^{c} al-Daula, p. 149.

44) Ibid., pp. 153-7.

45) Ibid., p. 153.

46) The same provision is found in the waqfiyya of the Mīr Chaqmāq complex in Yazd; See Afshār, Yādgār, II, p. 178.

47) Rogers, "Waqf and Patronage," p. 70.

48) Afshār, op. cit., pp. 166, 190.

49) Rogers, op. cit., p. 70.

50) Cf. Sanī^{c} al-Daula, pp. 147 and 153-5.

51) See Marwārīd, Sharaf-Nāma, ed. Roemer, pp. 73-5 where samples for a ribat, madrasa and khanqah are included.

52) See Afshār, op. cit., pp. 176-8 for detailed account of the salaried employees of the Mīr Chaqmāq complex in Yazd.

53) Smith, "Wood Minbar," Fig. 1.

54) Mu'taman, Pl. opp. p. 115.

55) Ibid., Pl. opp. p. 104.

56) Ibid., Pls. opp. pp. 114, 118.

57) Ibid., Pl. opp. p. 128. It may be noted that the presence of lustre tiles around the doorway leading into the tomb from the Dār al-Ḥuffāẓ indicates that a previous interior of some kind was demolished when the Dār al-Ḥuffāẓ was built.

Bibliography

Sanī[c] al-Daula, Maṭla[c], II, pp. 138-57.

Khurāsānī, pp. 117-128.

Imām, pp. 454-67.

Mu'taman, Rāhnamā, pp. 104-25, 217-23.

Byron, Survey, pp. 1124-5, 1139-41, Pls. 428-36, 437B.

Godard, "Compte-Rendu," pp. 10-12.

Ghulam, Introduction, pp. 19-21.

Mishkūtī, Fihrist, pp. 99-100.

Pugachenkova, Zodchestvo, pp. 53-4, 58.

Jairazbhoy, Outline, p. 271.

Pope, Persian Architecture, pp. 167, 197-8, 221, 261, Figs. 265-9.

Idem, Introducing Persian Architecture, pp. 76-7.

Idem, Survey, p. 1203, Fig. 424.

Hoag, Islamic Architecture, pp. 265-7.

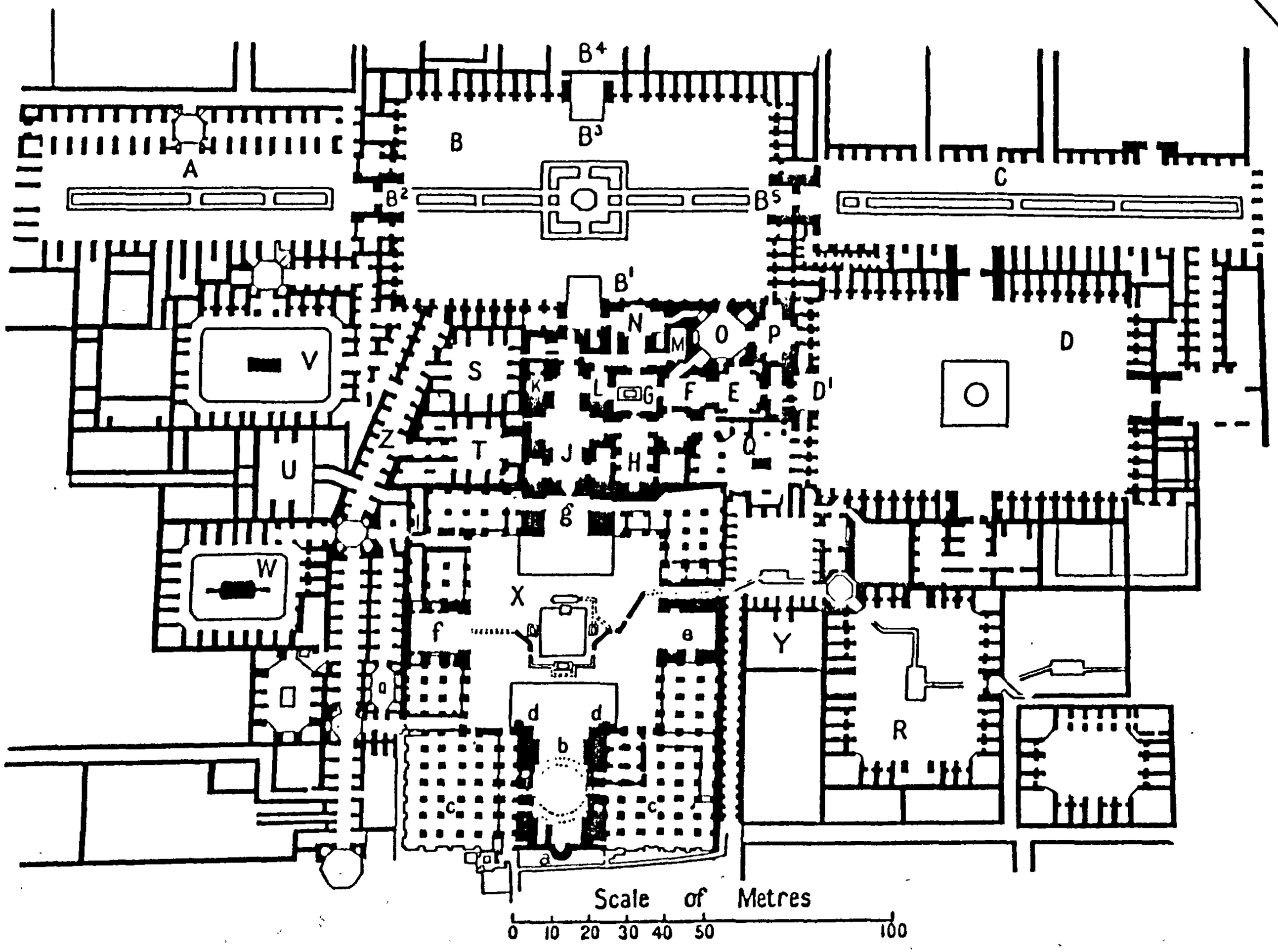
Hill and Grabar, Figs. 320-5.

Michell, ed., pp. 255-6.

Hunar va Mardum, CXIV (1351/1972), front cover (good colour photograph).

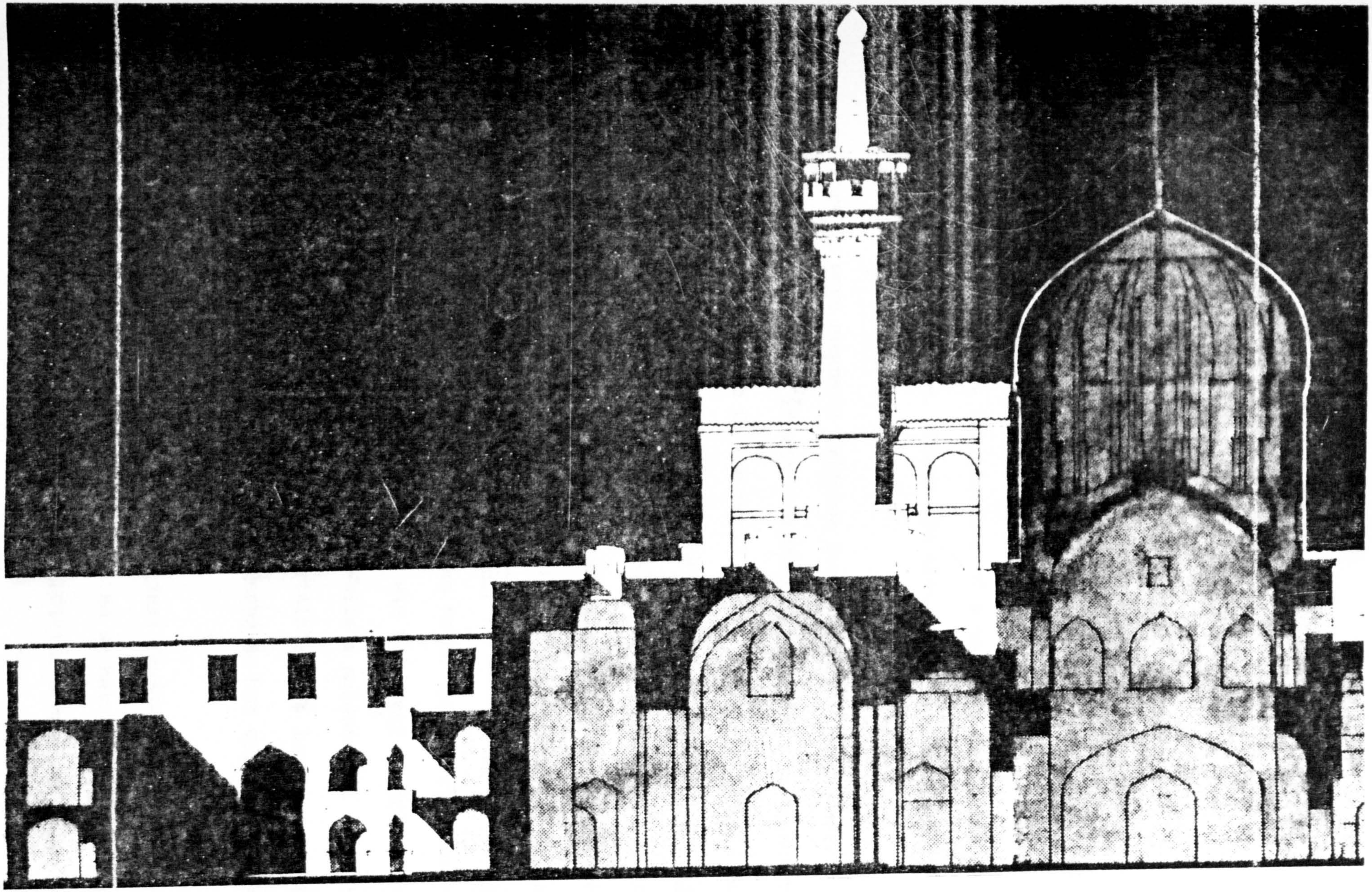
Saadat, pp. 32-6, 48-51, Pls. 26-8, Designs, Pls. 1, 3, 6.

Sykes, "Notes," pp. 1145-8.



4) Cat.no.2. Mashhad, Mosque of Gauhar Shād:
plan (after Survey)

5) Cat.no.2. Mashhad, Shrine: plan
(after Saadat)



GULISTĀN, DAM

Location Ca. 10km N of Mashhad.

Plan Vaulted.[1] The dam has been totally renovated since Clevenger published it; all the visible brickwork is modern (Pl. 18). An inscription on the dam dates the repairs to Farvardīn 1353/March-April 1974. But for the lack of an abutment on the upstream face (Pl. 19), the design is similar to that of Ṭuruq (late fifteenth century A.D.), even down to the presence of a small sluice below and to the side of the main one. These are also close similarities with the fourteenth century dam at Salāma.[2]

There is more concrete evidence for a Timurid date, however: a nishān of Sulṭān Abū Sa^{c}īd which empowered two agents to transfer lands watered by the dam to the royal domain (amlāk-i khāssa), an order having already been given to close the dam (bi-bastan band-i Gulistān-i sharaf).[3] As Clevenger points out, this could equally apply to repair work. It also seems to imply that there was a dam in existance before the nishān was issued. The local tradition, as reported by Maulavī, ascribes the dam to a maidservant (kānīz) of Gauhar Shād.[4] The nishān mentions that some of the land which was to be appropriated was waqf; according to Maulavī land in this area was made waqf in 821/1418-9 by Gauhar Shād for her Masjid-i Jami^{c}.[5] While a maidservant would be an unlikely patron for a dam, it would certainly be a logical step for Gauhar Shād herself to increase the revenue to her mosque by building a dam to aid cultivation on waqf lands.

Although Clevenger suggests an original foundation in the Mongol period, the evidence from design alone, as we have seen, is inconclusive. Taking into account the local tradition connected with Gauhar

Shād's maid, together with the fact that land associated with the dam was made waqf to her mosque, the most likely conclusion is that Gauhar Shād was responsible for building the dam, with unspecified repairs occurring in the reign of Abū Sa^{c}īd.

Recorded July 1975.

Notes

1) On the distinction between vaulted and non-vaulted dams, see Akhlamad dam (Catalogue No. 6), n. 1.
2) For Salāma see Clevenger, "Dams," p. 393.
3) See Navā'ī (bibliography).
4) "Band," p. 38.
5) Ibid., p. 38, n. 1. A copy of the original waqfnāma of the mosque apparently still exists in the Shrine at Mashhad, although it has never been published in full. Maulavī has had access to it and so is a reliable authority on this point.

Bibliography

Clevenger, "Dams," p. 391, figs. 12-16.

Maulavī, "Band ".

Navā'ī, Asnād, p. 313.

MASHHAD, MADRASA PARĪZĀD

Location Taking the qibla as S, the madrasa is bordered on the N by the Madrasa Bālā Sar, on the E by the Dār al-Siyāda, on the S by the Masjid-i Gauhar Shād and on the W by the old bazar route leading to the sahn-i ᶜatīq.

Plan (Fig. 8) Four aivan courtyard with living chambers in two storeys to either side; bevelled corners of courtyard lead to staircases and small chambers. Dome chamber behind E aivan leading to another in SE corner.

History The earliest dated inscription on the building is in mosaic-faience on the entrance portal detailing repairs by a Safavid amir in 1091/1680-1.[1] Underneath the banna'i tiles on the lower walls of this portal, however, another banna'i revetment is visible, the wall to which they are attached being at a slightly different axis, one which conforms to that of the building inside, and which is not twisted like the entrance portal to conform with the axis of the street outside. Clearly, then, the original building antedates the Safavid portal.

In the earliest reference which I have found to the building, that of Fraser, it is asserted that it was "built by a female attendant of Gauhar Shāhud, at the same time her mistress built the mosque."[2] This account is repeated by all later writers.

Unfortunately, however, the madrasa has undergone extensive repairs since the time of Shah Sulaimān. Fāżil reports that it was ruined and abandoned when the Auqāf-i Khurāsān began substantial repairs in 1967 which were still being carried out in 1972.[3] As a result, there is very little decoration left to which one can ascribe a Timurid date with confidence.

Elevation a) exterior: As mentioned above, the present entrance aivan on the W, covered with a plaster stalactite semi-dome, is Safavid, although it covers banna'i work which may be original. It is not clear what the facade to either side of this aivan would have looked like--the erection of bazar shops seems to have destroyed the original fabric. It may have had a series of arched recesses like the neighbouring Bālā Sar madrasa.

b) interior: The courtyard facades. These have all been extensively restored. The courtyard at present has a slightly claustrophobic feeling, with the height being disproportionately tall for its area (Fig. 9). Judging from the height of the present roof line above the apices of the aivan arches and those of the cells on the second storey, it is likely that the original roof was ca. 1m lower all round. This would reduce the size of the spandrels of the upper cells to the equivalent of those on the ground floor.

The aivans. The W aivan is very shallow (Pl. 21). At the rear it has a pattern in banna'i-technique of four lozenges within a diamond grid which is identical to one used on the madrasa at Khargird.[4] The unglazed bricks, however, are yellower than one would expect from Timurid work. The whole panel may have been restored, but it presumably reflects the pattern of the original.

The S aivan, at the back of which is a small undecorated mihrab, also has banna'i-technique decoration, which may be original, preserved as far as the springing. At a depth of 3.26m the aivan is stepped in slightly, but the rather crude semi-dome which now vaults this area is certainly restoration.

E aivan. The only other original decoration in the building is found here. The sides and soffit of the aivan are covered in mosaic-faience quatrefoil medallions set within a banna'i brick framework

(Pl. 22). The slightly undulating rhythm which the banna'i frame thus takes on was repeated in a more sophisticated variation in the Blue Mosque in Tabriz.[5] Although much of the tilework in the medallions is restored, in several the original colour scheme of light- and dark-blue, dark-green, black/aubergine, white and amber (not the bright yellow of the Safavid inscription in the entrance aivan) can still be made out (Pl. 23).

At the back of the aivan, following the contours of the arch, is a handsome inscription in mosaic-faience, in white thulth on a dark-blue ground. In the upper register is a smaller Kufic, repeated aphorisms in amber, with the hastae of the letters forming different plaited figures, even when they are standing alone. Dark-green is used as a ground within the plaiting and in some of the eyes of the Kufic letters.

The thulth inscription contains several hadīth on the desirability of teaching and obtaining knowledge, but it has been very extensively restored. The beginning of the inscription no longer accords with the reading of Sanī^{c} al-Daula,[6] and while the inscription today is ostensibly complete, according to him it "contained other hadīth which have fallen out and have been repaired with plaster."[7] The whole portion above the springing of the arch has certainly been remade, since part of it is in cuerda seca tiles, and the profile of the arched inscription is lower than that of the aivan, necessitating the insertion of a narrow border strip of cuerda seca tiles to bridge the gap. In other places the turned back tail of the yā' suggests restoration. But despite this, the presence of the Kufic aphorisms, their amber colour and the organisation of the thulth letters on one plane suggests that part of the original inscriptions remain, and that the whole would have been generally similar.

N aivan. This is also stepped back, like the S aivan, but is devoid of decoration.

Cells. These, as can be seen from the ground plan, are of varying sizes. Their irregularities may in part be due to later restoration, although some of the variations could be explained by positing the existence of earlier buildings around its perimeter.

Dome chambers. Both the dome chamber behind the E aivan and that to the S have what appear to be modern groined domes, each with a small hole at the top. One wonders whether there could have been a symmetrical arrangement of three dome chambers in a row behind the E aivan, or perhaps a transverse vaulted hall, like that of the Madrasa of Ūlūgh Beg in Samarqand. The space which a dome chamber on the N would have occupied is now taken up by a small awkwardly shaped annex, used as a storeroom,[8] off the Dār al-Siyāda. Without the removal of plaster from walls in this area, or excavation, it is impossible to tell whether this space originally belonged to the Madrasa Parīzād. However, Fāżil reports in the case of the adjacent Bālā Sar madrasa that the Shrine authorities took over two cells which were adjacent to the Shrine;[9] it is not difficult to conceive of the same happening to part of the Parīzād madrasa in the past.

The function of these dome chambers, used most recently for storage, can only be surmised; as their axes are perpendicular to the qibla, and as there are no signs of a mihrab, rooms for lectures is a more likely explanation than a mosque.

Conclusions There are sufficient remains of Timurid decoration in the S, W and E aivans to suggest that the report of the foundation of the madrasa at the time of the erection of the Mosque of Gauhar Shād may be true. The name of the madrasa, parīzād (fairy born), corroborates that it had a female founder, but nothing is known of the reputed kanīz

(handmaiden) of Gauhar Shād. Whether any handmaiden would obtain the funds for the erection and endowment of such a building is also a moot question. One might like to speculate that it was in fact Gauhar Shād herself who erected the building, but if this had been the case one would have expected it to fit in more closely with her larger ensemble comprising the mosque, Dār al-Siyāda and Dār al-Huffāz (Fig. 5). It may therefore date from slightly later than that ensemble. It does, however, share the same qibla orientation as it, which suggests a date earlier than the two other Timurid madrasas near it, the Bālā Sar and Du Dar, which are oriented further W.[10]

One can assume that the original plan was generally similar to that which exists today. Its most original feature may be the use of bevelling in the courtyard, antedating its appearance at Gāzur Gāh and Khargird.

Condition When I last saw the building it was being restored by the Sazman-i Hifazat.

Recorded December 1974, February 1977, June 1978.

Notes

1) Sanī^{c} al-Daula, p. 254.
2) P. 459.
3) P. 1451.
4) O'Kane, "Khargird," Pl. IIc.
5) Hill and Grabar, 2nd ed., frontispiece. The same pattern, but with cuerda seca instead of mosaic-faience plaques, was used previously on the NW portal of the Mosque of Gauhar Shād in Mashhad.
6) P. 255.
7) P. 255.
8) At least it was in the nineteenth century. See No. 38 on the plan in Yate, Khurasan, p. 332. The plan is based on that of Sanī^{c} al-Daula.
9) Fāżil, "Madāris 4," p. 42.

10) The qibla directions are: Parīzād 227°, Bālā Sar 238°, Du Dar 235°.

Bibliography

Godard, "Voûtes," p. 306 (the bulbous double dome to which he refers does not exist).

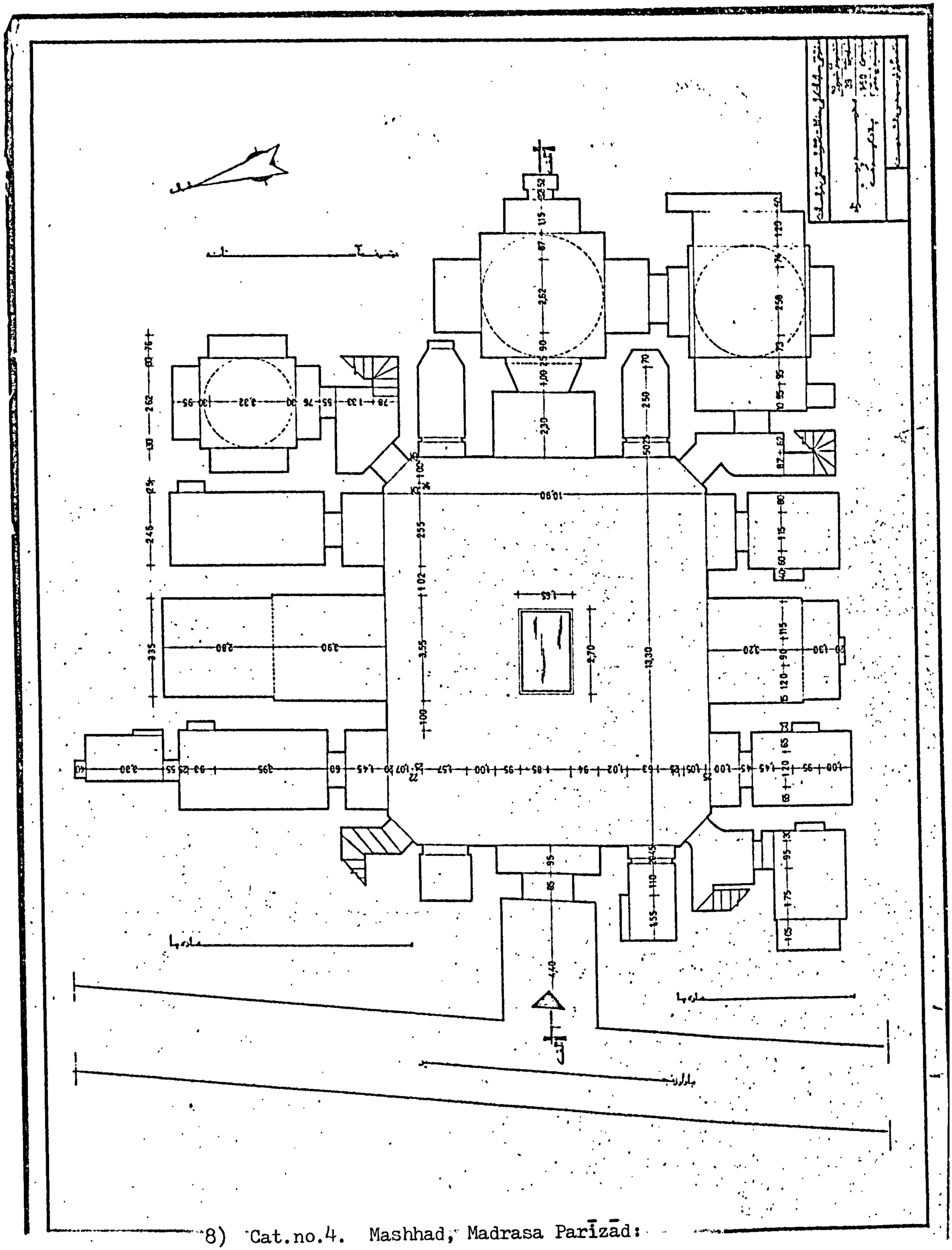
Fraser, Khurasan, p. 459.

Fāżil, "Madāris..1," pp. 1450-3.

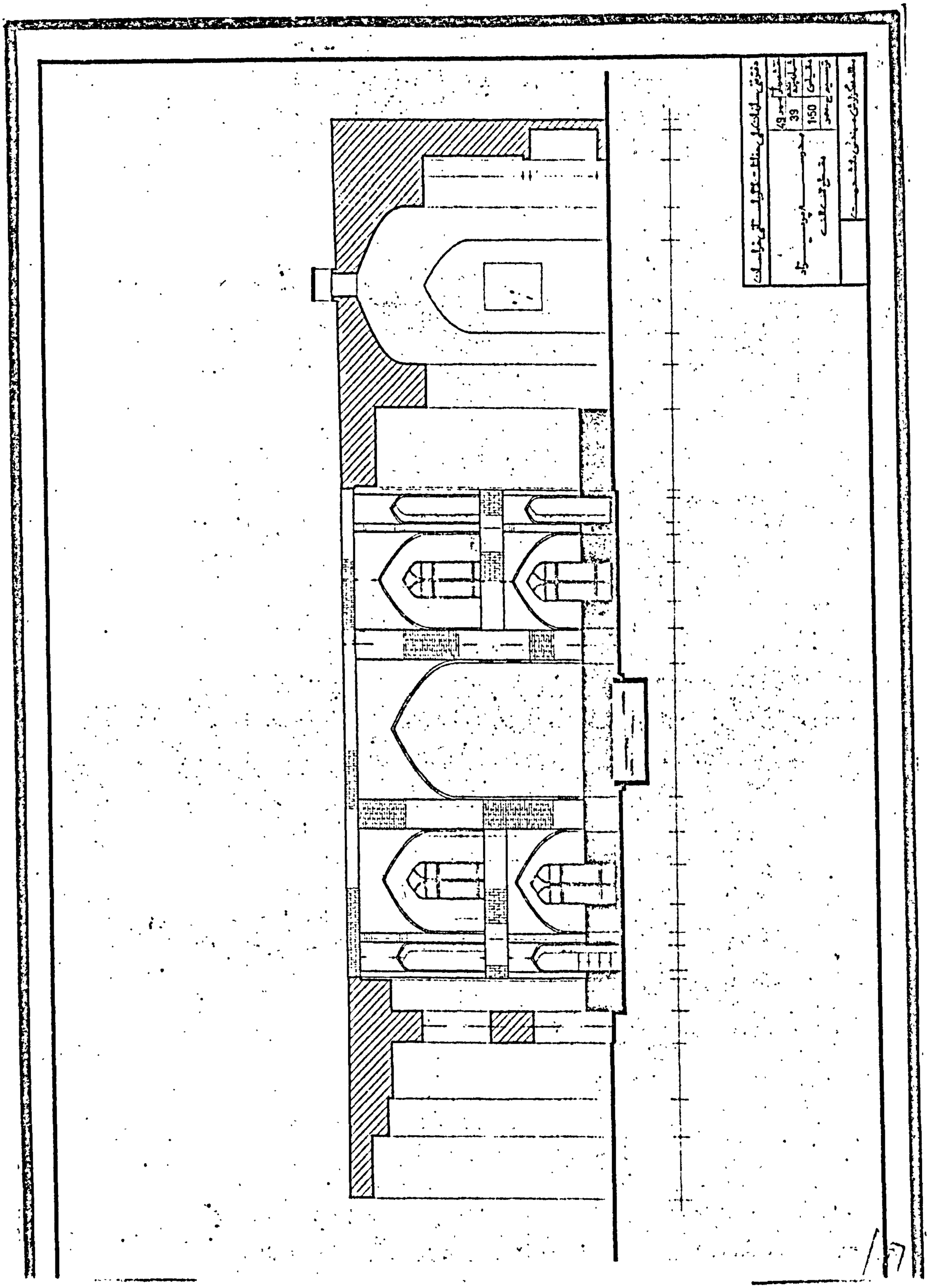
Sanīᶜ al-Daula, Matlaᶜ, pp. 254-5.

Mishkūtī, Fihrist, p. 106.

Saadat, Shrine: Designs, Pl. 1.



8) Cat.no.4. Mashhad, Madrasa Parīzād: plan (after Sazman-i Hifazat)



9) Cat.no.4. Mashhad, Madrasa Parīzād: section (after Sazman-i Hifazat)

5

HINDWĀLĀN, MASJID-I JAMI^{c}

Location On the road between Bīrjand and Ṭabas-i Masīnā, ca. 70 km E of the former. The village is mentioned by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū in his Geography; despite the presence of Ismā^{c}īlī villages in the bulūk it seems to have been Sunnī.[1]

Plan (Fig. 10) Three contiguous dome chambers preceded by a lower vaulted area of eight bays in two rows. This is a very unusual scheme, and its asymmetry, irregular outlines and variations in wall thickness all presuppose a number of building periods. Isolating the various phases is unfortunately made more difficult by the total absence of epigraphic or historical evidence, by a recent thorough restoration, and by the stylistic similarity between the various portions.

Elevation a) interior: The oldest part may be the SW^{2} dome chamber (Pl. 26). The lower cube has three broken-headed arches arranged in rectangular panels on each side except the S. Here there is a central recessed mihrab with a squinch-net semi-dome flanked on each side by two broken-headed ogee arches in rectangular panels. The squinches of the zone of transition are tripartite, the larger central section being surmounted by a semi-octagon. Between the squinches and the four intermediate recessed arches are smaller kite-shaped squinches: together these elements form a sixteen-sided figure at the base of the dome. A similar zone of transition, although without the tripartite squinches, is found in the Mosque of Bībī Khānum in Samarqand (beginning of the fourteenth century) and the Gunbad-i Sayyidān (841/1437-8) at Shahr-i Sabz.[3] The bricks of the dome are unplastered, revealing a pattern which can be viewed as one of ascending crenellations or as a zig-zag chevron. The pattern is a common one in Seljuq dome chambers in

Quhistān (Sangān-i Pā'īn, Sangān-i Bālā, Barābād) and in their Timurid copies (Rushkhvār and Khvāf Jāmi^{c}s, Cat. Nos. 27-8).

The central dome chamber, the largest of the three, also uses the largest size bricks (see below). It has a less squat appearance than the others (Pl. 27). Each of its lower sides has a similar elevation of two smaller arches flanking a large central one. The area above the central arch of each side is divided into three by an elaborate plaster moulding making narrow multi-foil arches on either side of a wide broken-headed arch. The importance of this feature as a dating criterion is discussed below. The mihrab has a squinch-net semi-dome of more intricate design than that of the SW dome chamber, forming an eight-sided half star. The squinches are plain, with a small arched window on each face. The squinch net which rises above them produces a sixteen-sided figure at the base of the dome, the dome itself being narrower in diameter than the cube below. The dome here is also unplastered, with a brick pattern of ascending crosses.

The SE dome chamber in ways resembles the SW one. The lower cube is simpler, without the moulded arches of the other dome chambers, and the mihrab, too, has only a plain corbelled semi-dome. The zone of transition, here unplastered, is a slightly more elaborate version of that of the SW chamber. The dome has a pattern of chevrons in concentric circles, again a copy of a Seljuq dome chamber, that of Sangbast. The identical zone of transition and chevron pattern is repeated in the semi-dome of the entrance aivan. One assumes they were built together--there is no reason why a later aivan should copy one of the dome chambers so minutely.

At the time the aivan was built it may have led into a small courtyard in front of the three dome chambers. The prayer hall of two rooms of low groin-vaulted bays of slightly varying sizes (Pl. 29) may have

been added when the population was large or wealthy enough to warrant an increase in covered space. The time at which this may have taken place is discussed below. The irregular alignment of the side wall at the E end of the prayer hall is surprising; it suggests that a public right of way prevented the addition of an extra bay.[4]

b) exterior: The cubical masses of the three dome chambers, the rectangular entrance aivan, and the lower intermediate prayer hall appear as almost unrelated elements from the outside (Pl. 25). The zones of transition of the dome chambers are not apparent on the exterior: the depressed outer profile of the domes rises directly from the top of each cube (Pl. 24). Rubble has been used extensively in the repair of the SW and SE dome chambers, and in the walls of the prayer hall.

A staircase leads from the NE corner to the roof. The absence of staircases in the dome chambers may indicate that access to their upper parts was intended to be from the level of a contiguous roof, although they are sufficiently short to enable them to be reached by ladders.

Materials Bricks of central dome chamber 26-7 x 26-7 x 6. RJ minimal to 1/2cm. Bricks elsewhere 24-5 x 24-5 x 5. White, hard mortar.

Dating Four separate building periods seem to be involved:

1) the SW dome chamber
2) the S dome chamber
3) the SE dome chamber and entrance aivan
4) the prayer hall

The squinch nets and plaster moulding of the dome chambers are the most useful dating criteria.

The zone of transition of the SW dome chamber, as previously noted, are similar to monuments in Transoxiana of the first half of the fifteenth century. The ogee-arched mouldings here however, a feature

more commonly found in Il-Khanid architecture, suggest that the date should be towards the earlier part of this limit, perhaps c. 1400.

The tripartite mouldings of the S chamber also occur frequently in Il-Khanid mausoleums in Yazd, but they are found as late as 840/1436-7 in the central dome chamber of the shrine at Māhān. It may be that this decorative scheme reached areas far from Yazd only after it had ceased to be popular there—as is the case at Māhān. The zone of transition of the S dome chamber employs elaborate faceting such as was used on the sanctuary dome chamber of the Mosque of Gauhar Shād in Mashhad (821/1418), and intersecting ribs to produce a dome of smaller diameter than the room below, which one finds in several monuments from the Madrasa of Gauhar Shād in Herat onwards. The upper section of the zone of transition of the Ziyārat-i Tīmūr Lang (Cat. No. 16) is close to that of the S dome chamber at Hindvālān, and since the latter is more intricate, a date of c. 1450 can be suggested.

Although the SE dome chamber closely resembles the SW, its thinner walls and more elaborate squinch indicate that it is later. It seems to have been added on to the SW and S chambers to provide a balanced ensemble, and if this is the case it would be natural for the sake of symmetry to make it as close as possible in appearance and size to the SW dome. Given that it was copying an earlier building, it is difficult to judge when this might have taken place. A date in the second half of the fifteenth century is plausible. At any rate, the difference in brick sizes indicates that it was built in a different period, and probably later, than the S dome. This is confirmed by the location of the entrance aivan which, as we have seen, is contemporary with the SE dome, but which is aligned on the axis of the S dome chamber.

The groin vaults of the prayer hall were used in Iranian architecture up to the present century. Historical evidence would be of most

assistance here, but our sources on this area of Quhistān are few. It did, however, have some prosperity at the end of the fifteenth century. The province as a whole supplied Herat with cloth of various kinds,[5] and the neighbouring town of Tabas-i Masīnā was an important trading centre for caravans.[6] The village of Hindvālān may have sufficiently profited from this commerce to enable them to expand their mosque in the late fifteenth century.

Function The structural history of the mosque outlined above poses a problem regarding the function of the building in its earliest stages. It is unusual in the Timurid period to find an isolated dome chamber used as a mosque. One parallel that does present itself is the Mosque of Ūlūgh Beg in Shahr-i Sabz, but it was preceded by a large aivan, of which there is no sign at Hindvālān. A mausoleum is the obvious function for an isolated dome chamber, although there is no tradition in the village of anyone having been interred in the mosque. More relevant surely is the fact that other villages of Quhistān preserved isolated dome chambers which functioned as mosques: those of Barābād and Sangān-i Pā'īn mentioned above both antedate Hindvālān.

The unusual building history of this mosque can be seen as a part of a local school of architecture, reflecting not only the isolated Seljuq dome chambers of the area, but also those which were erected in pairs, as in Sangān-i Bālā and the Masjid-i Jami^{c} of Gunābād. Like the Khvāf and Rushkhvār Jami^{c}s (Cat. Nos. 27-8) it incorporates features which are direct echoes of earlier buildings with provincial characteristics of its own.

Condition Good, after recent restoration by the Sazman-i Hifazat.

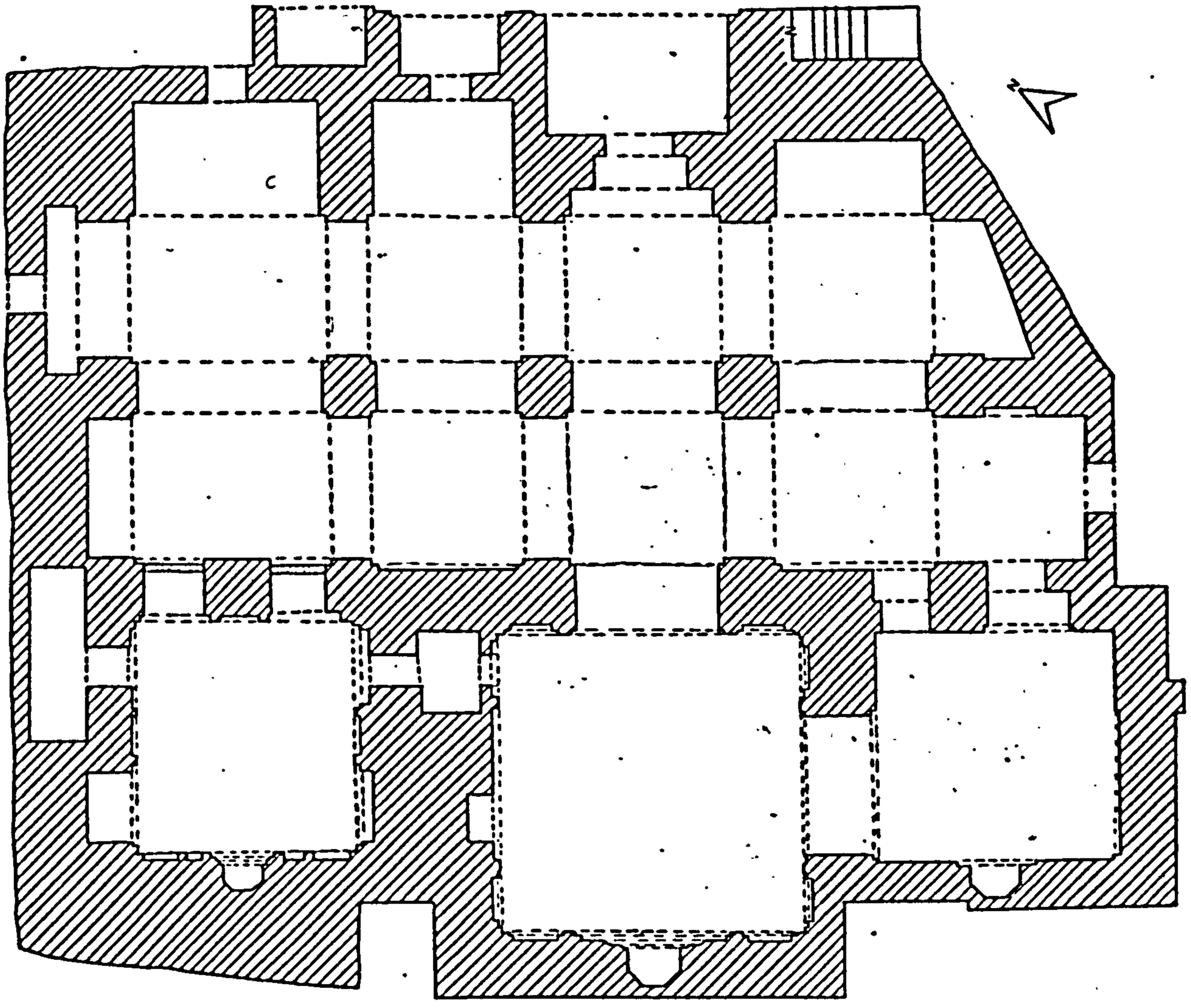
Recorded August 1975.

Notes

1) Aubin, "Santon," pp. 201-2.
2) For convenience directions are given on the assumption that the qibla is due S.
3) Illustrated in Rosinthal, Le Réseau, Figs. 17-8.
4) I would like to thank Renata Holod for this suggestion.
5) RJ, I, p. 327.
6) Ibid., p. 328.

Bibliography

Unpublished.



10) Cat.no.5. Hindvālān, Masjid-i Jami^{c}: plan

AKHLAMAD, DAM

Location Near the town of the same name, ca. 80km NW of Mashhad.

Plan Non-vaulted.[1] The dam has already been described by Clevenger; a few points can be added.

Materials The slate-like stone rubble from which most of the dam was constructed was taken from the surrounding hills.[2] Bricks 24-5 x 24-5 x 5cm. Hard grey mortar.[3]

Structural features On the downstream side (Pl. 30) an undressed rubble foundation extends 2.65m from the base of the wall. Above this level, on both sides of the dam, the wall seems to be built in several courses each about 3m high; this is especially noticeable on the upstream face (Pl. 31) where there is a slight recession after the two lowest courses. These probably represent different building campaigns, as work would have been interrupted each year by the seasonal rise of water.[4] On the downstream face these levels also coincide with regular rows of scaffold holes.

Dating According to a tradition in the nearby village an inscription giving the name of Bāysunghur b. Shah Rukh used to be found on the dam.[5] Bāysunghur's name is not connected with any other building projects in Timurid literature, so this unique reference should be given more credence than usual popular attributions. Bāysunghur's patronage of the art of the book is widely known, but as the ruler of Herat in his father's absence,[6] he would also have had the power to initiate architectural patronage. On the basis of the dam's fortress-like appearance and its use of wells in external abutments Clevenger independently ascribed a Timurid date. With its polylobed central tower and evenly spaced flanking buttresses it makes an architectural

statement equalled among dams in Khurasan only by the serried arches of Farīmān;[7] its appearance is therefore consistent with the involvement of an aesthetically-minded patron.

Condition Heavy silting has occurred on both the upstream and downstream faces. It was no longer in use when visited by Napier in 1874. It appears to be structurally sound.

Recorded July 1975.

Notes

1) The distinction between vaulted and non-vaulted dams is made by Goblot: "pour les vallées assez larges, à versants souvent espacés et pas très élevés, c'est le barrages-poids qui convient. Dans une vallée à forme en V très marquée, à parois élevées, on voit mal l'intersection de deux dièdres à creuser à la base: c'est donc le barrage-voûte qui s'impose." H. Goblot, "Du Nouveau," p. 20.

2) This may have been a factor in the choice of building materials; presumably those dams which are primarily of brick are located in areas where the surrounding area did not permit stone quarrying. The fourteenth century dam at Kibar, 25km S of Qum, also used rubble from the adjacent hills: H. Goblot, "Kébar en Iran," p. 46.

3) A similar type, sārūj, made from lime and camel thorn ash, was used at Kibar (Goblot, "Kébar," p. 47). Wulff gives another recipe for water-proof mortar used for domestic āb-anbars: sand, lime and wood-ash (The Traditional Crafts of Persia, p. 113).

4) At Kibar the problem was avoided by a series of holes which permitted the flow of water, the lower ones being blocked successively as the dam went higher. Goblot, "Kébar," pp. 46-7.

5) Yate, Napier (bibliography).

6) Barthold, Ulugh-Beg, p. 88.

7) Clevenger, fig. 8.

Bibliography

Clevenger, "Dams," pp. 389-40, figs. 1-6.

Napier, "Extracts," p. 85.

Yate, Khurasan, p. 360.

KIRĀT, DAM

Location In the region of the village of that name, ca. 30km S of Tāybād.

Plan Non-vaulted. It shares the following points of similarity to Akhlamad:

1) dressed rubble masonry covered with plaster

2) built in series of stepped layers

3) wells in external abutments.

These factors add weight to Clevenger's suggestion of a Timurid date. It must be admitted that the nature of the terrain called for a non-vaulted dam like that of Akhlamad, and due to lack of comparative material we have no means of knowing whether it was this geographical framework which dictated a dam of this design, rather than Timurid engineering concepts. On the basis of our present knowledge, however, a fifteenth century date must be suggested.

Condition Poor. A large part of the central section of the dam has been destroyed.

Recorded Not visited.

Bibliography

Clevenger, "Dams," pp. 389, 392, figs. 22-5.

BAJISTĀN, MASJID-I JAMI[C]

Location 53km W of Gunābād. It was on the main (although circuitous) road from Gunābād to Firdaus before the new road through the intervening mountains was made. The mosque is in the centre of the town.

Plan (Fig. 8) Two-aivan mosque; qibla aivan flanked by two large transverse vaulted halls; shabistān on W side of courtyard.

Elevation a) exterior: The ground level around the mosque is considerably lower in most places, the greatest differential, at the back of the qibla aivan, being c. 5m. It therefore seems to have been built on top of an artificial tepe. It presents an almost fortress-like appearance from several sides, revealing little about the nature of the building within. New brick walls face the N side, but on the S, where the mud-brick facing has not been recently renewed, the walls seem to grow organically out of the amorphous mass of the tepe below it.

b) interior: On the N a modern brick doorway has been built across the original portal which had a squinch-net semi-dome. From here a passage leads alongside the N aivan to the rectangular courtyard (Pl. 33), surrounded by mostly blind arcades on the E and W and by the aivans flanked by smaller blind niches on the N and S. The N aivan is roofed by a pointed barrel vault. The back of the qibla aivan is similar, but the front third has higher transverse vaulting. According to the mutavallī the vaulting of this aivan had been repaired thirty years previously, and so the original may also have been a continuous barrel vault. At the back of this aivan is the stone foundation inscription dated 828H., mentioned below (Pl. 34). The mihrab below this has a semi-dome with three tiers of stalactites; it is probably not original.

The two flanking rooms are each vaulted in a similar way (Pl. 35). Two arches three bricks wide divide the roof into a central and two end sections. Transverse vaults are used to form a dome in the central section. Each end section is also divided into three, with two squinches flanking a transverse vaulted compartment. The E room differs slightly from the W in that instead of a dome being formed in the central section there is a square which takes its shape from the lines of the transverse vault leading up to it. This square is the same diameter as the dome in the W room; it is differentiated from the vaults around it by the lay of the bricks. The architect clearly understood that it also could have been domed, but instead availed himself of an opportunity to demonstrate his versatility. The year of construction, 828H., is the same as that of the Shrine at Gāzur Gāh, where transverse vaulting is also much in evidence, but one should remember that Bajistān is closer to Yazd than Herat, and that some twelve years previously the spectacular transverse vaults of the W oratory in the Yazd Masjid-i Jami^{c} had been finished. The latter oratory balanced an earlier one built to the E of the sanctuary, and so the plan at Bajistān of a sanctuary flanked by two transverse-vaulted halls could well have been suggested by the Yazd Masjid-i Jami^{c}. Another possible source for this arrangement at Bajistān is the Firdaus Friday Mosque, which has a sanctuary aivan flanked by two dome chambers. These elements are not contemporaneous, but the combination was certainly in existence by the late twelfth century.

To the W of the N aivan there is a dome chamber, with only the beginning of brick squinch-net vaulting remaining of the dome. It contains a mihrab, and so also presumably served as an oratory for private prayer.

The <u>shabistān</u> (Pl. 35), to the W of the courtyard, consists of two

rows of what was originally five bays, but which has been reduced to four at the NW corner, perhaps due to the weakening of the side of the tepe on which it is constructed. Domical pendentives are used for vaulting.

The presence of a shabistān to one side of the courtyard recalls those in a similar position in the Friday Mosques of Bafrūiyya, Maibūd and Kūshk, all fifteenth century examples from the Yazd area. While these examples are all somewhat later than Bajistān, their concentration suggests that this was a feature of the Yazd area which may have been present in earlier buildings which could have served as a model for Bajistān. The position of Bajistān on the main caravan route from Yazd to Mashhad and Herat would have facilitated the communication of architectural ideas from one community on the edge of the Dasht-i Kavīr to another.

Inscriptions Foundation inscription, Persian,[1] two lines of thulth, on rectangular stone slab at back of qibla aivan (Pl. 34):

در ایام دولت پادشاه اسلام شاه‌رخ بهادر خلد الله ملکه عمارت
کرد مسجد / جامع پهلوان فخر الدین بن سیف الدین مقدم
(زاد ؟) مرسائی در ماه محرم سنه ثمان و عشرین و ثمانمایه

"In the time of the reign of the King of Islam Shah Rukh Bahādur, may God perpetuate his sovreignty, Pahlavān Fakhr al-Dīn b. Saif al-Dīn Muqaddam Zād ...(nisba) made the Masjid-i Jāmi^{c} in the month of Muharram year 828/Nov.-Dec. 1424."

No contemporary references have been found for Pahlavān Fakhr al-Dīn. The modest size of the inscription panel, however, is in keeping with the lack of decoration elsewhere in the mosque.

UNIV. EDINBURGEN EX BIBL

At the back of the N aivan, dark stone with six lines of nasta^{c}liq:

در ایام دولت پادشاه جمجاه ملایك سپاه
ظل الله شاه عباس الصفوی الحسینی
الموسوی بهادر خان تعمیر مسجد جامع بجستان
نمود حاجی الحرمین الشریفین حاجی ناصر الدین محمود
بن احمد نمود فی تاریخ شهر
ذی قعده سنه الف و اربع و عشرین

"In the time of the reign of the imperial king of the troop of angels, the Shadow of God Shah ^{c}Abbās al-Ṣafavī al-Ḥusainī al-Musavī Bahādur Khān, the pilgrim of the two noble sanctuaries Ḥājjī Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad repaired the Masjid-i Jāmi^{c} of Bajistān in the month of Dhī Qa^{c}da year 1024/Nov.-Dec. 1615."

Just what repairs were effected is not clear; they may not have involved major structural alterations.

Materials Bricks 23 x 23 x 4cm, RJ 1-2cm, HJ 1.5cm.

Condition Apart from the roofless chamber in the NW of the mosque, the structure seems to be sound.

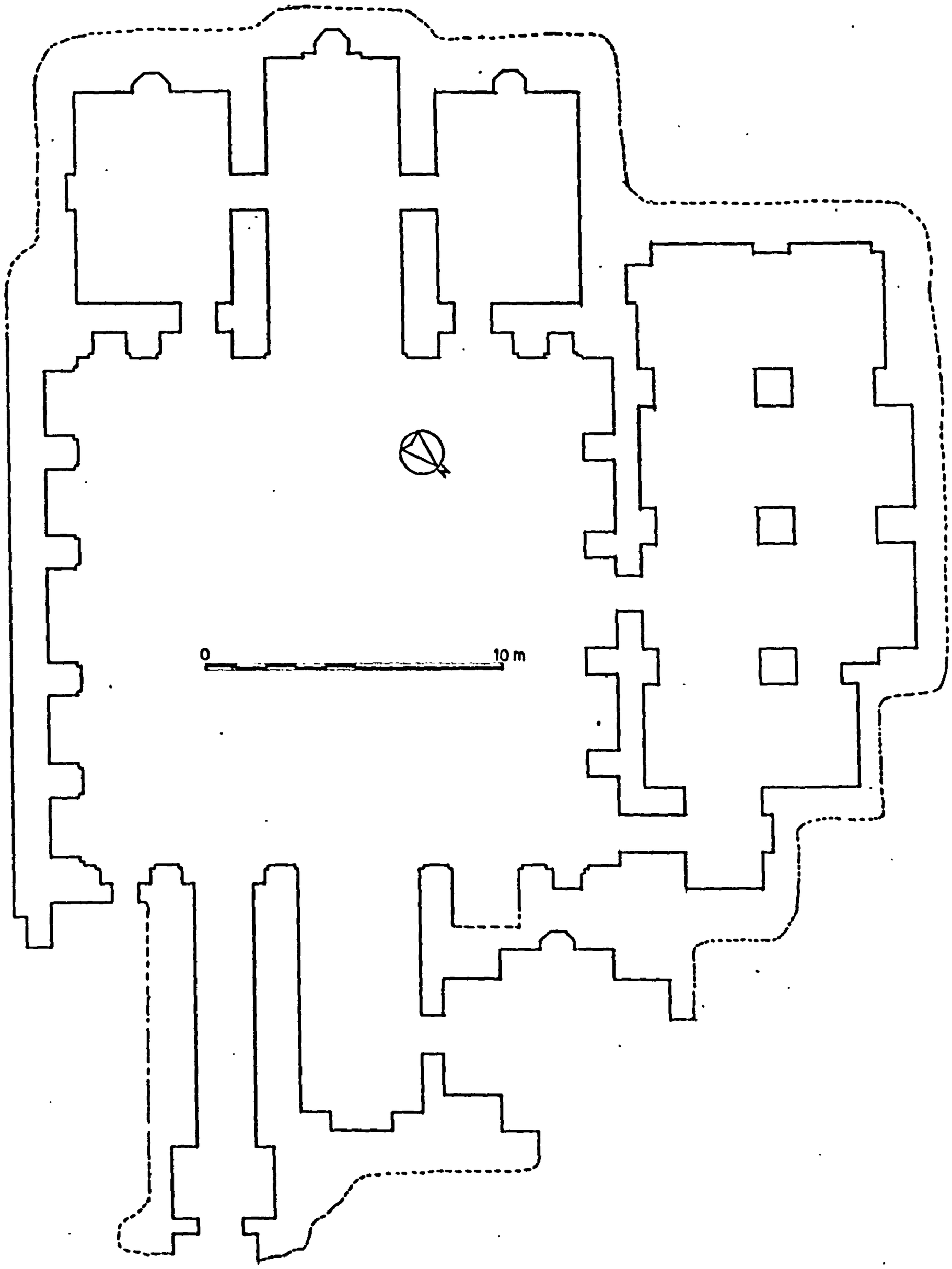
Recorded July 1975.

Notes

1) I would like to thank Sayyid Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā'ī for help in reading the inscriptions.

Bibliography

Unpublished.



11) Cat.no.8. Bajistān, Masjid-i Jami^{c}: plan

2

GĀZUR GĀH, SHRINE OF ᶜABDALLĀH ANṢĀRĪ

Location Ca. 6km NE of the walled city of Herat.

Of all the monuments in the catalogue, this is the only one to have been the subject of a scholarly monograph,[1] which has considered at length the form, decoration and function of the monument. Three aspects call for further comment--the decoration, the original form of the E aivan, and the function of the Shrine.

Decoration The entrance facade: according to Golombek "some of the spandrels retain designs of mosaic-faience, but in others the original has been replaced by black and yellow majolica tile."[2] The question remains, however, whether either of the two remaining spandrels with mosaic-faience are original. Each of them shows blossoms on stems which are given a thickened outline by a ground of a colour different than the main one. In one case the main ground is white, in the other it is bisque brick.

Each of these features - the thickened outline, the bisque ground and the white ground - are unknown in Timurid mosaic-faience at this date. The thickened outline and bisque ground are found in ᶜAlī Shīr's work in the Herat Jamiᶜ, and of course frequently in Safavid architecture. It is likely, then, that the spandrels were restored at the same time as the inscription frieze of the portal-screen of the entrance aivan, which is dated 1014/1605-6.[3]

Above the engaged columns of the entrance aivan is a mosaic-faience tree of life panel which deserves notice (Pl. 38). It is formed of the same elements which make up the well-known one on the portal-screen of the S aivan,[4] with the addition of a brilliantly depicted vase at its base. The vase has a striated body, probably depicting ribbing, and

is inlaid with dots of tile resembling precious stones. It is set on a realistically drawn stand with five feet,[5] the back of which, shown in perspective, seems to disappear behind the vase. The main frieze of the bevel above this consists of underglaze-painted tiles, which will be considered in detail later.

The vestibule. The dado appears to have been cleaned recently, since instead of the simulated tiled dado mentioned by Golombek,[6] a real one has been revealed under the plaster coating (Pl. 37). It consists of a series of mostly cruciform and octofoil dark-blue cartouches, outlined in amber. It is capped by a floral frieze with a design more complicated than usual, with two main interlacing stems from which counterpoised blossoms emerge. Above this frieze there is an interesting innovation: the use of small strips of dark-blue tile to cover the mortar between banna'i bricks. This also occurs on the bricks framing the outermost bevel of the E aivan.[7] Despite its appearance here, its use only became widespread in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, in monuments in Ziyāratgāh and in the Herat Jami^{c}.

The jamā^{c}atkhāna. Golombek describes this as having no tiled dado, and later ascribes its absence to the necessity of a more elaborate setting for the mosque.[8] In fact it did once have a tiled dado, of light-blue hexagonal tiles surrounded by dark-blue triangular ones on a bisque brick ground. Only a fragment in very bad condition is visible where some plaster has been removed (Pl. 36). Its design, however, is considerably less sophisticated than that of the mosque, so her conclusion still stands.

The courtyard. In addition to the mosaic-faience of the W arcade which Golombek illustrates and describes, several other kinds are to be found in the courtyard. At the back of the W aivan, for instance, is a spandrel of Khargird type three, with instead of a medallion a series of

peony and lotus blossoms growing out from a smaller peony at its base. In one of the bays E of the N aivan a spandrel has a cusped central medallion, unlike the teardrop shape of the W arcade, and less tightly curled arabesque stems than the latter.

Most original of all, perhaps, is the spandrel of the middle blind arch at the back of the E aivan. This shows a combination of types two and three, with an elegant amber arabesque meander on a more loosely arranged group of light-blue stems (Pl. 41).

Another panel deserves mention: a Kufic inscription above the spandrels of the bevelled bays of the courtyard (Pl. 39). Only a fragment of that on the NE bay is left, but it displays an interesting variation on the type of medallions formed above the knotted hastae of earlier Kufic scripts.[9] In this case the medallions are formed of a series of diminishing feather-like units, which are echoed and framed by those attached to intermediate uprights.

On the inner bevel of the E aivan is a frieze of cobalt and white underglaze-painted tiles, identical to those of the bevel of the entrance aivan (Pl. 40). They form a repeating series of four tiles, one with a raised turquoise boss with sixteen fleur-de-lys medallions radiating from it, the other three with Kufic on a spiralling stem with small blossoms. The inscription reads:

subḥān allāh wa'l-ḥamd li'llāh

Praise God and thanks to God

The dating of these tiles has been discussed above.[10] Although it is therefore not true that the building shows "an absence of majolica tiles,"[11] their presence does not exclude it from being "wholly within the Khurasanian tradition"[12] for, as noted in the Chapter III, these appear on other monuments in Khurasan, all erected under court patronage.

There is room for argument in Golombek's opinion that, with few

exceptions, the tile revetments were unoriginal and lacking in creativity.[13] While she failed to observe the fine underglaze-painted tiles, the mosaic-faience and inset-technique patterns are indeed lively and imaginative, culminating in the superb side panels of the E aivan. If these "exceptional moments of originality do not seem to have had a great impact on later generations,"[14] this should be a stricture on the lack of imagination of later generations, and not on the originality of Gāzur Gāh.

If one is to make any criticism of the building, it might be of its form rather than its decoration. Considered as an attempt to translate a hazira or grilled surround into monumental form it can certainly be considered as a success, but why make the attempt at all? For the knowledge that only a curtain wall links the N and S aivans with the monumental E aivan gives an uneasy feeling of imbalance. Even the E aivan's only function is the inward-looking one of providing a frame for the tomb at the end of the courtyard; a significant difference from such cases as the aivans at Tāybād and Turbat-i Jām, which, although they face on to an open grave, are also themselves entrances to substantial dome chambers.

The form of the E aivan Golombek writes: "the great inscription frieze situated on the flanks of the portal-screen now extends on either side only as high as the second storey of the niche-facade. It may well once have framed the entire portal, skirting the gallery which overlooks the courtyard."[15] The inscription certainly would have framed the entire portal, and the series of niches with polylobed arches which stand in its way must therefore be restorations, possibly from the reign of Shah ᶜAbbās when other parts of the Shrine were restored.[16] The lantern turrets on top of the aivan almost certainly date from the same period.[17] The similar ones on the aivan at Turbat-i Jām were

probably also erected at the time of Shah ᶜAbbās' repairs there.

Function Unfortunately, no foundation inscription or waqfiyya exists which is contemporary with the erection of the building. The author who lived closest to the time of its erection refers to it as a mazar,[18] as do several later writers, while the earliest epigraphic reference to it is on a stone waqfiyya dated 905/1500-1 set into the entrance facade, where it is termed a hazira.[19]

In fact the Shrine is distinguished by having more references to it in Timurid histories than any other, and, not surprisingly, in a great variety of terms. Mazar is the most common, although buqᶜa and hazira are also frequently used. A full list of these has been published elsewhere.[20]

In his most thorough description of the Shrine, Khvāndamīr refers to it as a khanqah in which food was distributed to the poor. In 904/1499-1500 it also acquired a lecturer, several Quran readers (huffāz) and, in order to perform Friday prayers, a khatīb and muezzin, all from the personal funds of Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr.[21] This at least seems to indicate that it functioned as a khanqah, where feeding the poor was standard procedure and where, at any rate in Herat, lectures were common.[22] The wish by ᶜAlī Shīr to have Friday prayers performed there may have been suggested by his own Ikhlāsiyya complex, where the Dār al-Huffāz was used for Friday prayers in case of inclement weather.[23]

Given that the building was designed to accomodate Sufis and to commemorate Khvaja ᶜAbdallāh Ansārī, why did it assume the form it did? Although Golombek has pointed out the presence of hadīths which disapproved of building mausolea,[24] Rogers has shown that the dome chamber could be considered the standard type of mausoleum in the Timurid period, and that it was generally accepted by the ulama. He proposes that a further explanation should be sought.[25] It is difficult to

suggest, however, what other explanations are possible. Such buildings as the buqᶜa at Tāybād and the khanqahs at Pūrān and Dih-i Mināar are all clearly commemorative of Sufis, but it is difficult to say for what reason other than pious disapproval the decision not to build a mausoleum over their tombs was taken. Who took these decisions is moreover an awkward question. As patrons of the commemorative structures just mentioned (ᶜAlī Shīr at Ziyāratgāh, Sultan Husain at Pūrān) also erected domed mausoleums in other circumstances, it was not they who voiced objections. Perhaps the local inhabitants, the constant pilgrims to the grave, may have had some influence in this respect.

As for the form which the Shrine of Gāzur Gāh took, it is not clear how, as has been suggested, the Shrine at Turbat-i Jām could have provided a prototype,[26] since in 832/1428-9, when the Shrine at Gāzur Gāh was built, there was no courtyard surrounding the grave of Ahmad-i Jām, but only a complex of thirteenth and fourteenth century buildings immediately W of the grave, and a khanqah erected by Tīmūr on the E. The madrasas on the N and S of the courtyard were not created until after the construction of Gāzur Gāh.

Rather, Golombek's suggestion of a monumentalisation of a hazira based on a madrasa plan is more plausible. But, as pointed out above, the inherent weakness in this form of architecture was the reduction of one half of the courtyard to a role of facade architecture. Perhaps this aesthetic weakness is why - as far as we can tell from surviving examples - the form was never copied in subsequent monuments.

Recorded January, June 1975.

Notes

1) Golombek, Gazur Gah.

2) Ibid., p. 23.

3) Ibid., p. 23.

4) Ibid., Fig. 44; Seherr-Thoss, Pl. 62; Albarn et al., p. 47.

5) For a similar stand in contemporary painting see Robinson, ed., Keir Collection, III.75.

6) Gazur Gah, p. 24.

7) Seherr-Thoss, Pl. 63, wrongly identified as being on the entrance facade.

8) P. 50.

9) E.g. on the Ghurid portal to the Herat Masjid-i Jami^{c} (Glatzer, "Das Mausoleum," Pl. 16; and on the early thirteenth century minaret at Nigār, Hutt, Iran 1, Pl. 13.)

10) Chapter III, p. 119.

11) Golombek, Gazur Gah, p. 60.

12) Ibid.

13) Ibid., p. 62.

14) Ibid.

15) Ibid., p. 40.

16) See ibid., p. 92.

17) One should therefore see these turrets as deriving from Indian architecture, and not vice versa as suggested in Hoag, Islamic Architecture, p. 270.

18) MF, III, pp. 260, 262.

19) Text in Saljūqī, Gāzur Gāh, pp. 26-8. See Golombek, Gazur Gah, pp. 88, for a summary of the contents. The inscription begins: "basmala, let it not be unknown that the endowments of the hazīra and madrasa and ribāṭ of (titles of Amīr Shujā al-Dīn Barlās) without taxes (bī mavājib) are thus: endowments of the hazīra of Gazur Gah...(an extensive list follows)."

20) "Tāybād," p. 95. To mazār add DV, p. 440. From khānqāh omit NU, pp. 364-5 (reference to an earlier building). Omit madrasa; the reference to it (DV, p. 440) relates to an adjacent structure erected by Afḍāl al-Dīn Kirmānī.

21) KA, pp. 22-3. Another indication of ^{c}Alī Shīr's love for the Shrine was his decision to erect a garden there. See the Namakdān, Catalogue No. 42.

22) See Chapter I, p. 37.

23) Allen, Catalogue, p. 94.

24) Gazur Gah, p. 108.

25) Review of Gazur Gah, p. 178.

26) As suggested by Golombek, op. cit., p. 117 and Rogers, op. cit., p. 177. The earlier example of Bastām suggested by Rogers, however, presents a closer parallel. By the middle of the fourteenth century the open grave of Bāyazīd Bastāmī was surrounded on the S by the facade of a Saljūq mosque, and on the E and W by aivans, one dated to 713/1313-4, the other probably contemporary. An aivan leading to the mosque on the S may have been erected then. A later aivan on the N may have been subsequently destroyed, but even if it was never built, three sides of the courtyard were definitely surrounded here, over a century before the construction of Gāzur Gāh. The above information on the Shrine at Bastām is given in Blair, Natanz, pp. 216-7.

Bibliography

Only references subsequent to the publication of Golombek, Gazur Gah, are included.

Allchin and Hammond, eds., pp. 380-3, Figs. 7.21.

Rogers, Spread of Islam, p. 128 (for northern, read eastern).

Idem, review of Gazur Gah, pp. 175-9.

Hoag, Islamic Architecture, p. 270.

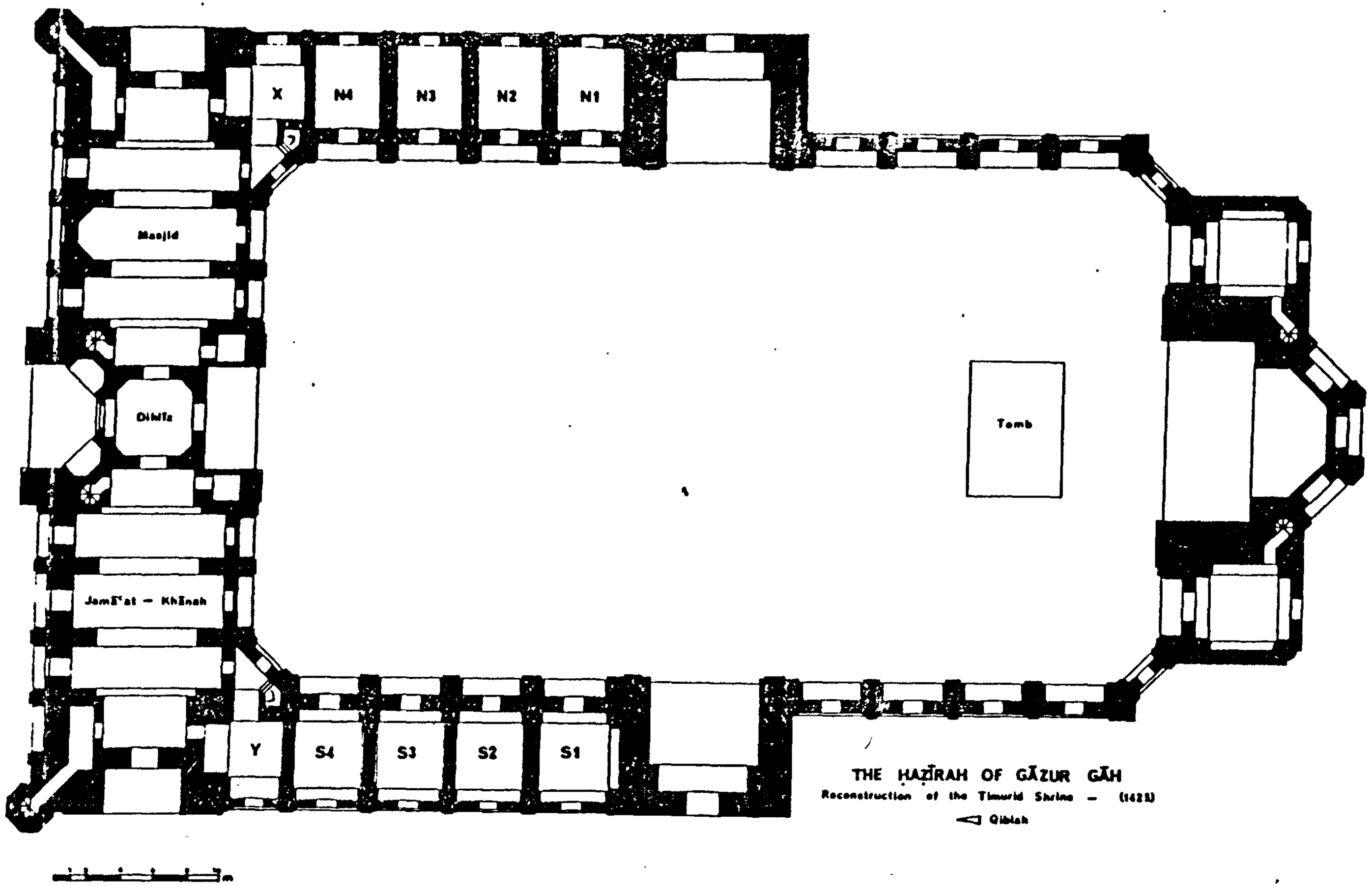
Seherr-Thoss, Pls. 61-6.

Safadi, Pl. 121.

Michell, ed., pp. 263-4.

Pugachenkova, Zodchestvo, pp. 38, 86-7, 89.

Allen, Catalogue, No. 580.



12) Cat.no.9. Gāzur Gāh, Shrine of Anṣārī:
plan (after Golombek)

MASHHAD, GUNBAD-I KHISHTĪ

Location In the centre of Mashhad, ca. 1/2km NE of the Shrine.

Plan (Fig. 13) Dome chamber with square exterior and cruciform interior.

Elevation a) exterior: The original appearance is difficult to determine, as the building has undergone numerous repairs at different periods of time, and has also had other structures erected against parts of it (Pl. 42). The lower section seems to have been square with small niches in the corners, one of which may have led to a staircase. It has a pointed outer dome on a tall drum pierced by eight windows. The drum is now covered by tilework of relatively recent origin. On two sides the zone of transition has been reconstructed as an octagon, but this is certainly not original. The series of bevelled steps on the S side may be closest to its first state.

b) interior: At present the entrance from the street leads down to a small domed chamber which was added on to the main one. The floor of the main dome chamber is 2.40m below street level, itself an indication of some antiquity.

Each of its axial niches is barrel-vaulted and had a door with a segmental arch and a window above, except on the side contiguous to the later dome chamber. The irregular brick masonry here indicates that the plan has been altered, so this side may have been similar to the others, or it could have been closed, incorporating a mihrab.

Between the four main arches of the dome chamber pendentives consisting of small units of stalactites in nine tiers lead to an octagonal epigraphic frieze. On this rest the eight windows of the drum, and above this, sixteen spectacular deeply gored stalactite furrows lead

to a small circular dome (Pl. 44).

Crypt (Fig. 14; Pl. 47) Repair work by the Sazman-i Hifazat in 1978 exposed a spacious crypt beneath the dome chamber. It is also cruciform, but with a long narrow pier in the centre, joined to the side walls by a series of groin vaults.

Furnishings In the SW recess is a large superbly carved cenotaph 1.93 x 79 x 77cm (Pl. 45). The arched panels at the head and foot give the name of the occupant as Sultan Muhammad, his genealogy in eighteen generations from the Imam Musā b. Jaᶜfar, and his date of death: Ramadān 832/June-July 1429.[1] Flanking these epigraphic panels are narrow tree of life panels, where the tree emerging from the vase has the same cypress profile as that on the wooden Quran stand of 761/1360 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[2] On one side of the cenotaph these panels alternate with epigraphic arched panels which contain Quran LXXVI/1-28 (part), verses which describe the delights awaiting the believers in paradise. The spandrels of the arches are filled with blossoms on delicate veined stems. Above these arches panels of the usual Timurid Kufic alternate with lozenges of square Kufic. At this level on the foot of the cenotaph a panel of thulth boldly proclaims, in letters larger than those used for any other inscription on the cenotaph, the signature of the mason: ᶜamal-i ᶜAbd al-ᶜAlī Hasan b. ᶜAlī al-ustād al-Mashhadī (Pl. 46). Four engaged columns at the corners support a frieze of arabesque fleurons. The top is decorated with a long epigraphic panel with a polylobed arch, surrounded by first Kufic, and then thulth cartouches. The Kufic here is more mannered than that on the sides, with the thin stems and ends of letters tapering to a curved point. The cenotaph is undoubtedly nearly contemporary with the date of Sultan Muhammad's death. Its general composition, including the distinctive tree of life panels, is closely paralleled by the

cenotaph of Yūsuf Khvaja in the Madrasa Du Dar (846/1442).

Decoration The painted inscription on the zone of transition, consisting of verses lauding Sultan Muhammad, is in nasta^{c}liq, which indicates a date not earlier than the beginning of the sixteenth century.[3] The remainder of the painting in the dome chamber - the star pattern on the soffits of the four recesses, the arabesques on the extrados of the four main arches, the outlining of the squinches and the arabesque medallions in the centre of the dome - cannot be earlier, but rather suggest a later Safavid date.

Dating The commissioning of a fine cenotaph for Sultan Muhammad shortly after his death in 832/1429 is likely to have coincided with the building of a mausoleum to house it. The cenotaph is larger than any found in the Timurid graveyards around Herat, for instance, and earlier examples of such monumental cenotaphs are usually found in mausoleums.[4] Can the present structure be contemporary with the cenotaph?

The painting, as we have seen, is more likely to be Safavid, and some modern authors ascribe the building to the period of Shah ^{c}Abbās I.[5] It is the stalactite dome, however, which presents the most reliable dating criterion. The dome in the mausoleum of the Shrine of Ahmad Yassavī (799/1397) is a close analogue; it consists of 24 stalactite furrows leading to a smaller gored dome.[6] The furrows, however, are split into two levels, and are not virtually continuous as in the Gunbad-i Khishtī. A closer approach to this technique is found in several monuments from the decade preceding the date of the cenotaph. In the Mosque of Gauhar Shād in Mashhad they are found on the stalactite semi-dome above the mihrab, and in the Shrine at Gāzur Gāh in the vaults of the mosque.

The likelihood of the stalactite dome being contemporary with the

cenotaph is increased if we consider the fashion in design of domes in subsequent centuries. The squinch net had become the norm by the middle of the fifteenth century, and it retained its popularity under the Safavids. Several Safavid mausoleums in Khurasan are extant, such as those of Qadam Gāh, Turbat-i Haidariyya, and in Mashhad Khvaja Rabīᶜ and Pīr-i Pulāndūz,[7] and all have domes with squinch-net decoration, quite unlike the stalactites of the Gunbad-i Khishtī.

Materials Bricks 24 x 24 x 4-6cm.

Condition In 1978 it was undergoing restoration by the Sazman-i Hifazat.

Recorded February 1977.

Notes

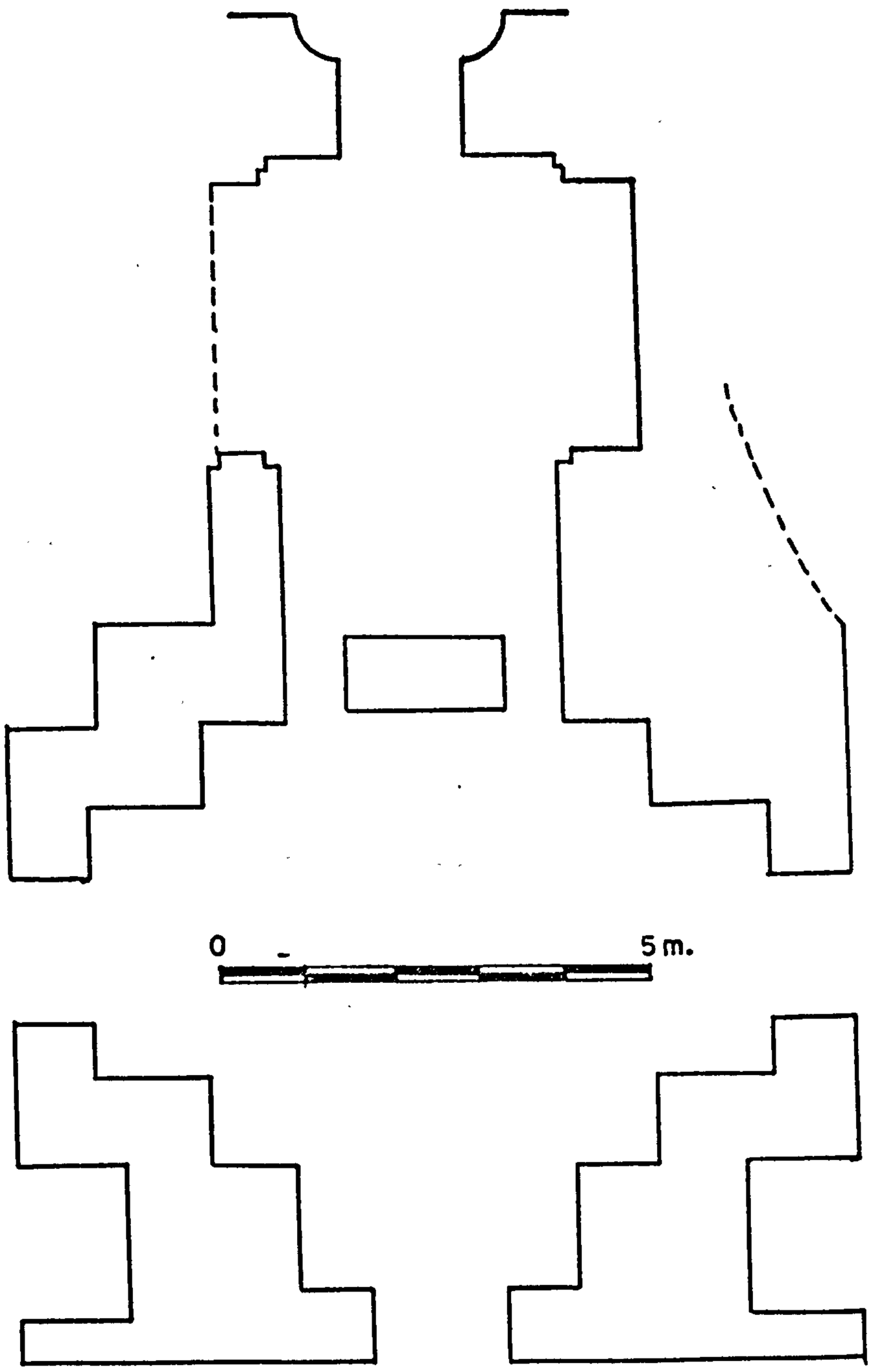
1) MF, III, p. 260, relates that in 829/1425-6 Sayyid Nizām al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Hayy, the naqīb of the sayyids of the Mashhad of Ridā, died in Qum. His genealogy is identical with that of Sultan Muhammad, among whose titles on the tombstone are "the Sultan of the naqībs (leaders) of the world." The two may have been brothers. See also Tabātabā'ī, Qum, p. 217. I am grateful to the author for bringing this reference to my attention.
2) Grube, World of Islam, Fig. 76.
3) Its earliest architectural use may be in the Ghār-i Darvīshān in Herat, where it is used for the inscription in mosaic-faience above the entrance portal. See Cat. No. 61. For the verses, see Sanīᶜ al-Daula.
4) E.g. at Pīr-i Bakrān and Garlādān in Isfahan, or those in the Gūr-i Mīr.
5) Al-Muhaddasīn, p. 94; Mu'taman.
6) Illustrated in Pugachenkova, Zodchestvo, p. 23.
7) Mu'taman, p. 437. Plans and photographs of this building are so far unpublished.

Bibliography

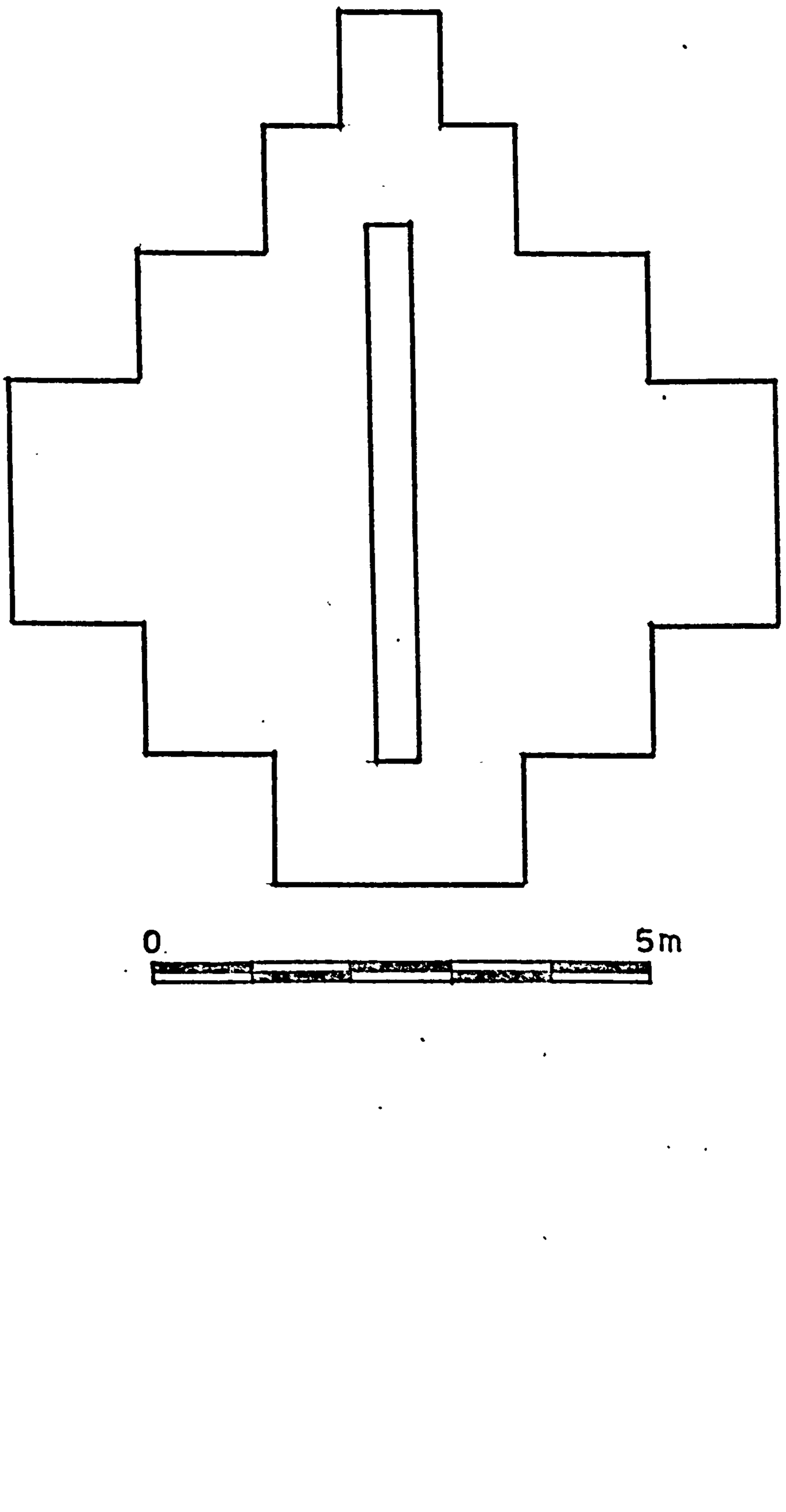
Sanī[c] al-Daula, Matla[c] II, p. 266.

Mu'taman, Rāhnamā, p. 437.

Shams al-Muhaddasīn, Yādgār, pp. 93-4.



13) Cat.no.10. Mashhad, Gunbad-i Khishtī: plan



14) Cat.no.10. Mashhad, Gunbad-i Khishtī:
plan of crypt

11

UBA, MASJID-I JAMI^{c}

Location Uba is located near the right bank of the Harī Rūd, c. 95 km E of Herat. The Masjid-i Jami^{c} is situated near the centre of the town.

Plan (Fig. 15) The mosque consists of two rows of three bays with shallow domes (Pl. 49). A mihrab is set in the middle bay on the W side. A street borders on the qibla side, an open courtyard on the other three. The interior wall surfaces are completely covered in plaster.

Elevation The N and E sides have a window at the end of each bay; the entrance to the mosque being from the S. From the outside the mosque appears as a rectangular cube, with a modern brick cornice and piers at the corners (Pl. 48). On the courtyard sides a socle c. 1.5m high is faced with carefully pointed rubble masonry. In the middle of the socle on the E side is a mihrab. A little further to its right is the following inscription, two lines of naskhi scraped on black stone (Pl. 50):

"The brethren of the worlds, the pilgrims to the house of God, the preservers of the help of God, with Divine grace made this noble house and lofty suffa waqf in Rabī^{c} I 832/December 1428-January 1429 (in words)."[1]

The inscription is in a mixture of Persian and ungrammatical Arabic, and its syntactical crudity is almost matched by its calligraphic poverty.

Apart from this inscription, however, there is no direct evidence for assigning a medieval date to the mosque. As far as it can be examined, the fabric of the present structure seems to be modern or to

have been substantially repaired in the twentieth century. It is possible that renewal of some of the plaster revetment of the interior would give more information on this.

However, the form of the building is not one that would be unexpected in a Timurid village mosque. There are two related examples near Herat, the Masjid-i Chihil Sutūn at Ziyāratgāh which has four rows of seven bays, two open and two closed, and the Masjid-i Hauż-i Karbās, with one row of three bays. Both of these, like Uba, have a mihrab in the middle bay of the long side. The mosque at Uba, then, could be seen as a doubling of the Hauż-i Karbās form. Both also feature a large open courtyard, where sizeable congregations could gather for communal prayer. It may thus be possible that the present mosque, although substantially repaired, reflects the form of the mosque mentioned in the inscription of 832/1428-9.

Condition Excellent.

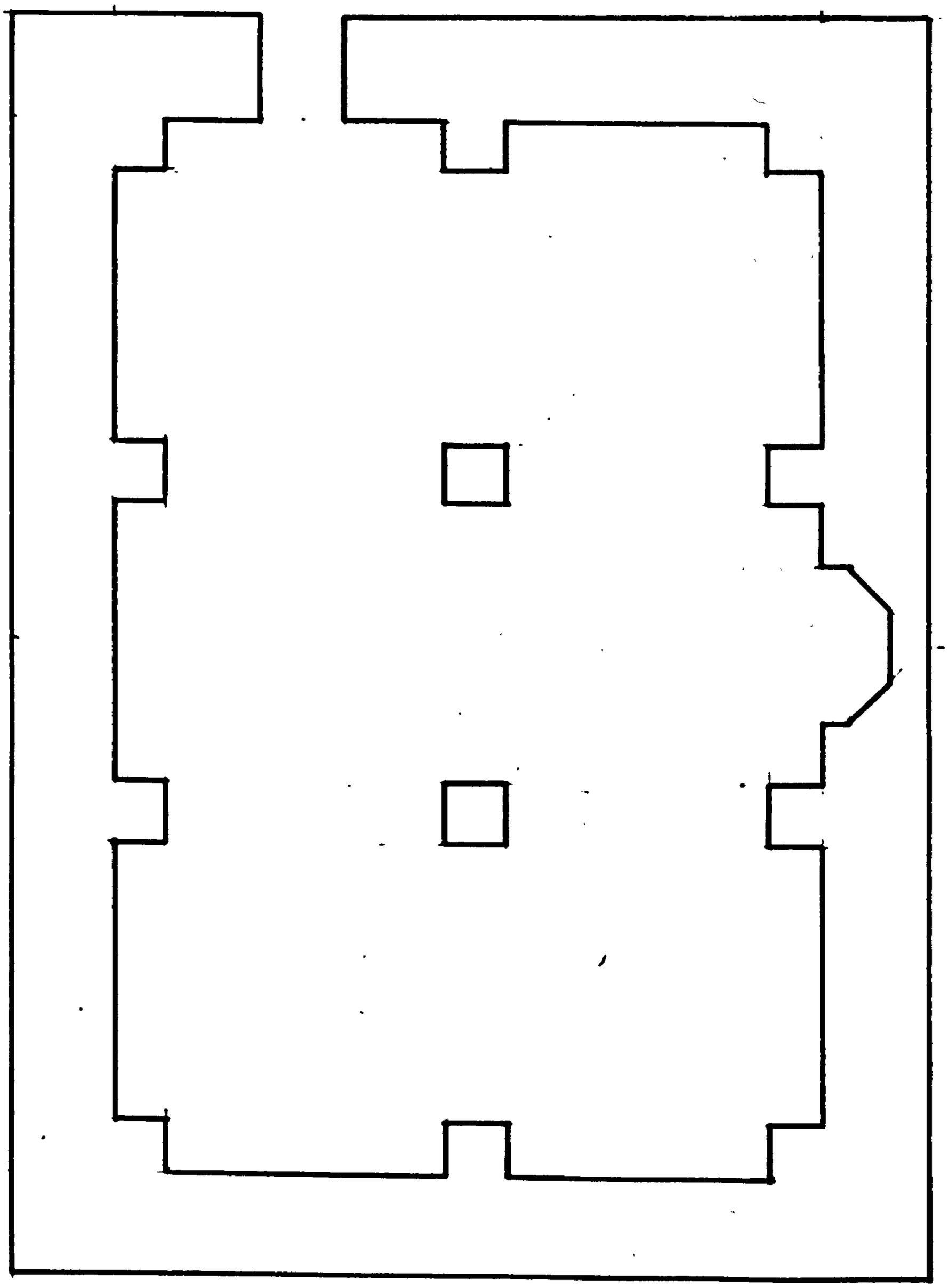
Recorded June 1975.

Notes

1) Saljūqī.

Bibliography

Saljūqī, RMH 4, p. 152.



15) Cat.no.11. Uba, Masjid-i Jami^{c}: sketch plan

MASHHAD, MADRASA BĀLĀ SAR

Location Taking the qibla as S, the madrasa is bordered by the Parīzād madrasa on the S, by part of the Dār al-Siyāda on the E, by buildings adjoining the sahn-i ᶜatīq on the N, and by the former bazar on the W.

Plan (Fig. 16) Four aivan courtyard, with living chambers in two storeys on either side; bevelled corners of courtyard lead to larger living chambers. The plan is very similar to that of the Madrasa Parīzād, although because of the greater depth of the aivans there are no dome chambers behind the E aivan. The staircases to the upper storey are reached from the sides of the living chambers and not from the bevelled corners, as at Parīzād. Another difference, clearly visible on the plan of Saadat (Fig. 5), is the different orientation of the Bālā Sar, with the qibla twisted a few degrees W as if to conform with the alignment of the street facade of the bazar outside. This, however, may give the wrong impression, as I believe that it was the bazar which realigned itself to the facade of first the Madrasa of Bālā Sar and then to that of the Madrasa Du Dar on the opposite side of the street. The street was already a small bazar (bāzārcha) at the time these madrasas were built,[1] and its transformation into a major thoroughfare was probably accelerated first by the erection of Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr's aivan and adjacent structures on the N of the Shrine, making it into a major entranceway, and subsequently by the building of the sahn-i ᶜatīq by Shah ᶜAbbās in 1612-3.[2] The importance of the route past the madrasas into the sahn was then increased, and would have proved more attractive for those wishing to erect bazar stalls. The restoration of the three madrasas in the reign of Shah Sulaimān is indicative in

part of the traffic which would have passed through this area, and the alteration of the axis of the entrance portal of the Madrasa Parīzād at the same time suggests that it was changed to be in line with the bazar stalls flanking it to either side, stretching from the Madrasa Bālā Sar on its right to the NW axis of the Mosque of Gauhar Shād on the left, where the axis changed again to the old one along the lateral side of the mosque.[3]

Why was the orientation of the Bālā Sar changed from that of the Shrine and Mosque of Gauhar Shād? One is tempted to ascribe this correction to the influence of Ghiyāth al-Dīn who at the court of Ūlūgh Beg helped prepare new astronomical tables and composed the Miftāh al-Hisāb, the latter containing sections relevant to architecture.[4] He may have been employed at the court in Herat before arriving in Samarqand sometime before 1427.[5]

Elevation a) exterior: Recent clearance by the Sazman-i Hifazat has revealed the portal screen of the aivan and two superposed blind niches to one side, with traces of the original mosaic-faience decoration on both (Pl. 51). Unfortunately the rest of the facade was no longer intact, bazar stalls of varying sizes having beeen built against it, but one can presume that the superposed niches would have been ranged symmetrically to either side of the portal screen. The entrance aivan is barrel-vaulted.

b) interior: The general layout of the courtyard, aivans and cells is, as mentioned above, similar to that of the Madrasa Parīzād, and will not be described in detail (Pl. 57). In 1974 no original decoration could be seen on the courtyard facades, but removal of some later tilework has shown that on the portal screen of the E aivan there was a mosaic-faience inscription, with small Kufic above larger thulth letters. Only the plaster imprint of a fragment of this inscription now survives

(Pl. 59), but similar fragments on the facade of the NE bevelled corner suggest that at least the aivans and bevelled corners would have been similarly framed with inscriptions.

The four aivans are vaulted with semi-domes. Those on the E and W are stalactite semi-domes and are undoubtedly Safavid restorations, like the stucco inscription in the E aivan,[6] and it is also possible that the N and S aivans were also barrel-vaulted.

At the back of the E aivan is a door with two finely carved leaves (Pl. 60). At the top of each is a square panel with a raised thulth inscription on a ground of small leaves, and underneath is a rectangular panel, very worn, but in which a vertical climbing arabesque within a polylobed arch can be discerned. The latter is similar to the door of the Tāybād buq^{c}a,[7] but an even closer parallel are the doors of the Mausoleum of Shams al-Dīn Kulāl in Shahr-i Sabz (probably 841/1437-8),[8] where the letters in the square panel at the top are also in relief on a leafy background and have a semi-circular profile. Where the doors lead to is not clear as the wall behind is blocked, and from Saadat's plan (Fig. 5) it can be seen that it would have led to an annex of the Dār al-Siyāda. But it is interesting to note Fāżil's report that the madrasa had altogether 27 upper and lower rooms, even though eight years previously the Shrine had sequestered two, presumably adjacent to the Shrine.[9] It is also possible that the doors have been moved from another part of the madrasa.

<u>Decoration</u> a) mosaic-faience: On the entrance of some of the lower courtyard cells the later plaster semi-domes have been removed to reveal a pattern in inset-technique of mosaic-faience six-pointed floral stars set amongst unglazed hexagonal brick tiles (Pl. 58).

The finest tile decoration, however, is reserved for the entrance aivan and portal facade.

The spandrels of the niches to the side of the aivan are each decorated with a central medallion from which loosely scrolling arabesques emerge.[10]

The portal screen of the aivan shows panels of twelve-pointed stars set within an arched frame, with unglazed brick tiles used for several of the polygons. Between two of these panels is a square panel with al-mulk li'llāh in white Kufic letters on a dark-blue ground (Pl. 53).

Just within the entrance aivan a frieze of arabesque-filled cartouches alternating with six-sided rosettes covered the sides and soffit of the arch. Beyond this, below the inscription, are the remains of a frame with a two-plane lattice of interlacing light-blue and white arabesques on a dark-blue ground. The Safavid inscription band above this is in marble blocks which project ca. 5cm from the surface of the rest of the decoration: the original foundation inscription in mosaic-faience may well still be underneath.

To either side of the door was a fine panel with a vertical climbing arabesque in a polylobed arch, comparable in style to the well-known example in the side aivan at Gāzur Gāh (Pl. 55). Surprisingly, it is only in these panels that one finds green being used, in the polylobed frame and on the field of the central medallion. Another unusual aspect of the tilework in general is the use of two colours of yellow, one bright, such as one would expect to find in Safavid tilework, the other the more usual Timurid amber. Does this not suggest that the recently uncovered mosaic-faience might be all Safavid?

b) cuerda seca: Despite the similarities in the style of the panels to Timurid work, so rare is bright yellow in Timurid tilework that one might have been tempted to assign a Safavid date were it not for the presence of a corkscrew spiral moulding decorated with cuerda seca tiles framing the arch of the entrance aivan (Pl. 54). The moulding

has alternate arabesque and geometric interlace patterns, a similar combination occurring in the corkscrew moulding of the Ūlūgh Beg madrasa in Samarqand. Their colours - white slip, light- and dark-blue, red, gold leaf, black/manganese - places them firmly within the tradition of Timurid cuerda seca tiles used in Khurasan in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.[11] The corkscrew moulding was put in place after the mosaic-faience, so the latter, despite its vivid yellow, must be contemporary.

Fragments of cuerda seca tiles of similar technique and colours were found in rubble behind the refacing of the walls and arches in the interior of the courtyard. These show a section of an angular interlacing pattern parts of which were left unglazed. One larger piece also has at the edge a slightly curved border, suggesting that it may have been used to follow the profile of an arch, perhaps at the back of one of the aivans. (Pl. 56).

Inscriptions In the course of recent restoration I was able to observe that the N aivan had nine layers of plaster on it, testifying to the successive restorations which the building has undergone. The inscriptions also bear witness to this. As with the Madrasa Parīzād, the earliest dated inscription is one which mentions repairs in the reign of Shah Sulaimān (1091/1680-1).[12] Other repair inscriptions are dated 1271 and 1356H.[13]

Date Again, as with the Madrasa Parīzād, the earliest reference to the building is that of Fraser, who says it "was built by certain Oosbek princes, descendants of Timoor Shah."[14] According to him the Madrasa Du Dar was also built by Uzbek princes, so we may be certain that this is how he interpreted the reports of a Timurid foundation. His account is repeated by later writers.

The evidence of the form and decoration of the building is not at

variance with this, and given the analogies to the woodwork, mosaic-faience and cuerda seca decoration mentioned above, would tend to set the building in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. It was likely to have been erected after the Madrasa Parīzād (ca. 821/1418-9) since it has a different qibla alignment; and because of its location next to the Shrine and its decoration, it most probably antedates the Madrasa Du Dar. Given this range of ca. 1420-1440, one might wonder whether this could be the madrasa which Shah Rukh was known to have built near the Shrine. The possibility is suggested by a reference of Qādī Ahmad to the burial place of Sultan ᶜAlī Mashhadī, which was "opposite the foot (of the tomb) of His Holiness the valiant Eighth Imam...immediately outside the domed building of the Amīr ᶜAlī Shīr" and in another version "close to the dome of ᶜAlī Shīr and the madrasa of Shahrukh." Although the location of the dome of Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr is not certain, it was probably immediately behind his aivan on the S side of the sahn-i ᶜatīq, and therefore almost contiguous with the Madrasa Bālā Sar (see Cat. No. 47). However, in 861/1457 Abū'l-Qāsim was buried in the Madrasa of Shah Rukh, in the dome chamber on the qibla side[16] and, in another version, in the dome chamber beside (dar javār) the mazar of the Imam.[17] Judging from the plan of the Madrasa Bālā Sār, it is not clear where this dome chamber could have been. Therefore, until the Safavid inscription on the entrance aivan is removed, this identification must remain speculative.

Condition When last seen the building was in the process of restoration by the Sazman-i Hifazat.

Recorded December 1974, February 1977, June 1978.

Notes

1) The waqfnāma of the Mosque of Gauhar Shād describes it thus. Sanī^{c} al-Daula, II, p. 155.
2) Mu'taman, Āstāna, p. 172.
3) The change is shown in exaggerated fashion in the map of the Shrine complex in Yate, Khurasan, p. 332.
4) See Chapter II, p. 86.
5) Barthold, II, p. 131.
6) See Sanī^{c} al-Daula, p. 254.
7) O'Kane, "Tāybād," Pl. IVa.
8) Pugachenkova, Termez, Figs. 60-1.
9) Fāżil, p. 42.
10) Cf. Khargird type two: O'Kane, "Khargird," Pl. VIIc.
11) Cf. O'Kane, "Tāybād," Pls. VIIa-c.
12) Text in Sanī^{c} al-Daula, p. 254.
13) See Fāżil, p. 41.
14) Fraser, p. 459.
15) Calligraphers & Painters, p. 103.
16) TS, p. 328.
17) MS, p. 1116.

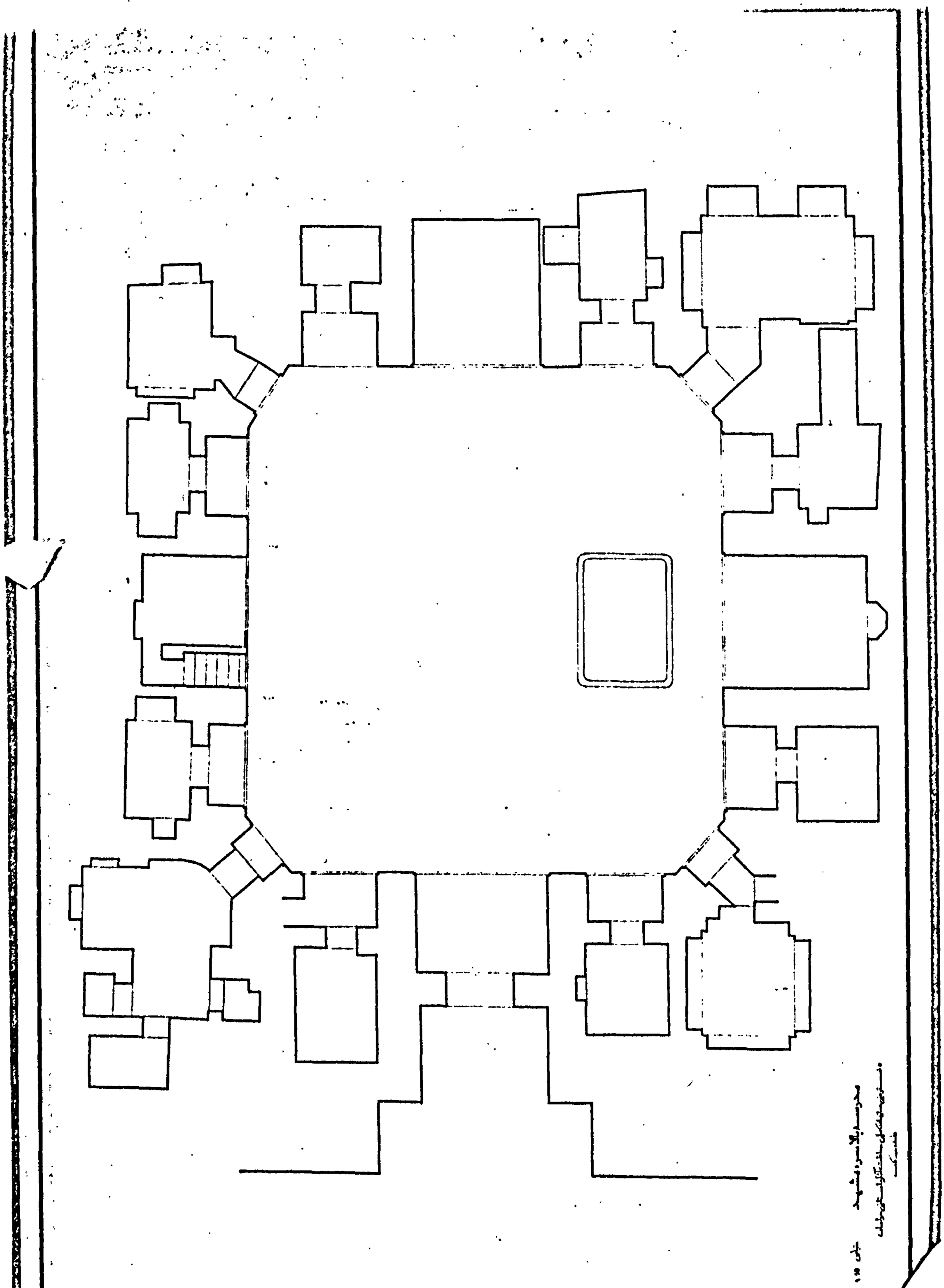
Bibliography

Fraser, Khurasan, p. 459.

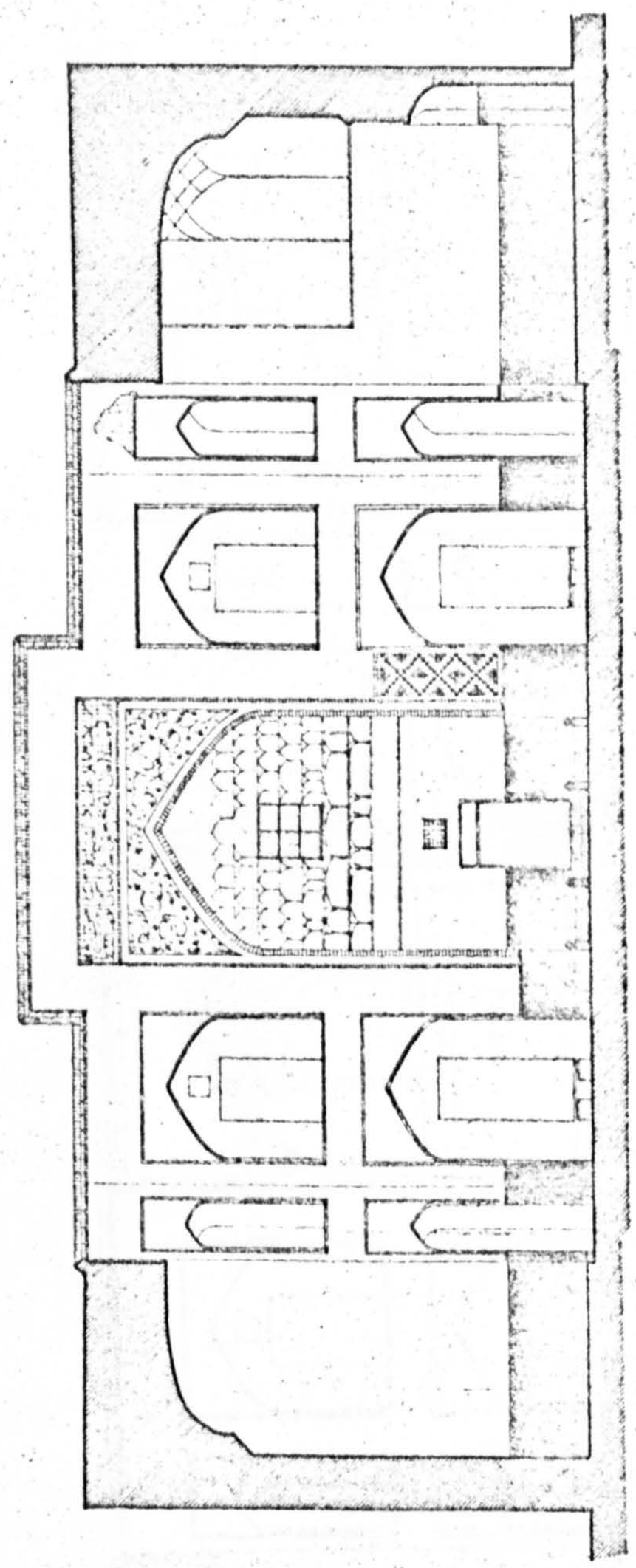
Nādiri, "Bālā Sar," p. 10.

Sanī^{c} al-Daula, Matla^{c} II, p. 254.

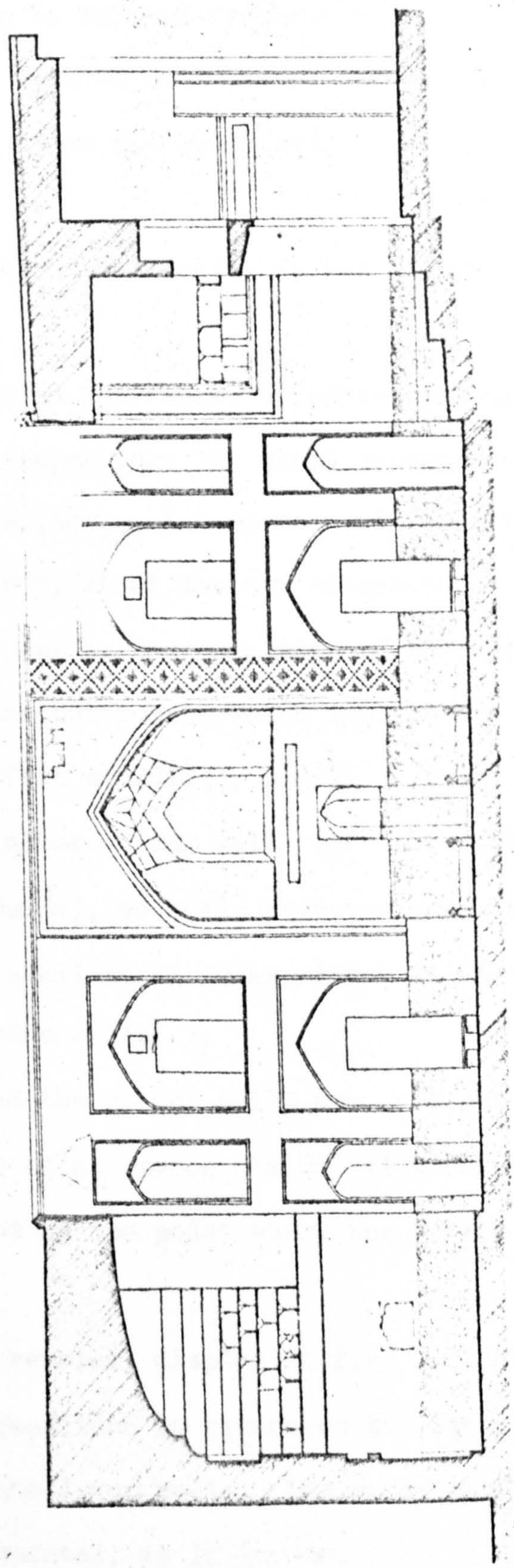
Fāżil, "Bālā Sar," pp. 40-2.



16) Cat.no.12. Mashhad, Madrasa Bālā Sar: plan (after Sazman-i Hifazat)



17) Cat.no.12. Mashhad, Madrasa Bālā Sar:
NS section (after Sazman-i Hifazat)



18) Cat.no.12. Mashhad, Madrasa Bālā Sar:
EW section (after Sazman-i Hifazat)

TURUQ, MAUSOLEUM

Location The village of Turuq is situated 11km SE of Mashhad, at the junction of the roads leading to Mashhad from Nishapur and Turbat-i Jām. There are the remains of a Safavid caravanserai in the centre of the village, while the mausoleum is on the outskirts, near the modern asphalt road to Sangbast.

Plan (Fig. 19) Dome chamber with small cells in two storeys in the corners, preceded by aivan.

Elevation a) exterior: The aivan is flanked by semi-octagonal niches in two storeys. These are much deeper than the usual superposed niches which one finds on portal-screens (the portal screens of Turuq are blank), but conversely they are not, as at Tāybād, entrances to rooms behind. There is no means of access to the balconies of the upper niches. The sides and rear of the buttresses which incorporate these niches are not articulated by offset mouldings, bevels or framing of any kind. Timurid architecture abhors blank walls (cf. the articulation of the rear of the Tāybād buq^{c}a), so their presence here is most unusual. Only the remains of a small rectangular window at the top of the sides break the expanse of bare walls.

The side walls which enclosed the corner cells are only partially intact. At the level of the second storey on the SE[1] side one can see the beginning of an arched window at the point where the broken wall ends.

Most of the rear wall still remains, displaying five tall blind arches (Pl. 61). The zone of transition is square on the exterior, and was stepped back slightly from the lower walls. The outer profile of the dome was probably always segmental, as it is now.

b) interior: The vault of the aivan has collapsed, but the remains of vaults in banna'i bricks show that it was originally covered by a squinch-net semi-dome. Below this ran a mosaic-faience inscription, the remaining fragments of which were published by Godard.[2] It has since deteriorated further.

At the back of the aivan are the outlines of two-storey niches flanking the entrance to the dome chamber. While this is a feature that was common in Safavid architecture,[3] its use in Timurid architecture is unprecedented. A further unusual feature is the break in bond at the point where the aivan meets these niches (Pl. 63). This suggest that the aivan was added on to a mausoleum with a facade of niches, but as there are no corresponding breaks on the outer side of the aivan, matters are not quite so simple. The subject will be considered further when the corner rooms are discussed.

The interior of the dome chamber is 1.70m below that of the ground level of the aivan (Pl. 62). However, the wall which now separates the two is made of broken bricks. The collapse of the aivan vault must have raised the level of the ground below it, with the wall separating it from the dome chamber added later.

In the centre of the mausoleum is a brick cenotaph. It is, however, crudely built and is not aligned with the walls, and so is probably later.

No decoration is used on the interior, other than a light brick-coloured plaster slip laid over the bricks and their horizontal joints. The soffits of the four main arches are emphasised in the same way. Although the building is qibla oriented there is no mihrab on the qibla wall. The semi-octagonal recesses on the cross axis were vaulted with smoothly corbelled semi-domes. Above, four plain squinches alternate with four niches with windows. The dome rests on the eight pendentives

between the niches.

The exact reconstruction of the plan of the smaller cells is now difficult to ascertain. Godard's photographs show mounds of brick rubble along the sides of the dome chamber, and one assumes that he was able to trace the walls shown on his plan from these fragments. No trace remains of most of them today; the heaps of bricks have been cleared and the lower walls, which had been used as brick quarries, have been reinforced. Although Godard's plan[4] shows the four corner rooms with equal dimensions, examination of the SE "room" shows a narrow space between two straight walls (Pl. 64). The presence of what at first looks like part of a low ceiling above this space enables one to deduce the original function: a staircase. Since there were four corner rooms in the upper storey - their carefully pointed walls are clearly visible from ground level - a staircase must have provided access to them, and, judging from the remains, it must have started from the SE corner.

Not much more than a few walls remain of the upper storey rooms. The E wall of the E rooms has a revealing feature, however: a blind window carefully pointed on the sides but not on the back, which consists of part of the piers of the aivan (Pl. 65). Here again, therefore, as well as the break in bond between the aivan and the niches adjoining it, we have evidence that the aivan was added to an already existing facade. However, the bricks used in both parts are exactly the same size, the style of both parts is very similar and, as we saw above, there is no break in bond on the outer walls of the aivan. This suggests then that the change of plan took place in the course of building operations. Whether this was for structural or aesthetic reasons is difficult to ascertain, but since the blank side and rear walls of the niches flanking the aivan transgress Timurid aesthetic canons, structural

consideration, such as the need for buttressing, may have been to the fore. This is admittedly not very convincing, but alternatives can only involve speculations such as sudden influx of building funds or the patron's change of mind.

Above the SE upper room on the pier of the aivan is an aperture ca. 1m square. Where it leads to can only be surmised, although it may have somehow connected with the similar "window" at nearly the same level on the sides of the block of two-storey niches flanking the aivan. Its function is unclear.

Furnishings Apart from the anonymous cenotaph in the centre of the mausoleum there are several finely carved stone cenotaphs lying haphazardly in front of the aivan. One of them has an inscription published by Sanī^{c} al-Daula which states that it is the grave of Darvīsh Yahyā, dated 726/1326.[5]

Date Khanikoff, writing about the musalla of Mashhad, says that "it was constructed on the model of the musalla of Turuq, finished in 837/1433-4." McGregor, writing in 1875, has this to say:

"At Torokh is a ruined arch of considerable architectural beauty, which seems to have been the entrance to a tomb or mosque. None of the people knew what it was called, but I had a man with me who read from an inscription that it was erected over two brothers, Syuds, who had died 400 years ago."

His round figure of 400 years gives 1475, not so very different from the date given by Khanikoff, and the mention of two brothers recalls the akhihu, "his Brother," on the inscription of the aivan. However, the date of death of the persons for whom the mausoleum was built is not necessarily the same as the date of construction.

Are the stylistic indicators consistent with a date of 837/1433-4? The form of the mosaic-faience inscription, with an upper register of

Kufic and a lower thulth one, is certainly typical of the fifteenth century. The use of bright yellow rather than amber for the Kufic does not necessarily indicate a Safavid date, since we have seen that it also occurs on the entrance portal of the Bālā Sar madrasa.

The combination of sparse mosaic-faience decoration with banna'i bricks recalls many monuments erected in the neighbourhood of Herat in the reign of Husain Bāyqārā--the khanqahs of Mullā Kālān and Sadr al-Dīn Armānī, the mazar of Jalāl al-Dīn Pūrānī, and the Friday Mosques of Ghuriyān and Ziyāratgāh. The mazar at Pūrān also has the same feature of emphasising horizontal joints by means of a plaster slip. Could Khanikoff have mistaken eighty (thamānīn) in the decades for thirty (thalathīn)? 887/1482-3 would accord with the style better than 837/1433, and with McGregor's ca. 1475, but with so little decoration or other stylistic pointers it is difficult to be dogmatic about this.[6]

Function Unfortunately Godard adopted Khanikoff's red herring of "musallā," despite Diez's comments that the domed mausoleum with an aivan at Turuq had little in common with the plan of the Mashhad musallā. Ferrier, McGregor, as we have seen, Sanīᶜ al-Daula and Yate all describe it as a mausoleum or aivan.

The side rooms in two storeys, however, have to be accounted for. They are reminiscent of the very small rooms in the khanqah of Sadr al-Dīn Armānī. Might the rooms at Turuq also have been used for the accomodation of Sufis? The remaining fragment of the inscription includes the phrase "his brother, the glory of the poor/Sufis (fuqarā')." Judging from its location in what would have been the second half of the inscription, it presumably refers to the founder, who may have wished to include provisions for fellow ascetics in his foundation. While its primary function then was probably a mausoleum, it may also have been an informal Sufi residence.

A surprising aspect of the building is its demise into anonymity, although this is a fate which has overtaken other buildings in the vicinity of Mashhad, such as the mausoleums at Tūs and Sangvar.

Materials Bricks 26 x 26 x 6. RJ 1-2cm; HJ 2cm.

Condition Despite the rebuilding of the lower walls, the structure is still in a precarious state. Four large cracks run from the middle of the squinches to the centre of the dome, and lesser fissures lead to the corners of the four windows of the dome chamber from the shoulders of the arches below.

Recorded May 1975.

Notes

1) For ease of description the qibla is taken as W.
2) P. 133.
3) E.g. the aivan of Shah ᶜAbbās II in the sahn-i ᶜatīq in Mashhad, Pope, Persian Architecture, Fig. 300.
4) Fig. 107.
5) P. 19. It was reprinted in the R.C.E.A., No. 5535.
6) Ferrier describes the building as being in pretty good repair (1845), although the inscription had almost completely vanished when Sanīᶜ al-Daula saw it in 1883. It must have been in the same state when Godard photographed it, since according to the former only one cubit (zarᶜ) then remained (p. 19).

Bibliography

Ferrier, Caravan, p. 134.

Khanikoff, Partie, p. 108.

McGregor, Narrative, I, p. 277.

Sanīᶜ al-Daula, Matlaᶜ, III, pp. 19-20.

Yate, Khurasan, p. 39.

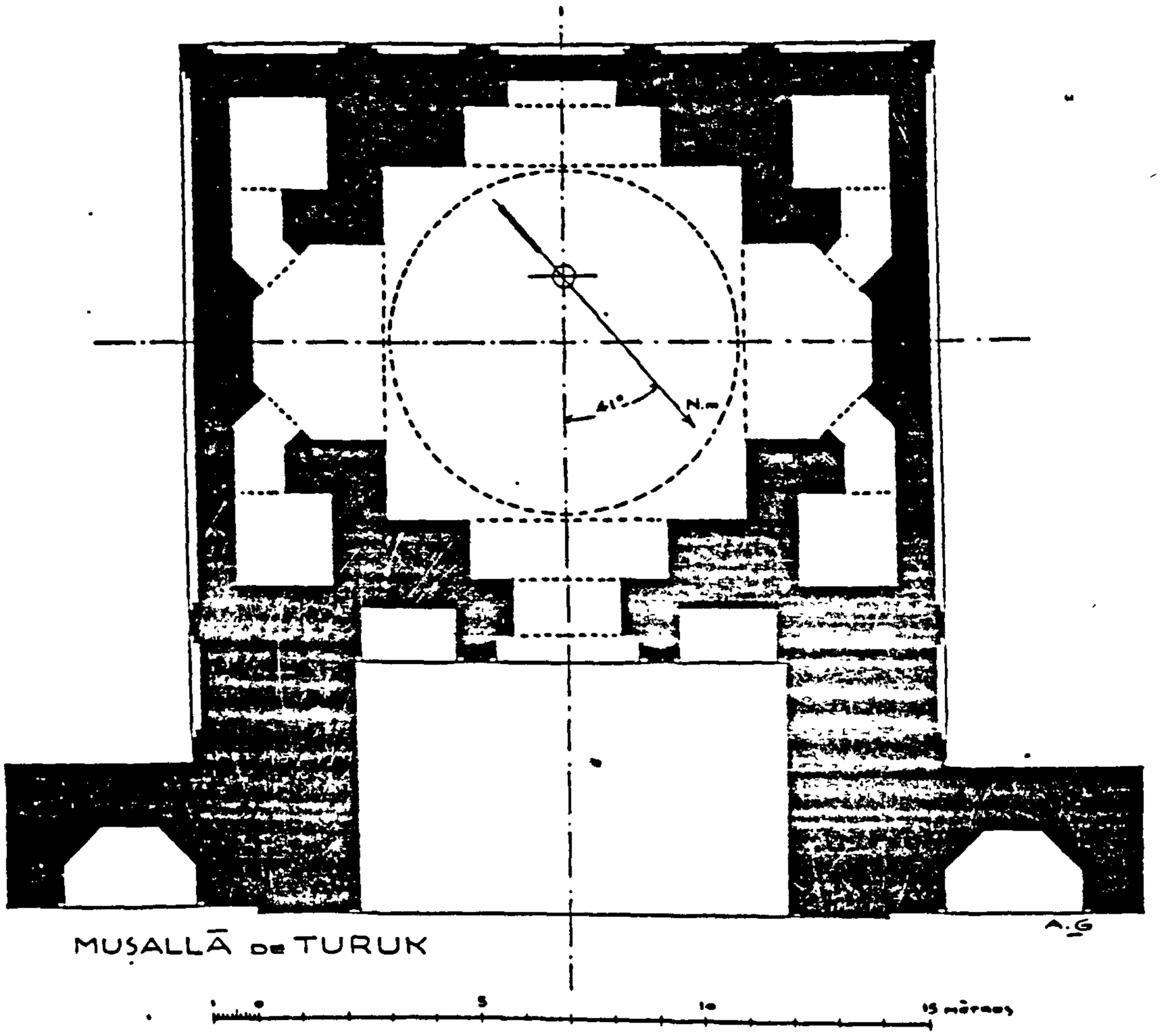
Diez, Churasanische, p. 77.

Mu'taman, Rāhnamā, p. 438.

Mishkūtī, Fihrist, p. 105.

Pugachenkova, Zodchestvo, p. 61.

Godard, "Khorāsān," pp. 125-33.



19) Cat.no.13. Turuq, Mausoleum: plan
(after Godard)

14

HERAT, MASJID-I JAMI^{c} AND MADRASA OF GAUHAR SHĀD

Location S of the Injīl river, on the Khiyābān NW of the city of Herat.

Plan (Fig. 20) Each building seems to have had a four-aivan court-yard, preceded by an entrance complex. In the mosque a twin domed sanctuary stood behind the W aivan.

Indentification Few building complexes have generated so much confusion. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, the use of the term musalla, which was employed, but only from the nineteenth century onwards, for the general area in which the buildings were situated - an area which, to confuse matters more, included the Madrasa of Sultan Husain - and for only one building of the complex, the Masjid-i Jami^{c} of Gauhar Shād.[1] Secondly, historical sources are unequal in their coverage of the buildings in this complex, giving far more to the Madrasa of Gauhar Shād than to the other buildings. Thirdly, the buildings deteriorated at different rates with, until its demolition in 1885, much more of Gauhar Shād's mosque remaining than of the others.

However, with the use of descriptions and sketches of the complex made before 1885 it is possible to reconstruct the buildings as they appeared then, and by also using fifteenth and sixteenth century accounts and inscriptions associated with the buildings a more complete picture of the original complex can be obtained.

According to both Khvāndamīr and Bābur Gauhar Shād built a madrasa and masjid-i jami^{c} in Herat.[2] ^{c}Abd al-Razzāq informs us that the madrasa which Gauhar Shād had built dar sar-i pul-i Anjīl was finished in 836H.[3] In fact the madrasa had certainly been in the process of construction for some time, because in 827H. Gauhar Shād's brother

Amīr Sūfī Tarkhān was buried in the dome/gunbad of the madrasa.[4] The mosque must also have been used not long after the formal opening of the madrasa in 836H., as Fasīḥ records the death in 838H. of Shams al-Dīn Muhammad who was mudarris of the madrasa and imam and khātib of the jami[c] of Gauhar Shād.[5] The most frequent mention of the complex, or more specifically of the madrasa, by Timurid historians, is as a burial place for descendants of Shah Rukh and Gauhar Shād (see below). The next person to be buried after Amīr Sūfī Tarkhān was Bāysunghur in 837H., in the "gunbad-i [c]alī."[6] Subsequent authors often refer to this chamber as the dome chamber of Bāysunghur.[7] As Gauhar Shād and Shah Rukh were also buried here later one can see how the confusion arose between the Madrasa of Gauhar Shād and the mausoleums of Bāysunghur, Gauhar Shād and Shah Rukh—the latter are synonomous and were an integral part of Gauhar Shād's madrasa.

We should refer next to Schroeder's reconstruction,[8] based both on the standing remains and on Durand's sketch.[9] Which of the two buildings is the madrasa? The dome chamber which contains the gravestones of Gauhar Shād and Bāysunghur is still remembered locally as the tomb of Gauhar Shād, and one would have thought that this was sufficient evidence to assert that the northernmost building was indeed the madrasa. However, two authorities have assumed the opposite,[10] perhaps influenced by the presence of small rooms beside the N and S aivans of the southern building. In view of this we should recall other evidence for identification:

a) The madrasa was built dar sar-i pul-i Anjīl,[11] the N building is the nearest of the two to the river.

b) According to [c]Abd al-Razzāq, the madrasa was finished in 836H. amid great celebrations.[12] The inscription dated 839H. from the minaret of the S building must then belong to the mosque. The slab recording

completion of "this building"[14] (ᶜimārat) must also be from the mosque; according to one account this was also on the S building.[15]

Having established the identity of the two buildings, each will be considered in turn.

The Mosque The most complete description is that of Saljūqī's uncle, Muftī Sirāj al-Dīn Saljūqī.[16] However, he refers to the southernmost of the two buildings as the madrasa. We have seen above that the southernmost building was the mosque. Can one then assume, as Allen does,[17] that Sirāj al-Dīn mixed up his directions, rather than his terminology? As Sirāj al-Dīn's account is the most detailed description which has come down to us, it is important to resolve this question.

As Allen points out, Sirāj al-Dīn was only fourteen when the complex was destroyed.[18] In order to give such a full account he must have a) relied on an earlier unnamed and unknown source, b) have had an exceptionally good memory, c) have made up some of the details. We have no knowledge of a), and I believe a mixture of b) and c) to be the case. That some embroidery is at work is indicated by our knowledge of what was standing in the complex in 1885. The plan of Holdich (Fig. 21) and the sketches of Durand, Reacocke, Holdich and Mitford (Pls. 66-7, 73) complement each other and show that only the southernmost building (i.e. the Mosque of Gauhar Shād) of the three in the "Musalla" had substantially survived, with four walls enclosing a courtyard. Pelly, writing in 1860 before Sirāj al-Dīn was born, also notes that the mausoleum of Gauhar Shād was standing isolated. Yet Sirāj al-Dīn purports to give a description of the courtyards of all three buildings, and even describes part of ᶜAlī Shīr's Ikhlāṣiyya complex, to which no other contemporary account refers. Admittedly, however, he does go into great detail on one building, that which he refers to as the Madrasa of Gauhar Shād, and which from his description is clearly the southernmost

of the buildings of Gauhar Shād. We have seen above that this was in fact the best preserved of the buildings, but that it was the mosque. Sirāj al-Dīn, therefore, did not get his bearings confused, but his terminology.

With his and other descriptions in mind and with the evidence of the sketches, we can then attempt a description of the mosque as it remained in 1885. It is oriented almost due west, as with all major religious buildings in Herat.[19] Four aivans were situated round the central courtyard, and it seems clear, both from Durand's and Mitford's sketches (Pl. 66) and from several descriptions,[20] that living cells in two storeys flanked both the N and S and probably also the E aivans. This represents a radical change in the conception of mosque design; its implications are considered below.

The E facade, from Peacocke's sketch (Pl. 67) and Saljūqī's description, consisted of a very large central aivan, two minarets at the end of the facade, and two double-storeyed niches in between. A small dome seems to have appeared above these intermediate niches on either side. This facade was probably the immediate inspiration for that of the Ūlūgh Beg Madrasa in Samarqand, where a similar emphasis is placed on a massive central aivan with two small bays leading to minarets.

Between this eastern facade and the courtyard was an entrance complex, the only available description of which is by Saljūqī. A hexagonal[21] vestibule stood between the entrance and courtyard aivans. A passage leading S from this led to a winter mosque, and to the N "it was open; it was the passage leading to the building of Bāysunghur's grave." The meaning of this last section is obscure. It has been interpreted as a covered structure leading to the dome chamber in which Bāysunghur is buried.[22] This seems mistaken however, as Saljūqī goes on to explain that there was a large courtyard between the N aivan of

the madrasa (read mosque) and the dome chamber of Bāysunghur. As a glance at Schroeder's plan will affirm, any room to the N of the vestibule of the mosque would have faced straight towards the tomb of Bāysunghur, and it is more likely that this is Saljūqī's meaning, rather than a covered passage leading all the way to the tomb chamber. In the entrance complexes of the Shrine at Gāzur Gāh and the Khargird madrasa the ground plan is symmetrical to either side of the vestibule, and this was probably the case in Gauhar Shād's mosque also, with the room on the N serving as a jamā'atkhāna.

On the W side of the courtyard was a large aivan flanked by two smaller ones—the plan of living cells in two storeys which appeared on the other sides of the courtyard does not seem to have been followed here. The portal screen of the aivan probably had an inscription running round the edges, together with one above the spandrels—the same scheme as the sanctuary aivan of the mosque of Gauhar Shād in Mashhad. Prayer halls stood behind the smaller flanking niches. Behind the main aivan was a large dome chamber, with a smaller dome chamber behind that.[23] The latter may have extended W of the rectangular plan of the mosque as defined by its four corner minarets. A map in the India Office Library shows a protruding mihrab,[24] and Mitford's sketch (Pl. 66) seems to indicate that all of the second smaller dome chamber was behind the two W minarets. The two dome chambers and prayer halls were linked by a series of galleries.[25]

As far as the exterior is concerned, Mitford's sketch indicates that an aivan led into the courtyard from the N. Durand's, however, suggests that this is a misreading based on the ruined vault at the back of the N aivan which faced on to the courtyard. Durand does show a smaller arch behind this, however, which might indicate that there was only a small entrance aivan on the N wall.

Decoration Some idea of the quality of the decoration can be gained from the one remaining minaret. Older photographs show a Kufic inscription in marble plaques around the base.[26] Most of the surviving slabs are kept in the mausoleum of Gauhar Shād, and they display work of the highest quality. The minaret was three-quarters engaged with a circular shaft on a ten-sided base (Pl. 68). At the corners of each of these sides is an engaged column, carved in marble between the rectangular fields of the Kufic inscription and rendered in mosaic-faience above. Two courses below the transition from the decagon to the circle the engaged column is replaced by a straight edge, preparing the eye for the change to the smooth surface above, and at the same time empahasising the solidity of the structure below.[27]

Apart from the underglaze-painted tiles at the top of the decagonal zone (Pl. 69)[28] and the divisional bands of marble, mosaic-faience is used to cover all the surface of the minaret. Any panel taken at random shows this art at its finest: the spandrels above the cross-shaped fields of the decagon, for instance, have a delicate design with an unusual but vibrant colour scheme: blue flowers with amber petals on a white ground. The keynotes of the decoration are the Quranic thulth inscriptions. The greater width given to these two bands is a unifying factor in the lower stage of the minaret. In Durand's and Mitford's sketches none of the minarets are shown to be higher than the first stalactite balcony, although they probably extended above a second one, like the minaret of the nearby madrasa.[29] Some panels of mosaic-faience in the British Museum (1908, II-II, 1-2) and Victoria and Albert Museum (C550-1919; C552-1919) are said to have come from the musalla in Herat (Pl. 72). Yate, who donated the tiles to the British Museum, refers to the Mosque of Gauhar Shād as the musalla, so it is likely that the pieces come from that building. Most of the

pieces are of eight-pointed stars, although one group in the British Museum is unique, having a dark-blue central square raised above four surrounding rectangular strips of light-blue tile.

The final word on the decoration of the mosque should perhaps be given to this little-known account of Lewis Pelly: "The proportions of the mosque itself are gigantic, and yet in excellent taste. The frescoes, arabesques and glazed brick-work, are chaste, and finer than I have elsewhere seen. The dome is magnificent; and all the finish and ornamentation of the building leave nothing to be desired."

Inscriptions The Persian foundation inscription on a marble slab which according to Saljūqī was in the entrance aivan is now preserved in the mausoleum of Gauhar Shād (Pls. 70-1). A transcription and translation of it have been published elsewhere.[30] As Allen has noted, it contains some surprising mistakes. Mahd-i aʿlā was used instead of the more common mahd-i ʿulyā,[31] and the nūn of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tarkhān (Gauhar Shād's father) was dropped.[32]

The term used for the building in the inscription is ʿimārat. As this could apply to either a mosque or a madrasa[33] it unfortunately does not provide confirmation of its original emplacement in the mosque.

The dates of the mosque's commencement and completion are given in the inscription as 27 Ramażān 820/7 November 1417 and 841/1437-8.[34] The start of building activities would have coincided with the end of major construction on the mosque of Gauhar Shād in Mashhad. As the latter was finished in 821/1418-9, only the tilework would have remained to be fixed to the walls in the last year of its construction, leaving most masons free to begin work on Gauhar Shād's complex in Herat. It is the date of completion, however, which does give confirmation that the inscription is from the mosque. As mentioned above, the madrasa was completed in 836H., when formal opening ceremonies were held.

Its foundation inscription would likely have been in place then, so this one must be from the mosque.

Unlike the foundation inscription of the Mashhad mosque, this is essentially in Persian, and it is perhaps the first royal Persian foundation inscription to occur. The reasons behind this can only be surmised. As the vast majority of the population was illiterate one is less tempted to suggest populism--the only people to benefit would be the non-ulama elite. A more likely reason was the use of Persian as the main medium of expression both for the chancery and for literature. The inscription also suggests that Gauhar Shād's role in state affairs was greater than at the time of the erection of the Mashhad mosque. There it was her power (<u>ʿazmat</u>)[35] which was to be perpetuated, here it is her government (<u>daulat</u>).

The following inscription was displayed on the NE and SE minarets. Ten marble panels were found on each minaret. Most of these are now preserved in the Mausoleum of Gauhar Shād (Pls. 72-3). With the use of old photographs and internal evidence it has been possible to establish their order.[36]

NE minaret

1) يا الله
2) لقد أحكم أساس هذه
3) المئذنه الرفيعه
4) فى ايام دولة
5) سلطان
6) الاعظم و الخاقان
7) الاعدل الاكرم
8) كفيل آمال الرعية
9), 10) missing

SE minaret

1) مستخدم
2) سلاطين الامم
3) حافظ بلاد الله
4) ناصر عباد الله
5) ناشر العدل و الامان
6) الواثق بكرم الديان
7) ابو المظفر ساه رخ
8) سلطان خلد ملكه
9) و ذلك سنه تسع وثل
10) سين[37] و ثما نماه

Translation: "O God, the foundations of this lofty minaret have been firmly laid in the time of the govenment of...the most great Sultān and the most just and beneficent king, the surety of the wishes of the people...master of the Sultāns of the nations, protector of the communities of God, helper of the people of God, the trust of the generosity of the two worlds Abu'l-Muzaffar Shah Rukh may (God) perpetuate his kingship, this in the year 839/1435-6 (in words)."

Clearly different parts of the building and its decoration were finished at different times. In the madrasa at Khargird dates two years apart are also found. One may also note that Gauhar Shād is not mentioned in this inscription. She may have felt that this was compensated for by its illegibility.

On the NW and SW minarets each marble slab had an identical formula: (accept) God, or else shame[38] (؟) الله ولا سواة

One of these is now in the Mausoleum of Gauhar Shād. The others were taken to Gāzur Gāh at some stage; they are now used to adorn the grave of ᶜAbdallāh Anṣārī. The stylistic precedents of these superb panels are considered in detail in Chapter III above.

Function As we have seen, the building is referred to as a Masjid-i

Jāmi^{c} by several contemporary sources. This was the first of several extra muros congregational mosques which were built in Herat in the fifteenth century.[39] The immediate model was the Mashhad mosque, of course, and, as we shall see later, the Bībī Khānum Mosque in Samarqand. The inspiration for all of these may have come from ^{c}Alī Shāh's example in Tabriz, while further afield, Cairo have five by the thirteenth century A.D. ^{c}Alīka Kūkiltash also built a congregational mosque in Samarqand in the first half of the fifteenth century,[40] and it may be remembered that Shāh ^{c}Abbās' "Royal Mosque" in Isfahan is referred to as a masjid-i jami^{c} in its foundation inscription.[41]

The use of two dome chambers leading from the qibla aivan to the mihrab is one of the most striking features of the mosque's design. A possible source for this combination is the Shrine of Khvaja Ahmad Yasavī. Behind the huge entrance aivan stand two dome chambers, the largest one nearest the aivan, as in Gauhar Shād's mosque. Golombek has pointed out another possible source: the Mosque of Orhan Bey in Bursa (1339-40 A.D.). She mentions that a link with Anatolia could have come through Khvaja ^{c}Alī Ḥāfiẓ al-Tabrīzī, who had earlier worked with Qavām al-Dīn on Shah Rukh's madrasa and khanqah.[42] The possibilities of a link with Bursa become more probable if we consider the next major mosque built there: the Khudāvandigar Jami^{c}.[43] This, although it displays a dome chamber facing a barrel-vaulted prayer hall rather than two dome chambers, has a zāviya on three sides of the lower storey and a madrasa on the upper. The two-storey living chambers on the N and S sides of the courtyard of Gauhar Shād's mosque are perhaps a reflection of this in some way. They could be seen either as an extension of the living space of the nearby madrasa or as a parallel institution providing religious instruction. This possibility should be seen against the background of religious education in Herat, which,

as noted in Chapter I was carried out in all types of religious edifices, and especially in the masjid-i jami^{c} intra muros.

It is likely that some of the living space was also used for functionaries of the mosque--the imam and khāṭib and the huffāẓ (Qur'an readers). The latter are mentioned specifically in a farmān of Sultan Husain appointing Kamāl al-Dīn Husain ^{c}Alī as their head.[44] The range of officials may have been similar to those employed in the Mosque of Mīr Chaqmāq in Yazd (841/1437-8), also referred to as the "masjid-i jāmi^{c}-i nau."[45] It employed an imam, a khāṭib, two muezzins, a preacher (vā^{c}iẓ), two companions (ma^{c}āshir khvān), a mudarris, a mu^{c}īd (tutor) and ten students, ten huffāẓ and their leader (masdarī). There was also a mutavallī who was equally charged with administration of the adjacent khanqah.[46]

The plan of the mosque shows that Qavām al-Dīn was not just content to repeat his work at Mashhad. The visually appealing but structurally bogus courtyard galleries have been turned into functional rooms, and the single dome chamber has become two. As so many fifteenth century buildings in Herat have disappeared it is difficult to be certain that the latter was the false start it now seems to be. Of fifteenth century buildings in Iran only the Blue Mosque in Tabriz shows any resemblance, and its builder could have gone to the source of the twin dome chamber in Anatolia for inspiration.

The Madrasa With regard to the original plan of the madrasa, we have much less information. Saljūqī's description[47] must be suspect, as we know from Pelly that the tomb was standing isolated in 1860.[48] In 1885 only the tomb, some minarets and part of the entrance aivan was standing. Fortunately it is clear that the tomb was at the NW corner of the building, and Schroeder's reconstruction on that basis (Fig. 20), following roughly the plan of the Khargird madrasa, is a reasonable

extrapolation from the surviving evidence.

Some idea of the form of the entrance aivan can be gained from Durand's and Peacocke's sketches (Pl. 67). The resemblance to the Ūlūgh Beg Madrasa in Samarqand which was noted in regard to the mosque becomes even more apparent here. There is the same use of superposed niches on the portal screen, to the exclusion of room for a foundation inscription. The arrangement of entrances at the back of the aivan seems also to have been identical: a large central arched entrance with narrower two-storey entrance niches on either side.

The minaret (Pl. 76)[49] used the same combination of rows of lozenge-shaped medallions of mosaic-faience which had been so effective on the mosque of Gauhar Shād in Mashhad. There are two balconies; above the second the design changes to one of ſ-shaped overglaze-painted tiles.

It is the preservation of the dome chamber, however, which makes it possible to believe that the nineteenth century paeans to the beauties of the complex were not mere hyperbole (Fig. 21). Although the interior is not exceptionally large - 9.50m wide, 10.80 high - the feeling of spaciousness altogether belies these measurements. This is achieved by a spectacular system of vaulting using intersecting ribs to form a smaller dome (Pl. 82).[50] The brick fabric of the dome chamber provides an opportunity to see how this is supported. A photograph taken in the 1930's before restoration (Pl. 79) shows the main structure clearly: it is the classical chahār tāq formula of four main arches, each one here ca. 80cm thick. Corner arches spring from the haunches of the main arches to form an octagon. The four adjoining recesses were vaulted by an arch only one brick deep--they were designed to support their own weight, rather than playing any part in supporting the main structure.

On the octagon, at the original roof level, a tall drum leads to

the bulbous fluted dome—its first, and as far as is known, last appearance in Iran outside of Transoxiana. The heavy elongated proportions of the Gūr-i Mīr[51] have given way to a more harmonious profile. The dome is supported by twelve brick buttresses which stand on an intermediate dome, level with the top of the drum (Pl. 81). Fortunately access is possible to the space below this, for the vaulting mechanism is open to view here. It is strikingly similar to the exposed dome of the Tāybād buq^{c}a—four semi-domes abutting vaults attached to the main dome, with those vaults being extended to form the base for the smaller quarter-domes on the diagonal axes (Pl. 80). There is a space between the lowest brick dome and the largely plaster vault beneath it—again similar to Tāybād. In reality then, we are concerned with a quadruple-dome system, one designed to give the maximum splendour - and rigidity - to the topmost dome, while at the same time insulating the fragile plasterwork of the interior from structural stresses.

Decoration a) exterior: Thirty-two blind arches surround the lower part of the drum, each with a simple pattern of mosaic-faience hexagons, easily visible from afar. Overglaze-painted tiles are used for the Qur'ānic inscription and the stalactite cornice above.[52] Only four different moulds were needed for the tiles on the latter, a clear example of careful preliminary planning. Specially curved tiles are also used to cover the forty-six gadroons. Such an unusual number suggests that purely aesthetic considerations were the reason for its choice.

b) interior: Given that their architecture is so similar, it is not surprising to find that the painted decoration of this mausoleum and the lecture-hall of the Khargird madrasa is so similar. The dado is based on a motif of eight-pointed stars on a deep-blue background. A red cloud-scroll, typical of contemporary manuscripts, formed the border. Above this, running all round the room by means of the four main arches,

was an inscription in white thulth on a dark-blue ground. This is now badly faded. Only on the four rectangular panels below the dome was there space for more inscriptions; other available space is broken up into small units, where the painted decoration reinforces their architectural form.[53]

Inscriptions No foundation inscription has survived. The one remaining minaret has al-hamd li'llāh in mirror writing on a ring of mosaic-faience medallions (Pl. 77). Tiles at the base of the drum of the mausoleum have yā subḥān and ya jabbār.[54] Fragments of two Quranic inscriptions are also found on the dome chamber: the beginning of XLVIII on one of the four panels round the base of the interior dome, and LVI/20-3 on the drum. While XLVIII is one of the most common sūras on religious buildings,[55] the use of LVI with its images of paradise for those on the "right hand of God" makes it more likely that the dome chamber was intended from the beginning to be a mausoleum.

Furnishings Fourteen persons are known to have been buried in the mausoleum; a complete list is given by Allen.[56]

Six tombstones remain[57] and another two[58] were present in 1858 when Khanikoff visited Herat. Another was moved to the Shrine at Gāzur Gāh at an indeterminate date.[59] The tombstone of Gauhar Shād is the smallest, but the most exquisitely carved of the six (Pl. 84). The serrated sickle leaf is the dominant motif, either with blossoms as in the borders, or addorsed to form medallions as in the main field. The design is in two tiers, shallower than the famous haft qalam tombstones of Sultan Husain.

The date of the first interrment, 827H., is also evidence that the dome chamber was always intended to be a mausoleum. After Bāysunghur's burial it evidently assumed the status of a dynastic mausoleum,[60] used only for close relatives (mainly direct descendants) of Shah Rukh and

Gauhar Shād. However, Allen sees the mausoleum as a dynastic tomb of Gauhar Shād, not Shah Rukh, pointing out that with only one exception (his no. 13) those interred were her direct descendants, and that Shah Rukh was buried there only temporarily, since his body "belonged" in the Gūr-i Mīr.[61] It should be remembered, however, that it was Ūlūgh Beg who, seeing himself as the dynastic heir, removed Shah Rukh's body to his own capital. There is no reason to suppose that Shah Rukh did not wish to be buried in his own capital and in the same tomb as his descendants—for if they are Gauhar Shād's descendants, they are Shah Rukh's also.

Apparently no excavations have been carried out in the tomb, although on analogy with the Gūr-i Mīr, the Madrasa of Sarāy Mulk Khānum (sc. the Mausoleum of Bībī Khānum) and the Madrasa Du Dar, one could expect a square or cruciform crypt with an almost flat brick-vaulted roof.

The dome chamber is clearly a part of the madrasa that was built and decorated with exceptional care. Can one assume that there was a similar chamber at the SW corner? Given the Timurid predeliction for symmetry, it would be surprising if there were not. The second dome chamber, however, like that of the Madrasa Du Dar, may have appeared outwardly similar, but have had no painted decoration inside.

Materials Inner dome: bricks 26-7 x 26-7 x 4 1/2-5 1/2cm, RJ minimal to 5mm, HJ 25mm. Very hard white mortar, with admixture of small pebbles.

Condition The remaining structures seem to be sound, although the mosaic-faience of the minarets is loose and suffers from weathering.

Recorded December 1974.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that this was the most ambitious project to date undertaken by the Timurids in Herat. Why should Gauhar Shād have wanted to build on this scale? And why did she choose

to erect a masjid-i jami^{c} and madrasa rather than the combination of madrasa and khanqah which Muhammad Sultan, Ūlūgh Beg and Shah Rukh had earlier undertaken? It is possible that the answer to these questions may be linked. Apart from the Āq Sarāy in Shahr-i Sabz, the most spectacular early Timurid monument is Timur's Masjid-i Jami^{c} of Samarqand, also named the Mosque of Bībī Khānum after his favourite wife Sarāy Mulk Khānum. She also built a madrasa opposite this mosque.[62] The temptation to Gauhar Shād to establish herself as an even greater queen by building a similar ensemble must have been irresistible. Although it cannot quite compete in size with that of Bībī Khānum, it seems to have been more than its equal in perfection of finish. It is a tribute to Qavām al-Dīn's skill that it should have survived for so long,[63] when almost nothing remained of the ensembles of Sultan Husain and Mīr ^{c}Alī Shīr.

Notes

1) See Allen, Catalogue, pp. 92-3, for a Note on the "Musallā".
2) KA, pp. 16-7, Bābur Nāma, p. 305.
3) MS, p. 645.
4) MS, p. 539; MF, III, p. 255.
5) MF, III, p. 275. Also according to RJ, I, p. 34 the mosque was in use before the decoration was completed.
6) MS, pp. 559-60.
7) E.g. RS, VI, p. 728; RJ, II, p. 127.
8) Survey, fig. 404.
9) Hill and Grabar, fig. 132.
10) Saljūqī; Golombek, "Appendix."
11) MS, p. 645.
12) Ibid.
13) See below.
14) See below.
15) Saljūqī, p. 18.
16) Text in Saljūqī, pp. 18-22. Translated in Allen, Catalogue, pp. 113-4, 123-4.

17) Allen, Catalogue, p. 113.

18) Ibid.

19) The Masjid-i Jami^{c} intra muros was probably used as a guide for the orientation of later buildings. A plausible explanation is suggested by P. English: "the fact that the Masjidi Jum'eh is oriented east-west rather than towards Mecca suggests that this sacred space was already occupied in pre- and early Islamic times, possibly by a Buddhist monastery.", "The Traditional City," p. 77. Zestovsky mentions an unidentified manuscript in the possesion of the Governor of Herat which reported that the space occupied by the Masjid-i Jami^{c} was formerly a temple of mountain pagans: p. 12.

20) Saljūqī; Holdich; Yate.

21) Octagonal would be more likely (cf. Ziyāratgāh Masjid-i Jami^{c}), given that Saljūqī remembers it as a polygon of some kind.

22) By Golombek, "Appendix."

23) Connolly; Yate, Northern Afghanistan; Durand's sketch.

24) Mentioned in Allen, Catalogue, p. 113.

25) Lal; Yate, Northern Afghanistan.

26) Niedermayer. The inscription is discussed below.

27) Survey, Pl. 426B.

28) See Chapter III.

29) Cf. Survey, Pl. 437B.

30) Text in Saljūqī, p. 19; tr. in Niedermayer, p. 59 and Allen, Catalogue, pp. 122-3.

31) Although mahd-i ^{c}ulyā is the form used by ^{c}Abd al-Razzāq and in the waqfiyya of the Mosque of Gauhar Shād in Mashhad (see Cat. No. 2), Fasīh consistently uses mahd-i a^{c}lā in the Mujmal.

32) It is not Tarkhād, pace Allen, Catalogue, p. 123—the dāl belongs to the next word.

33) In the fifteenth century it was used for the Madrasa Du Dar in Mashhad and that of Jalāl al-Dīn Fīrūzshāh in Turbat-i Jām, and for mosques in Anau, Simnān (Masjid-i Jami^{c}), Tabriz (Blue Mosque) and Ghalvār (Masjid-i Hauż-i Karbās: Cat. No. 21).

34) Saljūqī's hypothesis that the mosque was unfinished and was completed by Sultan Husain (p. 8) is therefore clearly wrong.

35) Mu'taman, Rāhnamā, p. 220.

36) Niedermayer, Pls. 160-1; and unpublished photographs of R. Byron in the Courtauld Institute, London. Partially published by Sauvaget.

37) For ...sīn read ...thīn.

38) This reading is suggested by Saljūqī, Gāzur Gāh, p. 36.

39) For others see Allen, Catalogue, nos. 429-30, 432-6. Isfizārī (RJ, I, pp. 34-5), when writing of the original masjid-i jami^{c}, confirms that Gauhar Shād's was the first to be built other than this and adds hyperbolically that Sultan Husain had built ten masjid-i jami^{c}s in the districts of Herat, each of which could contain the whole population of the city.

40) Barthold, II, p. 123.

41) Hunarfar, Ganjīna, p. 429.

42) Golombek, "Appendix." For the Mosque of Orhan Bey see G. Goodwin, A History of Ottoman Architecture (London 1971), Fig. 49.

43) Goodwin, op. cit., pp. 40-1.

44) Text in RJ, II, p. 419.

45) I. Afshār, Yādgārhā-yi Yazd, II (Tehran 1354/1974), p. 161; TY, p. 188.

46) Ibid., pp. 176-7 (text of waqfiyya). See also R. Holod, The Monuments of Yazd, 1300-1450: Architecture, Patronage and Setting, pp. 113-5.

47) Saljūqī, p. 20.

48) "A little way to the north hand of the mosque is a beautifully proportioned tomb standing alone." Pelly, p. 67.

49) Peacocke's sketch suggests that three were remaining. In that case the original locations may have been two at the ends of the entrance facade and two beside the courtyard qibla aivan. The sketch is somewhat unreliable on this, however, as it does not include the mausoleum of Gauhar Shād for cross reference.

50) See "Tāybād" pp. 101-3 and Chapter II for discussion of this type of vaulting.

51) No doubt caused by Tīmūr's insistence that it should be built higher than originally intended. J.M. Rogers, "V.V. Barthol'd's article," p. 77.

52) "Tāybād," Pl. VIIc; Seherr-Thoss, Pl. 60.

53) See also Chapter IV.

54) Seherr-Thoss, Pl. 60.

55) For other examples see "Khargird," n. 39.

56) Catalogue, pp. 124-9.

57) Ibid., nos. 2, 10, 11, 13, 23, and 26 in his list.

58) Ibid., nos. 6, 12.

59) Golombek, Gazur Gah, p. 86. She suggests it may have been moved in the 17-18th centuries by the Chinghizid princes: "the more beautiful of the Timurid cenotaphs were often re-used by these princes, and the inscriptions were not always changed."

60) Evidence that it was not intended to have this status from the beginning is provided by Suyurghātmish's death in 830H. As a son of Shah Rukh one would have expected him to be buried in any family tomb that existed, but ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, usually proficient in reporting burials in Gauhar Shād's madrasa, is silent on this point.

61) Catalogue, p. 129.

62) See J.M. Rogers, "V.V. Barthol'd's Article," n. 63.

63) Some idea of its strength may be gained from the following heart-breaking account: "It (the Musalla sc. mosque) is now being blown down bit by bit, and the Afghán, or rather Herátí, engineers are showing no small skill in the task. At first they exploded a vast quantity of powder under the south-east corner of the masjid, but this mine failed to do any particular damage, probably from insufficient tamping. Small charges of 10 to 20 lbs. are now used... Then three mines were fired—one failed; the others exploded at different times, and the effect was not very great." Maitland, 17th August 1885, Diary, p. 408.

Bibliography

Afghān, Āthār-i Harāt, I, p. 58.

Anon., "A Recent Ride," p. 186.

Brandenburg, Herat, pp. 35-41, Pls. 7, 8, 10.

Byron, pp. 99-101, 252-5.

Caroe, "The Gauhar Shad Musalla," pp. 295-8.

Conolly, II, pp. 19-20.

Ferrier, p. 179.

Forrest (ed.), p. 8.

Ghauvās, p. 41.

Golombek, "The Establishments."

Eadem, Gazur Gah, p. 61.

Haidārī, "Gauhar Shād," pp. 33-5.

Hill and Grabar, p. 56, Figs. 126-9, 132-3.

Hoag, Islamic Architecture, p. 268, Figs. 353-6.

Holdich, Indian Borderland, p. 142.

Idem, ILN, p. 179 (sketch).

Idem, "Report," p. 1173.

ʿAtimādī, Ābadāt, pp. 41-7.

Idem, "Le Dome Vert," pp. 15-9.

Jairazbhoy, p. 270, Pl. 145.

KA, pp. 16-7.

Lal, Travels, pp. 295-8.

Idem, "A Brief Description," pp. 9-18.

Lézine, "Hérat," pp. 127-8, 145.

Maitland, Diary, pp. 407-8.

Naīmī, "Mahd-i ʿUlyā," pp. 31-3.

Niedermayer, Afghanistan, pp. 58-61, Pls. 157-62.

O'Kane, "Tāybād," pp. 101-3, Pl. VIIc.

Peacocke, Diary, frontispiece, p. 160.

Idem, ILN, p. 179 (sketch).

Idem, "Report," p. 1187.

Pelly, Journal, pp. 66-7.

Pope, Persian Architecture, p. 197, Figs. 257-8, Pls. XVIII-XX.

Idem, Introducing, p. 80.

Pugachengova, Zodchestvo, pp. 26, 65-6, 83, 88, 94.

Saljūqī, Khiyābān, pp. 7-9, 18-20, 22-50.

Idem, "Ābadāt," p. 15.

Idem, "Sang," pp. 52-4.

Scerrato, Monuments, pp. 97-100, 102, 104.

Seherr-Thoss, Design and Color, Pl. 60.

Shānichī, "Malaka," pp. 20-3.

Idem, "Gauhar Shād," pp. 105-6.

Survey, pp. 1125-6, 1141, 1356, Figs. 404, 407, Pls. 426, 427A-B.

Togan, "Herat," I.A., pp. 436-7.

Wilber, "The Institute's Survey," p. 126, Figs. 18-20.

Wolfe, Herat, pp. 28-39.

Yate, Northern Afghanistan, pp. 30-2.

Idem, "Inscriptions," pp. 290-4.

Zestovsky, "Esquisse," pp. 18-9.

Allen, Catalogue, Nos. 431, 457.

Yate, "Notes," pp. 96-9.

Allchin and Hammond, eds., Figs. 7.18-20

Sauvaget, "Glanes," p. 29.

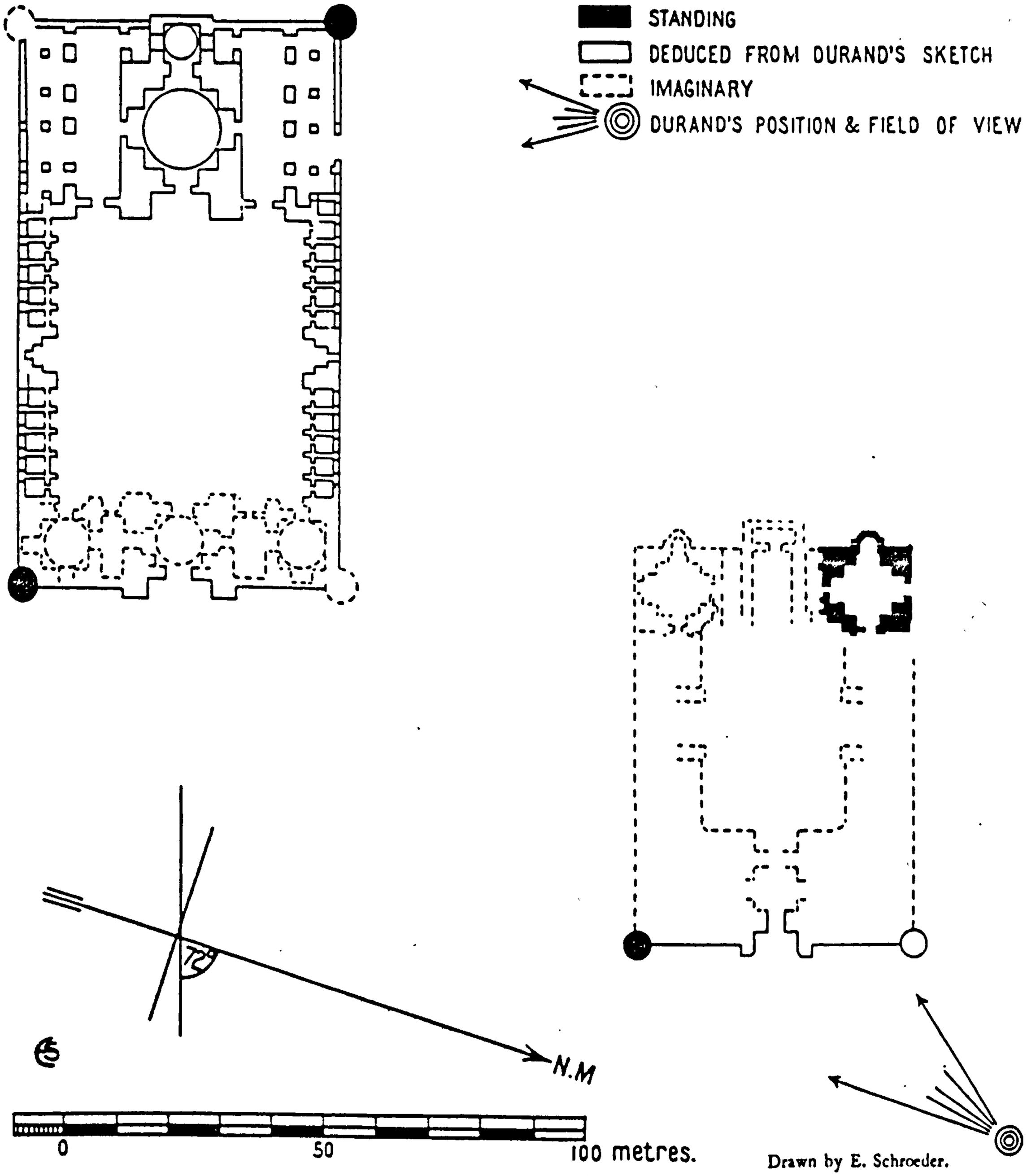
Mitford, Land March, II, sketch opp. p. 64.

English, John Company's, reproduction of Mitford's sketch opp. p. 24.

Saljūqī, "Gravestone," pp. 29-31.

Holdich, map, RGS.

UNESCO, Citadel, pps. 40-4.

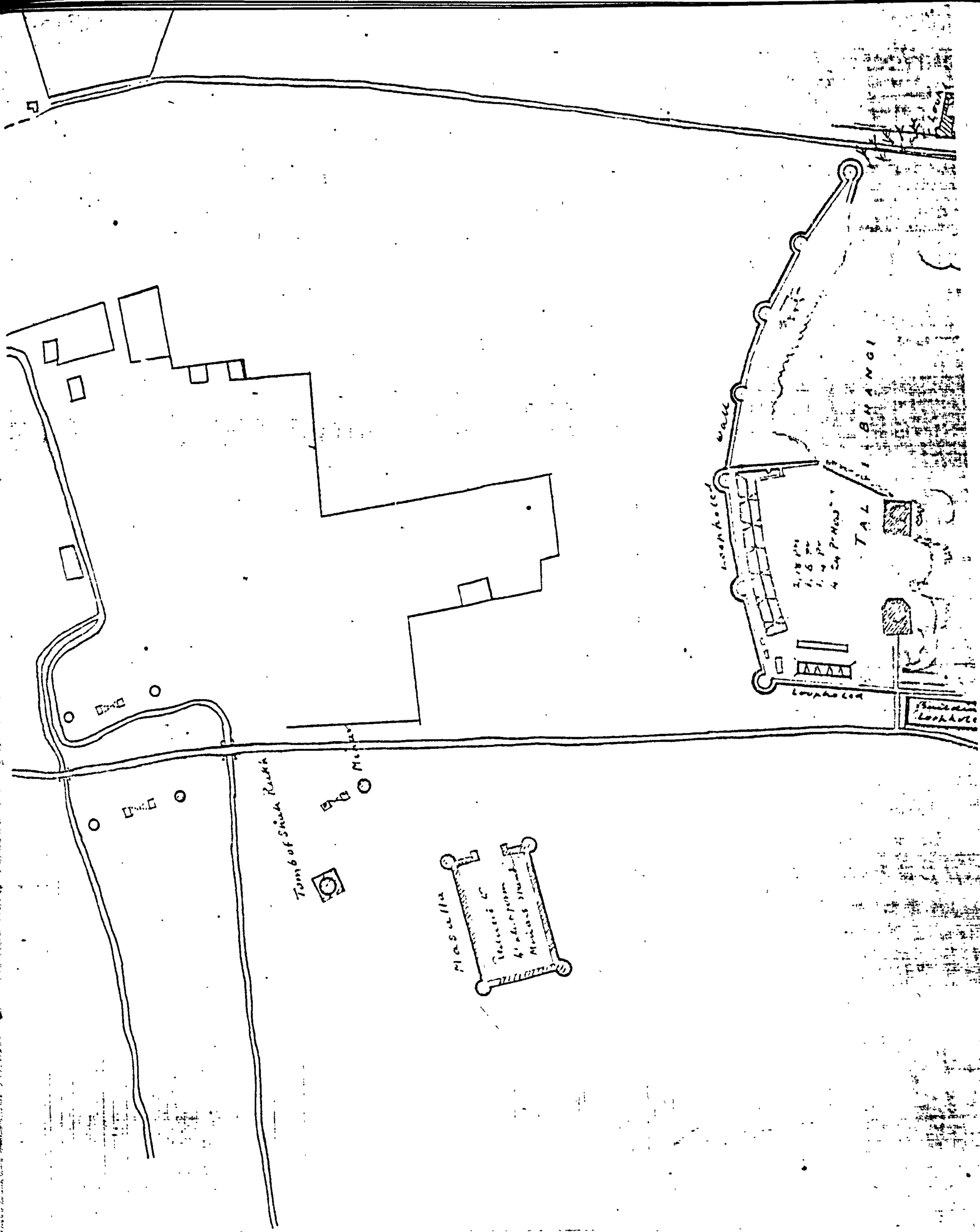


20) Cat.no.14. Herat, Complex of Gauhar Shād: plan (after Schroeder)

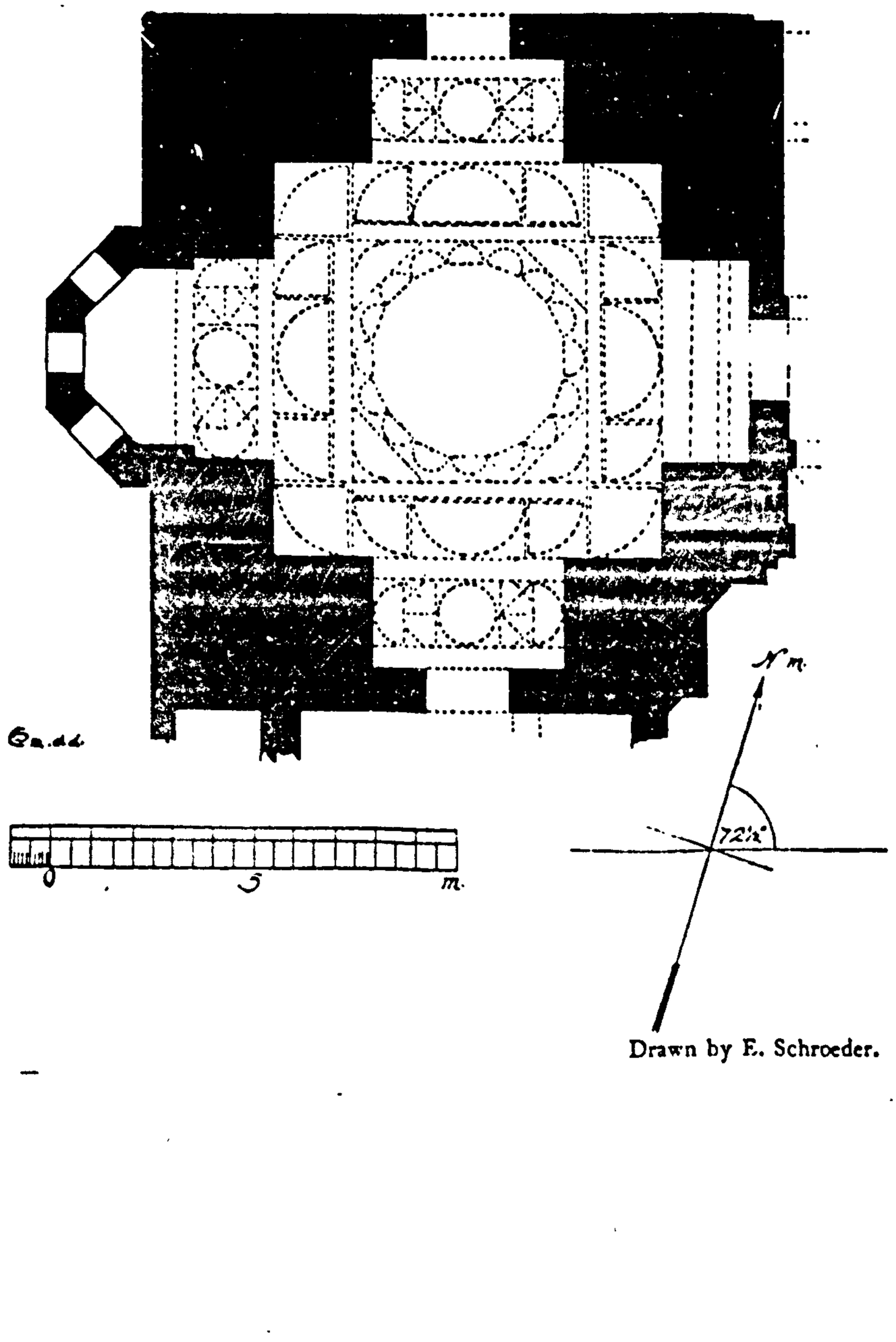
BEST COPY

AVAILABLE

Variable print quality



21) Cat.no.14. Herat, Complex of Gauhar Shād: plan (after Holdich)



Drawn by E. Schroeder.

22) Cat.no.14. Herat, Complex of Gauhar Shād: plan of mausoleum (after Schroeder)

MASHHAD, MADRASA DU DAR

Location Adjoining the bazar which led along the side of the Masjid-i Gauhar Shād to the sahn-i ᶜatīq of the Shrine; opposite the Madrasa Parīzād.

Name According to Fāżil some handwritten manuscripts which belonged to the madrasa were inscribed waqf-i madrasa-yi Yūsufiyya.[1] The "two doors" by which the madrasa is now named presumably refer to the present main entrance from the bazar on the SE, and to either the entrance from the NE side, or perhaps after that was filled in, the entrance through the ruins of the domed room on the N.

Plan (Figs. 23-4) Four aivans round central courtyard, with living chambers in two storeys in between. Dome chambers in corners.[2]

Elevation a) exterior: The madrasa was in use until 1975 when, in conjunction with the 'beautification' plan for the Shrine precinct, the students were evicted and repair and restoration of the building was entrusted to the Sazman-i Hifazat.[3] One part of the restoration involved the clearance of the bazar stalls on the SE side (Pl. 85). The main entrance aivan is in the middle of this side, and the clearance revealed that there were originally two smaller entrance aivans, one at each end of the facade. The area between these aivans has now been restored as a series of blind arches, although it is possible that the original design might have incorporated bazar stalls of some kind. This area was certainly a bazar before the Madrasa Du Dar was erected,[4] and the waqf income of the madrasa could easily have been augmented by provision for shops in the area.[5] The major entrance in the centre of this facade has an aivan with a portal screen rising slightly above the facade (Pl. 86). Beneath the semi-dome of the aivan is the mosaic-

faience foundation inscription giving the name of Yūsuf Khvaja and the date 843/1439, and beneath it another inscription mentioning repairs in the reign of Shah Sulaimān. The semi-dome may be a part of the Safavid restoration, as it covers a fragment of a panel in mosaic-faience on either side which may have decorated the soffit of a barrel vault, as in the entrance to the Masjid-i Shah in Mashhad. Alternatively, but less likely, the squinch net could have been formed of panels of mosaic-faience, as in the Darb-i Imam in Isfahan, although this technique is not seen elsewhere in Khurasan until Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr's work in the Herat Masjid-i Jamiᶜ.

The other entrances on the SE side lead into the S and E dome chambers. They are both shallow barrel-vaulted aivans, equidistant from the central portal. That on the S has enough stucco decoration remaining at the back of the aivan to show that the original profile of the arch has been retained.

The other three sides of the madrasa have had new walls built around them, although it is not sure whether they would ever have had an exterior facade on these sides. There was at least an entrance aivan in the middle of the NE side, and a bay also probably led into the domed mosque on the E. This entrance aivan is barrel-vaulted and bears traces of original stucco ornament.

The S and W dome chambers are each covered with a pronounced double dome on a high drum. Rising above the roof is first the sixteen-sided top of the zone of transition, with a window in alternate flanges. The drum, decorated in glazed tilework, begins with a ring of 32 panels of blind arches. Above is an inscription band followed by small narrow floral panels and one tier of stalactites. The outer dome is stilted and has a sharp profile with the upper section curving only very slightly towards the apex.

b) interior: Vestibule The main entrance leads into a cruciform vestibule (Pl. 90), vaulted by an almost flat dome supported on pendentives. Above a dado ca. 2m high patterned stucco covers all the wall surfaces.

Courtyard facades (Pl. 91) The spandrels of the aivans and cells have patterns in banna'i-technique which are evidently modern, although some on the lower storeys may possibly date from Sulaimān's restoration. The brick facing is unlikely to be original, as it does not employ banna'i bricks in a manner similar to those on the courtyard facades of the nearby Masjid-i Gauhar Shād or the Khargird madrasa, for instance. The dado of limestone is also probably Safavid, since in the entrance aivan it covers the original tiled dado.

Aivans The four aivans are similar, each being covered in stucco decoration above dado level. An inscription goes round each aivan at a height of 3.10m. Each aivan, except the SE, is recessed inwards towards the back, the NW aivan forming a semi-octagon at this point, the NE and SW rectangles. This emphasis on the NW aivan is presumably to compensate for the shallowness of the barrel-vaulted SE aivan and to provide a sense of visual climax leading from the main entrance aivan, through the vestibule and along the main axis. This is at right angles to the qibla axis, however—the SW aivan has a small plain semi-octagonal mihrab. Both the NW and SW aivans have stalactite semi-domes, although that of the latter is now in very poor condition. The choice of a barrel-vault for the back of the NE aivan is logical, since it also leads to the exterior NE aivan. Anyone approaching from the exterior would have had the same sense of visual progression from barrel vault to semi-dome opposite, whether entering from the NE or SE aivans. This duality of axis reflects the location of the madrasa as its principal entrance is not, as was frequently the case, opposite the qibla wall.

Cells Recent removal of several layers of plaster has revealed that all the living chambers had their entrances decorated in stucco. The pattern at the back of the niches is executed rather perfunctorily, in such a way that it is cut off arbitrarily by the profile of the arch.

While the interior of most of the cells conforms to a standard type with a pointed barrel-vaulted ceiling, several, especially those adjoining the dome chambers, have irregular plans. They may have been used partly for storage, although some of the larger could have been residences for the teaching staff. Kitchen facilities is a less likely explanation—Fraser reported that most students bought their food in the bazar and cooked it in their rooms, the practice being still common in 1975. Some larger spaces such as the domed room above the vestibule, with windows opening on to the entrance and courtyard aivans, may have also functioned as classrooms.

The corner dome chambers The S and W dome chambers are virtually identical in elevation (Fig. 26), with double offsets on the four main arches, simple groined squinches, a drum of eight windows alternating with blind arched panels, and a dome with a depressed segmental profile, ending in the S dome chamber with a circular boss from which a chain hung. Before the squinches in the S chamber were repaired recently, a corbelled vault was visible behind one of them.[6] A window with a lintel of wooden logs is inserted in each face of the dome chambers, just below the zone of transition, with a brick relieving arch above covered in plaster.

Each of these dome chambers has a crypt, entered originally from the cells to the NE. These have shallow recesses making them slightly cruciform in plan, with plain squinches leading to a flat vault. That of the S dome chamber is still largely intact, although it was filled

with earth at an indeterminate time, presumably to prevent it from collapsing, while that of the N chamber has fallen in. The crypts were only discovered after recent clearances.

The E dome chamber (Pl. 101), although its central feature is a dome, has more the feeling of a vaulted hall, as the dome has a very flat profile and is extended in two directions by transverse vaults. The dome is open at the top and has bricks laid in a herring-bone pattern from eight groins. This type of vault was also used for smaller domes in the adjacent upper gallery. The qibla wall has a mihrab, showing that the room could be used as an interior mosque.

The shape of the room or dome chamber on the N must be speculative, as, before the recent rebuilding of this section, there existed only the remains of one half of the base, and this half fitted in awkwardly with the plan of the other parts of the N corner. As the proposed restoration of the Mashhad Office's plan shows, it would have occupied a much larger space than the other dome chambers and would have substantially altered the plan from the approximate rectangle which it now assumes.

Features of construction When part of the roof above the NW aivan was removed in 1976, it was possible to observe that between the top of the vault of the aivan and those of the cells to either side a hollow vault had been erected, and smaller tunnel vaults bridging the gap between those vaults supported the flat roof. The system was used in the Seljuq caravanserai of Ribat-i Sharaf, and indeed until the twentieth century has always been the standard method of supporting a flat roof over vaults.

The double dome of the S dome chamber is supported by eight brick buttresses. Wooden logs in each of these are attached to the outer shell. There are no wooden cross-ribs or logs set within the buttresses

as is frequently the case.

Decoration There are fine examples of stucco, painted and mosaic-faience decoration represented in the building. They will be considered in turn.

a) stucco: The madrasa has a greater area of carved plaster than any other Timurid monument. A recent study has explored the different types of stucco decoration used in the building, and has shown that the work was almost certainly carried out by craftsmen from Qum where Yūsuf Khvaja had spent much of his life and where a tradition of this kind of decoration had remained vital.[7] An exhaustive analysis of the stucco will therefore not be given here.

Apart from the thulth and square Kufic inscriptions on the aivans, most patterns consist of imitation brickwork, employed in a number of variations. The most frequent brickplug design is an eight-petalled rosette, but epigraphic ones are also found with Muḥammad, Allāh and ʿAlī in square Kufic. Fragments of green, red and black paint on some freshly uncovered plugs suggest that all the stucco would have originally been painted. Typical Mongol filler designs of lozenges, hexagons and parallelograms are found as well, the flat dome of the vestibule with a series of coffered recesses leading to an eight-pointed star providing an ideal platform for their display.

More complicated patterns based on angular interlacing strapwork are also found, e.g. on panels framing the bands of square Kufic in the aivans, and on others at the base of the stalactites of the NW and qibla aivans and at the back of the SE aivan. On the wall between two of the upper chambers in the S corner of the madrasa removal of later plaster has revealed how the design of the latter, with an eight-pointed star at its centre, was set up (Pl. 95). There are two adjacent squares, in one of which the main lines of the pattern was incised. In the other

the field on both sides of these lines is expanded to make the pattern one of interlacing strapwork.[8] This is the only evidence I have encountered, however, which suggests that the decoration of the madrasa may have remained unfinished. As these panels are situated at the bottom of a wall, perhaps they were covered up with a thin coating of plaster on completion of other work.

The decoration of the stalactites at the back of the aivans is of a different type, consisting of low-relief moulded stucco (Pl. 94). The stalactites are separated into two parts, a vertical square or rectangular unit, and a triangular piece jutting out above. The pattern in the vertical unit resembles a vertically climbing arabesque with a lotus in the centre, while a simpler lobed leaf alternating with dots is used for the triangular units.

b) glazed tilework: Entrance aivan: A dado of hexagonal blue tiles outlined in dark blue strips, with a border of small dark-blue and white triangles, oovered the lower walls of the aivan. It was unveiled in 1977 but recovered with a limestone facing in 1978.

The side walls have a large panel above the dado: interlacing dodecagons form six-sided stars, all within an arch, a large lotus blossom occupying the spandrels (Pl. 87). To the side of this panel are a series of epigraphic cartouches with lotus blossoms in medallions in between. On the rear wall of the aivan, to either side of the entrance, are two panels with vertical climbing arabesques sprouting from vases topped by a rectangular panel of Arabic poetry, all surrounded by a series of cartouches with verses in Persian (Pls. 88-9).

The foundation inscription runs above these panels on the three sides of the aivan. Just above this, at the base of the squinch, the plaster has been cut away to reveal a pattern of hexagons and hexagonal stars in mosaic-faience which, as mentioned above, may have formed part

of the soffit of a barrel-vault.

The colours used in these panels are typical of the mid-fifteenth century, comprising amber/yellow, black/aubergine, light- and dark-blue, white and dark-green.

S dome: The same range of colours is found on the S dome. The tile-work here, excluding the inscription, is slightly coarser than that on the entrance portal. The spandrels of the lower ring of arched panels, for instance, consist of simple two-colour medallions. Within the arch the decoration is one of six-pointed stars and hexagons. The vertical panels above the inscription have medallions alternating with rosettes, while medallions alone decorate the ring of stalactites above. The remains of some banna'i tiles in light- and dark-blue and yellow clung precariously to the dome above, until a complete restoration was effected in 1978.

W dome: The lower ring of blind panels has the same spandrels as the S dome, but below, within the arch the pattern is one of light- and dark-blue banna'i tiles rather than mosaic-faience. The inscription and tiled panels above are in cuerda seca, with dark-blue reserved on a white ground, and touches of yellow used for the Kufic and some blossoms. It must be admitted that these are not similar to other Timurid cuerda seca tiles, either earlier ones such as those in the Madrasa Bālā Sar, or slightly later ones such as those at Turbat-i Jām or Khargird.[9] The yellow is brighter, and neither the black, lime green, red or gilding of the others is present. They are probably the result of the Safavid restoration, although comparison of the patterns and script with those of the S dome suggest that they copied the original very closely.

c) painting: The remains of painted medallions at the rear of the entrance aivan probably date from the Safavid restoration, and will

not be discussed further here.

There are extensive remains in the S dome chamber of the original painting scheme which once covered all the walls.

The painting on the lower walls is considerably blackened and difficult to decipher, although in one part a design of arabesque medallions arranged in an eight-pointed star can be made out. Recent cleaning has revealed that there was a thulth inscription on the ex-trados of the four main arches. It is from the top of the zone of transition upwards, however, that one can best judge the quality of the original, thanks in part to some judicious cleaning and restoration (Pl. 96). The painting here has been analysed in detail in Chapter III, and so only a few comments will be made here. The overall scheme in the dome of closely knit medallions decreasing in size towards the apex of the dome, and then forming a secondary pattern of smaller units, is paralleled in the Gūr-i Mīr. One detail also links it with the Gunbad-i Sayyidān in Shahr-i Sabz: the way in which immediately below the zone of transition there is a ring of smaller medallions, followed by much larger medallions in the shape of a trefoil with the lower half truncated. A similar truncated trefoil is found in the Ziyārat-i Tīmūr Lang near Shīrvān.

I have not been able to find any any immediate analogue for the rectangular panels with painted arches in the squinches (Pl. 98). Inevitably, because of their location, they recall single stalactite niches such as those of the mausoleum of Gauhar Shād or of the Khargird madrasa, and this trompe l'oeil impression of stalactites is therefore one of the most original features of the madrasa's decoration.

Furnishings In the S dome chamber is the dark limestone cenotaph of Yūsuf Khvaja (Pl. 102). It is one of the finest specimens of its kind, measuring 2.00 x .61 x approx. .50 m. At the corners are four engaged

columns with bell-shaped bases, shafts with floral sprays and stalactite capitals. These support an arabesque medallion cornice. Varieties of scripts fill up most of the space, but the end panels may be specially noted, each having two tree of life panels in which the vase and floral spray emerging from it are remarkably similar to those on the well-known wooden Quran stand of 761/1360 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[10]

Inscriptions

Entrance aivan 1) On the frieze nearest the portal screen, mosaic-faience cartouches with white letters on a black ground. Thulth.

الحكم لله Authority is God's.

2) Large frieze below semi-dome, mosaic-faience, upper register

الملك لله (the kingdom is God's) in amber Kufic; in lower white thulth on dark-blue ground, with Shāh Rukh Bahādur in amber, no spiral scroll background.

Text: Sanī^{c} al-Daula, II, p. 255.

Following praise of God and prayer for his messenger this building was founded in the time of the reign of the great Sultan the shadow of God in the two worlds, helper of the Muslims Abu'l-Muzaffar Shah Rukh Bahādur Sultan, may God perpetuate his kingship and sultanate, through the effort of the great amir Ghiyāth al-Dīn Yūsuf Khvāja Bahādur, may his justice persevere, may God accept it from him, in Muharram of the year 843 (in words)/June-July 1439.

The inscription is unusual for the period in having no floriated spiral scroll in the background.

3) Rectangular panels to either side of portal; mosaic-faience, in upper register الملك لله in light-blue Kufic, in lower amber thulth on dark-blue ground. Arabic poetry.

Text in Sanī^{c} al-Daula, p. 255.

Blessedness to you, the building with power and superiority,

O best of residences, O finest place of refuge.

4) Cartouches framing the rectangular panels to either side of the door, mosaic-faience, white thulth on dark-blue ground. Persian. Originally eight cartouches on each side.

Right side (Pl. 88):

جهان بر آب نهادست وزندگی بر باد
غلام همت آنم که دل بر او ننهاد
جهان نماند و خرم روان آدمئی
که باز ماند از (ا)و در جهان بنیکی یاد
سرای دولت باقی نعیم آخر تست
زمین سخت نگه کن چو می‌کنی بنیاد
گرت زدست بر آید ...

The world is based on water and life on the wind
It is my intention not to set my heart on it
The world does not remain and happy the soul of a man
Who will be remembered with kindness in the world
The pleasures of the eternal abode are your end
Look with care at the ground when you are making a foundation
If you are capable of...

Left side (Pl.89):

که زاد روز قیامت زپیش نفرستاد
همین نصیحت من پیشه گیر ونیکی کن
که دائم از پس مرگم کنی بنیکی یاد
نداشت چشم بصیر که گرد کرد ونخورد
...

No one was born who was not intended to go through the day
of judgement
Choose my advice and do good
Constantly after my death you will think of me with kindness
Because the one who is mean will not feed himself.

Vestibule 5) On the side walls of the vestibule Allāh, ᶜAlī and Muhammad in square Kufic repeated many times in incised plaster. The same bordering the four main arches and framing the octagonal star of the dome. These are also found in the same context of brickplugs in the four aivans and will not be listed further.

SE aivan 6) Only a fragment of the modern plaster has been removed from the band above the entrance to show that it, like the other three aivans, had a stucco naskhi inscription.

7) On the edge of the soffit of the arch, large frieze of square Kufic, stucco, repeated at intervals. Undeciphered.

8) On the plaster imitation brickwork on the soffit of the aivan; in square Kufic, الملك لله , the kingdom is God's.

NE aivan 9) Large stucco frieze on three sides of the aivan,

الملك لله in Kufic repeated with other aphorisms in upper register; lower register thulth, all on floriated spiral ground.

Basmala and Quran II, 255-6.

10) On the edge of the soffit of the arch, large frieze of square Kufic, stucco, ᶜAlī, four times, enclosed by Muhammad, four times, the whole forming a square composition which is repeated several times.

NW aivan 11) Large plaster frieze on three sides of the aivan, upper register الملك لله repeated in Kufic, lower register thulth, all on floriated spiral ground.

Basmala and Quran III, 16-19 as far as الاسلام, 26, followed by

صدق الله المعظم

12) Two large friezes on the soffit of the aivan arch, one beside the

outer edge, the other in front of the semi-dome at the rear of the vault, square Kufic forming a repeated square composition; unread.

SW aivan 13) Large plaster frieze on three sides of the aivan, upper register الملك لله repeated in Kufic, lower register thulth, all on floriated spiral ground.

تعالى...and Quran XLVIII, 28-9 and

تحرير فى محرم سنه ثلث واربعين وثمانمائه

...written in Muharram year 843 (Pl. 93).

14) There are only fragmentary remains of two friezes of square Kufic on the soffit of the aivan. Unread.

S dome chamber 15) Large painted frieze below the dome, upper register of Kufic, الملك لله repeated, lower register thulth (Pl. 99). Background originally white, letters gold with black (originally dark-blue?) filling in the eyes. Floriated scroll ground.

Quran II, 255-6.

16) Large painted frieze continuing round extrados of four main arches, similar in layout to 15. Only a fragment, Quran II, 163, is legible. No. 15 is one of the lovliest in the madrasa. In the word يعلم the ʿayn and the mīm are painted with the letter partly overlapping in the direction the pen of the calligrapher would take (Pl. 99). The same feature is found on the finest Mongol painted inscriptions, such as that below the dome in the Mausoleum of Ūljāytū.

17) Fragmentary Persian verses on a large frieze on the drum. Mosaic-faience. In upper register الملك لله in amber Kufic, in lower white thulth letters on dark-blue ground.. Like the foundation inscription on the entrance aivan, this is unusual in not having a floriated spiral ground.

Text: Hanaway, CII, and additions in Morton, review of same.

Let the world bring a thousand sights, there will not be
The like of that in the mirror of our imagination
Because nothing remains in our hands from this tying and untying
(because we are not in charge of life)
We submit to the good and the bad; it is right to be
Beneath the green dome (in the world) in such a state
For this is the nature of the decrees of the green dome
It is written in gold on these glazed stalactites
That it is false to hope for stability in the heavens
Apart from good deeds all that remains of man
In the abode of (false) pride, O friend, is the wind in the air
Above the viewpoint of the seven heavens of the nine windows
(levels of paradise)
There is a small door in the garden of the abode of paradise
Do not seek a road to that garden other than (by) love of the
prophet
Since friendship of God and the prophet is the religion of salvation.

W dome chamber 19) As mentioned above, the tiles on the drum are probably Safavid restoration, but as they conform so closely to the layout of those on the S dome, they may well reflect the content of the original. Unfortunately the remains are more fragmentary.

نیکوئی کن . . . . بند ه . . . (محـ)کم دین حق رکنیست
معتبر . . ارکان . . . عاقبتش محمود باد

do good...the slave...strong, the religion of truth is the
honoured pillar...pillars...may his future life be praised...

18) Tombstone of Yūsuf Khvaja. The main historical inscription at the head and foot of the tombstone is published by Sanī^{c} al-Daula, II, p. 257. It gives the titles of Yūsuf Khvaja and those of his father Amir ^{c}Alī Bahādur, the date 23 Sha^{c}bān 846/5 January 1443, and the signature of the craftsman ^{c}Atā' Allāh b. ^{c}Abdallāh Aslān (the first part of the

signature has been damaged and is difficult to confirm).

The inscriptions have been given in some detail as the Madrasa Du Dar is one of the few remaining Timurid buildings where most of an extensive epigraphic programme is still intact.

The Quranic inscriptions include the Throne Verse (II,255), by far the most commonly used verse in medieval architecture. It reveals the attributes of God, a theme which is shared by II, 163, also found in the S dome chamber, and III, 26, in the NW aivan. The other verses in the NW aivan, III, 16-19, combine enumeration of the qualities of the virtuous with a prayer for forgiveness. In verse 18 there is a reference to men of learning, which could be seen in the context as a specific reference to the functions of the madrasa. In XLVIII, 28-9, the position of Muhammad as the prophet of Islam is stressed. The Quranic inscriptions thus are of varied content, although between them the chief tenets of Islam are clearly stated.

In its context, the Arabic verse (No. 3 above) on the entrance portal is the only inscription in the madrasa which unambiguously refers to the building itself.

The repetition of pious phrases such as al-mulk li'llāh, found so often in the stucco decoration, could be taken as an expression of the idea that all things return to God, or of the transitoriness of life on earth. The same idea is expressed by the Persian verses on the structure, and since it included a mausoleum as well as a madrasa the sentiments are certainly appropriate. Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly not coincidental that these ideas are conveyed by imagery which frequently makes reference to buildings and their decoration, e.g. bunyād (foundation), gunbad-i khażra (green dome), muqarnas-i mīnā (stalactites of glazed tilework) and rukn...arkan (pillars). This same combination of Persian verses expressing the transitoriness of life through

metaphors using building terms is found on two of the mausoleums in the Shah-i Zinda, that of Shād-i Mulk Āqā and Amir Husain.[11] The inscriptions on these buildings are also among the earliest examples we have of the use of Persian verses in an architectural setting. Other examples in Khurasan are found in the Mausoleum of Gauhar Shād and the Masjid-i Hauż-i Karbās, but in the Madrasa Du Dar we have the most extensive series found on any Timurid building to date. Their prominent positioning and expensive materials (mosaic-faience) are evidence of the importance which was attached to them.

Finally, one may note that at least part, and probably all of the verses on the S dome are by Qāsim-i Anvār who died in 837/1433-4, only six years before the madrasa was built. Clearly a poet did not have to be dead for some time to attain the status necessary to have prominent public display of his verses.

Discussion Although the building is not described as a madrasa in the foundation inscription (ʿimārat is used), there seems to be no reason to suggest that it did not have that function. The Safavid restoration inscription on the portal describes it as a madrasa, and it is the earliest document surviving which refers to the building. Its plan is comparable to that of other Timurid madrasas, and madrasas were the favorite means of Timurid amirs of ensuring themselves an elaborate mausoleum. The presence of the second mausoleum in the Madrasa Du Dar is a rather enigmatic feature, however. Although similar in form to the S dome chamber, it has no interior decoration. Symmetry may have dictated its inclusion in the plan, but its lack of fine decoration suggests that it was never intended as a burial place for anyone of importance.

A recent study has shown how Yūsuf Khvaja spent most of his life in Qum, being governor there from 838 until his death in 846H.[12]

Given that he resided in Qum, one can only surmise what reasons may have led him to choose Mashhad rather than Qum in which to erect his funerary madrasa. It may have been a way of maintaining influence at the court, since Shah Rukh had frequently been on pilgrimage to the Shrine of Imam Riżā, and had himself built a madrasa in Mashhad close to the Shrine.[13] Or Yūsuf Khvaja may have felt that greater baraka would be obtained by proximity to Imam Riżā than to Fāṭima. The site which he obtained was presumably the nearest open space at the time, as the area to the other side of the bazar, closer to the Shrine, is occupied by Timurid madrasas which very likely antedate his own.

Materials Bricks 23 x 23 x 4 1/2-5cm. RJ .1cm, HJ 1.5cm.

Condition The madrasa was in use until 1976 and survived in relatively good shape with few alterations, apart from the collapse and rebuilding of the N corner. When last seen in 1978 it was undergoing comprehensive restoration.

Recorded December 1974, February 1977, June 1978.

Notes

1) Fāżil, p. 1661.
2) The plans made by the Mashhad Office of the Sazman-i Hifazat were drawn before the commencement of restoration and are inaccurate in several points of detail.
3) A good photograph of the madrasa and its surroundings, taken before demolition of other buildings in the vicinity, is published by Saadat.
4) The waqf of the Mosque of Gauhar Shād mentions that it was bounded on the N by a small bazar (bāzārcha); see Cat. No. 2, p. 7.
5) Cf. the shops which were built as part of the Ghuriyya complex in Cairo at the beginning of the sixteenth century. S. Mehrez, The Ghawriyya in the Urban Context: an Analysis of its Form and Function, p. 42.
6) I would like to thank Lisa Golombek for showing me a photo of this.

7) O'Kane, "Timurid Stucco Decoration."

8) The steps in setting up this pattern are given in el-Said and Parman, Geometric Concepts, Fig. 35.

9) For Turbat-i Jām see O'Kane, "Tāybād," Pl. VIIa.

10) Grube, World of Islam, Fig. 76.

11) Shishkin, "Nadpisi," pp. 58-9. In a qasīda Nāsir-i Khusrau uses the building of a fine palace (qasr) with gardens and porticos and belvederes as a metaphor for the poetic craft itself; see Clinton, "Esthetics," pp. 85-7. However, Clinton points out at the same time that Nāsir-i Khusrau's image of the qasida as qasr is a rarity, and that "the correspondence between poetry and architecture did not catch the imagination of the Persian poets in the same way that those between poetry and weaving did." (Ibid., p. 87.)

12) See n. 7.

13) See Cat. No. 12, p. 73.

Bibliography

Volov (Golombek), "Du Dar," pp. 15-8.

Fāżil, "Du Dar," pp. 1661-8.

Godard, "Voûtes," p. 306, Fig. 261.

Survey, pp. 1207, 1211, Pl. 436b.

Hanaway, CII, pp. 1-4, Pls. I-XII.

Morton, review of CII, p. 191.

Khanikoff, Mémoire, p. 107.

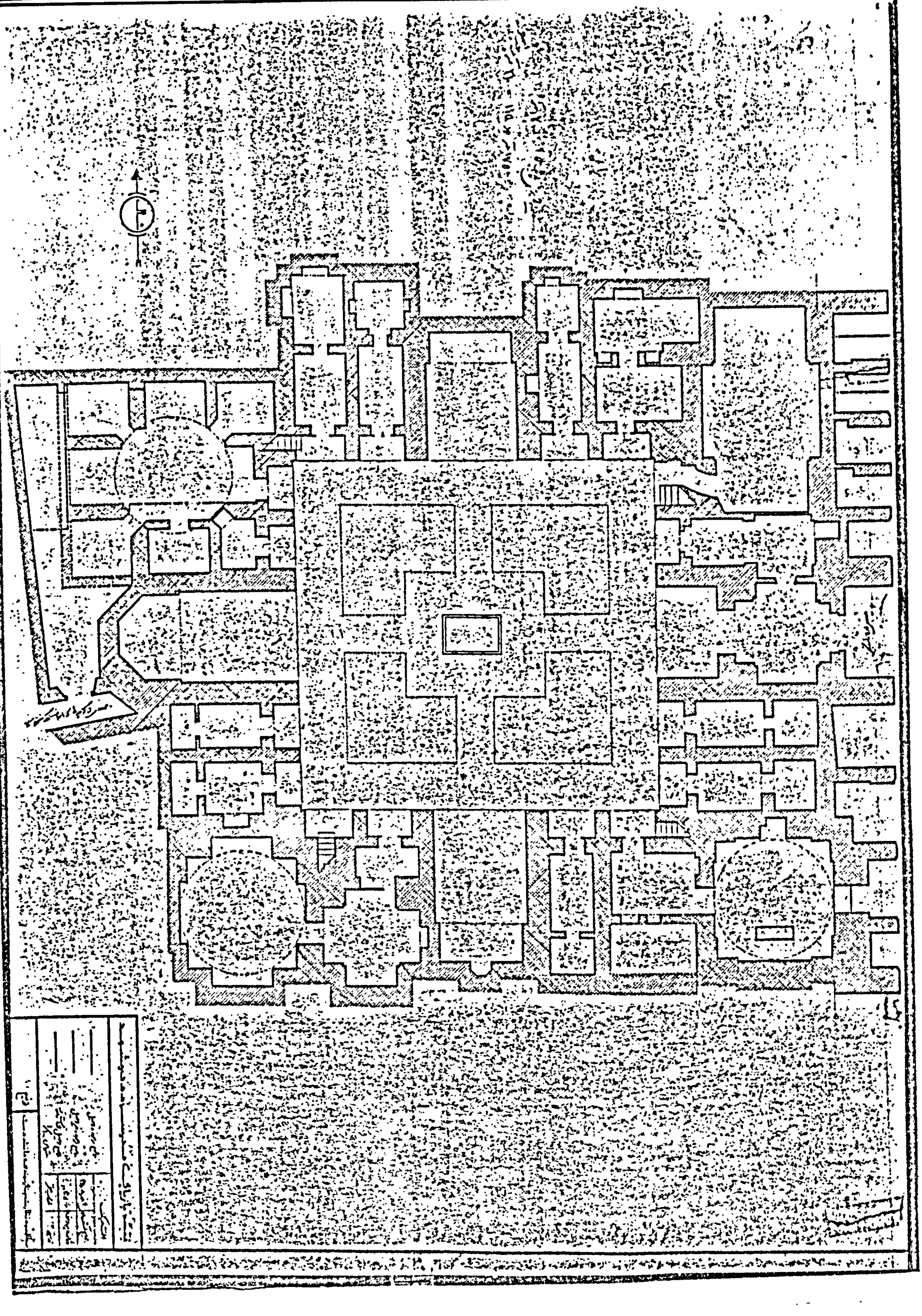
Fraser, Khorasan, p. 459.

Sanīᶜ al-Daula, Matlaᶜ, II, 255-7.

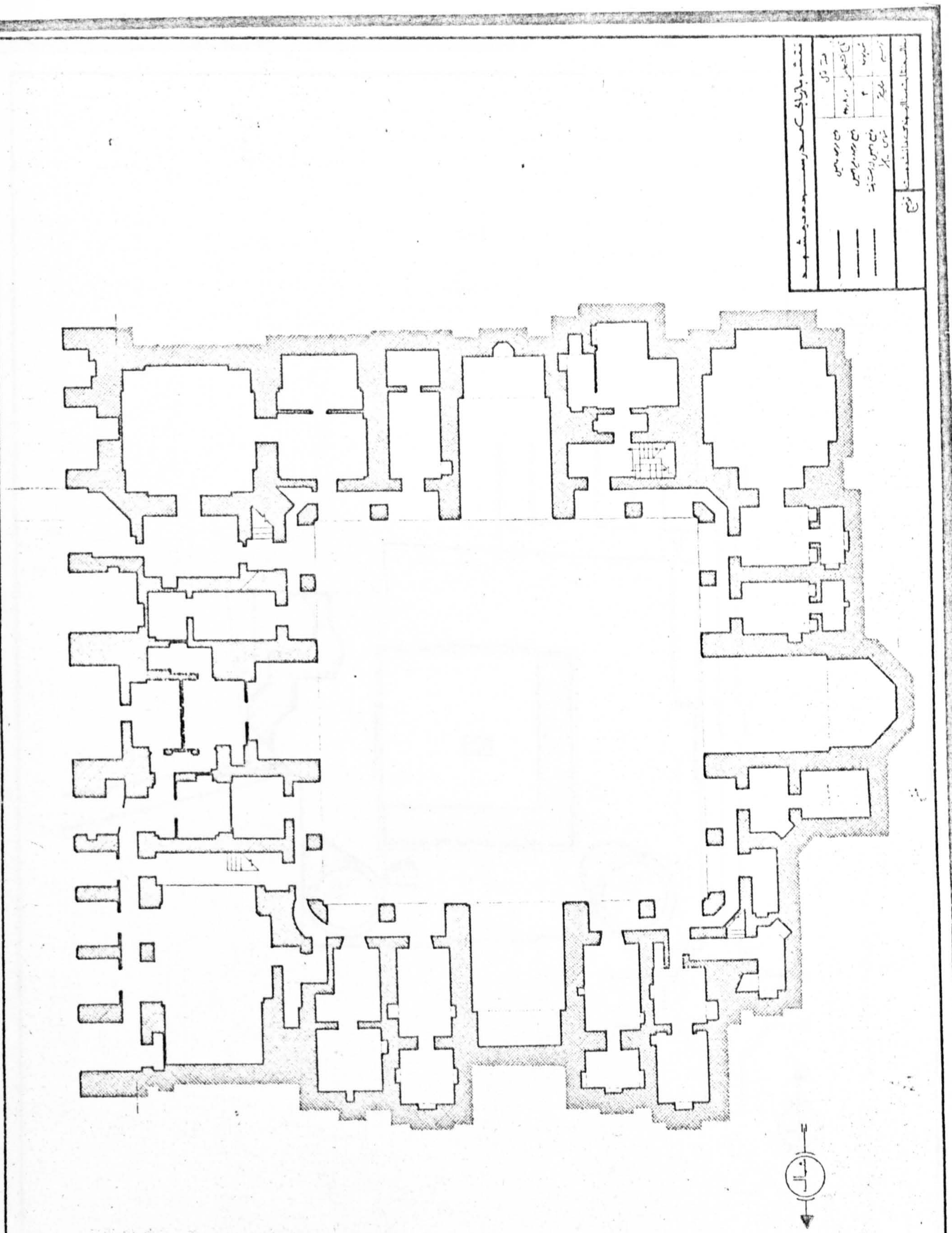
Mishkūtī, Fihrist, pp. 105-6.

Saadat, Holy Shrine, Plates, No. 8.

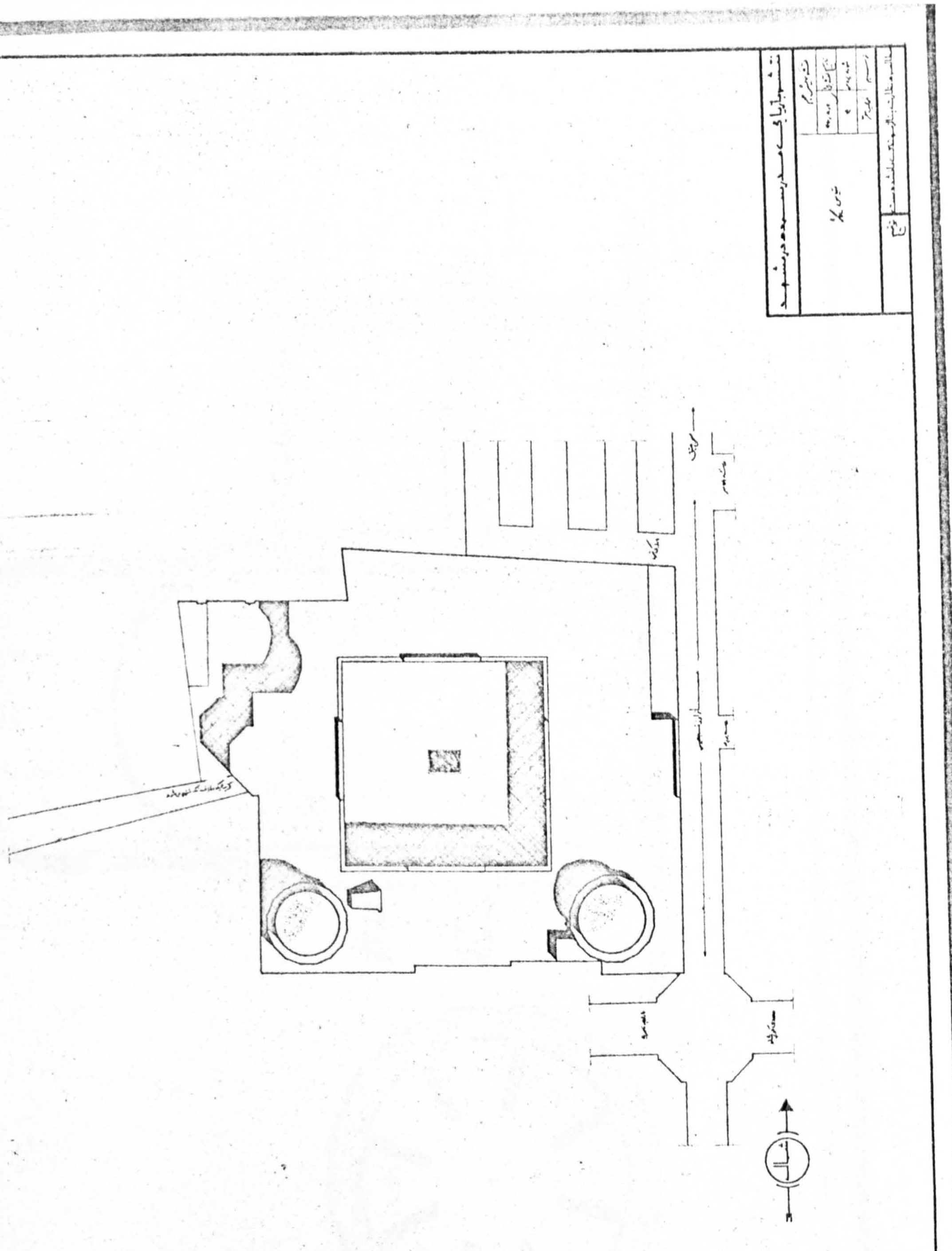
Pope, Persian Architecture, Fig. 271.



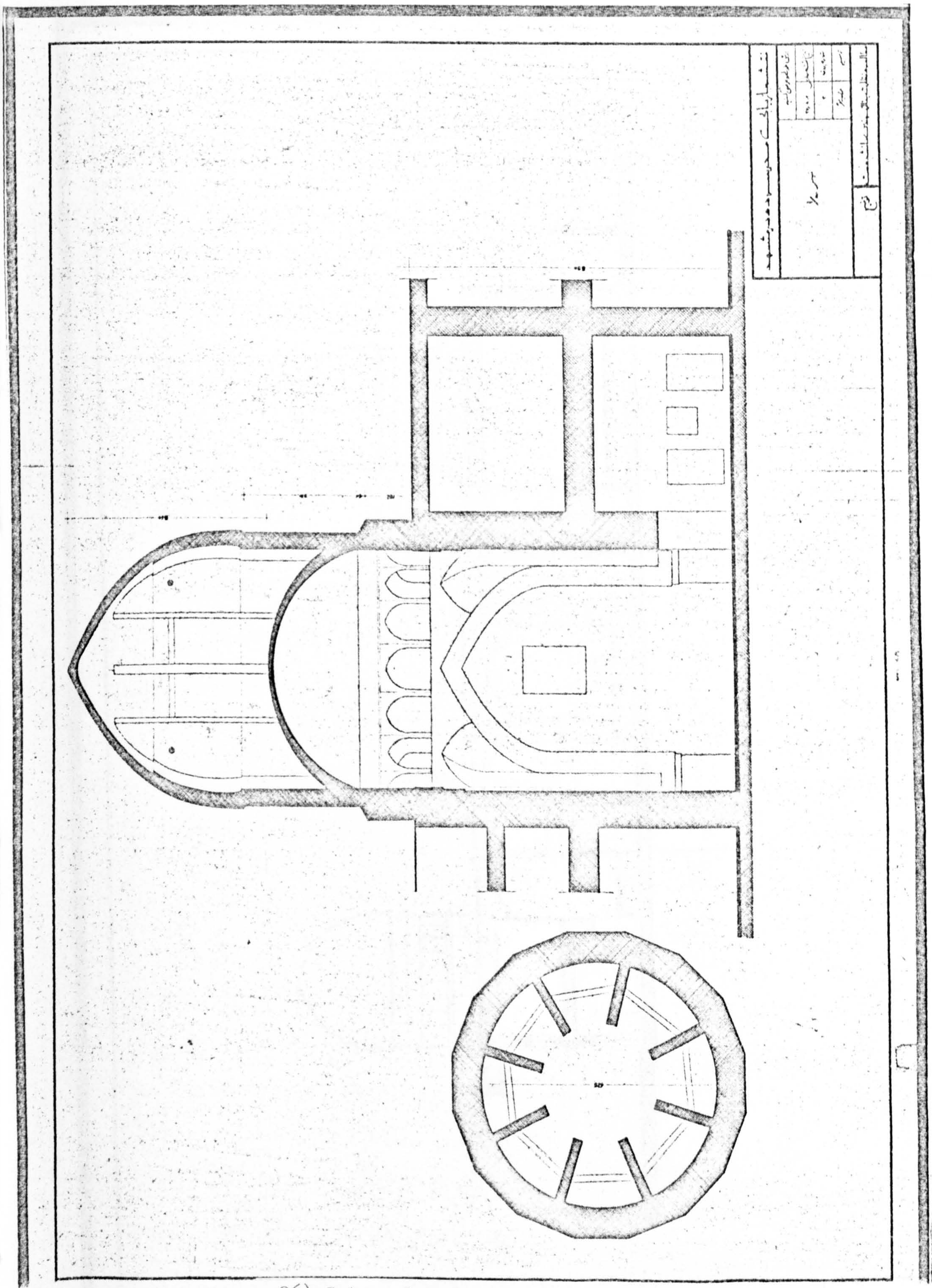
23) Cat.no.15. Mashhad, Madrasa Du Dar: plan
(after Sazman-i Hifazat)



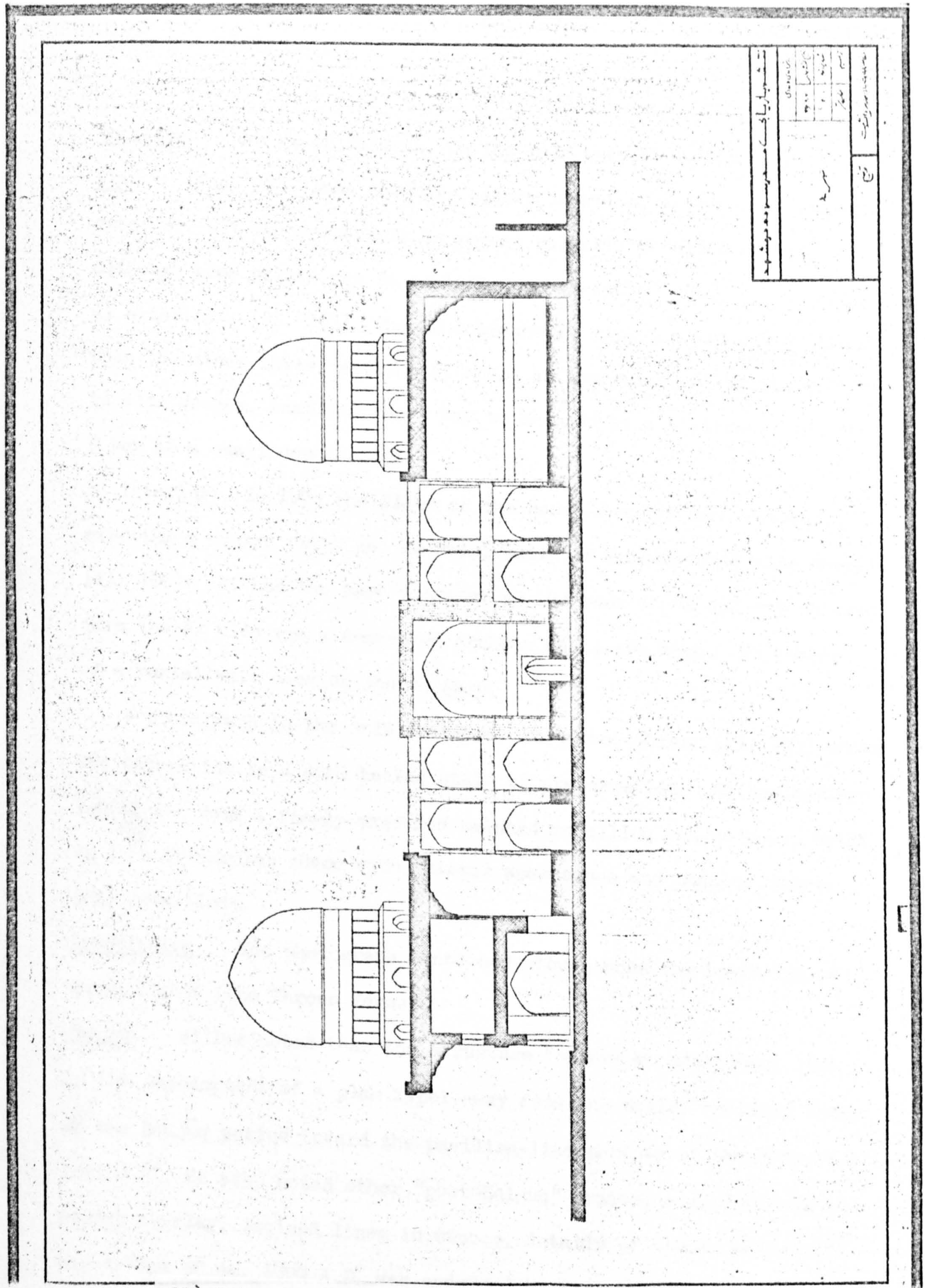
24) Cat.no.15. Mashhad, Madrasa Du Dar: plan of upper storey (after Sazman-i Hifazat)



25) Cat.no.15. Mashhad, Madrasa Du Dar: roof plan (after Sazman-i Hifazat)



26) Cat.no.15. Mashhad, Madrasa Du Dar: section of dome chamber (after Sazman-i Hifazat)



27) Cat.no.15. Mashhad, Madrasa Du Dar: section on EW axis (after Sazman-i Hifazat)

16

ZIYĀRAT-I TĪMŪR LANG

Location 6km NW of Shīrvān, on the main road from Mashhad to Bujnūrd.

Plan (Fig. 28) Dome chamber, square interior, irregular octagonal exterior. It is unnecessary to repeat Wilber's detailed description,[1] although some points can be amplified or amended.

a) exterior: (Pl. 103) The SE entrance is slightly wider and higher than the other three, setting it apart as the principal entrance. It is also deeper, enabling the S bay to be used as a staircase, and the E bay as a small domed niche.

b) interior: In 1974 the floor of the mausoleum had been removed, exposing a square crypt ca. 2m deep, built of rubble faced with mortar (Pl. 106). It had the same diameter as the room above and was entered from the NE side via a depressed archway ca. 1.50m high. No traces of a burial were seen on the surface.

A photograph in the Asia Institute Archives, Shiraz (Pl. 105) shows the decoration in a much better state of preservation. At the springing of the dome a finely executed painted medallion can be seen, built up in a triangular shape with vegetal arabesques and smaller calyx-leaf medallions.

Inscription The photograph mentioned above shows the beginning of Quran II/255 (the Throne Verse).

Dating Wilber noted that the structure "offers an additional link in the development of a plan type: away from the solid, enclosed tombs of the Seljūq period toward the pavilion-like shrines of the Safavid period."[2] He also noted other "post-Seljuq" traits, e.g. "offsets in stucco overlay, incised lines in stucco, details of stucco pattern."[3] His dating of ca. 1300 A.D. was endorsed by Hillenbrand.

Since I propose a date over a century later,[4] the criteria are set out in some detail below:

1) The nearest parallels to the painted medallion are found in Timurid monuments. The Gunbad-i Sayyidān at Shahr-i Sabz (841/1437-8) is perhaps closest, with triangular medallions in an identical position at the base of the dome. These, as at Ziyārat, have a smaller medallion of opposed calyx leaves at the base. In the dome chamber of Yūsuf Khvaja in the Madrasa Du Dar the medallions are more trefoil than triangular but are still related, and the painting in the zone of transition of the Madrasa of Tūmān Āghā has similar thin arabesques.

2) The profiles of the arches are closer to Timurid than Mongol examples. Those of the exterior octagon, for instance, have more sharply curving shoulders and a straighter upper profile than typical Mongol examples. The profile of the four main interior arches shows a more gradual curve, similar to those of the central dome chamber of the Masjid-i Shah, Mashhad.

3) The pronounced embrasures of the four main windows can be compared with those in the Khargird madrasa and the Masjid-i Shah, Mashhad.

4) The offsetting of the four main interior arches, the further offset of the squinches and the form of the squinches themselves are nearly identical to the Madrasa Du Dar and Masjid-i Shah dome chambers.

5) The upper zone of transition of eight arches, with a squinch net above, finds its closest parallel in the Masjid-i Shah.

6) The zig-zag motif at the base of the dome is mostly found in Timurid monuments of the first half of the fifteenth century.[5]

7) At first glance the style of the inscription might seem to indicate an Il-Khanid date; it has none of the fluency of the best Timurid inscriptions. However, this may be attributed to provincial workmanship, and a close analogue is provided by another Timurid provincial

inscription, that of the Rushkhvār Masjid-i Jami[c]. This is also in low relief and has the same flat surface of the letters, absence of background decoration and a certain element of rigidity.

8) The deep niches of the exterior, as Wilber recognised, belong to a "development which reaches full culmination only in Timurid and Safavid times."[6] While the plan of an interior square and exterior octagon was popular in Mongol times, especially in the tomb towers of Qum, the reduction of load-bearing elements to a minimum and the ensuing greater openness are characteristic of Timurid buildings. The nearest parallel, both in time and place, would seem to be the Mausoleum at Sangvar.[7]

9) A factor worthy of note is the name of the building 'Ziyārat-i Tīmūr Lang' and the name of the site 'Tapa-yi Tīmūrī.'[8] Where the normal popular response to a medieval Islamic building is 'from the time of Shah [c]Abbās,' such an uncommon attribution provides corroboration for a Timurid date.

Taking all these factors into consideration, and especially given the very strong resemblances to Timurid dome chambers in Mashhad, a date in the second quarter of the fifteenth century seems probable.

Setting Near the Imamzāda Ḥamza Riżā, a larger tomb which is possibly late Safavid. It is possible to argue that this is evidence that the Timurid mausoleum was built for a secular figure. Had it been built for a noted religious person one might have expected Safavid building activity to focus on repairing or enlarging the tomb, rather than building a new mausoleum some 45m away.

Condition Good, after recent replacement of missing bricks by the Sazman-i Hifazat. So far the double dome has been left with only its lower shell intact.

Recorded December 1974, May 1975.

Notes

1) See bibliography under Wilber.
2) Wilber, p. 131.
3) Loc. cit.
4) Pugachenkova simply assigns it to the fifteenth century (see bibliography).
5) O'Kane, "Tāybād," p. 99, Fig. 9.
6) Wilber, p. 78.
7) Catalogue No. 29.
8) This name is used on an unpublished plan of the area by the Sazman-i Hifazat.

Bibliography

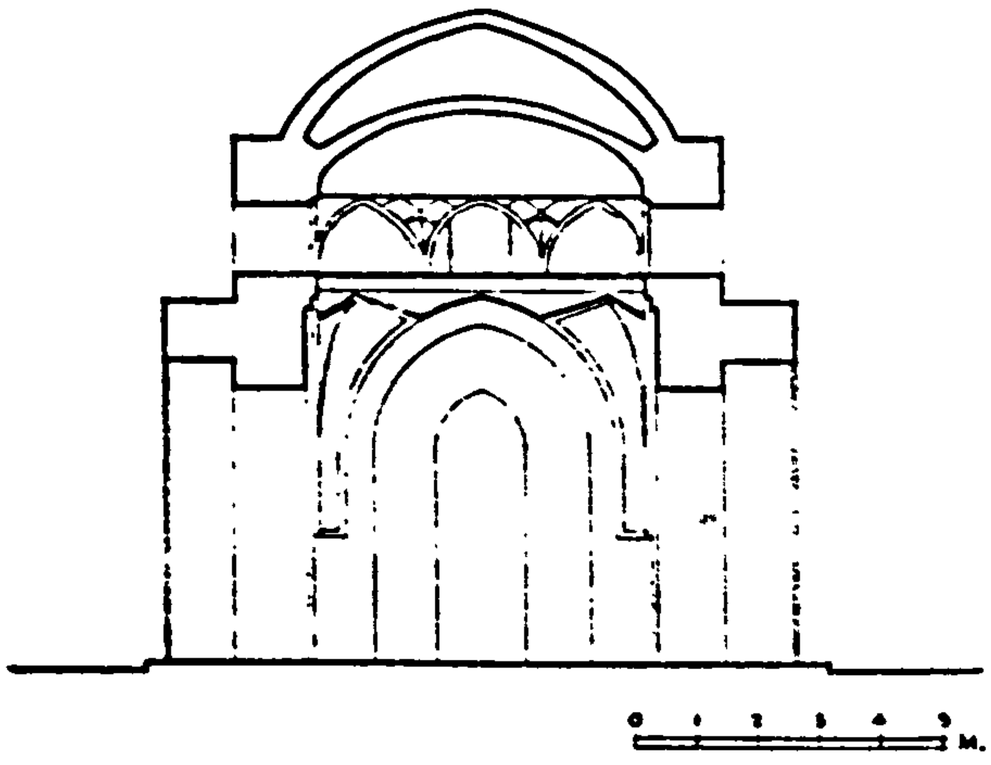
Hillenbrand, "Mosques and Mausolea," p. 161.

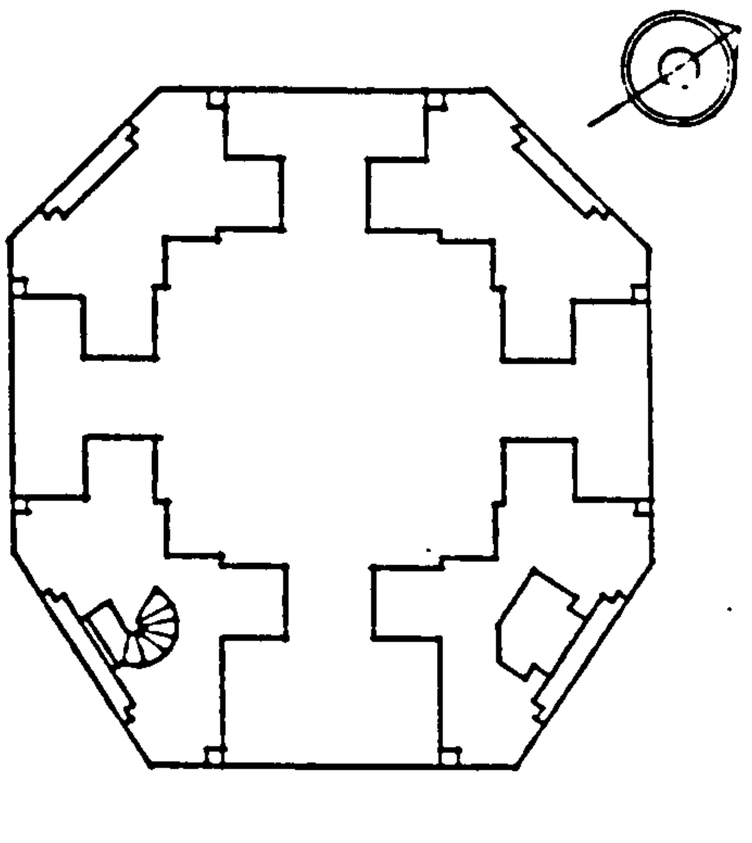
Mishkūtī, Fihrist, p. 91.

Pope, Persian Architecture, Fig. 251 (wrongly identified).

Pugachenkova, Zodchestvo, p. 81.

Wilber, AII, pp. 62, 78, 82, 101, 118, 131, Pls. 47-8, Figs. 18-9.





28) Cat.no.16. Ziyārat-i Tīmūr Lang: plan and section (after Wilber)

TOMB OF AULIYĀ SHĀDMĪN

Location About 3km from Naukhandān in the Darragaz Valley. The building stands alone in an uninhabited and uncultivated area. The amount of rubble and bricks on nearby mounds indicates that the surrounding area was once built-up.

Plan (Fig. 29) Cruciform dome chamber with rooms on three sides. The only entrance to the dome chamber was on the side opposite the mihrab, through a rectangular room which was probably vaulted with a central dome flanked by barrel vaults. The lateral sides of the building consisted of an aivan flanked by small cells. Staircases led up to a second storey of cells, equal in height to the entrance block.

Elevation a) exterior: (Pls. 107-8) The surrounding rooms would have disguised the zone of transition, with only the drum and dome being visible above. The drum is finished with smoothly pointed bricks; the bricks of the single shell dome are unpointed and it has a depressed profile, springing from within the circumference of the drum. A double dome seems to have been intended originally, as with the Ziyārat-i Tīmūr Lang.[1]

b) interior: The resemblance of the kite-shaped squinches to those of the Ziyārat-i Tīmūr Lang have been noted elsewhere.[2] Other similar features are the offsetting of the arches which lead to these, the eight segmental arches in the zone of transition, the squinch net above, and especially the inscription. Although this has an elaborate floriated spiral background, its use of the same script and in particular a knotted interlace on the turned-back tail of a ya' (Pl. 111) indicate that it is the work of the same craftsman. This confirms earlier speculation that the building is a "larger and more ambitious version

of this (the Ziyārat-i Tīmūr Lang) tomb."[3]

A feature lacking at Ziyārat is the semi-octagonal mihrab, with three tiers of stalactites leading to a fan-like crown. This can be compared with the somewhat more elaborate forms in the lecture-hall of the Khargird madrasa.[4]

Inscription Basmala and Quran II/255-7 followed by III/8. Where the inscription has fallen away in places it becomes clear that the plaster on which it was carved was applied to the wall after the first plaster coating covering all the walls had been applied.

Materials Rubble and mortar coated with plaster for the lower walls, baked brick for vaulting.

Dating As indicated above, the building seems to be the work of the same team which built the Ziyārat-i Tīmūr Lang, probably in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

Function Although no traces of a grave were observed in the building, it seems reasonable to assume that it was erected as a memorial construction, either over or near to someone's grave. What was the purpose of the adjoining rooms? Perhaps one can see these in the context of a buq^{c}a or khanqah, as smaller private spaces for individuals, either resident for longer periods of time, or as temporary lodgement for travellers. As recent studies have shown,[5] the term buq^{c}a was applied to a variety of buildings in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, many of which, like the Tomb of Shaikh Luqmān at Sarakhs or the Buq^{c}a of Tāybād, combine a dome chamber with ancillary rooms. The area was well known as one which contained mausoleums of Sūfīs.[6]

Condition Despite the almost total collapse of the surrounding rooms the central dome chamber seems structurally sound.

Recorded July 1975.

Notes

1) Catalogue No. 16.

2) See bibliography.

3) Loc. cit. It seems only to be more ambitious in terms of size, however. As regards materials, decoration, finish and proportion the Ziyārat-i Tīmūr Lang is altogether finer.

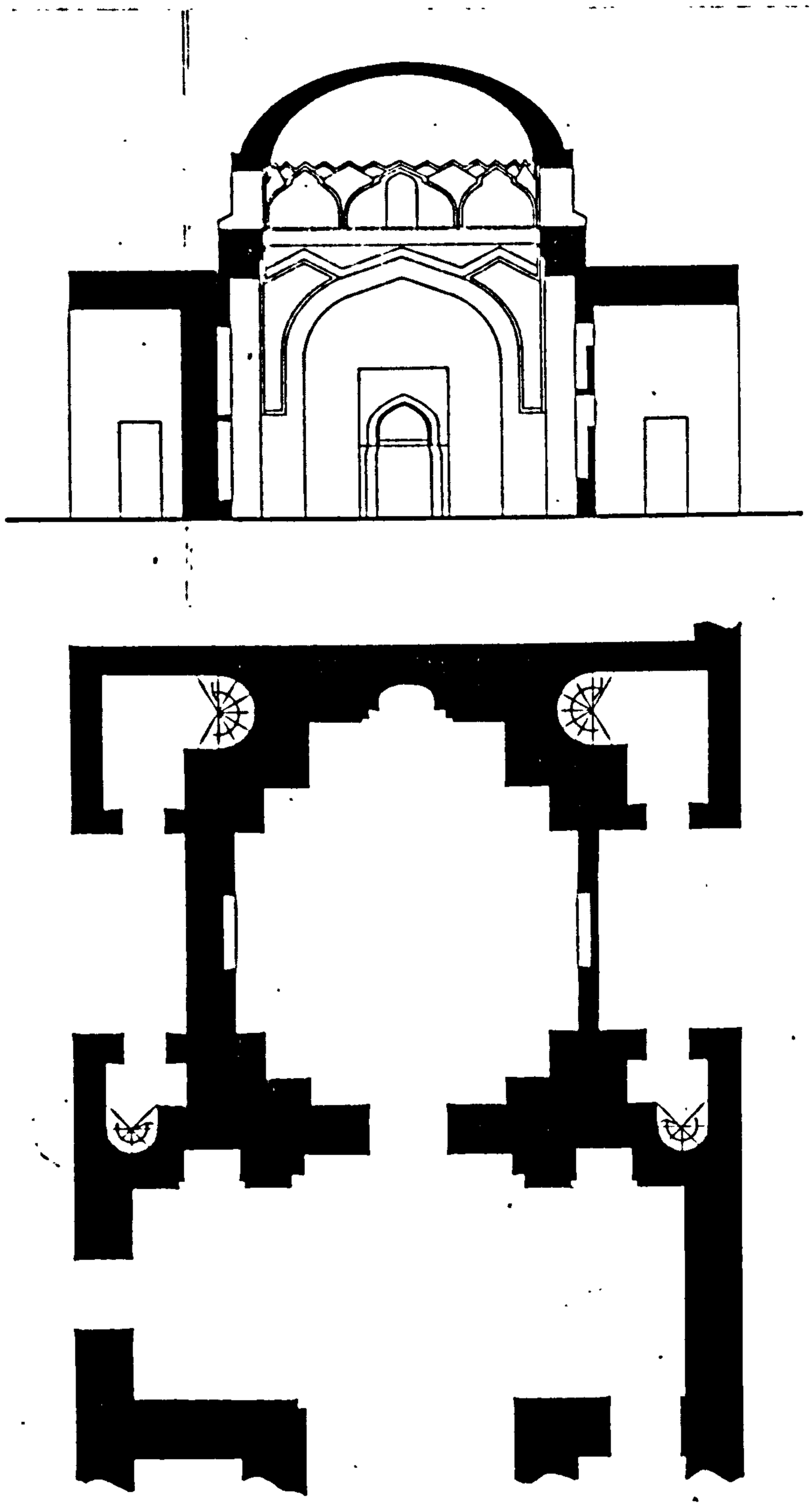
4) O'Kane, "Khargird," Pl. IVa.

5) O'Kane, "Tāybād," pp. 94-5.

6) According to Nicholson, Studies, p. 18, Nasā in the Darragaz valley was known among Sūfīs as "little Syria" because its cemetery had 400 sepulchres of shaikhs and holy men.

Bibliography

Hillenbrand, "Mosques and Mausolea," p. 161.



29) Cat.no.17: Naukhandān, Tomb of Auliyā Shādmīn (after Hillenbrand and Gye)

MAUSOLEUM OF JAGHATAIN

Location 72km NE of Gunābād, near the old fort of Gaisūr.

Plan (Fig. 30) Dome chamber, octagonal exterior, square interior.

Elevation a) exterior: The building is completely symmetrical, with entrance aivans on the major axes and niches of equal height and width in between. All of the piers which supported these arches are damaged at the top. Further up are the remains of an octagonal drum. Whatever backing was provided for the four corner arches in between has disappeared; probably some form of corbelling was involved which would have been disguised on the exterior by the tops of the diagonal niches. The dome is missing. Apparently no inscriptions or tilework are present on the building.

b) interior: Apart from the entrance doorways, each with a window above, the walls are plain up to zone of transition level. The zone of transition consists of eight arches with a squinch net between each forming a sixteen-sided base. The squinch net seems to be made of thin brick ribs covered in plaster and in effect to be corbelled rather than vaulted; it was perhaps because of this that the architect decided against having structurally weakening windows in the central axes of the zone of transition. A plaster revetment, possibly like that of the Mazar-i Sipahsālār, may have been used to decorate the back of the corner arches when they were intact.

Structural features On the exterior scaffold holes are visible on the piers just below the springing of the arches.

Function The building is known locally as the tomb of Jaghatain, apparently a local variant of Chaghatai, after Changīz Khān's son who is reputed to be buried there. There seems no reason to doubt that it

was built as a mausoleum.

Dating As Zamānī points out, octagonal mausolea are numerous in the Mongol period, and this is his main reason for suggesting a Mongol date. One of the most similar examples which he quotes, however, the Ziyārat-i Tīmūr Lang, is more likely to be Timurid.[1] Features other than the ground plan also indicate a Timurid date:

1) The squinch net is too well developed to be pre-1400 A.D.

2) The outline of the outside arches with a sharply curving haunch and comparatively straight upper part is closer to Timurid than Mongol examples. The heavily depressed arches of the windows above the doorways are also paralleled in the window of the aivan at Tāybād, for instance.

3) The disregard for structural values in the use of corbelling rather than vaulting is more indicative of a Timurid than a Mongol date.

With these criteria in mind a date in the first half of the fifteenth century is suggested.

Condition Poor. Deep cracks are visible in the corner arches. The base - and probably also the zone of transition - has suffered heavily from brick thieves.

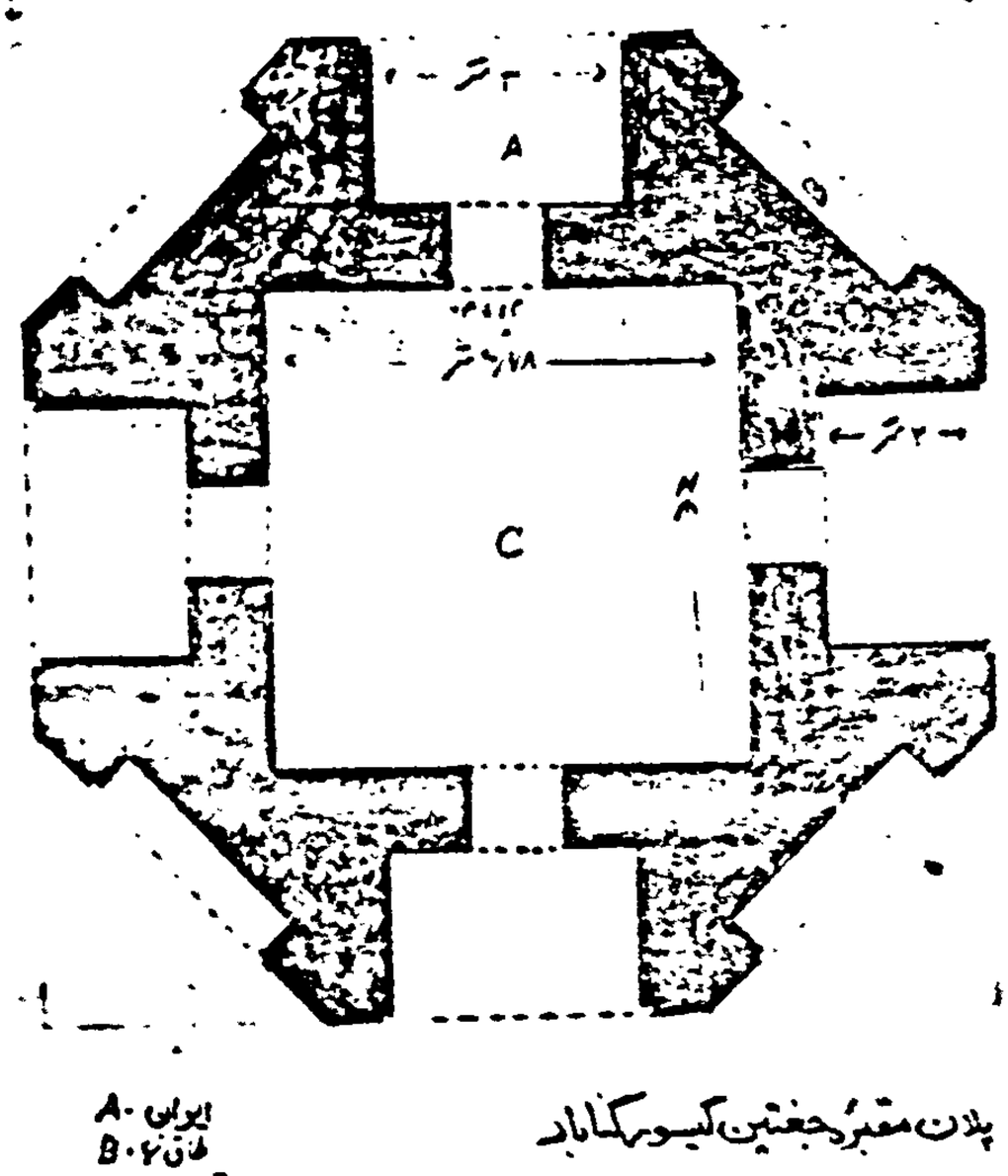
Recorded Not seen.

Notes

1) Catalogue No. 16.

Bibliography

Zamānī, "Jaghatain."



A- ایوان
B- طاق
C- گنبد

پلان مقبرۂ جغتین کیسو رکنا باد

30) Cat.no.18. Mausoleum of Jaghatain: plan
(after Zamānī)

19

KUHSĀN, MADRASA OF TŪMĀN ĀGHĀ

Location 10km E of the border with Iran on the Herat-Mashhad road. The town, also called Kūhistān, is situated N of the Harī Rūd, and is reached from the main road by taking the turning from the main road at Tīrpul.[1] The medieval name was Kūsaviyya.

Historical Background The building is today known as the tomb or the madrasa of Gauhar Shād. However, this attribution has only been current in the twentieth century. In the nineteenth century it was known as the Madrasa of Tūmān Āghā, and 24km W of Kuhsān, on the main route to Mashhad, was the eponymous caravanserai of Tūmān Āghā. Conolly stayed there in the 1830's on his way from Turbat-i Jām to Herat, and mentions that it was built by a wife of Tīmūr.[2] He found Kuhsān to be deserted, but noted that it had a very fine caravanserai. Khanikoff, passing Kuhsān in 1860, gives more complete information:

> "Tamerlane gave it in apanage to his sixth wife, Tūmān Āghā, daughter of Amir Mūsā, whom he married in 779. After the death of (Tamerlane) she retired to Kuhsān and lived there a long time, because in 844 she constructed a fine madrasa there, with a mosque where she was buried. I need not add that the mosque and madrasa are falling in ruins."[3]

In 1884 Maitland and Peacocke of the Afghan Boundary Commission both mention the caravanserai NW of Kuhsān, which was in a fairly good state of preservation, Tīmūr Gūrgān being legible in the inscription over the entrance portal. However, in this short space of time memories of the founder had grown dim, as Maitland wrote that Hasan Khān Shāmlū was reputed to be the founder and that the origin of the name Tūmān Āghā was unknown.[4] The memory of a Timurid queen as founder of the madrasa lived on, however, and her name was transformed into Gauhar Shād, the

best known queen.

The Timurid histories substantially verify Khanikoff's account. Tūmān Āghā was born shortly before Ramaḍān 768/May 1366 to Amir Mūsā and Ārzū Mulk Āghā, the latter being the daughter of Amir Bāyazīd Jalāyir.[5] Only eleven years later, in 779/1377-8, she married Tīmūr in Samarqand, where at her wish he made a garden with a pavilion (qasr) called the Bāgh-i Bihisht, by encompassing twelve gardens in one.[6] She is subsequently mentioned regularly along with Sarāy Mulk Khānum in the Ẓafar Nāma, and seems to have been almost on an equal footing with her. A mark of the special favour with which Tīmūr regarded her may be judged from her retention at the camp in Mazanderan in 786/1384-5 while his other wives were sent back to Samarqand.[7] Her patronage of architecture began before she came to Khurasan, as two buildings in the Shah-i Zinda bear her name: a mosque, commonly referred to as a khanqah, and a buqᶜa.[9] After Tīmūr's death Khalīl Sultan married off Tīmūr's wives to local noblemen;[10] Tūmān Āghā was given to Shaikh Nūr al-Dīn who was shortly afterwards assassinated by Shah Malik.[11] After this episode she was brought to Herat by Shah Rukh and given the town of Kūsaviyya as suyurghāl and "now in that town and its environs are examples of her good works: a madrasa, a khanqah and a ribat, (all) finely constructed."[12] The date preserved on her madrasa at Kuhsān, 844/1440-1, means that she must have been 74 years old when it was erected, but her longevity is confirmed by other sources. In 840/1436-7 Ibn ᶜArabshāh wrote that she was intending to undertake the ḥajj, and Ibn Taghrī Birdī has an interesting report for November 26th 1444 A.D., when an ambassador of Shah Rukh arrived in Cairo with a large retinue: "with him also was an old

woman, one of the wives of Tīmūr, who had come for the purpose of making the pilgrimage to the sacred house of God and had remained in Damascus to go in the Pilgrimage season with the Syrian caravan."[14] The "old woman" must surely be Tūmān Āghā, in what appears to be the last historical reference to her.

Plan (Fig. 31) Octagonal dome chamber fronted by aivan, rectangular mosque to the W, smaller low dome chamber between the two. One of the entrances to this small dome chamber is at an angle of 45^{o} to the facade adjoining it. Pugachenkova, who has published detailed accounts of the building, surmises that another would have existed on the opposite side, and that the S facade of the building would have been symmetrical on an axis through the main dome chamber.[15] In fact there are the remains of walls on the E side of the main dome chamber which show that the building certainly extended further on that side. But the presence of a corner niche at a 45^{o} angle must alert us to the most common context for this feature: in the courtyard of a madrasa-type building such as the Shrine at Gāzur Gāh, or the madrasas of Bālā Sar, Parīzād, Fīrūzshāh at Turbat-i Jām and of Khargird. Coupled with the knowledge that the building was and is still referred to as a madrasa by the local inhabitants, it is clear that the aivan in front of the large dome chamber was one of two, or more likely four, courtyard aivans, and that the dome chamber formed the climax of the axis leading from the now vanished entrance complex. Pugachenkova has already pointed out the many similarities of the dome chamber with the mausoleum of Bībī Khānum in Samarqand,[16] and how the presence of a ventilation shaft leading down from the base of the outer wall of the dome chamber indicates that it too had a crypt, presumably designed to house the body of Tūmān Āghā. The dome chamber should therefore be equated with Khanikoff's "mosque where she was buried." The mausoleum of Bībī Khānum

was part of her madrasa which faced the Friday mosque, also known as the Mosque of Bībī Khānum, and may also have provided an example of the siting of a mausoleum attached to a madrasa on the main axis. Earlier examples in the Islamic world are provided by the Çifte Minare Madrasa at Erzerum (1242 A.D.)[17] and the complex of Sultan Hasan in Cairo (1362 A.D.), but that of Tīmūr's main wife in Samarqand was no doubt the immediate inspiration. The Madrasa of Sultan Husain in Herat also seems to have followed the same scheme.

Even with so fragmentary a part of the madrasa at Kuhsān left, it appears that the plan was somewhat unusual, with a mosque in one of the corners opposite the entrance complex, where in other Timurid madrasas one finds a small domed lecture hall or cells for students. This may partly be explained by the orientation of the madrasa, which would have had its longitudinal axis perpendicular to the qibla. In most other cases - those of Ūlūgh Beg in Samarqand and Ghujdavān, the Ghiyāthiyya at Khargird - the entrance portal was aligned with the qibla and the mosque was situated either in the entrance complex (Ghujdavān, Khargird) or behind the aivan opposite the portal (Samarqand). Alternatively, where, like Kuhsān, the longitudinal axis was perpendicular to the qibla, the mosque could be fitted into the entrance complex (Ūlūgh Beg, Bukhara) or in one of the courtyard aivans (Du Dar, Bālā Sar, Parīzād). The Madrasa Du Dar also had a mosque in one of the corners, so one cannot exclude the possibility of another masjid in an entrance complex or in the W aivan at Kuhsān.

Elevation Pugachenkova has already described and analysed most of the pertinent features of this fine building, an example at its finest of court architecture in the latter part of the reign of Shah Rukh. Some of its more striking features may be commented on.

First one may note the small niches in the main dome chamber with

exquisite painted landscapes in blue on a white ground of trees, rills and birds (Pls. 117-8). Precedents for these exist both in Timurid mural and manuscript painting,[19] but it may be stressed that Kuhsān provides the best preserved example of mural painting of this kind, allowing us to appreciate the variety and wealth of effects possible from such an apparently limited repertory of forms and colours.

While the interior of the dome chamber today presents an unclut-tered look, with large expanses of white, it should be realised that this has come about largely as a result of the fading of the pigments. The thulth inscription which circumscribed the middle of the zone of transition has all but disappeared, leaving faint traces of the smaller Kufic in its upper field. Of the inscription which went round the eight main niches further down only the grey spirals and the white ghosts of the thulth letters remain. Within the zone of transition most of the blue pigment has faded away (Pl. 116), so the original appearance may have been much richer, like that of the mausoleum of Gauhar Shād in Herat.

Inscriptions One inscription within the main dome chamber, on the niche leading to the aivan in front of it, is still legible. Written in thulth, it contains Quran III/18. There is room for more verses, and nos. 15 and 16 from the same sūra would be especially appropriate, as they refer to the pleasures of paradise and contain an exhortation for forgiveness of sins.

The inscription in cuerda seca tiles on the drum can no longer be read, but those further below are better preserved.[20] The larger, naskhi, rectangular white tiles outlined in blue, reads:

قال رسـلول الله صلى) الله عليه و سلم القبر روضه من رياض
الجنة (او حفره من حفـار النيران

"The messenger of God, God bless him and grant him salvation, said: 'The grave is one of the gardens of paradise or the chafing of the yoke.'"

The smaller, square Kufic in light blue tiles, is fitted in between the ascenders of the larger inscription:

قال الله تعالى انى استحى من عبدى وامتى... فى الاسلام
... سنه ٨٤٤

"God most high said: 'How is he ashamed of my slave and my people... (one word) in submission?'...in the year 844/1440-1."

The square Kufic at the back of the aivan is particularly striking; like the large naskhi on the drum the letters are white outlined by dark-blue, but extra interest is provided by a further border of light-blue and by the way in which it follows the contours of the arch, in the same way that the purely ornamental patterns do in the niches on the exterior of the dome chamber.[21]

It reads:

(سبحان الله و ا)لحمد لله

"Praise God and thanks to God."

Materials Marble foundation course 28cm high. Bricks 26-7 x 26-7 x 5cm. Hard white mortar with little sand admixture. The logs encased within the buttresses inside the double dome[22] are ca. 18cm diameter.

Condition Very poor. Since Khanikoff mentioned that the building was falling in ruins, probably not much more existed when he visited it than does now. However, between my first and second visits the fabric had deteriorated noticeably, particularly in the SE corner.

Recorded January 1975, March 1977.

Notes

1) Adamec, Herat, p. 279.
2) Journey, p. 381.
3) Mémoire, p. 122.
4) See bibliography. According to Yate, writing at the same time, she was a grand-daughter of Tīmūr, and was responsible for the bridge of Pul-i Khātūn south of Sarakhs. See Yate, bibliography. The site of the caravanserai of Tūmān Āghā, now called Pīsh Ribat, was visited, but a shapeless mound of rubble was all that remained of it.
5) ZN, II, p. 105; Barthold, II, p. 31.
6) ZN, I, p. 215.
7) ZN, I, p. 278.
8) (Deleted)
9) Shishkin, "Nadpisi v ansamble...," pp. 63-5.
10) ZN, II, p. 517; Barthold, II, p. 70.
11) MS, pp. 122-4; Sanders, p. 277; Barthold, II, p. 72.
12) MS, p. 124.
13) Sanders, p. 311.
14) Tr. Popper, V, p. 96.
15) "Les monuments...," p. 28.
16) Ibid., p. 35.
17) For this date see J.M. Rogers, "The Date."
18) For a list of other buildings erected at this time, see "Tāybād," p. 103.
19) See Pugachenkova, "Les Monuments...," p. 36; Chapter III above.
20) I would like to thank Ḥusain Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā'ī for his help in reading these.
21) This is an unusual configuration for Timurid ornament. For comparable treatment cf. the entrance complex of the Khargird madrasa.
22) See Pugachenkova, "A l'étude...," p. 26.

Bibliography

Pugachenkova, "Les Monuments," pp. 27-41.

Eadem, "A l'étude," pp. 25-7.

Eadem, "Stranitsa."

Conolly, Journey, p. 381.

Khanikoff, Mémoire, p. 122.

Yate, Travels, pp. 150, 162.

Maitland, A.B.C., I, p. 148.

Peacocke, A.B.C., III, p. 63.

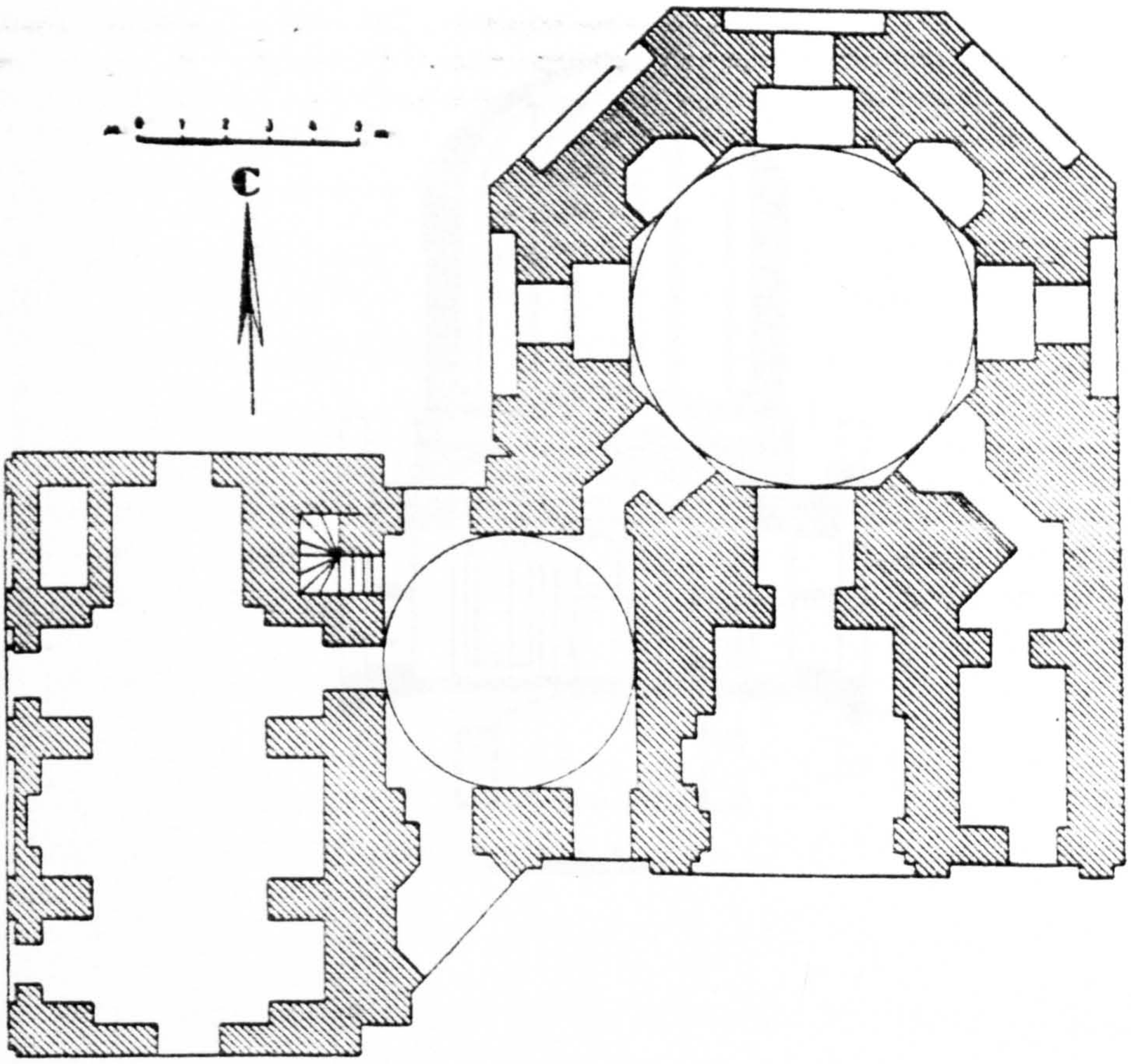
Michell (ed.), Architecture, Pl. on p. 264 (mistaken identification).

Allchin and Hammond (eds.), Archaeology, p. 389, Figs. 7.26-7.

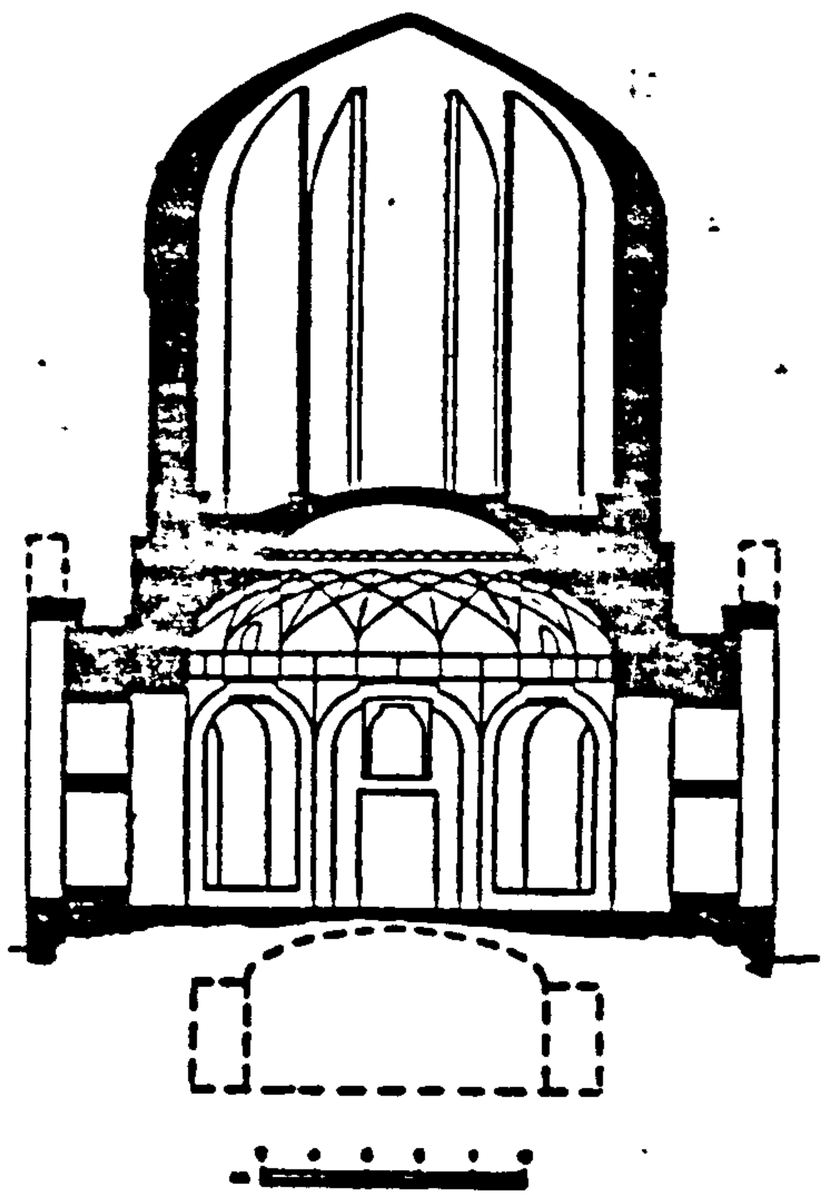
O'Kane, "Tāybād," p. 101, Pls. VIIb, VIIIc.

Mustamandy, "Building," pp. 65-6.

Pugachenkova, Zodchestvo, p. 89.



31) Cat.no.19. Kuhsān, Madrasa of Tūmān Āghā: plan (after Pugachenkova)



32) Cat.no.19. Kuhsān, Madrasa of Tūmān Āghā: section (after Pugachenkova)

HERAT, GUNBAD-I CHŪPĀN

Location At the N end of the Khiyābān, where the petrol station is now situated. The structure fell down in 1306/1927; our most important record of it is a photograph by Niedermayer (Pl. 119).

Elevation All that is visible in the photograph, or that is mentioned in Yate's or Saljūqī's accounts, is a square dome chamber. The lower part was originally covered with a revetment in banna'i technique, with glazed bricks forming a lozenge pattern. This section probably continued straight up to the base of the drum, but by 1916 had been severely damaged, exposing the corner arches and a hole in the back of the brick-vaulted squinch.

The lower part of the drum is faced with banna'i bricks, apparently of uniform buff colour, with a vaulted aperture leading to the space between the double dome. Above is a band of inset-technique based on a design of eight-pointed stars, perhaps in mosaic-faience, framed by white-tiled pentagons. Further up is an inscription, again seemingly in mosaic-faience. The final band, composed of repeated vertical rectangular units, like those of the Madrasa Du Dar and Masjid-i Shah, led to the single-tier stalactite cornice. A thin band of medallions ca. 40cm wide encircled the base of the drum. Whether the dome swelled out above this point is not clear from the photograph; if there was any swelling it was certainly not more than that of the Mausoleum of Gauhar Shād. Above was a band of monochrome tiles, possibly light-blue like those in a similar position on the Madrasa of Tūmān Āghā, while some scattered light and dark tiles above this indicate that a geometrical pattern was used towards the top. The presence of a man in the photograph makes some approximate dimensions possible:

ground to base of drum	5.4m
base of drum to base of dome	5.4m
dome	4.6m

Interior Yate wrote of a hole in the floor giving access to an underground chamber, then mostly filled up. Saljūqī[1] adds that it apparently opened out into four rooms. This description corresponds with that of most crypts in Timurid dome chambers, e.g. those of the Gūr-i Mīr, the Mausoleum of Bībī Khānum or those of the dome chambers in the Madrasa Du Dar. No other information about the interior is available from the sources, except that it contained no tombstones, the nearest being 40 or 50 yards away.[2] The presence of the crypt, however, and the form of the dome chamber with a double dome on a high drum, make it virtually certain that the building was a mausoleum.

Dating and Identification Given the rather limited analysis possible from a monochrome photograph, one is nevertheless struck by the similarity between this mausoleum and that of Tūmān Āghā at Kuhsān. Firstly, the almost equal division of the elevation into one-third lower chamber, one-third drum and one-third dome is almost the same in each monument, and the profile of the dome is also similar. Secondly, the character of the decoration is analogous, with anepigraphic banna'i work on the lower cube, a band of plain brick at the base of the drum with decorative and inscription bands above, and a dome with a patch of plain tiles above a smaller medallion band.

While this gives us an anchor point in the middle of the fifteenth century, however, it would be unwise to insist on too narrow limits above, or even below this date.

With the exception of the Masjid-i Shah in Mashhad, all double-domed mausoleums in fifteenth century Khurasan are attached to madrasas. Since the Gunbad-i Chūpān is square, rather than octagonal, it may have

formed one of a pair of dome chambers at the corners of a madrasa.

In any case it certainly belonged to a building which was accorded the finest architectural design and decoration available, and so must almost certainly have been one which Khvāndamīr describes in the Khulāsat al-Akhbār. Of those madrasas which he mentions whose locations are in this general area, at the top of the Khiyābān, a possible candidate is that of Amir ᶜAlīka Kūkiltāsh who in 844/1440-1 "was buried in the dome chamber of the madrasa which he had founded at the head of the Khiyābān (dar sar-i Khiyābān)."[3] Although a number of other monuments were clustered in this area[4] Khvāndamīr's description of the Madrasa of Kūkiltāsh[5] showed that it ranked among the finest of the period. In addition to building extensive charitable foundations in Khurasan the amir Kūkiltāsh held land in Anatolia and Egypt,[6] and it is probably to such an extremely wealthy patron that a building of the first rank such as the Gunbad-i Chūpān should be attributed.

Notes

1) Khiyābān, p. 77.
2) Yate.
3) MS, p. 746; HS, III, p. 629; Allen, Catalogue, No. 450.
4) For a list see Allen, Catalogue, No. 468.
5) KA, p. 21.
6) Barthold, II, pp. 123-4.

Bibliography

Niedermayer, Pl. 164.

Saljūqī, Khiyābān, pp. 77-8.

Idem, RMH, 4, p. 189.

Yate, Northern Afghanistan, p. 37.

Idem, "Notes on the City of Hirāt," p. 99.

Allen, Catalogue, No. 567.

21

GHALVĀR, MASJID-I HAUŻ-I KARBĀS

Location 4km W of Herat, on the road to Ghūriyān.[1]

Plan (Fig. 33) Winter mosque with four longitudinal domed bays. The main features of the mosque have been given a succinct description and analysis by Pugachenkova.[2] The winter mosque is situated to the west of a large modern courtyard. Three of the bays seem to be original, the central one being vaulted by a squinch net leading to a twelve-sided dome, the two flanking it by squinch nets producing octagonal domes. The domes are formed over rectangular bays. This is facilitated by sharply inclined vaults at either end of each bay.[3]

Decoration On the soffits of the arches dividing the bays are traces of geometric ornament in plaster relief (Pl. 124). Similar ornament was used to telling effect a few years later in the lecture hall of the madrasa at Khargird, and in the contemporary dome chamber of the Madrasa of Tūmān Āghā in Kuhsān.[4]

The finest decoration however is used on the mihrab and the rectangular panel opposite (PL. 121-3). Photographs belie the height[5] and power of the mihrab; its wide outer inscription band lessens its verticality but relates perfectly to the tympanum and smaller arch within, and allows the calligrapher ample scope to display his art.

Two unusual features of the mihrab deserve comment. Firstly the spandrels of the small arch consist of a blue and white flowering tendril set on an amber ground. Amber is rarely used as a ground in mosaic-faience. Here the constantly varying ranges of tone, found more often in amber than in any other colour, provide an effective foil for the delicate flowers.

Inscriptions The inscriptions are in thulth of outstanding quality.

Haravī has suggested that they may be the work of Jalāl Ja^{c}far.[6] This may indeed be the case, as we have no record of Jalāl Ja^{c}far's work between 841/1437-8 when the Madrasa of Gauhar Shād was finished and 848/1444-5 when the inscriptions on the madrasa at Khargird and the buq^{c}a of Shaikh Zain al-Dīn at Tāybād were finished. The madrasa at Kuhsān was the only major royal foundation built between the above dates, and it was finished a year before the mosque at Ghalvār. Even assuming that Jalāl Ja^{c}far worked at Kuhsān, he would have had ample opportunity to draw the designs for the limited number of inscriptions at Ghalvār; and their quality is certainly equal to his work elsewhere.

The outer inscription of the mihrab consists of the Throne Verse, Quran II/255. The tympanum, which is raised 4cm from the rest of the mihrab, reads qaula ta^{c}ālā followed by Quran III/39 to mihrāb: "The saying of the Most High, 'And the angels called to him as he stood praying in the sanctuary.'"

On the wall opposite is a rectangular panel of mosaic-faience, with three lines of thulth, the first two from Sa^{c}dī's Gulistān, the last giving the date of construction of the mosque:[7]

بماند سالها این نظم و ترکیب
زما هر ذره خال افتاده جائی
غرض نقشیست کز ما باز ماند
که هستی‌را نمی‌بینم بقائی
مگر صاحب دلی روزی برحمت کند در کار مسکینان دعائی
تمت هذه العمارة المبارکة الشریفة فی شهور سنه خمس و اربعین و ثمانمائه

Translation:

May this arrangement and composition remain for years
(When) every small sign of us is dispersed
The purpose of this depiction is
That (something) of us should remain
Because I do not consider (my) existence as permanent

Unless one day a pious man compassionately
Prays for the welfare of the dervishes.[8]
This blessed noble building was finished in the months of
the year eight hundred and forty-five (1441-2).

Sa^{c}dī's Gulistān had already been lavishly illustrated in Bāysunghur's library,[9] so it should come as no surprise that his verse shculd be found on buildings of this period. The sentiments expressed are as well suited to architecture as poetry.[10] An earlier use in Herat was in fact in metalwork, on the bronze basin in the Masjid-i Jami^{c} (776/1374-5),[11] and just a few years previously (772/1371) a Muzaffarid prince had had the same verses carved on the portal of the Palace of Darius at Persepolis.[12]

Condition Good.

Recorded January 1975.

Notes

1) Ghalvār is named by Hāfiz-i Abrū as being a suburb of the Anjīl district: HA, p. 18.
2) Pugachenkova, "À l'Étude," pp. 28-31. The section reproduced on p. 28 is quite inaccurate in the form of the squinch nets.
3) Similar vaults can be seen in the Shrine of Ahmad Yassavī (799/1397) and the Ūlūgh Beg Madrasa, Ghujdavān (836/1433). See respectively Pugachenkova, "^{c}Ishrat-Khāneh," p. 180 and idem, Zodchestvo, p. 72.
4) For a more detailed discussion of this type of stucco, see O'Kane, "Timurid Stucco Decoration."
5) It is just under 4m high.
6) Haravī, Hunar va Mardum, p. 50.
7) Haravī transcribes the inscription with the following errors: "bimānad" for "bimanād," "tartīb" for "tarkīb," "khāk" for "khāl" and "yād" for "bāz."
8) The translation is partly based on Rehatsek.
9) Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, p. 119.
10) Cf. Horace's "Exegi monumentum aere perennius."

11) Melikian Chirvani, "Bassin," p. 7.

12) Idem, "Le Royaume," p. 22; Mustafavī, tr. Sharp, Pārs, p. 220. The verses also occur later in the fifteenth century on the Darb-i Imam in Isfahan: Hunarfar, Ganjīna, p. 343.

Bibliography

Pugachenkova, "A l'étude," pp. 28-31.

Eadem, Zodchestvo, pp. 64-5.

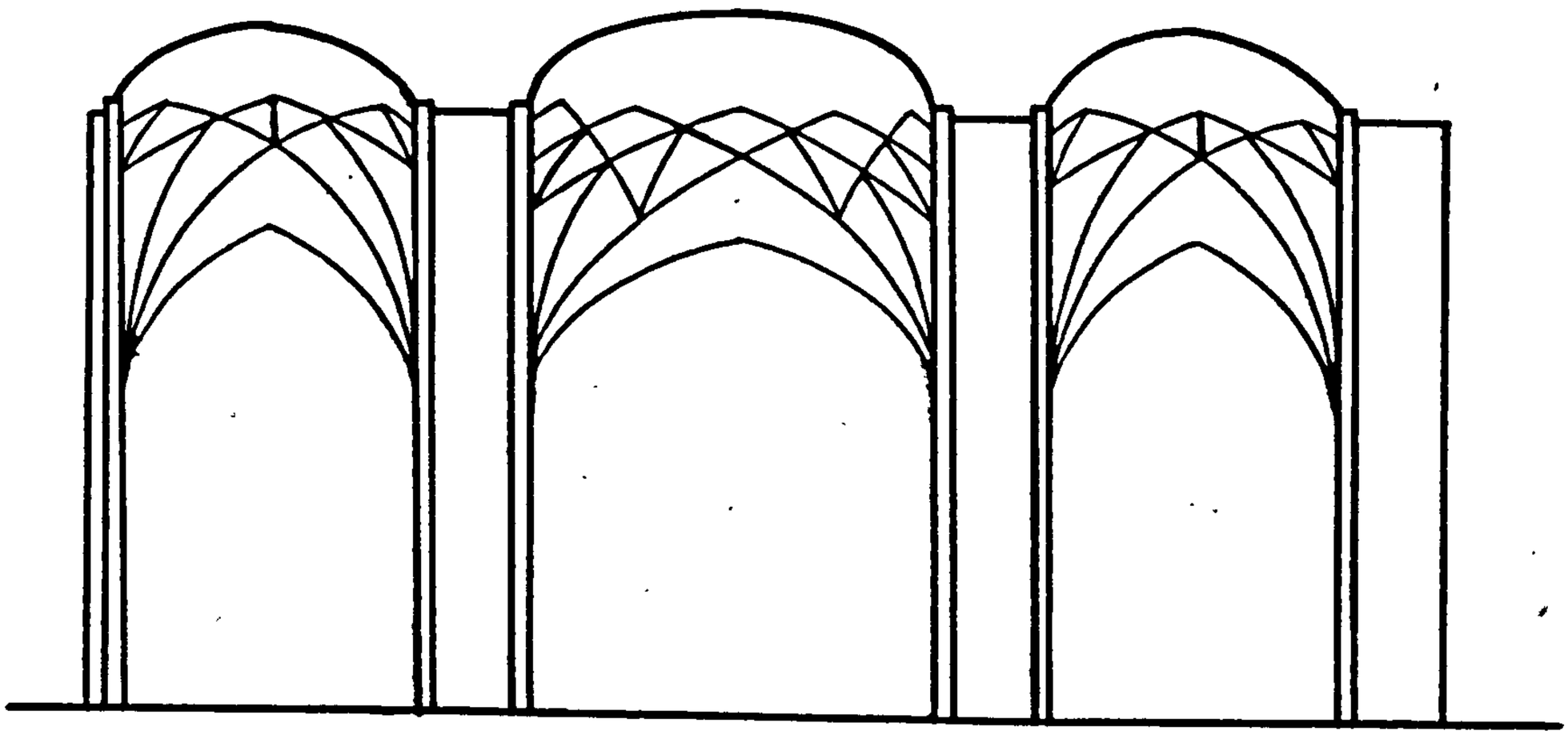
Haravī, "Az shāhkārhā," Ariyānā, pp. 32-4.

Idem, "Az shāhkārhā," Hunar va Mardum, pp. 50-2.

Ghauvās, Rahnamā, p. 39.

Allen, Catalogue, p. 426.

Allchin and Hammond, eds., p. 383, Fig. 7.22.



33) Cat.no.21. Ghalvār, Masjid-i Hauż-i Karbās: sketch plan and elevation

TURBAT-I JĀM, MASJID-I JAMI^{C} AND MADRASA OF FĪRŪZSHĀH

For these two parts of the Shrine complex see "Tāybād, Turbat-i Jām and Timurid Vaulting," Appendix IV.

One feature of previous publications of the Madrasa of Fīrūzshāh may be questioned: the assumption that the room between the courtyard of the Shrine and the S aivan of the madrasa was the vestibule of the madrasa. Although the entrance to it from the Shrine courtyard is marked by a blind niche with a portal screen projecting above the wall to either side, this is not so impressive an entrance as one finds in other Timurid madrasas, where a large aivan is the rule. Such an aivan, undoubtedly containing the foundation inscription of Jalāl al-Dīn Fīrūzshāh, could well have been on the E or N side of the madrasa's courtyard, and may have led to a vestibule which in turn may have communicated with an entrance complex.

The vestibule which exists today, then, may not have been a busy passageway, but rather a small oratory for quiet contemplative prayer, accessible to pilgrims to the Shrine as well as to the occupants of the madrasa.

TURBAT-I JĀM, MADRASA OF AMIR SHAH MALIK

According to the "Appendix" published by Lisa Golombek,[1] the madrasa of Amir Shah Malik, constructed in 846/1442-3, was located to the S of the Shrine, an area which today is occupied by a modern structure.

In McCool's plan, published by Wilber,[2] an aivan flanked by a series of blind niches is shown in this area, immediately opposite the Madrasa of Fīrūzshāh.

Two photographs published by Godard show part of this structure before it was demolished. In one only the end of the wall facing the courtyard is visible;[3] the other shows a ruined aivan behind the entrance aivan.[4] A squinch vault covered the latter, while on the former the remains of roughly applied plaster were visible, suggesting that another revetment, perhaps tilework, originally covered it.

There is a possibility that these fragments formed the remains of the madrasa of Amir Shah Malik, although with no reliable dating criteria available from the published photographs, it must remain only a possibility, pending publication of other old photographs of the same area.

Notes

1) "Chronology," p. 41. There is a still unresolved discrepancy between the date of death of Amīr Shāh Malik (829/1426) and the supposed date of erection of his madrasa.
2) AII, Fig. 52.
3) "Voûtes," Fig. 264.
4) Ibid., Fig. 186

Bibliography: See the notes.

TĀYBĀD, BUQ^{c}A OF SHAIKH ZAIN AL-DĪN ABŪ BAKR TĀYBĀDĪ

See "Tāybād, Turbat-i Jām and Timurid Vaulting," Appendix IV.

In a recent study Sheila Blair has commented on possible meanings for the term buq^{c}a. While agreeing that it always had funerary connotations, she produces evidence to suggest that it need not necessarily be connected with Sufis. Firstly, she gives textual examples where it was used to refer to non-Sufi buildings, such as the Mashhad of ^{c}Alī at Najaf, or to the various buildings in the tomb complexes of Rashīd al-Dīn in the Rub^{c}-i Rashīdī and Ūljāytū at Sultāniyya. Secondly, the inscription of the buq^{c}a at Natanz says that the founder ordered it and then endowed it as a khanqah for poor Sufis. She points out that had the word buq^{c}a necessarily denoted Sufi activities, there would have been no need to further qualify it as a khanqah.[1]

This interpretation seems convincing. While there is thus no epigraphic evidence that the Buq^{c}a of Tāybād was used by Sufis, one can nevertheless argue that its provision of smaller rooms around the large dome chamber, and the fame of the mystic in whose honour it was erected, increase the likelihood of its housing, even if on an informal basis, a Sufi community.

Notes

1) Blair, Natanz, pp. 144-6.

KHARGIRD, MADRASA AL-GHIYĀTHIYYA

See "The Madrasa al-Ghiyāsīyya at Khargird," Appendix III and "Tāybād, Turbat-i Jām and Timurid Vaulting," pp. 101-3, Appendix IV.

Some comments may be added to the above articles.

The bevelled corners of the courtyard The prior examples of this feature in the Parīzād and Bālā Sar madrasas should be noted. In "Khargird" it is stated that "their employment is as much for spatial as for decorative purposes, in that they provide a more economical means of providing passage-ways to the staircases." Upon reflection, the spatial advantages of the bevelling are not substantial, whatever their aesthetic merit. What would have been the result if they had been omitted, and the corners left rectangular? Only on the eastern upper-storey domed corner rooms would there have been any effect: these would have had to be smaller to accommodate the passageway leading to the cells on either side. In other cases, however, only the vestibules or corridors leading to staircases would have been diminished.

Admittedly, this was to be a perennial problem in later architecture. Safavid caravanserais show some of the most elegant solutions, although the problem was not so acute there, since an extended corridor could still be used as part of a stable. Even the ninety years of further experiments which the architect of the Mīr-i ᶜArab Madrasa in Bukhara[1] had to draw on did not bring him any closer to a solution. The realisation that some space in this area had to be wasted was finally turned to advantage in the Madrasa Mādar-i Shah in Isfahan, where small courtyards have been arranged in the corners.[2]

Alignment In Herzfeld's archive the qibla is recorded as facing 235°.

Reasons for erection in Khargird It has been suggested that one of the reasons why Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr Aḥmad Khvāfī wished to build structures such as this madrasa and a fine buqᶜa (Tāybād) in his native Khvāf may have been to secure the property for his descendants. If they were named trustees in a waqf ahlī, the property would have been free from arbitrary confiscation, and the family would have had the use of surplus funds from the waqf.[3]

However, there are possible objections to this theory. One is that the bequests were not limited to Khvāf—Khvāndamīr in his biography of Pīr Aḥmad specifically states that the waqfs of the madrasa and buqᶜa were considerable throughout Khurasan.[4] Another objection is that, even if the madrasa had been erected in Herat, the same lands could have been constituted waqf and the family could have enjoyed the same privileges. Should one then assume after all that Pīr Aḥmad "wished to perpetuate a tradition of learning which had been founded in the nearby Nizāmiyya"?[5] It is likely, however, that, even if properties from all over Khurasan were made waqf for the madrasa, the bulk of Pīr Aḥmad's holdings was in the province of Khvāf. The closer the building that was made waqf to the sources of income, the less chance of embezzlement before they reached the trustees.[6] This latter consideration, therefore, may have been of overriding concern for Pīr Aḥmad in his decision to build in Khvāf.

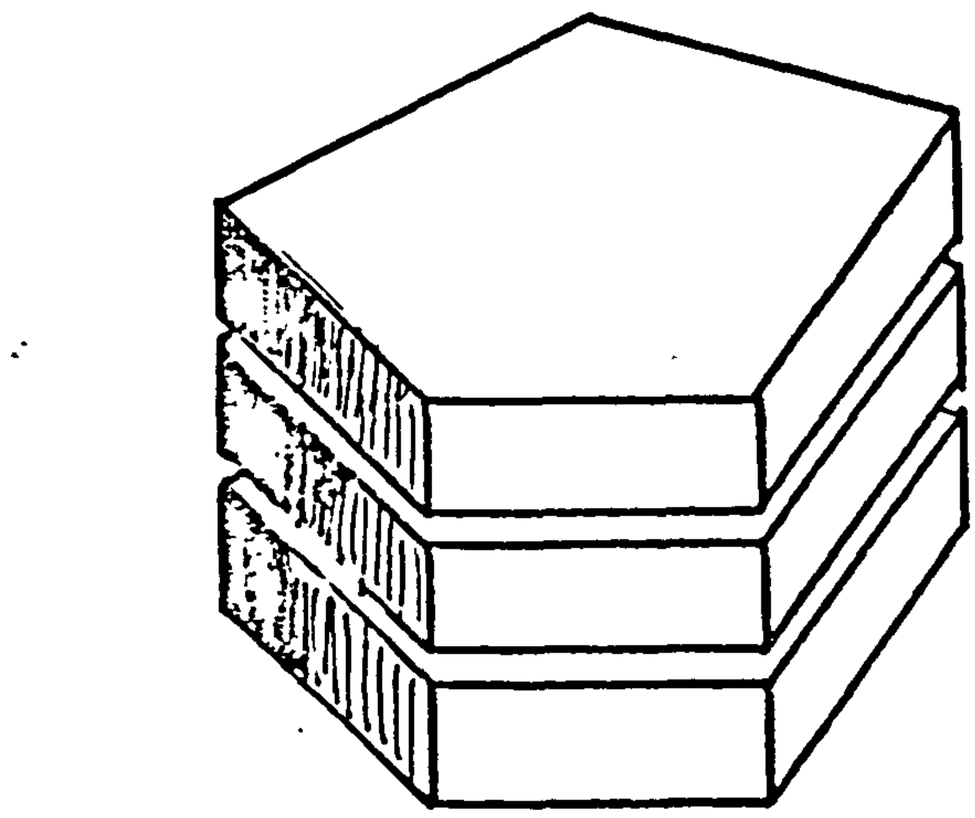
Notes

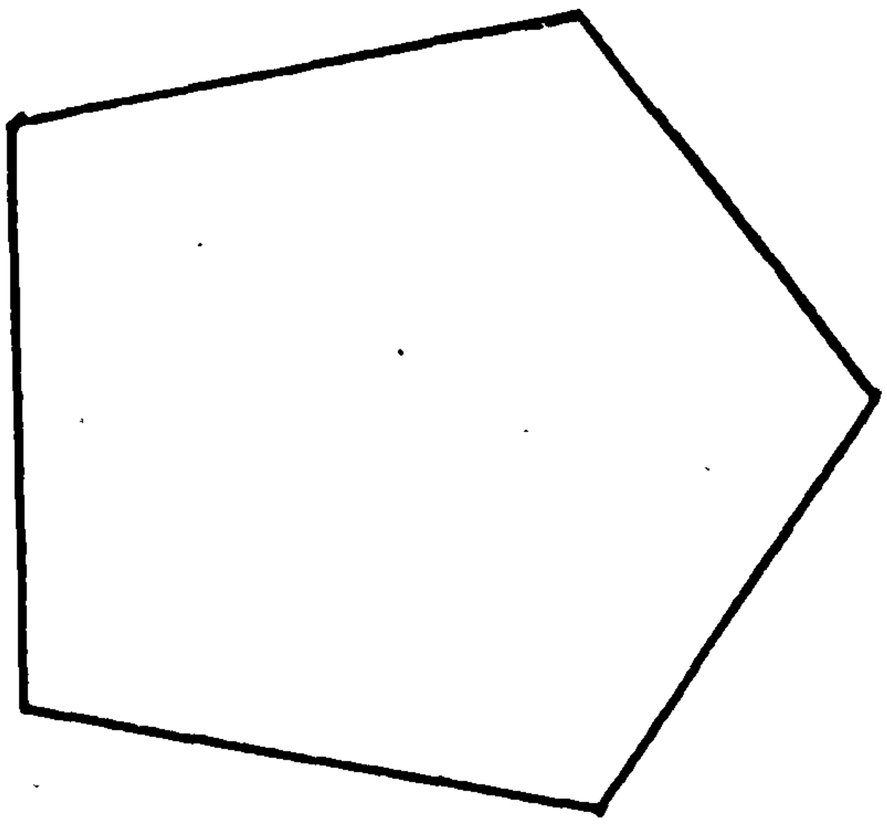
1) Best plan in Bulatov, Garmonizatsiya, Fig. 117.
2) Plan in Pope, Persian Architecture, Fig. 316.
3) Golombek, "Khargird Revisited" (forthcoming), "Tāybād," p. 96.
4) auqāf-i an biqāᶜ-i nafāᶜ dar atrāf-i Khurāsān bisyār, IV, p. 354.
5) "Khargird," p. 79. It is still not certain whether this building was a madrasa or a mosque.

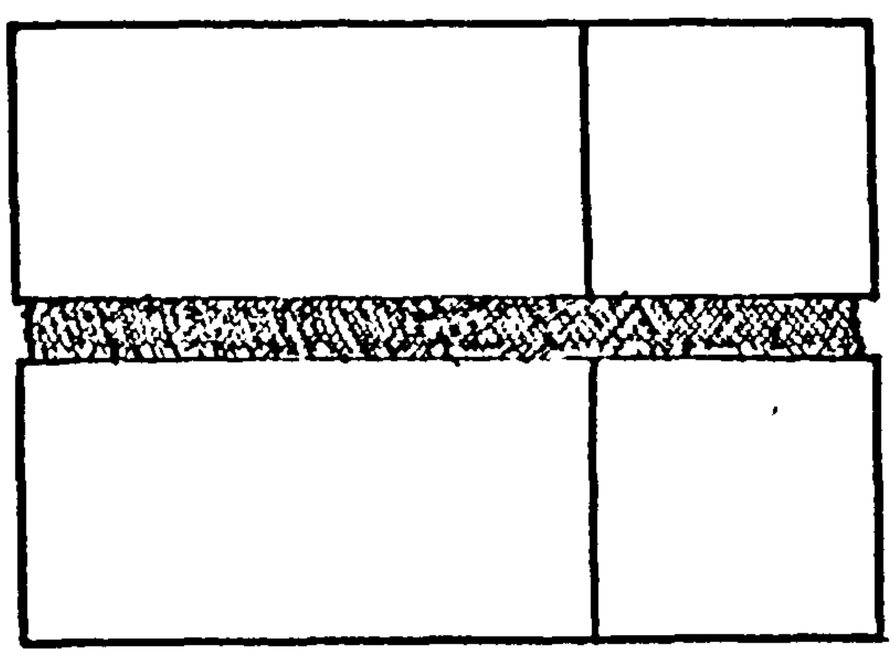
6) It has been estimated that losses from lands hundreds of miles away from the source of income could be as much as 50%. See Rogers, "Waqfiyyas," p. 188.

Bibliography

Anon., tr. M.F. Zafar, "The School of Khargurd," Afghanistan March 1981, pp. 51-2. The translator would have done well to remain anonymous also—the article concludes "The inscription on the building mentions the fact that Qivamuddin had died while holding the scafolding (sic)."







34) Cat.no.25. Khargird: Madrasa al-Ghiyāthiyya: banna'i bricks on corner towers

MASHHAD, MADJID-I SHAH

Location Ca. 1/2km W of the Shrine, just off the former main bazar route.

Plan (Fig. 35) Square dome chamber surrounded by corridors and smaller rooms, preceded by facade of aivan, corner minarets, and intermediate niches.

Elevation a) exterior: The entrance facade has been restored in the last fifteen years to its putative original state by the removal of a later inscription at the top of the portal screen of the aivan and of plaster semi-domes at the back of the aivan and the niches (Fig. 38). Fortunately, the mosaic-faience decoration which covers most of the portal was mostly intact underneath the plaster and formed the basis for subsequent restorations.

The entrance aivan is barrel-vaulted with mosaic-faience decoration covering the sides, back and portal screen. Only the beginning and end of the main inscription on the portal screen are intact; the Safavid inscription which was on top of the portal screen has been removed to show how the original inscription would have framed it.

There are two niches to either side of the aivan. Those immediately beside it are connected to it by a small domed bay. When looked at on the ground plan, these bays seem to be part of an ambulatory which surrounds the central domed square. However, the tiled decoration at the back of the aivan confirms that it was always part of the exterior, as with the bays to either side. There is a certain ambiguity, however, about the dividing line in this area between interior a and exterior, for at the moment only modern wooden lattices with an inlaid door mark the transition. The usual Timurid entrance was

rectangular, often with a grilled window above the lintel, and in the absence of this it is difficult to say whether the modern lattices reflect the shape and location of the original entrances.

The two bays beside the minarets communicate with corridors behind; they too are now closed off with wooden lattices.

The minarets stand on a polygonal base which, like the rest of the facade, has been recently cased in black stone. The round shaft above was topped by a wooden balcony and a smaller circular storey, as the right hand minaret shows.

The bulbous dome, on a tall drum, is clearly visible behind the aivan, one of the rare combinations of these forms in Persian architecture where the relationship between the two is finely balanced. Pope aptly characterised its form as perfect, and his preference for it over that of the Masjid-i Gauhar Shād is justified by the increased height of the drum of the former, which makes the bulge of the dome appear less abrupt.[1]

At the base of the drum eight windows alternate with panels containing large banna'i Kufic. Above is an inscription band and a frieze which was originally capped by stalactites leading to the base of the dome. The tiles which now cover the dome are restorations based on earlier photographs,[2] although only a few at the base were intact. One peculiarity of the aivan and dome should be noted: the back of the aivan partially obscures the window on the same axis, as well as part of the banna'i script to either side (Fig. 37, Pl. 133).

Clearly it has been added on to the original dome chamber. At what time this took place is a question that will be discussed later.

The side and rear facades are of plain brick. The rear in particular shows extensive signs of restorations of different periods.

b) interior: The central dome chamber is completely symmetrical (Pl.

130). Between the main arches four kite-shaped squinches lead to an octagonal inner drum, each face of which is pierced by a window. Each window has a sloping embrasure composed of six logs. From the arches over the windows a squinch net leads to a twenty-four-sided base for the shallow inner dome.

Surrounding the dome chamber on three sides is a lower ambulatory, which on the main axis widens into an "apsidal niche." This is what Diez recorded (although he was only able to observe the building from the outside), although Byron writing in the Survey comments that "...there appears to be no exit from the sanctuary in this direction, and neither photographs nor observations on the spot have revealed any such thing."[3] This conflict of evidence may be partially resolved by the consideration of the state of this part of the building before restoration. Photographs of the Mashhad Sazman-i Hifazat show that the surrounding corridor and apse was partially destroyed, the roof and several walls having collapsed in several places. Its precarious state may explain why no access to this area from the main dome chamber was possible at the time of Byron's visit. It has been presumably restored from the surviving foundations, although one cannot be sure that all the domes supported on squinch nets in this area are original. One for which documentary evidence does exist[4] is that in the middle of the S corridor, a most unusual example where the squinch net leads to a fourteen-sided base for the dome.

To the S and N of the ambulatory are smaller domed rooms and corridors, although the treatment is not symmetrical on either side.

To the S is a domed room. A photograph taken before restoration[5] shows that the base of the dome here was eight-sided, and not twelve-sided as it is now.

To the N there is a larger domed room with deep recesses on three

sides. The recesses to the E and W support small upper-storey chambers, that on the W reached by a staircase on the outer W wall, that on the E by the staircase in the NE corner of the building.

Crypts (Fig. 36, Pl. 132) In the course of restoration in the N dome chamber, the Sazman-i Hifazat came upon stairs which lead down to a small vestibule and then a square crypt underneath the main dome chamber. These were all full of earth which was removed. Unlike many other Timurid crypts, such as those in the Gūr-i Mīr, the Mausoleum of Bībī Khānum, or the Madrasa Du Dar, the walls and squinches are roughly finished, with plaster covering roughly pointed bricks, unlike the banna'i bricks of the former examples. A photograph from the Sazman-i Hifazat shows the dome missing, and so the present one is a restoration. The original dome, as the first courses show, had a steeper profile than the other Timurid crypts mentioned above, but even this was not sufficient to save it from collapse--the rubble which was removed from the crypt probably consisted partly of the caved-in dome.

Another crypt has recently come to light underneath the S dome chamber, the entrance to it being from a corridor with several right angles which began near the SE corner of the building. It is similar to that underneath the main chamber, although slightly smaller.

The larger crypt has a low plaster-covered brick cenotaph in the centre and three others around the walls, while the smaller crypt has only one in the middle.

Interior of double dome Eight brick buttresses, four large and four slightly thinner, support the shell. The four larger ones stand on a pair of intersecting arches which spring from the base of the drum, and which reinforce the back of the inner dome. A similar system can be seen in the Masjid-i Gunbad in Ziyāratgāh.[6]

An earlier photograph shows a central wooden pole connected in places to the buttress by other wooden studs;[7] this has now been replaced by a metal scaffold tower.

Decoration a) tilework: Tilework in various guises is used to cover all the entrance facade, the outer shell of the dome, and much of the interior of the main dome chamber.

Mosaic-faience is used most frequently, sometimes in common with brick plaques to form inset technique (on the flanks of the aivan and intermediate niches) or, as on the minaret, within a framework of banna'i bricks. The repertory of patterns is considerable, although, as Golombek observed, precedents for many of them can be found in the Mosque of Gauhar Shād, or even in the Mosque of Tūmān Āghā in the Shah-i Zinda. The pattern of interlacing strapwork on a tympanum of the latter, for instance,[8] is almost identical to that on an arched panel beside the main doorway of the Masjid-i Shah (Pl. 129). The spandrels of this part, however, show a motif whose appearance in tile-work seems to be new: a Chinese cloud-band scroll, combined here with a large peony in the centre of the spandrel. Individual cloud-bands are also used in several of the mosaic-faience cartouches of the minarets. The motif is found later in Timurid architecture in the shrines at Āzādān, but it was not until the Safavid period that its use became widespread.

The large base of the dome uses banna'i Kufic between the windows. The turquoise letters are outlined in tiles of a darker blue whose colours can vary considerably from medium to navy. The dappled effect is not unpleasing, although one wonders whether it bespeaks local manufacture with less rigorous quality control than that of the capital.

The mosaic-faience frieze of the top of the drum is divided into a series of floral panels. This owes more to the Madrasa Du Dar than

to any surviving parts of the Gauhar Shād Mosque.

It was the interior of the main dome chamber, however, that the designer reserved for his most original use of tilework. The dado is of emerald green hexagonal tiles, topped by a mosaic-faience inscription on the same green background. So far the dome chamber is not unlike many fifteenth century examples—others with hexagonal green tiles include the complex of Tūmān Āghā in the Shah-i Zinda, the Khanqah of Shah Rukh in Dāmghān, the Green Mosque in Bursa and the garden pavilion in Afūshta. In a stroke of genius, however, the hexagonal tiles continue upwards into the tympanum of the four main arches, thereby producing a vibrant effect of colour.[9] The shallow spandrels of the doorway arches are filled with an amber spiral scroll but this too is on a green background, and does not distract from the overall monochromatic effect. This never becomes monotonous, because the slight variations in intensity of the glaze gives the tiles a pleasant mottled appearance, like the banna'i of the drum. The appearance of the tiles today is slightly misleading, however, as they originally had stencilled patterns of unfired gold. This has now worn off, leaving only a ghost film. The arabesque medallion in the centre may be compared with those in a similar technique in the Green Mosque in Bursa.[10]

b) painting: The four arches of the main dome chamber and the area above it were all painted originally. Little remains today, but from the surviving fragments, such as the golden trefoil medallion in the centre of the squinches, outlined in a series of smaller medallions, or the large reciprocal trefoils at the base of the dome, it is clear that the onlooker was confronted with a lightening of colours as the eye moved upwards, complementing the architectural dissolution of the solidity of the lower arches and squinches to the elaborate faceting

of the squinch net above.

Inscriptions As one of the major problems connected with this building was its function, the inscriptions later in date than the Timurid foundation will be included for any light which they might throw on this matter. The inscriptions have been published by Sanīʿ al-Daula, Diez, Sykes, Maulavī and Hanaway.

The entrance aivan. Right flank of portal screen, above flowering vase panel; white thulth on a dark-blue ground:

1) عمل (خ)واجگی ؟ شمس الدین محمد بنا التبریزی

"Work of the master Shams al-Dīn Muhammad bannā' al-Tabrīzī"

The usual place for a panel of this kind would be on the left flank, at the end of an inscription.[11] It is not impossible that it has been removed and reassembled at some time.[12]

The main inscription of the portal screen, in large white letters on a dark-blue ground, begins above this. The upper quarter of the space is taken up with light-blue plaited Kufic, in a style similar to that on the E aivan of the Madrasa Parīzād. On the right flank only the beginning of the basmala is present; the end of the inscription on the left flank is as follows:

2) ... یل الامیر ملکشاه عرح الله معارح دولته
فی رجب سنه خمس و خمسین و ثمانمائه الهجریه

"...the amir Malik Shah, may God elevate the ascendancy of his his rule, in Rajab 855/July-August 1451."

While one need not agree that the equal of this inscription is not to be found anywhere,[13] the quality of the remainder is certainly outstanding, with the calligrapher making the most of the proximity of the repeated forms of the khams and khamsīn and of the uprights at the end of the date. The slight flattening of several letters in the date give the script an appearance of rayhān rather than thulth.

Framing this inscription was a continuous band of epigraphic cartouches containing Persian verses in amber thulth on a dark-blue ground. The poetry is by Qāsim-i Anvār, Sa^{c}dī and Hāfiz, and while some of the verses have been restored by the Sazman-i Hifazat, only the originals are included here.[14] On the lower right pier, by Sa^{c}dī:

3) خوشست عمر دریغا که جاودانی نیست
بس اعتماد بر این پنج روز فانی نیست

"Life is sweet, alas that it's not everlasting!
There is no reliance on these five passing days (i.e., life)."

On the left hand side of the right flank; author unknown:

4) که به اوصاف خداوند سخن چون رانم
من و توحید تو هیهات دلم می‌لرزد

"That I speak of the qualities of the Lord
Myself and Your Oneness—alas, my heart trembles."

On the right side of the left flank, by Qāsim-i Anvār:

5) مصحف رو ترا از همه رو میخانم
چند روزیست که قاسم از تو ماندست جدا
بس عجب ماندهام ای دوست عجب می‌مانم

"In everything I see your likeness (lit. the book of your face)
It is several days since Qāsim has remained apart from you
I am lost in admiration, O Friend, and I shall remain beguiled."

On the right and base of the left flank, by Hāfiz:

6) بر این رواق زبرجد نوشته بزر
بجز نکوئی اهل کرم نخواهد ماند

"It is written in gold on this emerald arcade
Nothing will remain except the goodness of the generous."

On the bevel of the portal screen of the aivan are several cartouches in Arabic in praise of the prophet and the imams.

Only one on the right side remains:

7) اللهم صل على محمد المصطفى

"O God, pray for Muhammad the Chosen."

On the left side the following remains:

(اللهم صل على) محمد التقى

اللهم صل على على انقى

و حسن العسكرى و محمد المهدى الهادى

"(O God pray for) Muhammad al-Tuqā

O God pray for ᶜAlī al-Naqī

And Hasan al-ᶜAskarī and Muhammad al-Mahdī al-Hādī."

8) The inscription at the top of the aivan, which has since been removed, was in white separated into two registers by a white line—a typically Safavid trait (Pl. 128). It contained:

Quran II/144

"We have seen the turning of thy face to heaven (for guidance, O Muhammad). And now verily We shall make thee turn (in prayer) toward a qibla which is dear to thee. So turn thy face toward the Inviolable Place of Worship, and ye (O Muslims), whereso-ever ye may be, turn your faces (when ye pray) toward it. Lo! those who have received the scripture know that (this Revelation) is the Truth from their Lord. And Allah is not unaware of what they do."

The minarets: The largest mosaic-faience inscriptions on the building are found on the semi-circular panels just above the bases of the minarets. The top quarter of the field is amber plaited Kufic, like that of the main inscription on the portal screen, while below it in white thulth on a dark-blue ground is:

9) Quran XLI/33.

"And who is better in speech than him who prayeth unto his Lord and doth right, and saith: Lo! I am of those who surrender (unto Him)."

Above this frieze the decoration is divided into a series of cartouches of varying sizes. Many of them contain pairs of the asmā' al-ḥusnā or pious aphorisms (e.g. subḥān Allāh wa'l-ḥamd li'llāh). Larger polylobed panels near the base contain the following hadiths in white thulth on a dark-blue ground:

10) قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم الموذنون اطول
اعناقا يوم القيامة و قال عليه السلام اذا اسمعتم الموذن
فقولو امثل مايقول

"The Prophet of God, peace and the blessings of God be upon him, said: The muezzins are exalted on the day of judgment, and he, on him be peace, said: if you hear the muezzin, say as they do."

قال النبى عليه السلم من اذن سبع سنين محتسبا كتب
له برات من النار صدق نبى الله

"The prophet, on him be peace, said: Whoever is a muezzin for seven years, freedom from hell shall be prescribed for him as a reward; the Prophet of God spoke the truth."

The drum: In large banna'i Kufic, turquoise outlined in dark-blue, between the windows:

11) "Eternity is God's." البقا لله

Above this runs a panel with verses by Qāsim-i Anvār. The upper third of the field is in amber Kufic, al-mulk li'llāh, repeated, the lower inscription white thulth on a dark-blue ground:

12) سجد ەكاە اصفيا
از صفا و مروە آن كعبه گر دارد شرف
از مروە وز صفا اين كعبه دارد صد بها

از وجود مصطفی گر گشت آن کعبه عزیز

...(ما)ه برج سلطنة

آفتاب اوج عزت شاه فوج اولیا

"...the oratory of the holy,

If from Ṣafā and Marva that Ka^{c}ba has holiness,

This sanctuary has, of humanity and purity, one hundred worth,

If that dear Ka^{c}ba became, from the essence of the prophet,

...the moon of the tower of the Sultanate,

The sun of the summit of strength, the king of the company of saints."

On another part of the same inscription a fragment is preserved, on which only a few words can be made out:

^{c}Alī b. al-Husain[15] علی بن الحسین

The door to the main dome chamber: in the centre of the wooden lintel is a cartouche with the basmala and the date 1155/1742-3. On the door itself are four cartouches containing nasta^{c}līq inscriptions, one of which contains the hadith:

13) من بنی مسجدا لله بنی الله له بیتا فی الجنة

"Whoever builds a mosque for God, God will build an abode for him in Paradise."

The interior of the main dome chamber: on the rectangular green tiles which framed the dado inscription are several ghost images of inscriptions originally stencilled in unfired gold; on each was a chahār ^{c}Alī lozenge and a larger cartouche with a pious aphorism, perhaps al-hukm li'llāh, "rule is to God."

The main inscription on the dado consists of distichs from a poem of ^{c}Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the original of which had twenty-two distichs.[16] The upper part of the field has al-hukm li'llāh and al-mulk li'llāh repeated in Kufic, while the poem is in amber thulth, all on the same

green ground as the dado. The verses are addressed to God, and their constant theme is the imploring of forgiveness of sins. Particularly interesting is the following verse:

14) اللهی آنسنی بتلقین حجتی
اذا کان فی القبر مثوی و مضجع

"O God, put me at ease by giving me proof (of the end of my life) If there be in the grave (for me) a dwelling place and a place of repose."

Too little remains of the painted inscription which went round the four main arches to be deciphered.

The painted inscription at the base of the zone of transition is still clear, however. It is in white thulth on a maroon ground:

15) Basmala, Quran II/161-6, followed by the date in words 1119/1707-8.

The Quranic verses affirm the oneness of God and express admonition for those who set up false gods. The date of this inscription is the same as that which Khanikoff gave for the inscription above the aivan (No. 8),[17] although the verses which he ascribed to it (Quran II/39) are not found there. It is possible that the date was at the end of the inscription but subsequently disappeared, or that he mistakenly ascribed the date of the interior inscription to it instead.

Materials of construction Hard white mortar. Bricks 23-4 x 23-4 x 5cm (on the drum, on top of the aivan vault behind the portal screen and inside the minaret), 26 x 26 x 4 1/2cm (on the piers and masonry inside the shell of the dome).

The circular central column in each of the minarets uses specially moulded rounded bricks 24cm long.

Date The evidence so far presents us with an interesting situation: a central dome chamber with an inscription dated 1119/1707-8 on to which has been added an aivan dated 851/1451. Apart from the painted inscription, however, both the form and decoration of the central dome chamber are obviously Timurid. If on structural grounds (the covering by the aivan of the window and banna'i inscription) it must date from before 855/1451, how much earlier might it be? However, rather than posit an earlier free-standing dome chamber, a more likely explanation must be a change of plan in mid-construction, involving a decision to raise the height of the aivan. There are several reasons why this is likely. The brick sizes of the drum and aivan are the same. The tile decoration of the dome chamber, especially on the drum, is of a similar character to that on the facade. The form of the dome chamber, with a squinch net above a fenestrated drum, is also quite compatible with a mid-fifteenth century date. A stronger objection, however, is that it would be hard to conceive of such a free-standing completely symmetrical dome chamber being erected in the fifteenth century. Even the building which it would most closely resemble, the undecorated Mazar-i Sangvar near Mashhad, has one entrance emphasised by a shallow aivan. While it is surprising that work on the central dome chamber should have gone as far as revetting the drum before the aivan was erected against it, the change of plan which this entailed is, for instance, paralleled by the building hisory of the mausoleum at Turuq, where more radical changes were effected in the course of building.

One other issue of chronology may be mentioned here: the minarets, according to Maulavī, were added on to the rest of the building in the Safavid period.[18] Their revetment, however, is totally in keeping with the other parts of the facade. While it is true that the bottom of the

S minaret covers part of the inset-technique of the flanks of the adjoining niche, the minaret is leaning off-axis and may have been hastily erected; the join of the N minaret at this point shows no sign of a break in bond.

Patron According to Maulavī,[19] the building is the tomb of Amir Ghiyāth al-Dīn Malik Shah, the well-known Timurid amir, who died in 829/1426 and was buried in Mashhad beside (dar javār) the tomb of Imam Riżā.[20]

There are two crucial objections to this theory. Although Maulavī asserts that his name was written as both Malik Shah and Shah Malik in the histories,[21] this is simply not true—Shah Malik is always used, and not Malik Shah as appears on the aivan inscription. The names are not reversible, any more than the Seljuq sultan Malik Shah is referred to as Shah Malik. Another contemporary example of this inflexibility may be noted: Khvaja Yūsuf was an amir of Tīmūr, while Yūsuf Khvaja was an amir of Shah Rukh, but the names of the two are never confused in the histories.

The second objection is the date of death of Shah Malik, a quarter of a century before the erection of the building. Yet the form of the prayer on the aivan after the name of Malik Shah (No. 2), "may God elevate the ascendancy of his rule" is only appropriate to someone who is still alive. Unfortunately, I have not been able to trace any amir Malik Shah in the period.

At the time the Masjid-i Shah was erected Abu'l-Qāsim Bābur was ruler of Khurasan, and had made Mashhad his place of residence. Malik Shah was presumably one of his numerous amirs whose military endeavours were not sufficiently memorable for him to be mentioned in the histories of the period.

Function Maulavī gives a list of reasons why the building should be

considered a tomb rather than a mosque,[23] which may be summarised as follows:

1) The qibla is inaccurate. According to my measurements it faces 255°, compared with 222, 235, and 238° respectively for the Parīzād, Du Dar and Bālā Sar madrasas.

2) There is no mihrab in the building; instead a corridor surrounds the main dome chamber, unlike the plan of other Timurid mosques.

3) The building has a crypt with graves (the crypt under the S dome chamber had not been brought to light when Maulavī was writing). Muslims are not usually buried in mosques, and the crypt is not a place of prayer.

4) Several of the inscriptions are more appropriate to a tomb. These include:

a) The square Kufic around the dome (No. 11): Eternity is God's.

b) The verses by Sa^{c}dī on the aivan (No. 3):

"Life is sweet, alas that it's not everlasting!
There is no reliance on these five passing days."

c) The supplicatory and intecessory nature of the verses of ^{c}Alī inside the dome chamber (No. 14), especially that quoted above:

"O God, put me at ease by giving me proof of the end of my life
If there be in the grave (for me) a dwelling place and a place of repose."

While the force of some of these arguments cannot be denied, they only tell part of the story.

The building is certainly oriented differently from earlier Timurid structures in Mashhad, but they also have slight differences from each other, as the list above showed. The exact orientation of the qibla was therefore a matter which did not always remain fixed, but was a question which astronomical calculations of greater accuracy could

amend. Mausoleums are usually qibla-oriented, as the body was supposed to be laid down with the right side facing Mecca. We can presume therefore that this building, whether a mosque or tomb or both, was qibla oriented, but that due to revised calculations the architect thought that the orientation of previous mosques was in error, and amended the new one accordingly.[24]

While the building does not have a mihrab now, it had one in the nineteenth century, for Sanī[c] al-Daula refers to it in his description of the interior.[25] Presumably it was in the apsidal recess. As Maulavī points out, the plan is certainly atypical of Timurid mosques, although the similarity of its plan to that of the Blue Mosque in Tabriz has been noted before.[26] Another important mosque may have contributed to the idea of the apsidal recess: the Masjid-i Jami[c] of Gauhar Shād in Herat. This had a second smaller domed sanctuary behind the main one.[27] A related plan is also used in several Ottoman mosques in Bursa.

There is other evidence that the Masjid-i Shah was designed as a place of prayer, or more specifically as a mosque for the quarter in which it was located. The form of the towers flanking the facade, unlike the stumpier versions at Gāzur Gāh and Khargird, for instance, proclaim them unambiguously as minarets. Their tall slender form and internal staircase leading to a balcony make this evident. Any possible doubt is removed by their inscriptions (Nos. 9-10) which are related to prayer and the call to prayer.

Two of the later Safavid inscriptions confirm that the building was used as a mosque in later centuries. That on the door dated 1155/1742-3 gives a hadith (No. 13) praising the builders of mosques, while that which was on the aivan, probably dating from 1119/1707-8 (No. 8) contains the Quranic phrase:

"And now verily we shall make thee turn (in prayer) toward a qibla that is dear to thee."

The building therefore incorporated two functions: that of a mausoleum and that of a mosque. A "funerary mosque" is a convenient term in English, although this leaves open the question of what the building would have been called in its foundation inscription, or indeed how the various parts of the complex functioned. Before we can answer this, however, another question remains to be considered: who was/were buried in the crypts? Were they for Amir Malik Shah and his family, or for a local saint, or both?

The inscriptions, again, provide valuable evidence on this matter. The poem by ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib inside the dome chamber, and that in praise of the twelve Imams on the bevel of the aivan, certainly indicate an interest in the ᶜAlids which one would scarcely expect in an exclusively secular mausoleum, but which would be quite in keeping with one erected for an ᶜAlid descendant. The fragment of the inscription on the drum with the name ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusain could have referred to the occupant of the tomb. The verses by Qāsim-i Anvār on the drum which refer to the "Strength and purity of this sanctuary (kaᶜba)" would also be more appropriate on the tomb of a religious than a secular figure. This does not exclude, of course, the possibility that Amir Malik Shah or other members of his family would have been buried in the crypt—the presence of two crypts may even make this more likely. But the important point remains that the mausoleum quite likely housed the remains of a saintly ᶜAlid.

Granted this, it becomes easier to suggest possible functions for the interior spaces of the building. The central dome chamber, possibly provided with a cenotaph, could have served as a mazar, while the dome chambers to either side could have been oratories.

The lack of symmetry which the building displays is perhaps indicative of the problems Malik Shah faced in acquiring land to build on. Property so close to the commercial heart of the city, the main bazar route, may well have been difficult to obtain, and some of it may already have been made waqf to parts of the Shrine of Imam Riżā. This could well explain why only one facade of the building was decorated. But the actual form which the building assumed on this irregular plot - a central square with surrounding corridors and rooms - could well have been suggested by the major mazar in the city, that of Imam Riżā, visible over the roofs of the bazar from the minarets of the Masjid-i Shah. The exact form of the complex of Imam Riżā in the middle of the fifteenth century is still a matter of conjecture, but it was certainly linked to a mosque, that of Gauhar Shād, by a number of intermediate rooms of varying dimensions, such as the Dār al-Siyāda and Dār al-Huffāẓ of Gauhar Shād.

A later monument near Herat also shows the same combination of mazar and mosque in one complex. This is the shrine at Āzādān (Cat. No. 36), where the cruciform dome chamber led into a jamā^{c}atkhāna which served as a masjid-i jami^{c}. On Wednesdays the shaikh and attendants provided nourishment for pilgrims.

It is not difficult to see the Masjid-i Shah serving the same functions. The small second-storey rooms in the corners could have been used to accomodate a resident shaikh or the khuddams. While the exact use of every space within the building must remain conjectural, the inscriptions and form of the building suggest that it was a mazar of this sort, used both by pilgrims and by the local inhabitants for prayers.

Condition Excellent, after recent restoration.

Recorded December 1974, February 1977.

Notes

1) Persian Architecture, p. 203. The sanctuary dome of the Mosque of Gauhar Shād, however, is a single shell, and has been completely rebuilt more than once. There is no pleasing everyone: Byron writes of the Masjid-i Shah "the outside of the drum widens at the top, producing an uncouthness which has no parallel in the central school of the same period" (Survey, p. 1136).
2) A different restoration is shown in other photographs, e.g. Hutt. It was subsequently removed.
3) P. 1130, n. 3.
4) A photograph in the Sazman-i Hifazat.
5) Sazman-i Hifazat.
6) Cat. No. 45.
7) Schroeder archive, Fogg Museum of Art.
8) Hill and Grabar, Islamic Architecture, Fig. 73.
9) See also Chapter III, p. 126 for this technique.
10) Lane, Guide, p. 12, Pl. 13a.
11) E.g. on the buq^{c}a of Tūmān Āghā in the Shah-i Zinda, and at Tāybād and Khargird.
12) A photograph by Pope in the Asia Institute, Shiraz, Neg. No. 3405, shows reused tiles on the left flank at the end of the main inscription.
13) Maulavī, pp. 81-2.
14) To those published by Hanaway I have added one given by Maulavī which, to judge from the colours of the tilework, is also original.
15) Hanaway, Pl. XVIII. Morton read this as Abu'l-Hasan ^{c}Alī b. al-Husain.
16) For a version of the original see Diwān al-Imām ^{c}Alī, ed. ^{c}Abd al-^{c}Azīz al-Karam, n.p. (Cairo), n.d., pp. 83-5.
17) Partie, p. 105.
18) P. 88.
19) Pp. 89-90.
20) HS, III, p. 614.
21) P. 75.
22) See O'Kane, "Timurid Stucco Decoration" (forthcoming).
23) Pp. 89-90.

24) Bābur noted the discrepancy between the qibla of Ūlūgh Beg's mosque and madrasa in Samarqand, and attributes the more accurate one of the mosque to proper astronomical observation. Bābur Nāma, tr. Beveridge, p. 79.

25) P. 245.

26) Golombek, Gazur Gah, p. 75, n. 26.

27) See Cat. No. 14.

Bibliography

Hanaway, CII, pp. 1-7, Pls. XIII-XXIII.

Sykes, "Historical Notes," pp. 1130-1.

Morton, review of Hanaway, CII, p. 191.

Mishkūtī, Fihrist, p. 103.

D'Allemagne, Du Khorassan, III, p. 94.

O'Donovan, Merv, p. 497.

Godard, Art of Iran, Pl. 144 (wrongly identified).

Pope, Persian Architecture, p. 203, Fig. 270.

Pugachenkova, Zodchestvo, pp. 25, 28, 61.

Sanī^{c} al-Daula, Maṭla^{c}, II, pp. 244-6.

Golombek, Gazur Gah, pp. 59, 65, 75, Figs. 156-7.

Diez, Churasanische, pp. 77-8, Pl. 38/1.

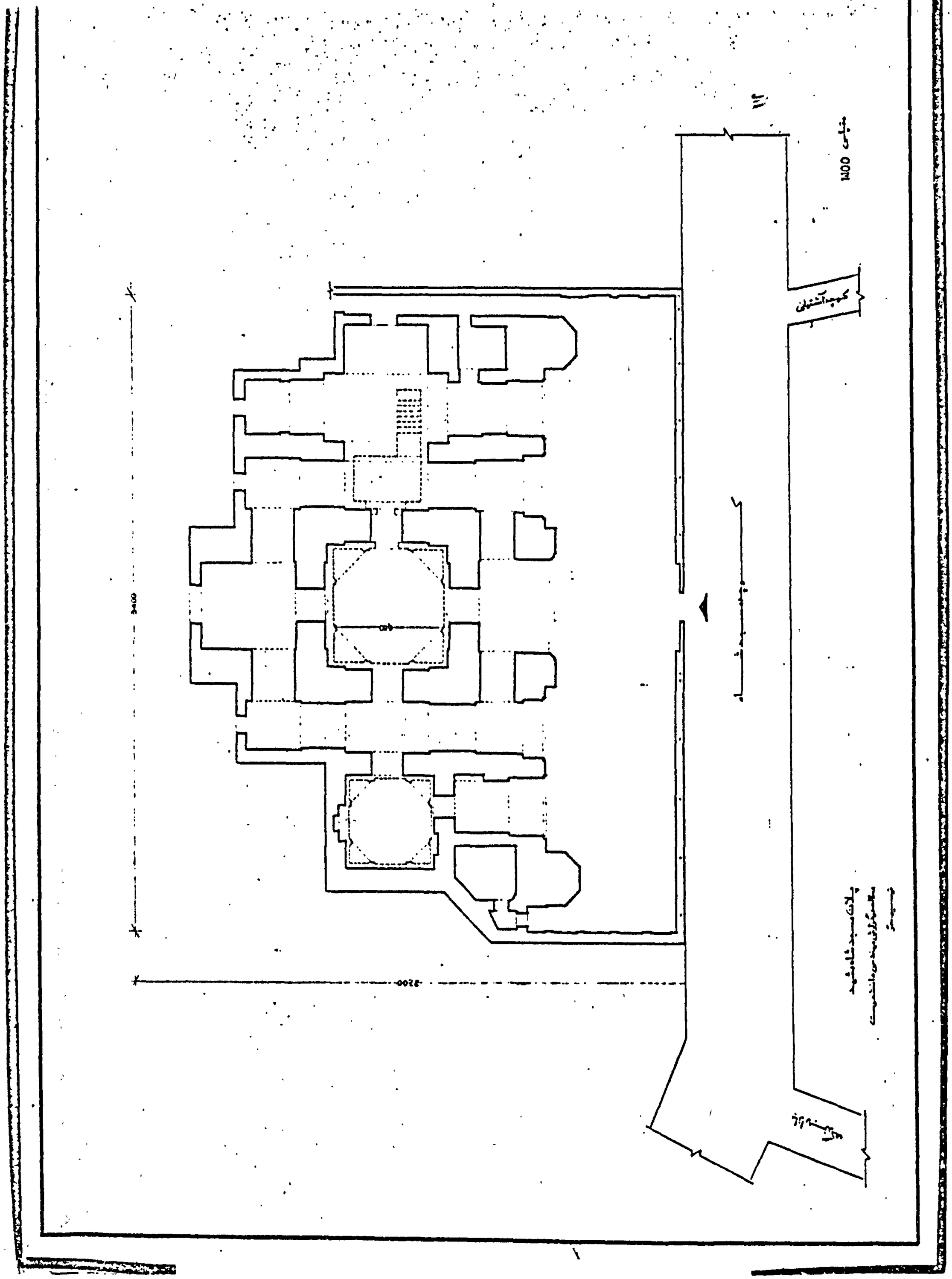
Khanikoff, Partie, pp. 105-6.

Yate, Khurasan, p. 329.

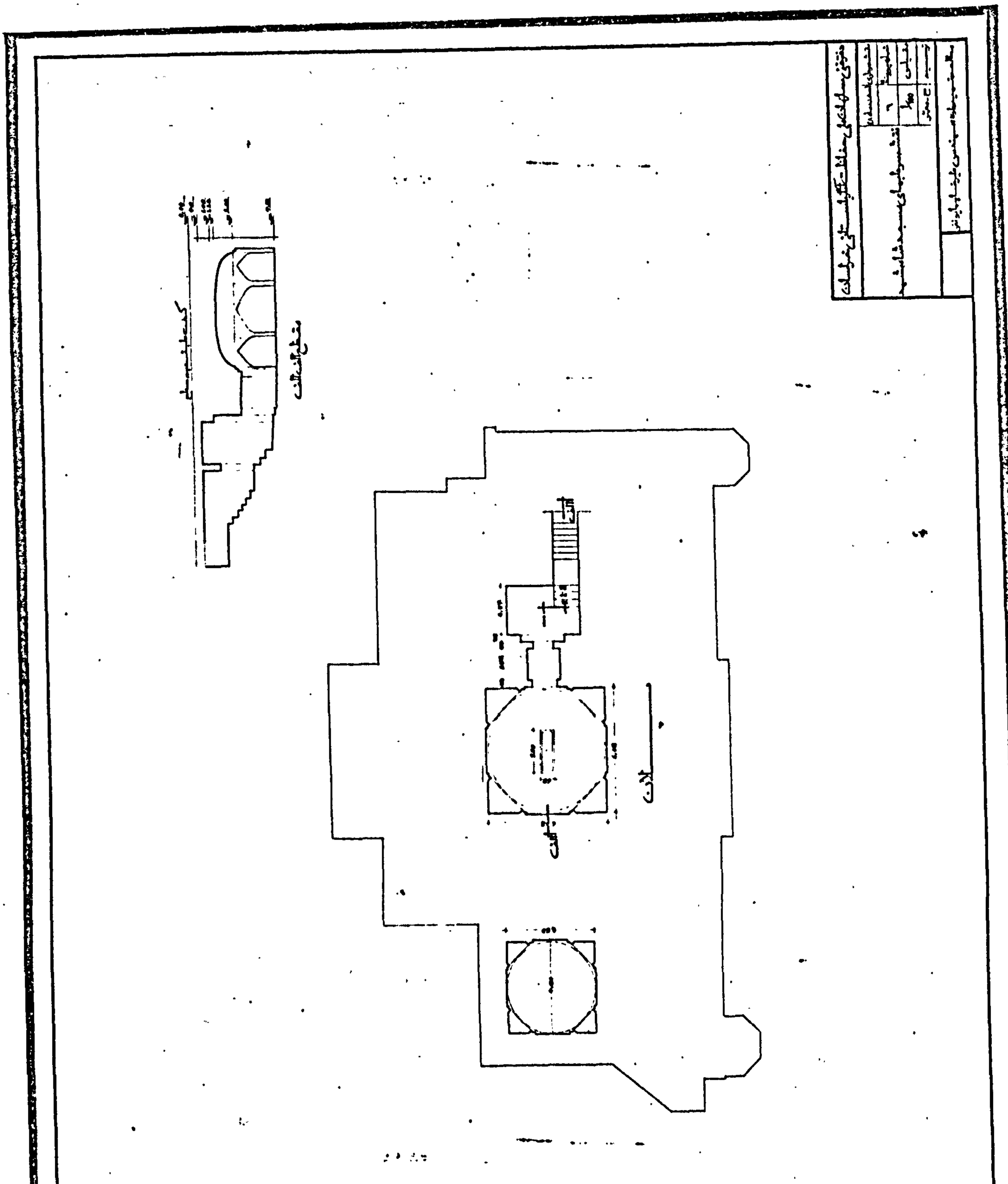
Byron, Survey, pp. 1130, 1136.

Hill and Grabar, Fig. 326 (wrongly identified).

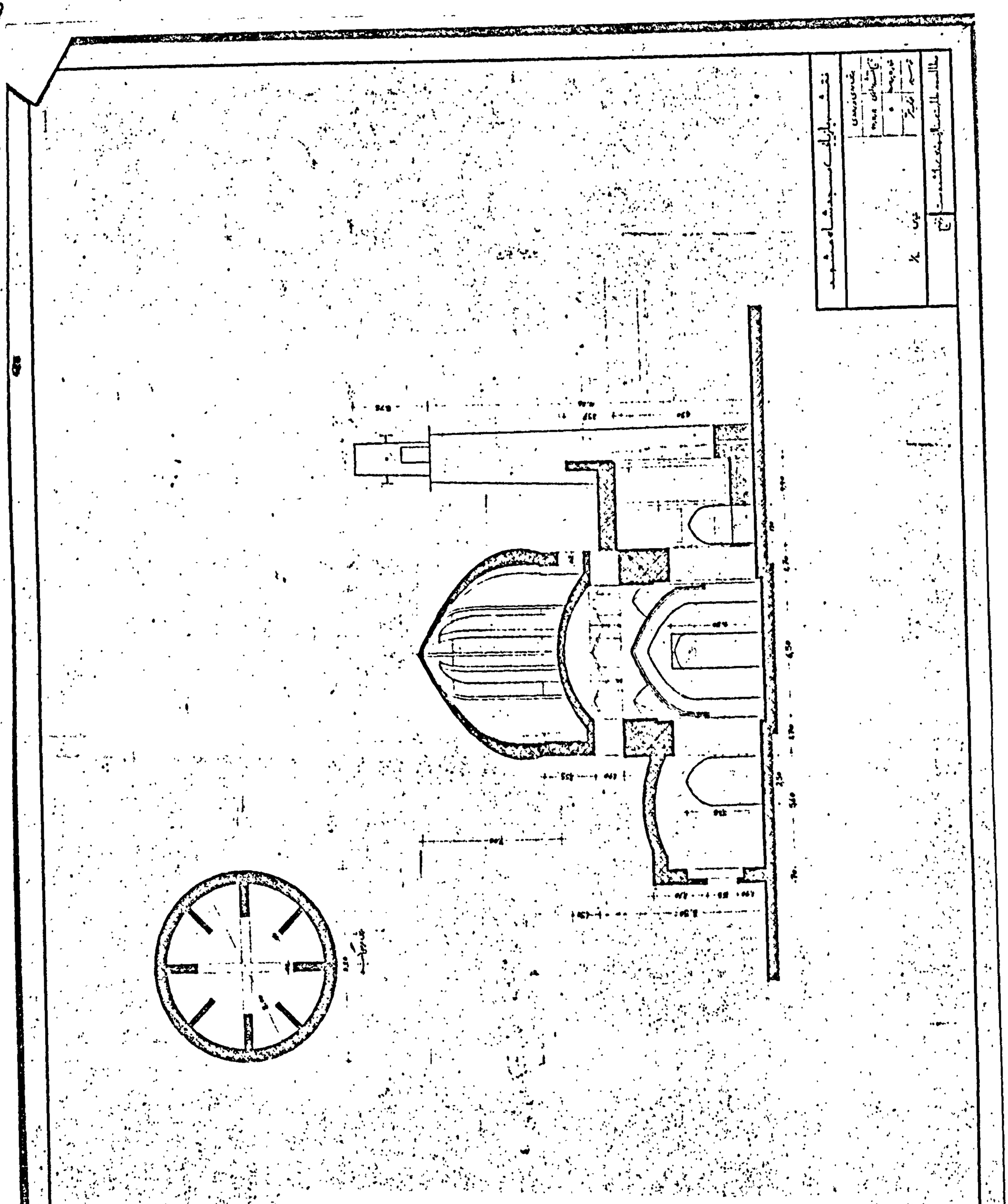
Maulavī, "Masjid-i Shah," pp. 75-93.



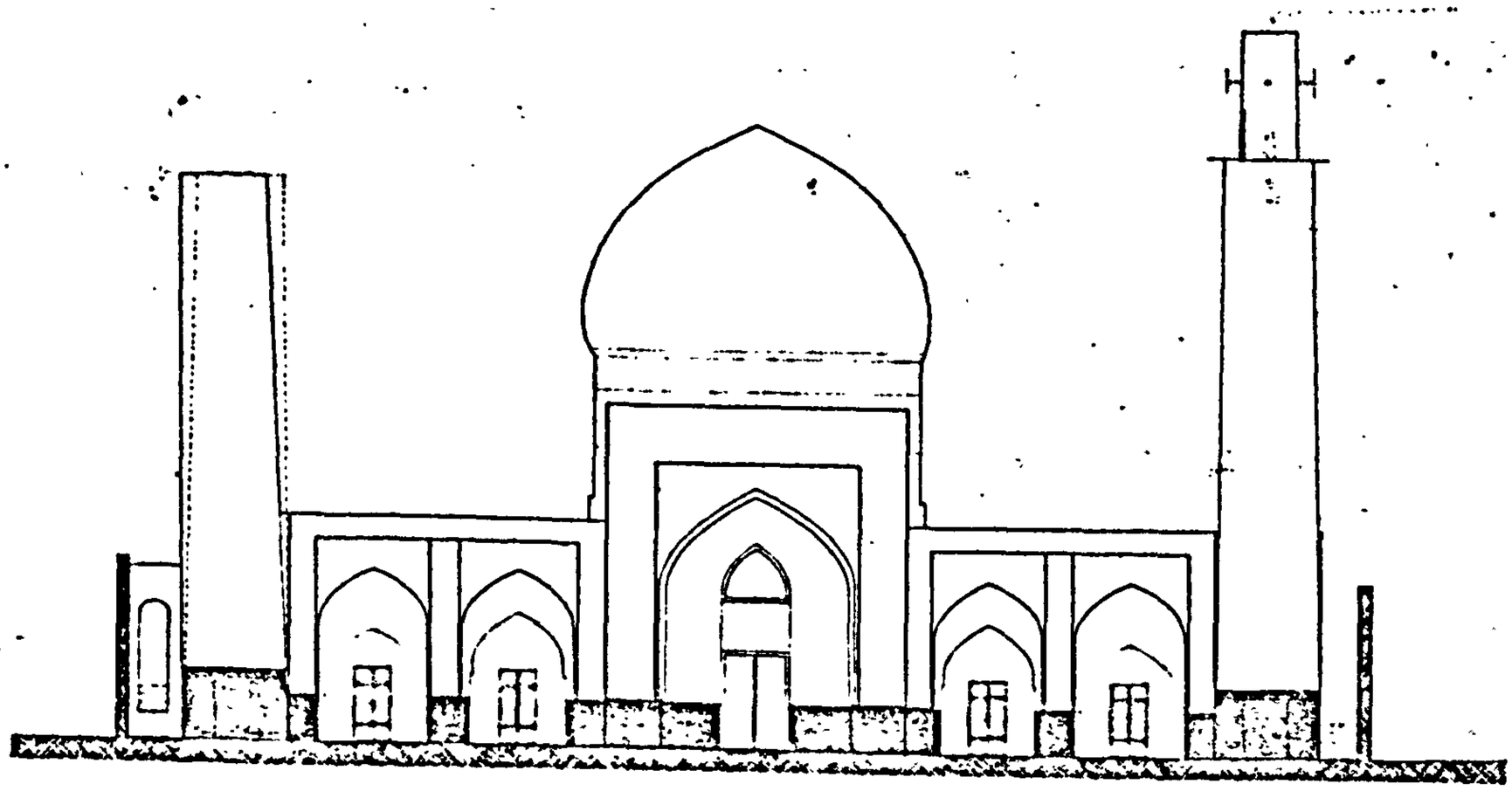
35) Cat.no.26. Mashhad, Masjid-i Shah: plan
(after Sazman-i Hifazat)



36) Cat.no.26. Mashhad, Masjid-i Shah: plan of crypts (after Sazman-i Hifazat)



37) Cat.no.26. Mashhad, Masjid-i Shah: section
(after Sazman-i Hifazat)



نقشه بازیابی مسجد شاه مشهد

تاریخ تهیه نقشه	
شماره نقشه	۰
مقیاس	بدون مقیاس
سازمان حفاظت	قطع

38) Cat.no.26. Mashhad, Masjid-i Shah: elevation (after Sazman-i Hifazat)

RUSHKHVĀR, MASJID-I JAMI[c]

Location On the outskirts of Rushkhvār,[1] ca. 55km from Turbat-i Haidāriyya on the main road to Khvāf.

Plan Diez's plan (Fig. 39) shows an aivan flanked by a hall and dome chamber with a courtyard in front, according to him all of the same period. Today most of the courtyard is a shapeless heap, with no indication of the division into cells which Diez shows (Pl. 135). In any case what remains of the wall connecting the courtyard with the dome chamber shows that the courtyard wall, at least in its present state, was built on to the dome chamber. The wall abutting the aivan on the side opposite the dome chamber may also have been built on, although it is more difficult to be certain here, as the mud brick of which it and the aivan are built has been much weathered and repaired on both structures. It is certain that there was some structure on this side, however, as the remains in baked brick of an arch up to just above springing point can be seen flanking the portal screen of the aivan. It is also possible, although again the weathering of the mud brick makes it difficult to be dogmatic, that the two niches shown on Diez's plan opposite the doorways into the dome chamber were also originally doorways. In that case the aivan would be symmetrical. This symmetry makes it possible to reconstruct a plan where the aivan was flanked by two dome chambers of equal size. Although in the context of Iranian Islamic architecture this combination is admittedly rare, two parallels can be found nearby. One is at Sangān-i Bālā.[2] Wilber's plan shows the two dome chambers with traces of a later aivan built to connect the two. In February 1977 the only trace of brickwork from this aivan to be seen was on a niche abutting Wilber's

structure two, the better preserved of the two dome chambers. It used bricks laid with minimal rising joints, resembling banna'i-technique. This suggests that the aivan is not likely to have been built before 1300 A.D., but allows for the possibility that an aivan with flanking dome chambers may have been standing on the site in the fifteenth century. Another model is provided by the Friday Mosque of Firdaus.[3] Again it seems likely that the aivan and abutting dome chambers were built at different periods, both on the grounds of a break in bond clearly visible from the rear and on stylistic differences. However the most recent element, the aivan, is probably late twelfth century A.D., so the composition would certainly have been available as a model in the fifteenth century. Further afield, the earliest part of the ensemble at Termez/Tirmidh also consists of an aivan flanked by two dome chambers (eleventh or twelfth century A.D.).[4]

It may be objected that with one dome chamber standing in a fair state of preservation one would have expected more trace of its companion, if it was ever built. It is possible, however, that if part of the dome collapsed, it would have been easier to use the surviving material to build a rectangular barrel-vaulted enclosure of smaller space (such as the present stable) rather than rebuild the dome. This would be even more likely if, as is now the case, the building had ceased to have any religious function and was used for purely utilitarian purposes. The two dome chambers at Sangān-i Bālā also show different rates of deterioration; number one on Wilber's plan, now even more so than in 1936, is in a noticeably worse condition.

Elevation Diez's description of the aivan and dome chamber is still serviceable for the most part, although some omissions and errors warrant discussion.

Although the aivan is built of mud brick a facing of baked brick

was applied to the portal screen and to the inside of the aivan above a line now ca. 5m from the ground (Pl. 136). At the back of the aivan just enough remains of the brick revetment to show that it formed a herringbone pattern.

The dome chamber a) exterior: (Pl. 134) The lower walls were of very thick mud brick, now very badly serrated by water courses. The squinches seem to have been backed with mud brick up to the top of the squinch arches; only above this level would there have been an octagonal zone. The dome begins a little further up; the first part is steeper, giving the impression of a drum. Numerous bricks on the dome protrude by about half their width; this may have been intended to provide a more secure hold for a coating of kāhgil, and it is even conceivable that the exterior of the dome chamber may have looked like that of nearby Barābād today: a continuous relatively shapeless covering of kāhgil.

b) interior: The herringbone pattern found on the aivan is also used on the squinches and dome (Pl. 139). There are not two patterns on the dome as Diez suggested, although in its present state it does give that impression. This is because the small dashes of white paint which emphasise the diagonal lines fade out about half way up. The dome rises to an open circle ca. 75cm diameter with eight painted triangles radiating from it.

The gap between the dome and zone of transition is bridged by flat wooden boards, originally covered in plaster. The colours of the paint-work are best preserved in the zone of transition, the patterns being picked out in white against a yellow and maroon background. One should note the way in which the squinch back is constructed: plaster set against one row of bricks laid vertically, all backed only by mud brick (Pl. 139).

Further down the main point of interest, apart from the inscriptions mentioned below, is evidence of alterations. All the doors of the dome chamber seem to have been narrowed. The painted diaper-pattern dado covers these alterations. The lowest section of the mihrab was changed from a rectangle to a semi-octagon. It is not clear, however, when these changes were made. In a provincial building one might expect some changes in planning in the course of construction.

Inscriptions The main inscription goes round the four walls just below the zone of transition. The script is naskhi written on one line, with only the occasional letter above the line. Above is a repeating Kufic inscription. The main inscription begins at the NW corner; it consists of Quran XLVIII/1-14 [5] and a date (Pl. 140). This date was read by Godard as 835/1454-5, which must be a solecism for 859/1454-5. The eight hundred can be made out almost in its entirety. The decades certainly begin with khā', although it is impossible to tell in present circumstances whether the units should read seven or nine.

Like the arabesque on the mihrab (Pl. 141), the inscription above it is formed by scraping away the red pigment to uncover white plaster underneath. It has been badly worn by rain, but the following in a highly individualistic naskhi can be made out (Pl. 142):

عمل استاد . . . بن استاد مسافر ...ابادی وابنه احمد

"Work of the master...son of the master Musāfir...ābādī and his son Ahmad."

Materials Mud bricks on aivan 30 x 30 x 7cm. Baked bricks on aivan and dome 23 x 23 x 5cm.

Dating As mentioned above, the date 859/1454-5 is found in the main inscription. However, two independent authorities suggest a twelfth century date.[6] The close resemblance between the dome chamber at Rushkhvār and those of the 12th century at Sangān-i Bālā, Barābād, Sangān-i Pā'īn and Ribat-i Sharaf are marked. The possibility of a

kāhgil exterior, noted above, would have increased the resemblance to the dome chambers at Barābād and Sangān-i Pā'īn. The herringbone pattern of the squinches and dome is found in most of the Seljuq examples, and even the lozenge pattern of the spandrels of the zone of transition arches is identical at Rushkhvār and Sangān-i Bālā. The construction materials of Rushkhvār, mud brick with a baked brick facing above, are also used at Sangān-i Bālā.

Is it possible then, that the inscription was added in the fifteenth century to a Seljuq building? This is unlikely for a number of reasons:

1) There is no evidence that the plaster covers earlier decoration.

2) Difference in building techniques. The herringbone and lozenge pattern of the zone of transition at Rushkhvār are simply a plaster revetment—unlike the exclusive use of brick for these patterns in the Seljuq buildings.

3) The province of Khvāf was a major centre of building activity under the Timurids, no doubt because it supplied the court throughout the fifteenth century with many of its vazirs. Although Rushkhvār is obviously provincial rather than court sponsored work, this would be consistent with the troubled political situation in Khurasan in 859/1454-5, in the last years of the short reign of Abu'l-Qāsim Bābur.

We can thus view the complex at Rushkhvār as an archaistic local form, inspired by the many remaining Seljuq dome chambers of the area.

Furnishings There is no sign of any burial within the complex.

Function The complex was published by Diez as a khanqah. This ascription however, was based on attribution of elements to the original building which, as mentioned above, is not supported by those parts still in situ.

As we have seen, it is possible that two dome chambers stood on

either side of the aivan. The nearest parallels were the Friday Mosque of Firdaus and the structures at Sangān. The function of the structures at Sangān is not yet clear; at present one of them contains a grave. The large aivan at Turbat-i Jām with a dome chamber on either side could also be cited, although they were added on to an already existing building complex.

The courtyard at Rushkhvār, even if it is not contemporary with the aivan and dome chamber, can still provide information as to the likely function of the complex. If, as Diez suggests, the cells in the courtyard were for resident Sufi shaikhs or for travellers one would expect them to be arranged as in a caravanserai or madrasa, with each cell capable of giving privacy to its occupant. However, not only do the "cells" not have closed-off living quarters; they even communicate laterally with each other. This arrangement, as Diez himself points out, is akin to that of a mosque plan such as the Varāmīn Masjid-i Jami[c].

Given the factors mentioned above, and that the building is referred to today by the inhabitants of Rushkhvār as the Masjid-i Jami[c], it is highly probable that the building was designed as a mosque.

Condition Poor. The last surviving part of the aivan arch is sagging. Fissures are present in several points in the zone of transition, and the decoration and mud brick substructure are subject to rain-water erosion.

Recorded July 1975, February 1977.

Notes

1) Rushtkhvār is an alternative modern spelling.
2) D. Wilber, "Two Structures," pp. 33-7.
3) A. Hutt, Iran I, Pl. 78.

4) Zakhidov and Shvab, "Sultan-Saadat," Fig. 3.

5) Possibly Quran XLVIII/1-13. The inscription is very badly worn at the end.

6) Golombek and Anon. (see Bibliography).

Bibliography

Diez, Churasanische, pp. 83-4, Pl. 22.

Godard, "Khorāsān," p. 15, Fig. 7.

Golombek, "Palace in a Tepe," p. 23.

Anon., "Masjid-i jāmi^{c}-yi Rushtkhvār," p. 10.

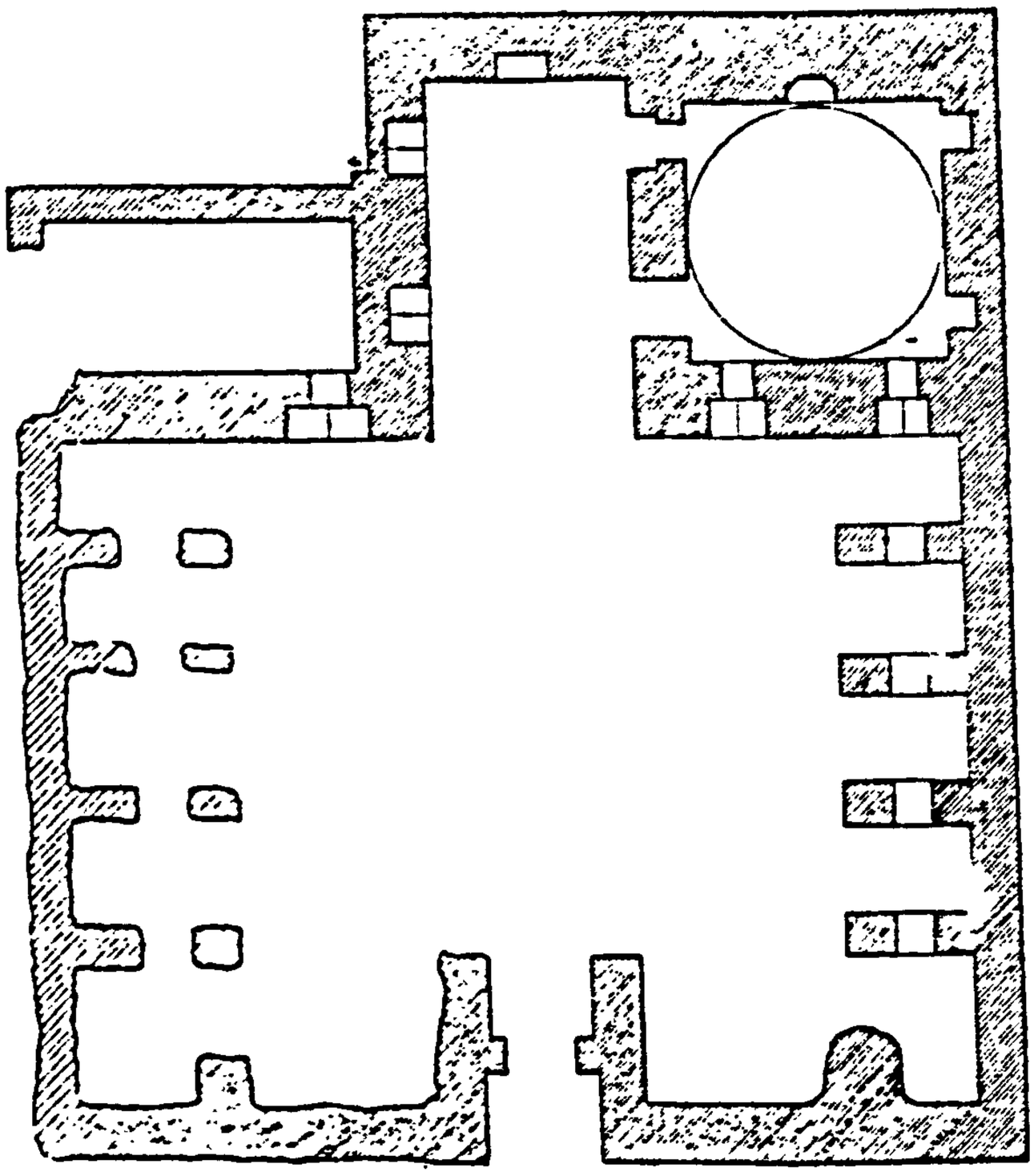
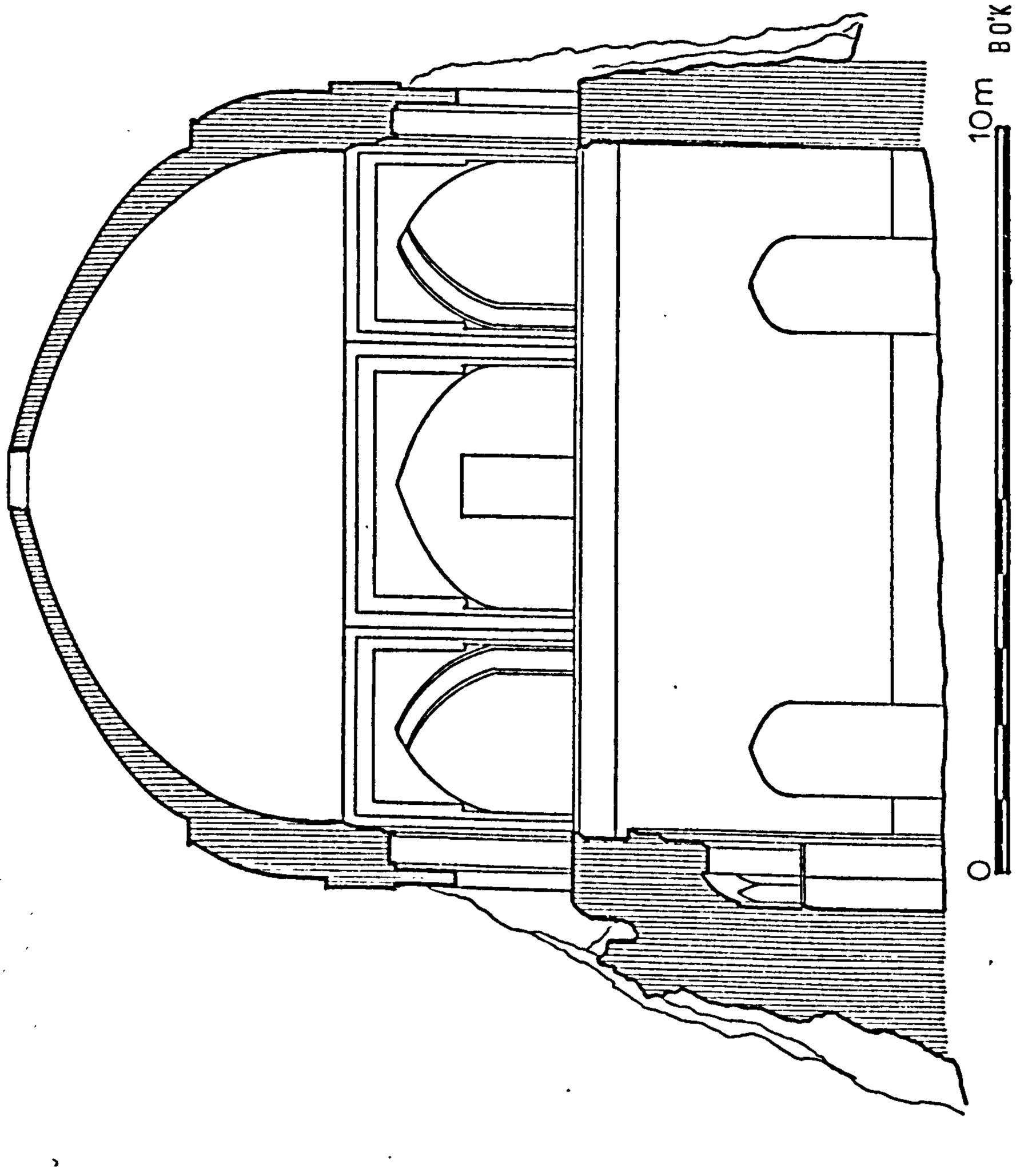


Abb. 37. Plan des Chânceqâh in Reschhar.
(Mstb. 1: 400)

39) Cat.no.27. Rushkhvār, Masjid-i Jami^{c}:
plan (after Diez)



40) Cat.no.27. Rushkhvār, Masjid-i Jami^{c}: section

KHVĀF, MASJID-I JAMI^{C}

Location Khvāf is situated on the main road from Tāybād to Turbat-i Haidāriyya, ca. 120km from Tāybād. One should not confuse this town, formerly known as Rūd-i Khvāf, with the district (vilāyat) of Khvāf. The latter is meant by the nisba Khvāfī found so frequently among both government officials and religious figures in the fifteenth century.[1]

Plan (Fig. 41) The qibla orientation is marked on the ground plan, but for ease of orientation will be referred to as west. Around a courtyard are a large qibla aivan and an anbār opposite, a shabistān on the N side and an entrance aivan leading to an arcade on the south. A dome chamber lies behind the qibla aivan, and south of this is another shabistān. S of the qibla aivan, but not marked on the plan as it was inaccessible to me, is a rectangular hall consisting of a domed bay at the E end followed by four transverse vaults on the W leading to the large dome chamber.[2] Several parts of this ensemble - the two shabistāns and the storeroom (anbār) - are clearly of very recent origin and will not be described any further. According to local residents, however, both shabistāns had replaced older ones which had been destroyed in the process of rebuilding.

Elevation a) interior: The main feature of interest in the entrance aivan is the brick herringbone pattern which goes up and down in a regular series of zig-zags on the sides and back up to a height of 4m. Above the doorway at the back is a marble slab with an inscription recording the renewal (tajdīd) of the Masjid-i Jami^{C} of Rūd-i Khvāf by three patrons at the time of the celebration of 2,500 years of Persian monarchy, i.e. in 1971. This presumably is the date of the destruction of the old shabistāns mentioned above.

Behind the doorway is an arcade two bays wide; these are vaulted by domical pendentives with the bricks again laid in zig-zag.

The portal-screen of the aivan displays two superposed blind niches (Pl. 143); the top and northern edges have been recently repaired. The vault of one of the niches on the S wall inside the aivan has a squinch net leading to a twelve-sided dome (Pl. 144); traces of a zig-zag pattern in plaster[3] can still be made out on one of the facets. This niche leads into the domed bay of the rectangular hall, the dome here being supported on a simple squinch net leading to a sixteen-sided base (Pl. 145). A squinch net is also used for the semi-dome at the rear of the aivan, this however is awkwardly designed and executed and is evidently later work. The mihrab below this is clearly modern. Panels of brick in herringbone pattern are again found on the sides of the aivan.

The dome chamber (Pl. 147) is so similar to that of the Rushkhvār Masjid-i Jami[c] that they must be the work of the same builder. There are some differences, however. Two blank niches are found on each of the lower walls, and the lower section of the mihrab is surmounted by a tri-lobed arch. There are no inscriptions, although the continuous panel below the zone of transition was probably designed for one. The main structural difference lies in the zone of transition: at Khvāf a gallery runs right behind the eight arches. One should really refer to the squinches at Khvāf as corner arches. What appears to be a squinch is merely a shell one brick thick, as can be seen from the two openings in each face which provide light for the gallery behind. This is not so different as it might seem from Rushkhvār where only a mud brick backing was used behind the flimsy squinch shell. The herring-bone pattern of these "squinches" and the dome, and the lozenge pattern of the spandrels and intrados of the zone of transition arches are

exactly the same as at Rushkhvār. All the interior surfaces of the dome chamber have recently been painted.

b) exterior: Both the dome and the qibla aivan are covered with kāhgil. Recent repairs to the dome at zone of transition level give it the shape of a square with rounded corners.

Materials Baked brick 23 x 23 x 4-4 1/2cm is used on the qibla and entrance aivans and the small arcade between them.

Furnishings In the qibla aivan stands a finely carved wooden minbar. The panel which forms the back of the topmost platform is a substitute; the original is in the Shrine Museum at Mashhad and reads as follows, in three lines of elegant thulth:

قد اتفق اتمام هذالمنبر الرفيع و الكرسى المنيع بمسجد الجامع
بقريه رود بسعى صاحب اعظم خواجه مجد الدين الخوافى
بحمل استاد صدر الدين بن استاد نجم الدين محمد السجاد
فى سنه شهور ثمان و تسعمائه هجريه النبويه ﷺ

"This lofty minbar and mighty throne for the Masjid-i Jami^{c} of the village of Rūd was completed by the effort of the most great Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad Khvāfī the beneficent by the work of the master Ṣadr al-Dīn son of the master Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sajjād in the months of the year 908/1502-3 from the flight of the prophet."

Two smaller panels on the side of the minbar have inscriptions in square Kufic; one is a chahār Muḥammad, the other the shahāda. Other panels have geometric or vegetal motifs; particularly interesting are some of the border panels with a tri-lobed motif surrounded by small thorn-like protuberances (Pl. 146). With the use of deep undercutting these borders assume a surprisingly naturalistic impression not unlike the briars of a wild rose. Wooden nails with heads 10-12mm square are used in these border panels.

Who is the Majd al-Dīn mentioned in the dedicatory inscription? The only well-known candidate of that name is the son of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr Aḥmad Khvāfī, who, after serving as an official under Abū Sa^{c}īd and Mīrzā Muḥammad Sulṭān[5] was made a vazir of Ḥusain Bāīqārā in 876/1471-2 and served as his deputy (nā'ib) until his disgrace in 1490 A.D. and flight from Herat in 1492 A.D. According to Khvāndamīr he then died on the way to Mecca in 899/1494.[6] This of course presents us with a problem as the minbar is dated 908, nine years after his death. Some indication of confusion over the date is given in the same author's Dastūr al-Vuzarā', where the account of Majd al-Dīn's death is given in the same words as in the Ḥabīb al-Siyar, except that the space for the figures of the years of his death is left blank.[7] The donation of a small, if exquisite, minbar to a village mosque in his native province is the type of gesture one might expect from a formerly powerful vazir living in reduced circumstances.

Dating Judging from their decoration, the entrance aivan and the rectangular hall and arcade behind it seem to be of the same period as the qibla aivan. The obvious misalignment of the qibla aivan and dome chamber suggest different periods.

It was remarked above that the Rushkhvār (859/1454-5) and Khvāf dome chambers are almost certainly both by the same hand. Two points at Khvāf, however, indicate a greater facility in handling architectural design:

a) The greater variety introduced by the use of blind niches on each of the lower faces.

b) The recession of the back of the squinch behind the corner of the lower zone, avoiding the crude corbelling at Rushkhvār.

This would suggest that the Khvāf dome chamber was built shortly after that of Rushkhvār, i.e. ca. 1465 A.D.

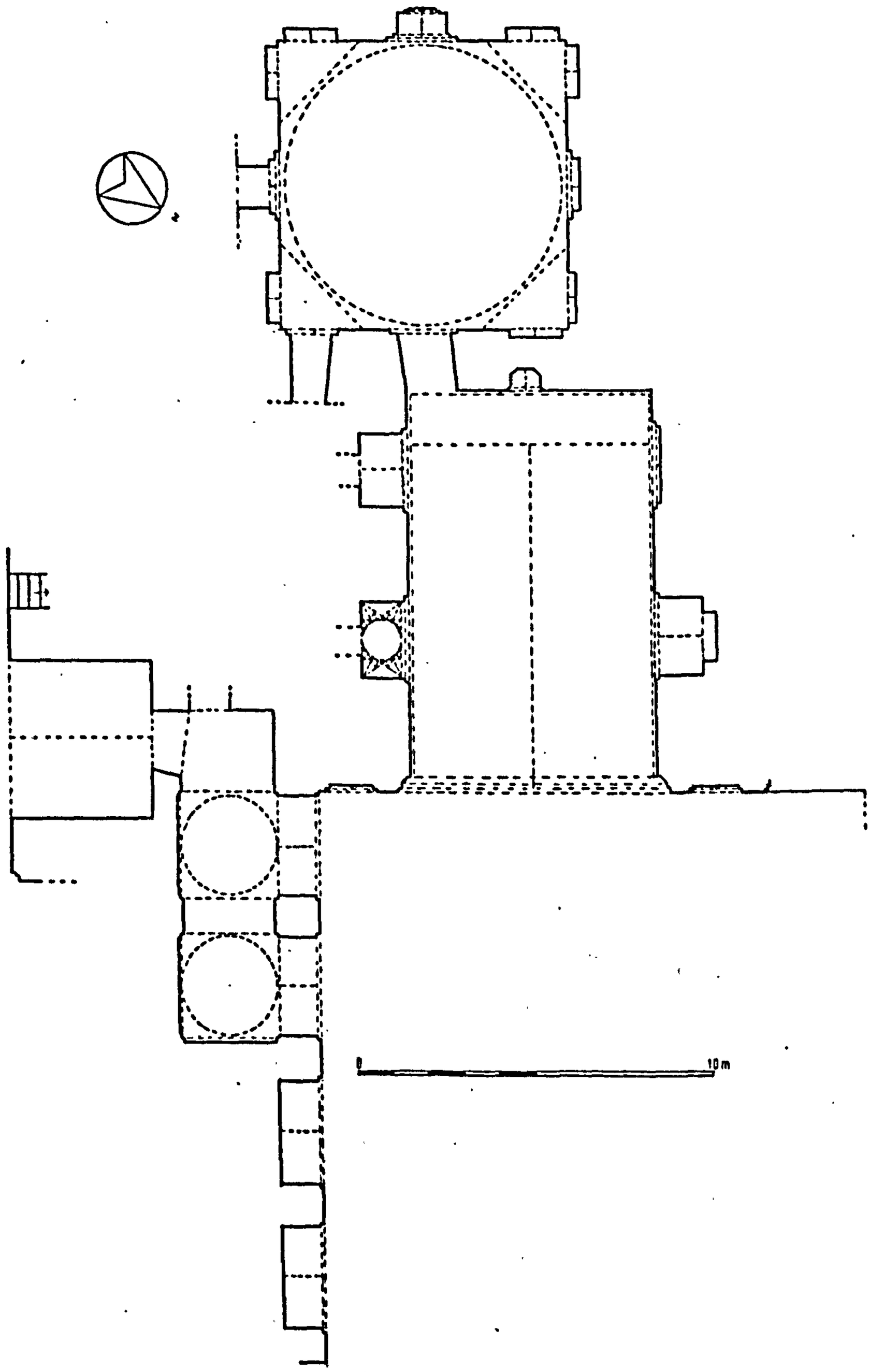
Both the entrance and qibla aivans have herringbone brick patterns which are found on the aivan and dome chamber at Rushkhvār. These are in turn imitative of local Seljuq monuments such as the dome chamber at Sangān-i Bālā or the Masjid-i Jami^{c} at Sangān-i Pā'īn, where it is used on the vault of the qibla aivan, the upper part of which is now plastered over as at Khvāf. The squinch-net vault of one of the qibla aivan niches is unmistakably fifteenth century, however, and would not look out of place in the nearby showpiece of Timurid architecture, the madrasa at Khargird. However, these criteria are not sufficient to enable us to narrow the range to less than half a century, with the date of the minbar (908/1502-3) providing the upper limit.

Notes

1) According to Hāfiz-i Abrū the main towns (qasaba) of Khvāf in the fifteenth century were Jird, Zūzan and Salama. The town known today as Khvāf was known then, and even earlier in this century, as Rūd. See J. Aubin, "Un Santon Quhistānī," p. 191, n. 4 and p. 192, n. 1.
2) I am grateful to Lisa Golombek for providing me with a description and photograph of this hall.
3) Cf. O'Kane, "Tāybād," Fig. 9.
4) S. Samadī, Rāhnamā, pp. 33-4, Ill. p. 35, wrongly attributed to "Rūd-i Jām." As this publication is rare I have quoted the inscription in full. Samadī omits "al-Khvāfī."
5) Barthold, Mīr ^{c}Alī-Shīr, p. 39.
6) Habīb al-Siyar, IV, p. 198; Barthold, op. cit., p. 55.
7) P. 417.

Bibliography

Unpublished. The minbar is mentioned in Golombek, "Palace," p. 40.



41) Cat.no.28. Khvāf, Masjid-i Jami^{c}: plan

MAZAR-I SANGVAR

Location Ca. 10km E of Mashhad.

Plan Square dome chamber, approached by a shallow aivan.

Condition The building is in an even greater ruinous state than when Clevenger recorded it in the mid-sixties. Most of the bricks of the entrance aivan have disappeared, and the outer piers have suffered further depredations.

Elevation A description has already been published by Clevenger; the following comments are designed merely to supplement his account.

a) exterior: Apart from the entrance aivan, only a blind niche on the N and E sides seems to have provided any variation of the rigidly square plan. Although the lower part was thus roughly cubical, the zone of transition starts at the springing point of the four main arches, and is expressed on the outside by a curve.[1] Above this is the circular drum pierced by eight windows, with a shallow dome above.

b) interior: A squinch net leads to the sixteen-sided drum, with a further squinch net rising from the windows of the drum to form a thirty-two-sided dome (Fig. 42, Pls. 149-50). Although the upper squinch net is made of brick, it has fallen away in places to reveal that the dome is corbelled out from behind. Starting at 3.10m above ground level, an offset goes round the dome chamber following the line of the four main arches.

Decoration Traces of plaster-covered kāhgil remain on the walls in several places, and on the squinch net beneath the dome some red paint is visible (Pl. 150). It is probable that the whole of the interior was originally covered with painted plaster.

Materials In addition to the sizes mentioned by Clevenger (27 x 30

x 5; 22 x 27 x 5) bricks of 28 x 28 x 5-6 were also noted. The variation is indicative of re-used bricks.

Dating Among the numerous dome chambers of Khurasan, two in particular stand out as analogues to Sangvar: those of Ziyārat-i Tīmūr Lang and Auliyā Shādmīn at Darragaz (Cat. Nos. 16-17). Externally they share the same use of a window-pierced drum with a shallow dome above, although the pīshtāq is too common a feature to be cited as a parallel. Internally one notices the same use of an offset outlining the profile of the four main arches, an intermediate zone of transition and a further squinch net leading to the dome. Also alike is the profile of the main arches: one that curves more sharply at the haunches but flattens out more quickly above than typical fourteenth century examples. Finally the very openness of the structure on which Clevenger comments belies his fourteenth century attribution; such reduction of load-bearing elements indicates a date somewhat later than the Ziyārat-i Tīmūr Lang, perhaps around the middle of the fifteenth century A.D.

Function In view of the structure's openness and its lack of space for an inscription or a mihrab, Clevenger speculated that it may have been designed as a garden pavilion.

This attribution presents a number of problems. Firstly, despite the lack of a mihrab, the entrance aivan does seem to be qibla oriented. Secondly, the very openness of the building suggests an impracticability for a structure to be lived in, even for short periods. Thirdly, on the evidence of the Namakdān at Gāzur Gāh, or of other pavilions depicted in contemporary miniatures, garden pavilions tended to be multi-storied polygonal buildings.

The very impracticality of the building suggests a commemorative function, the most obvious being that of a mausoleum as its local name, mazar (place of pilgrimage) suggests. Plain brick mausoleums in this

area are numerous, from the nearby Mongol examples of Chahār Ṭāqī and Langarak[2] to the already mentioned Timurid examples of Ziyārat-i Tīmūr Lang, Auliyā Shādmīn or the nearby mausoleum at Ṭuruq.

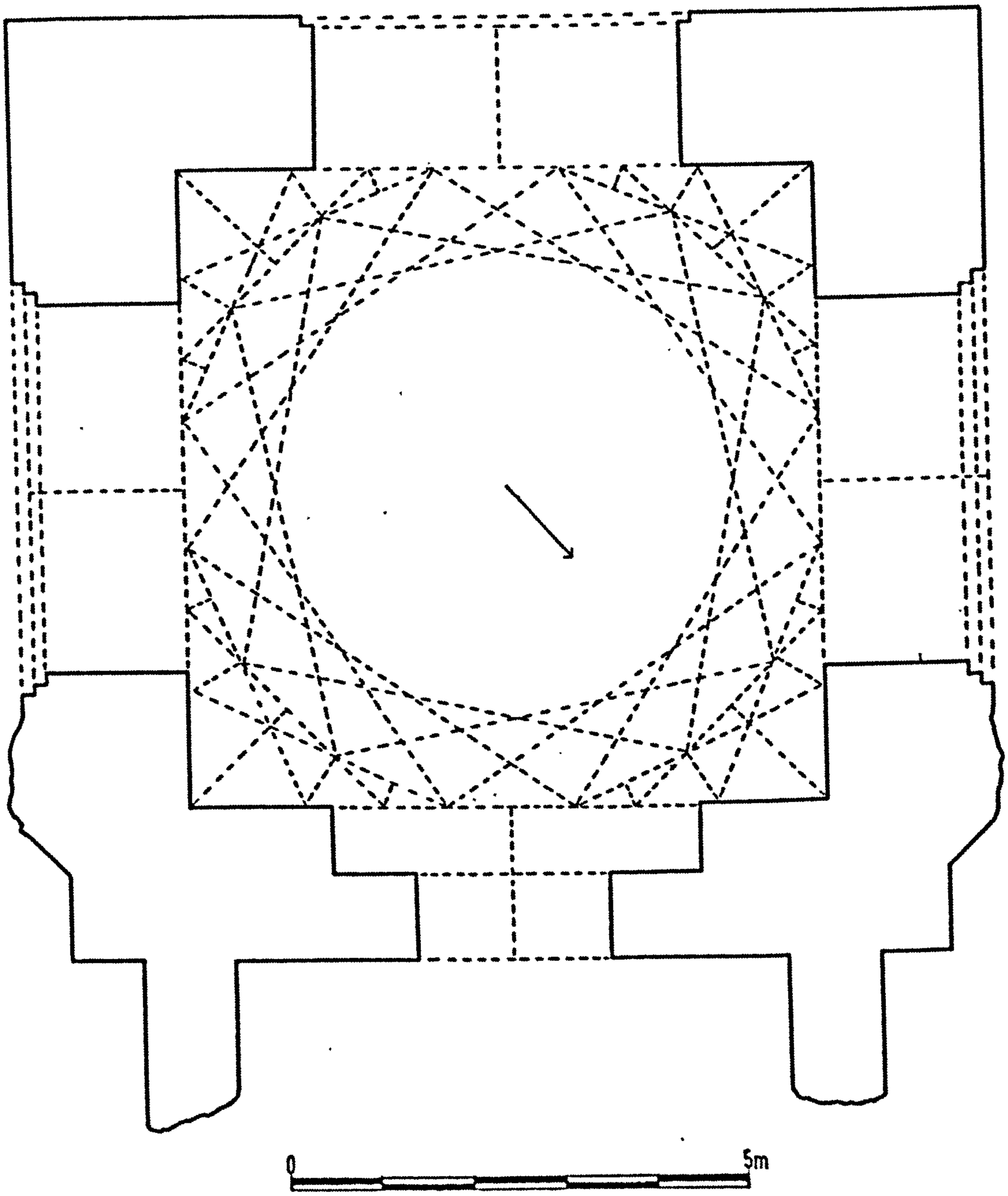
Recorded May 1975.

Notes

1) Clevenger, Pl. IXa.
2) Clevenger.

Bibliography

Clevenger, "Some Minor Monuments," pp. 62-3, Fig. 5 (ground plan), Pls. IX-XI.



42) Cat.no.29. Sangvar, Mazar: plan (partly after Sazman-i Hifazat)

30

MAZAR-I SIPAHSĀLĀR-I MĀLIK

Location At Jūkhvāh, ca. 40km NW of Tabas, on the main road to Yazd.

Plan Free-standing square dome chamber.

Elevation a) exterior: (Pl. 151) Three sides have a central doorway with a window above, all recessed within an arch. The doorway of the fourth side is wider and there is no window. The mud brick is so badly weathered that it is impossible to say whether the rest of the side walls were articulated in any way.

The zone of transition is also badly weathered in several places, despite the use of baked brick. As this does not cover all faces of the octagon, it may be later repair work. It is stepped back ca. 50cm from the lower cube. A round arched window appears above each of the lower doorways. The overall appearance is very similar to many Seljuq dome chambers, especially those of northwest Iran,[1] although the triangular shoulders covering the squinches of the Seljuq examples were probably replaced here by a simpler bevel.

The dome is of slightly smaller diameter than the zone of transition below, and also has four windows on the central axes. It was probably covered with kāhgil originally.

b) interior: The floor is raised ca. 1.50m above the exterior ground level. A crudely built brick cenotaph standing in the centre of the dome chamber indicates that the building was used as a tomb.[2]

A band just below the zone of transition may have been designed to carry an inscription, although no trace of one can now be seen (Pl. 152). The zone of transition is composed of eight arches of brick covered with kāhgil and a coating of white plaster. This is used to

make geometric patterns on the intrados of the arches, and for the decorative squinch net within them (Pl. 153).

The top of the octagonal zone is decorated with a ⌐-shaped motif which reappears at the base of the dome. The transition between these two elements is effected by two shallow rows of stalactites, arranged in eight groups. The dome has bands of herringbone brick pattern, arranged horizontally like that of the mausoleum at Sangbast rather than in a series of zig-zags like the dome chambers of Khvāf and Rushkhvār.

Dating The square dome chamber is the most common unit of Islamic architecture in Iran, and such an austerely designed and decorated one as that of Jūkhvāh makes accurate dating more difficult. Geographically, the nearest group of mud brick dome chambers is the fourteenth century Yazd and Abarqūh school. These are quite distinctive, however, with features such as segmental arches, plain squinches and blind niches on the lower walls, all of which are absent from Jūkhvāh. The other nearest examples would be those in the province of Khvāf, both the twelfth century Sangān and the fifteenth century Rushkhvār and Khvāf Masjid-i Jami^{c} dome chambers. These provide closer parallels such as the use of the Seljuq herringbone and ⌐ patterns, and the geometrical pattern on the intrados of the zone of transition arches, found at Rushkhvār and Khvāf. It is the squinches, however, which provide us with the most useful date control: the decorative squinch net within them is not so complex that one would assume a Safavid date, while at the same time it is sufficiently elaborate to rule out a date earlier than the fifteenth century. The closest parallels are those in the sanctuary niches of the Ziyāratgāh Jami^{c} (Cat. No. 33), which also have irregular polygons in addition to the usual rhomboidal compartments.

Although the above features do not provide a specific dating, it

may be possible to assume that the builder of the Mazar-i Sipahsālār, with its combination of twelfth and fifteenth century motifs, was familiar with the dome chambers of Khvāf and Rushkhvār, suggesting a date in the second half of the fifteenth century.[3]

Condition Severe cracks running from the top of the doorways through the intermediate and upper windows make it doubtful whether the building has survived the massive earthquake in 1978 which had its epicentre in Tabas, especially since the lower walls seem to have been used as a quarry for clay.

Recorded August 1973.

Notes

1) Hillenbrand, "Saljūq Dome Chambers," Pls. 1a-b.
2) According to local tradition it is the tomb of two of the generals of Yazdigird IV. See Nādirī.
3) A fifteenth century date is also suggested by Hillenbrand (bibliography).

Bibliography

Nādirī, "Tabas," pp. 59-60.

Hillenbrand, "Islamic Monuments," p. 205, Pl. V.

31

GHĀR-I KARUKH

Location Ca. 6km S of the town of Karukh, in a secluded cave near the left bank of the Karukh river (Pl. 154). It is necessary to ford the river to gain access to the monument from the main Herat-Karukh road.

Plan At one end of this large cave is a pool with cool limpid water collected from moisture dripping from the roof of the cave. At the other end is a small rectangular enclosure ca. 2.0 x 3.5m, covered with a slightly sloping roof (Pl. 155). At the back of the enclosure is a mihrab.

Inscriptions Over the entrance to the enclosure is an inscription in nasta^{c}liq dated 1360/1941-2. All the visible masonry, entirely covered with stucco, apparently dates from this period. The rounded arches of the windows and plaster finials flanking the entrance, the haphazard multi-foil mihrab and the crudely painted decoration on the wall above the mihrab also appear to be of the same date.

Set into the walls, however, are a series of inscriptions on stone plaques, one of which is dated 867/1462-3 (Pl. 158), and another of which gives the name and titles of Sultan Abū Sa^{c}id.

There are three sets of inscriptions:

1) Two panels 34 x 140cm set into the wall on either side of the entrance to the prayer chamber.

2) Two panels 52 x 50cm, each of which is below those of No. 1).

3) A series of panels 34cm high going round the sides and back of the prayer chamber, just below the roof.

The text of these is given by Saljūqī.[1] The translation is as follows:

1) right-hand panel: "This building (was erected) in the reign of the King of Islam the Sultan son of the Sultan son of the Sultan Abu'l-Muzaffar Abū Saᶜīd Gūrkān"

left-hand panel: "May his kingdom and sultanate be preserved and may his piety, beneficence, favour, excellence and honour be increased in the worlds, so be it! Lord of the Worlds!"

2) right-hand panel: "The most high God said: If ye help him not, still Allah helped him when those who disbelieved drove him forth, the second of two; when they two were in the cave, when he said unto his comrade: Grieve not. Lo! Allah is with us." (Quran IX/40 to maᶜanā).

left-hand panel: "The most high God said: Or deemest thou that the People of the Cave and the inscriptions are a wonder among our portent? When the young men fled for refuge to the Cave" (Quran XVIII/9-10 to al-kahf).

Each of these panels is divided into three lines; at the top of each "Dominion is to God" (al-mulk li'llāh) is repeated in Kufic.

3) "The ancient building was (built) in the year five hundred and twenty-five and was destroyed. The weak slave Abu'l-Husain Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Muhammad Abū Bakr Kart restored (it) in the year seven hundred and sixty-seven; this is the copy of the inscription of that building[2] and that too[3] was destroyed / it was restored by the master (ustād) Vali b. Muhammad the architect (rāza) in the year eight hundred and sixty-seven. The slave ᶜAlī al-Nizāmī the Qādī of the district (vilāyat) of Karukh wrote it."

As in inscription 2) al-mulk li'llāh in Kufic is repeated along the top of the panels.

All the inscriptions seem to be in thulth, although they display a number of idiosyncratic characteristics. In 3) the teeth of sīn are occasionally eliminated successively in certain words as a means of

taking up more horizontal space. In keeping with this fluidity is a tendency to join one word to the next, e.g. the nūns of al-Sultān and the following ibns, or the joining of the dāl and rā'. The joining of letters is a feature of many naskhi inscriptions in the Shah-i Zinda, but not in combination with such an elegant script as here. In fact the use of joined elements and toothless sīns suggest that the script can be regarded as riqa^{c}, a derivation of thulth which was occasionally used as a means of calligraphic display[4] in manuscripts, but primarily in chancery documents.[5] As the calligrapher ^{c}Alī al-Nizāmī was a qādī of the district he would be more likely to use the same script for a foundation inscription as that in which he recorded his judgements. The fact that even a judge of such a small district such as Karukh could draught such a splendid inscription is ample evidence of the growth of connoisseurship of calligraphy in fifteenth century Khurasan.

In the panels of 1), the only inscription not to have a Kufic superscript, ^{c}Alī al-Nizāmī utilized the full height of the panel to arrange his letters in three tiers. He exploited to the full the calligraphic possibilities which the threefold repetition of al-Sultān afforded him—these are placed consecutively on the lowest register with the nūn of al-Sultān joined to and echoing the shapes of the ibn set immediately above in the middle register. In a master stroke he has inscribed a sweeping Abū Sa^{c}īd above this, extending to fill up the same horizontal space as the trio of al-Sultāns below, so that the eye can encompass at a glance the royal genealogy of the reigning Sultan (Pl. 157).

Function The inscriptions make it clear that they were erected as part of a building which replaced two earlier ones built in 525/1130-1 and 767/1365-6, other now lost inscriptions presumably being the means

by which the dates were recorded. The references in each of the Quranic quotations to a cave are indicative that they were not moved from any other location to the present site. Each of the inscription plaques is recessed 5-6cm behind the plaster facing of each wall; the edges of some letters are covered by the plaster. It may be that the repair work of 1360/1941-2 merely consisted of adding on this extra plaster revetment, and that the inscriptions are on a plane with the original fifteenth century wall surface below.

The original fifteenth century structure, then, may also have been a prayer chamber or small mosque, although the inscription unfortunately offers no indication as to the kind of building or to the reason why it was built on this spot. The mosque is presently used as a place of pilgrimage in the spring, and some of the inhabitants regard the cave as that which is mentioned in the Quranic inscription![6] It is clear from the successive rebuildings of the edifice in three consecutive centuries that the place has long been considered hallowed. The presence of the spring may well have been a factor here—Isfizārī writes of a spring in the neighbouring district of Ghur called the bang-i namāz (call to prayer) to which was attributed miraculous properties.[7] The way in which the pool collected here by oozing from the roof of the cave may have seemed equally miraculous.

Condition Good, after restoration of 1360/1941-2.

Recorded June 1975.

Notes

1) See bibliography.
2) Saljūqī has ʿibārat for ʿimārat.
3) Saljūqī omits būd after shuda.
4) P. Soucek, "The Arts of Calligraphy," The Arts of the Book, ed. B. Gray, Figs. 4, 9.

5) E.g. Chekhovich, Samarkandskie, Fig. 39.

6) Saljūqī, p. 160. According to local tradition the mihrab marked the entrance to an underground passage where some of those who entered had failed to find their way back and perished; the mihrab was then built over the entrance to prevent further loss of life - Saljūqī, p. 159.

7) RJ, I, p. 357.

Bibliography

Saljūqī, RMH 4, pp. 159-60.

MAZĀR-I SHARĪF, SHRINE OF ᶜALĪ

Location The Shrine is the focal point in the centre of the town.

Historical Sources The most complete account of the rediscovery of the supposed tomb of ᶜAlī in 885H. is that of ᶜAbd al-Ghafūr Lārī.[1] Khvāndamīr summarises his report and gives valuable additional information on the subsequent constructions of Sultan Husain, who built over the grave a spacious dome chamber (qubba) with aivans and rooms (buyūtāt).[2] At the same time he erected in the town a bazar consisting of shops and a bath, and endowed them to the Shrine. He also rebuilt a local canal, the Nahr-i Shāhī, and revived the lands along its course, also constituting it waqf.[3]

The Shrine has undoubtedly been restored many times since its rebuilding in the fifteenth century. A particularly extensive refacing took place in the nineteenth century, when a tile factory was established at the site and the whole complex sheathed with its products; the four-year project finishing in 1280/1871-2. New buildings were also added to the complex at this time, and the profiles of the two main domes of the mausoleum and vestibule were altered by the addition of new outer linings.[4]

Plan Given the brief visual inspection of the vestibule and mausoleum which I was permitted to make, and the lack of published photographs of the Shrine, I am unable to comment fully on the accuracy of the only published sketch plan of the complex, that of Niedermayer (Fig. 43), and on the possibility of the survival of structures and decoration of the building campaign of Sultan Husain.

At the centre is the mausoleum, cruciform in plan, with an elaborate squinch vault supporting the dome.[5] The semi-domes in the four recesses

are decorated with stalactite squinches. The ground plan of this area is very likely as it was in the fifteenth century, but the complexity of the squinch net vaulting suggests later restoration.

The dome chamber is preceded on the SE by a vestibule consisting of a smaller dome flanked by two stalactite semi-domes. They extend further to either side than is indicated in Niedermayer's sketch plan. From their general aspect, as I remember it, it seemed possible that the vaulting of this section may have been left untouched since its erection in the late fifteenth century. The presence of a moulding of prismatic triangles also substantiates this, although admittedly this can also be found in sixteenth century buildings (e.g. Chahār Bakr complex, Bukhara; Turbat-i Haidariyya).

While the vestibule, and presumably the aivan flanked by two-storey niches which precedes it, are likely to be part of the original plan, it is difficult to know if any other parts of the building, such as the hall with three dome chambers behind the tomb, are also Timurid. However, the elements of the plan which are most likely Timurid - aivan, wide vestibule, and large domed mausoleum - are not elements frequently found together in Timurid architecture. The unusual section is the vestibule. The tomb of Husain and Yūsuf Sūfī (ca. 1380 A.D.) in Kuhna Urgench has a small vestibule leading into its main dome chamber and an entrance aivan,[6] but its small scale makes it less likely to have been a precedent. The same problem of scale, although in the opposite direction, occurs with the Shrine of Khvaja Ahmad Yassavī, although there are two axial dome chambers behind an entrance aivan, that of the mausoleum is by far the smaller of the two.[7] The large dome chamber at the Shrine of Khvaja Ahmad Yassavī was used as a jamāᶜatkhāna (meeting place) for Sufis in the Shrine,[8] but this cannot have been the case at Mazar-i Sharīf, since there are no reports of foundations

for Sufis there.

What, then, would the function of the vestibule have been? A likely explanation is that it was a Dār al-Huffāz, (room for Quran readers). In the nearest major Shī'ite shrine, that of the Imam Riżā at Mashhad, two Timurid patrons, Gauhar Shād and Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr, had each constructed a Dār al-Huffāz adjacent to the mausoleum. The form which that of Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr took is not clear, although it is likely that it was a dome chamber behind his aivan and between the mausoleum. That of Gauhar Shād is a transverse vaulted hall between her mosque and the mausoleum, although it is oriented with its long side on the side axis as that which joins it to the mausoleum, and not at right angles to it as at Mazār-i Sharīf. While the incorporation of a Dār al-Huffāz may have come from the Shrine in Mashhad, perhaps the form which it assumed in Mazar-i Sharīf can be seen as a reduction of the axially transverse entrance complexes found in Timurid madrasa-type plans.[9] Another possibility is that it copied the Dār al-Siyāda in the Mashhad Shrine, which has a large central dome flanked by two smaller domed niches (Cat. No. 2). In any case, one may note that the plan type at Mazar continued in the Safavid period, a smaller version of it appearing in the tomb of Shaikh Jibrā'īl at Kalkhurān.[10]

Condition The fabric is constantly repaired.

Recorded June 1975.

Notes

1) Tārīkhcha.
2) HS, IV, p. 172. See also Golombek, pp. 335-6; Barthold, pp. 40-1; McChesney, pp. 111-2.
3) HS, IV, p. 172 simply mentions that he made the canal waqf, but McChesney (p. 119) quotes a seventeenth century document relating to the waqf which indicated that positive steps were taken to make it profitable.

4) McChesney, pp. 273-4.

5) Illustrated in Wiebe.

6) Sectional drawing in Rogers, Spread of Islam, p. 104.

7) Plan in Masson and Pugzchankova, "Shakhri Syabz II," Fig. 3.

8) ZN, II, p. 16.

9) E.g. those of the Shrine at Gāzur Gāh and the Khargird madrasa.

10) Ministry of Development, Masterpieces, p. 104.

Bibliography

Golombek, "Mazār-i Sharīf," pp. 335-6.

McChesney, Waqf at Balkh, pp. 110-24.

Barthold, III, pp. 41-2.

Yate, Northern Afghanistan, pp. 279-81.

Wiebe, Pls. 3-4.

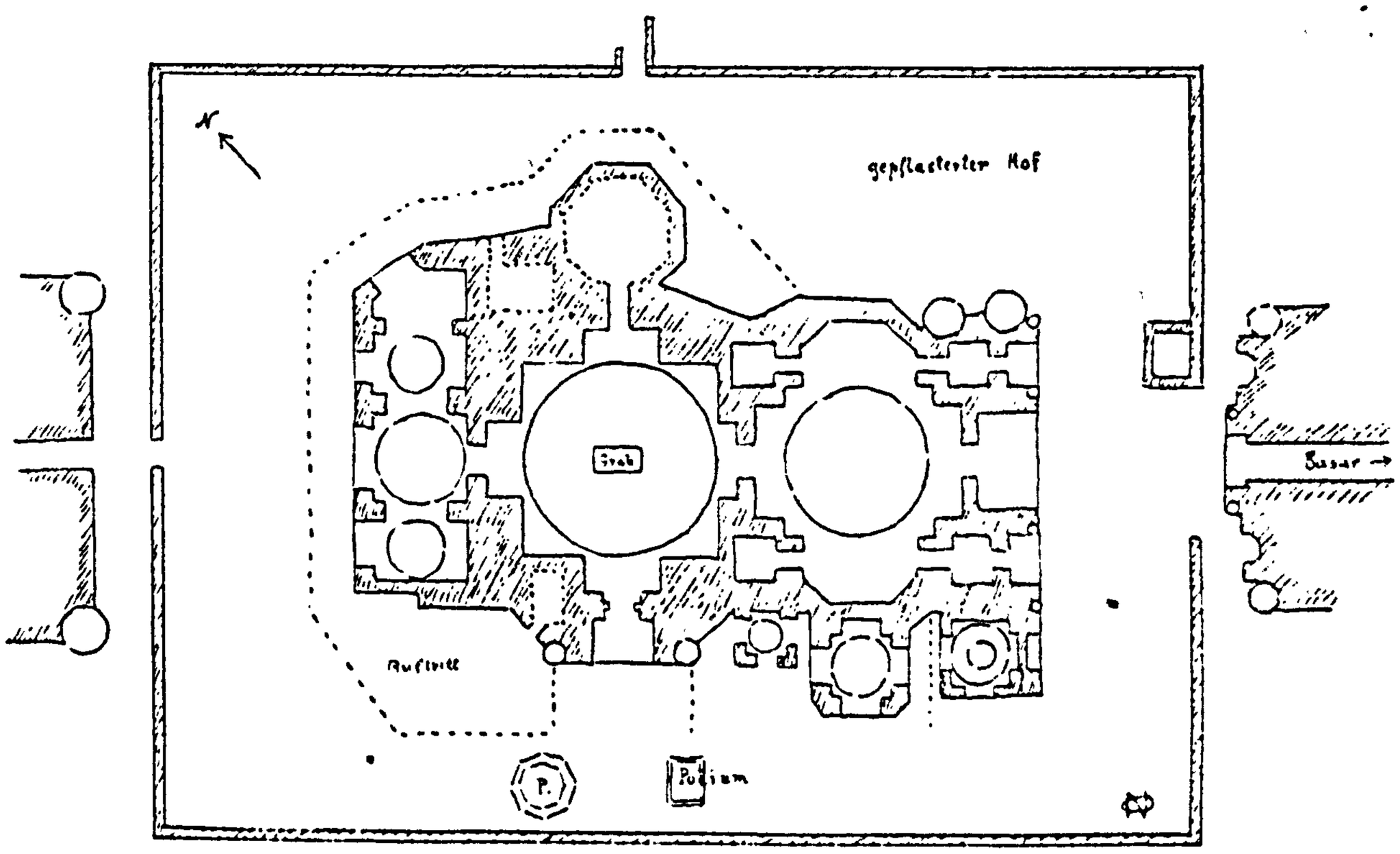
Dupree, Balkh, pp. 48-53.

Niedermayer, Afghanistan, p. 66, Pls. 187-90.

Allchin and Hammond, eds., Archaeology, pp. 390-1.

Byron, Oxiana, pp. 247-8.

Survey, p. 1131.



43) Cat.no.32. Mazār-i Sharīf, Shrine: plan
(after Niedermayer)

33

ZIYĀRATGĀH, MASJID-I JAMI^{c}

Location The village is located 18km due SSE of the centre of Herat,[1] and the mosque is in the centre of the village, a little way N of its major crossroads.[2]

Historical References In the Rauẓat al-Jannāt Isfizārī gives a short description of Ziyāratgāh. He introduces it as the dar al-^{c}ibāda, and as one of the villages of Herat which vie for equality with the town. It was reputed to contain nearly 2,000 shops, and day and night 700 Quran readers would expiate the sins of the inhabitants. On Fridays such was the crush for prayers that the people would line up in rows in the streets and bazar outside the mosque, until Sultan Husain built a congregational mosque to remedy this.[3] It is mentioned in Khvāndamīr's list of the most important religious structures outside Herat.[4]

Even though the village is still one of the largest around Herat, its population has clearly dwindled since the fifteenth century.

Plan (Fig. 44) Four aivan courtyard, sanctuary dome chamber, entrance complex of vestibule flanked by zimistān (winter mosque) and madrasa. The most detailed of the published accounts is that of Pugachenkova.

Elevation a) exterior: Only the entrance facade, which faces E, is articulated by means of blind niches (Pl. 160): single arched panels (B) follow two superposed arched panels (A) in the following rhythm to either side of the entrance aivan: ABABABBABABA. Only one of the niches fully retains its spandrel decoration of mosaic-faience. The pattern is of Khargird type 3,[5] although the range of colours is reduced to a dark-blue ground, white rosettes on a light-blue stem, and

a small amber peony in the centre.

The side and back walls are provided with narrow drainage channels at intervals, but are otherwise unarticulated.

The spandrels of the entrance aivan are plain, mosaic-faience being reserved for the foundation inscription, discussed below, which covers the sides and back of the aivan. A window at the back of the aivan communicates with the small domed room above the vestibule. To either side of it are the vaults of the semi-dome at the back of the aivan. These have been reconstructed since they are missing in both of Niedermayer's photographs.

b) interior: An octagonal vestibule behind the entrance leads to the madrasa and zimistān on the N and S sides respectively, to the courtyard on the W, and to the roof by means of a staircase on the NW face. The other three faces are decorated with blind niches. The vestibule is roofed with an attractive domical vault divided by four intersecting ribs and decorated with bricks in herringbone lay.

The room above the vestibule has been substantially repaired since Niedermayer's photographs were taken, and in 1975 its vaulting collapsed again. It consisted of two central transverse vaults abutted by two semi-domes. The walls were covered with white painted plaster, a technique which is not used elsewhere in the mosque, so it may be questioned whether the reconstruction of this room after Niedermayer's visit was in accordance with the original disposition.

Pugachenkova argues that the madrasa to the N of the vestibule (Pl. 162) is similarly the result of a late transformation, as the line of the cells at the N end of its courtyard do not correspond with the arcades inside the mosque, and because of the lack of correspondence of its entrance corridor with the "rigorous geometric plan of the building as a whole."[6] However, there is no reason why one should

expect any correspondence between the plan of the entrance complex and those parts of the mosque which can be reached from inside the main courtyard. Such buildings as the shrine at Gāzur Gāh and the madrasa at Khargird show that the entrance complex was designed as a self-contained unit. As for the corridor leading from the vestibule to the courtyard of the madrasa, flanking it by two cells seems a perfectly logical way of creating a facade which is symmetrical with that of the three cells opposite. It is rather on structural considerations that one should be able to deduce signs of rearrangement, but there is nowhere visible the evidence for breaks of bond that would lead to this conclusion.

The zimistān to the S of the vestibule is covered by transverse vaults, obviously extensively repaired since Niedermayer's photographs were taken. Here there is in fact a correspondence with the piers of the courtyard arcades, and a door in the second recess S of the vestibule led from the zimistān to the courtyard. It is now blocked up and is not shown on Pugachenkova's plan, but it is clearly visible in Niedermayer, Pl. 166.

After the long horizontal facade of the building and the narrow vestibule, the spacious courtyard and soaring minarets and qibla aivan provide a change of emphasis. Expense may have been spared on the decoration - the primary aim after all, as explained by Isfizārī, was to accommodate the burgeoning population of the town - but that did not mean that the canons of Timurid architecture could not still be manipulated to expressive intent. In the tradition of the Mosque of Bībī Khānum and the shrine at Gāzur Gāh the courtyard ensemble is dominated by one towering aivan. The most original feature of the ensemble here, however, are the two niches which flank the minarets, mediating between the height of the lateral arcades and the minarets.

They recall those in a similar position in the Varāmīn Masjid-i Jami[c], in that their upper storey leads only to the roof of the mosque; but if this is facade architecture, it is facade architecture at its best. The originality of these niches lies in the way in which their lower section is arranged, with a five-angled pier in the centre set back from the facade and two arches at 45° springing to either side. The rectangular areas thus formed are vaulted by squinch nets leading to twelve-sided domes.[7] The necessity for such an arrangement may be judged from a simpler alternative, that of continuing the interior line of piers to the facade. This would produce two niches similar in size to those round the courtyard, but which would have clearly been inadequate to balance the huge central aivan.

The lateral aivans are also examples of facade architecture, in that their upper gallery leads only to the roof. The aivan is covered, unusually, with transverse vaults, although this follows logically from the plan of the arcades to either side. The vaulting of these arcades is extensively restored, most now consisting of domical vaults, but one vault in the NE arcade has traces of a squinch net leading to a sixteen-sided base, similar to those of the Masjid-i Chihil Sutūn, which may have been the original scheme.

The lower section of the minarets is plain, decoration being confined to two bands at the top of the first storey. Only fragments of the original mosaic-faience survive, but fortunately imprints in the plaster give an idea of the original design. Large white lotus blossoms with black and light-blue centres, all on a green ground within a polylobed medallion, are still visible on the cavetto moulding of the upper band. Amber and black are used further down, so here at least, unlike the spandrels of the entrance facade, the full range of available colours was exploited. The rest of the design seems to have

consisted of a network of medallions and floral forms without, surprisingly, any of the usual epigraphic friezes that one would expect to find in this position. Just above the cavetto moulding a series of radial holes with broken wooden planks can be seen, indicating that a balcony was once present here.

The aivan between the minarets is also quite plain, although a band on top of the portal screen, now covered in plaster, suggests the presence of tile decoration originally. If so, that may explain the use of floral rather than epigraphic decoration on the minarets, since any inscription on the portal screen would have been more conspicuous.

The sanctuary dome chamber similarly impresses by virtue of its height. The dome is supported by a squinch net leading to a twenty-four-sided base,[8] and squinch nets are the only other decoration to be found in the sanctuary, occuring on the mihrab and on the niches of the upper gallery of the two semi-domed aivans which flank the main dome on the N and S. The type of squinch net used on the latter, with irregular hexagons in addition to the usual rhomboids (Pl. 163), is similar to those in the Mazar-i Sipahsālār-i Mālik (Cat. No. 30) and the nearby Masjid-i Gunbad (Cat. No. 45). The vaulting of the semi-domed aivans flanking the N, W and S of the main dome chamber calls for comment. Those on the N and S are merely corbelled, that on the W above the mihrab has a squinch aptly described as archaic by Pugachenkova, since it resembles those of Fīrūzābād. As so many of the vaults in the arcades have been restored, it is possible that these squinches have also been altered.

The exterior of the sanctuary dome closely resembles that of the New Mosque at Turbat-i Jām, with diagonal arches over the squinches linking the tops of the four main arches.

<u>Materials of construction</u> Bricks 24-5 x 24-5 x 6cm. RJ 5mm, HJ 3mm.

Features of construction Scaffolding holes are mostly filled in, being mainly conspicuous on the back of the portal screen of the main aivan, and in pairs on the minarets at intervals of ca. 2.25m between the heights of 14 and 23m.

Inscriptions In mosaic-faience, dark-blue background, white thulth letters (gold for the name of Sultan Husain) with golden Kufic above, on three sides of the entrance aivan (Pl. 161):

(قال الله تبها(ر)ك و تعالى انما مساجد الله من امن بالله
واليوم الاخر واقام الصلوة واتى ازكو(ة و)لم يخش (الا)الله فعسى
(اولهاك ا)ن يكونوا (مهن المهتدين و قال النبى عليه السلم من
(بنهى لله تعالى مسجدا بنى الله له (بيتا فى) الجنة (قد)
وفق الله الكريم بمنه والطافه و محاسن اعطافه حارس حوزه (الدين)
و حا(مى) بيضة (الا)سلا(م) السلطان بن السلطا(ن) بن معز
السلطنة والدنيا والدين ابو الغازى سلطان حسين بهادر خان
خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه فى شهور سنه سبع و ثمانين و
ثمانمئه كتبه العبد ولى المذنب

Translation:

God, may He be exalted and blessed, said: "He only shall tend God's sanctuaries who believeth in God and the last day and observeth proper worship and payeth the poor due and feareth none save God. For such (only) is it possible that they can be of the rightly guided" (Quran IX/18). And the prophet, on him be peace, said: "Whoever builds for God (may He be exalted) a mosque God will build a house for him in paradise." God the Generous through His favours, kindnesses, virtues and benevolences gave the guardian of the territory of religion and the protector of the essence of Islām the

Sultan b. al-Sultan b. Muᶜizz al-Sultanat wa'l-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Abu'l-Ghāzī Sultan Husain Bahādur Khān may God perpetuate his kingship and sultanate success (in building this mosque) in the year 887/1482-3. Al-ᶜAbd Valī al-Mudhnib wrote it.

The Kufic is much damaged, but part of it reads:

الفخره لله تعالى الشكر لله تعالى

Glory to God, be He exalted, thanks to God, be He exalted.[9]

This is a variation on the usual form which repeats al-ḥamd li'llāh or al-mulk li'llāh.

Although I have not been able to identify the calligrapher,[10] he was clearly a master of his craft. The thulth is distinguished by occasional elimination of the teeth in the letter sīn, used most effectively in combination in the long sweep of the sīns of sana and sabaᶜ at the end of the inscription. Like the inscription of the Khanqah of Mullā Kālān, it does not have the usual floriated spiral background.

As no one apart from Sultan Husain is mentioned in the inscription, he alone evidently provided the funds for its erection.

An inscription in brick on one pier of the entrance aivan reads:

ترمیم و تعمیر محمد سلیمان خان ۱۳۳۷

Repairs by Muhammad Sulaimān Khān 1337/1918-9.

According to Vardak he was governor of Herat in 1919.[11]

Discussion The historical circumstances surrounding the construction of the building are clear. It was built by Sultan Husain in 887/1482-3 to alleviate overcrowding in the existing Friday mosque. Size, then, was a prerequisite: the huge courtyard, 43m per side, would alone have held great numbers. But, as we have seen, the structure impresses not just by sheer size, as the variety of vaults and succession of solids and voids of varying dimensions around the courtyard show. The plan is carefully thought out, showing influence from a number of sources.

The disposition of the sanctuary, with a large dome flanked by semi-domed aivans on the qibla and transverse axis, is adapted from that of the New Mosque at Turbat-i Jām. Other influences from there are the multi-faceted pillars, and perhaps even the idea of constructing a large Timurid mosque with a minimum of tile decoration.

What of the entrance complex, with its madrasa and zimistān? The entrance complex had been used previously not only in the madrasa-type plan, as in the Khargird madrasa and the shrine at Gāzur Gāh, but probably also in the Masjid-i Jami^{c} of Gauhar Shād in Herat. Judging from Saljūqī's description,[12] the entrance complex of the latter may have consisted of a zimistān and a jamā^{c}atkhāna. But one should remember that that mosque also had accommodation for students in cells around the courtyard. In Ziyāratgāh the combination of different functions is the same, but as the priority was to accommodate as many people as possible for prayer, the madrasa was relocated to the entrance complex. The zimistān could also have doubled as a jamā^{c}atkhāna when necessary.

The influence of the mosque can be seen in the Ghuriyān Masjid-i Jami^{c}, whose courtyard and sanctuary plan is remarkably similar, and which may have had an entrance complex based on that of Ziyāratgāh.

Condition Good, after extensive restoration. The dome of the room above the vestibule collapsed between January and June 1975, and was perfunctorally repaired.

Recorded January, June 1975, March 1977.

Notes

1) Adamec, Herat, map III-8-C; Allen, Catalogue, Map 1, no. 391.
2) It is not SW of the village as marked in Allen, Map 1.
3) I, pp. 82-3.
4) KA, p. 23.

5) See O'Kane, "Khargird," p. 91.

6) "Les monuments...," p. 45.

7) Not decagonal as per Pugachenkova, "Les monuments...," p. 46.

8) Not thirty-two as per Pugachenkova, "Les monuments...," p. 45.

9) Vardak reads لفظ الملك لله تعالى , p. 13.

10) According to Saljūqī (p. 113), this may be Mullā Valī Qalandar Haravī Mudhnib who was renowned as a painter and calligrapher in the time of Sultan Husain and who was the teacher of Khvāja Mīrak. I have been unable to trace any other source for this information.

11) P. 32.

12) See Catalogue No. 14.

Bibliography

G.A. Pugachenkova, "Les monuments...," pp. 42-8.

Eadem, "Tri pozdnetimuridskikh," pp. 31-6.

Eadem, Zodchestvo, pp. 53, 58, 65, 67, 69.

Sourdel-Thomine and Spuler, Pl. 319, p. 342.

Saljūqī, RMH 4, pp. 112-3.

Ghauvās, "Qarya," pp. 7-8.

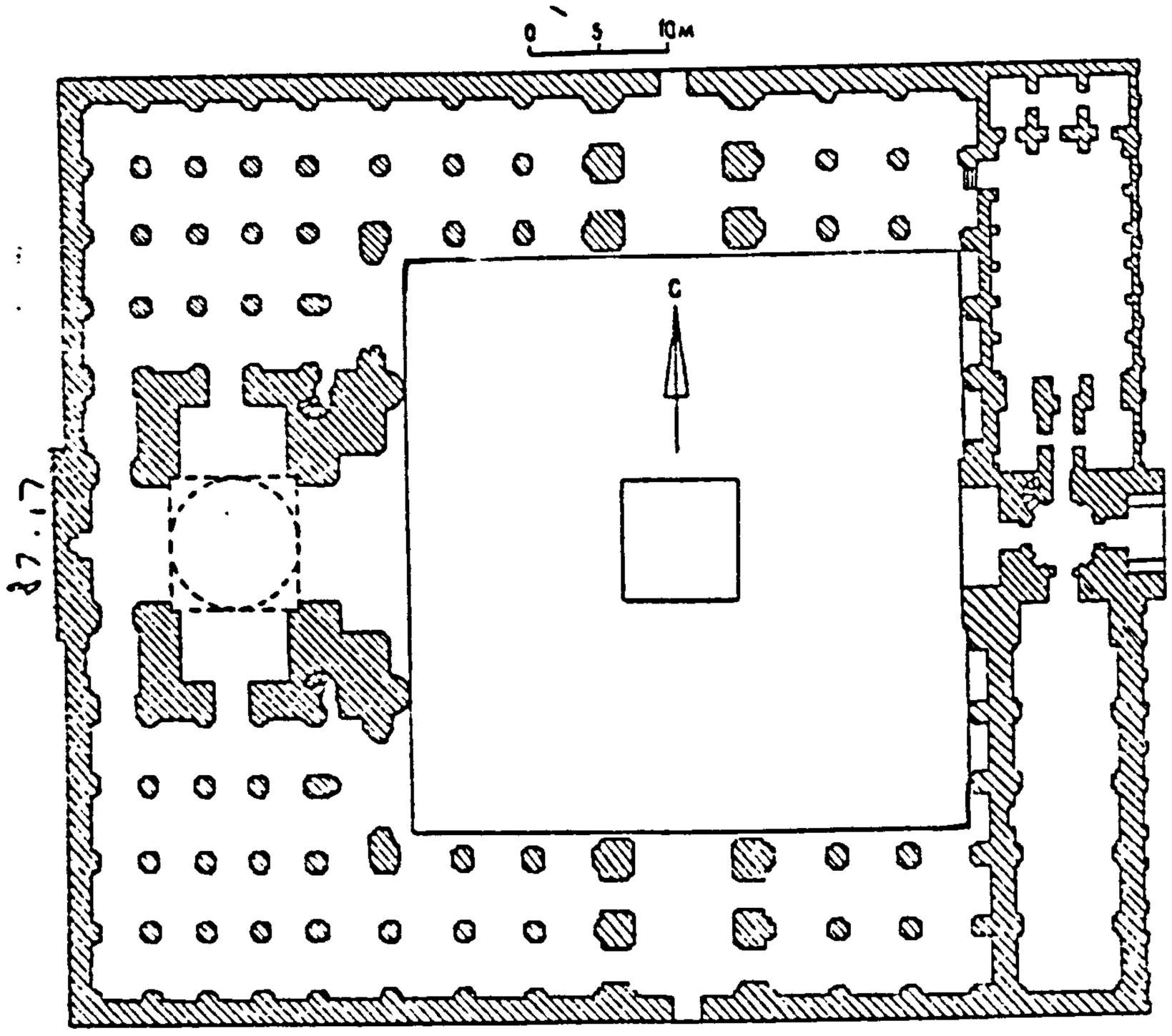
Idem, Rahnamā, pp. 41-2.

Vardak, "Qarya," pp. 12-14, 32.

Allen, Catalogue, p. 116.

Allchin and Hammond, eds., Archaeology, p. 389, Pl. 7.24.

Niedermayer, Afghanistan, Pls. 165-6.



44) Cat.no.33. Ziyāratgāh, Masjid-i Jami^{c}:
plan (after Pugachenkova)

DIH-I MANĀR, KHANQAH OF SHAIKH SADR AL-DĪN ARMĀNĪ

Location In a cemetery on the edge of the village of Armān, now called Dih-i Manār, ca. 20km SW of the centre of Herat.

Plan (Fig. 45) Central dome chamber approached by axial aivans, with living chambers in two storeys in each corner. Perhaps the most striking aspect of the plan is its near total symmetry, both on the NS and EW axes. The only deviation is incurred by the necessity of incorporating a stairway in the upper storey instead of a living chamber at the SW corner. With only one staircase accommodation in the upper quarters could only have been for the ascetic who was willing to forego privacy—to reach the NE upper cell it is necessary to pass through either the NW or SE cell.

Description As the structure has been published with some thoroughness by Pugachenkova, my remarks will be limited to amplification of her account.

The building is anepigraphic at present, although a band ca. 45cm wide running around the central dome chamber may have been designed to carry an inscription.

Above this, the squinches are decorated with banna'i bricks and glazed tilework. Rising joints are minimal, horizontal joints are filled with light-blue faience strips. Strips of light-blue also frame the banna'i bricks of the remaining fragment of the vaulting beside the squinches. Squares of dark-blue faience with light-blue insets are used to form a hexagonal pattern on the squinch faces; on one squinch face the design is punctuated by larger lozenges in which a pentagonal harlequin design is inserted. Only light- and dark-blue and white tiles are used. The same limited range of colours is found

on the remaining fragment of mosaic-faience on the S aivan spandrel.

The soffits of the arches leading to the central dome chamber are decorated with a large brick lozenge, one on each side of the apex of each arch (Pl. 167).

Function The siting of the grave of Shaikh Sadr al-Dīn in a hazira on the W side of the building, and especially its combination of numerous small living chambers with a central communal space, tend to confirm the local designation of khanqah, erected for disciples, or in memory, of Shaikh Sadr al-Dīn Armānī.

Dating The gravestone of Shaikh Sadr al-Dīn is dated 1237/1821-2.[1] On account of the absence of his name in the Nafahāt al-Uns, Saljūqī attributed the khanqah to the end of the reign of Sultan Husain.[2] Pugachenkova, however, attributed the khanqah to Shaikh Sadr al-Dīn Revaki who was a protégé of Abū Sa^{c}īd.[3] Perhaps this is Shaikh Sadr al-Dīn Ravāsī, for whom Abu Sa^{c}īd ordered funerary prayers after his death on 10 Ramadān 871/15 April 1467.[4] However, his body was then brought to Juvain and buried in a house which he had built there.[5] There is thus no direct evidence to connect him with the khanqah at Armān. The tombstone of the vazir Khvaja Saif al-Dīn Muhammad is also found within the hazira attached to the khanqah. He was executed by Sultan Husain, the date on his tombstone being 889/1493-4.[6] The presence of his tombstone within the hazira suggests that Shaikh Sadr al-Dīn had died before this time. This does not necessarily imply, however, as Pugachenkova asserts, that the khanqah must have been built by this time. Like that which it most closely resembles, the Khanqah of Mullā Kālān at Ziyāratgāh, it may have been built considerably after the death of the shaikh.

Apart from its resemblance, both in form and size, to the Khanqah of Mullā Kālān, a late fifteenth century date is also suggested by the

use of thin strips of light-blue faience as horizontal joints, signalled above, found also on the Masjid-i Chihil Sutūn at Ziyāratgāh, and in Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr's repairs of 904-5/1498-1500 in the Herat Masjid-i Jamiᶜ.

Condition Very poor. All the vaults of the upper rooms have collapsed. The two remaining aivan vaults, those on the N and E, have sagged into ogee shapes and are in imminent danger of collapse.

Notes

1) Saljūqī, p. 122.
2) Ibid., p. 121.
3) "À l'étude," p. 41.
4) HS, IV, p. 103.
5) Loc. cit.
6) Khvāndamīr is in some confusion over his date of death: in DV, p. 339, it is reported as 84_, the space for the units being blank, while HS, IV, p. 330, gives the date of his death in words as 891.

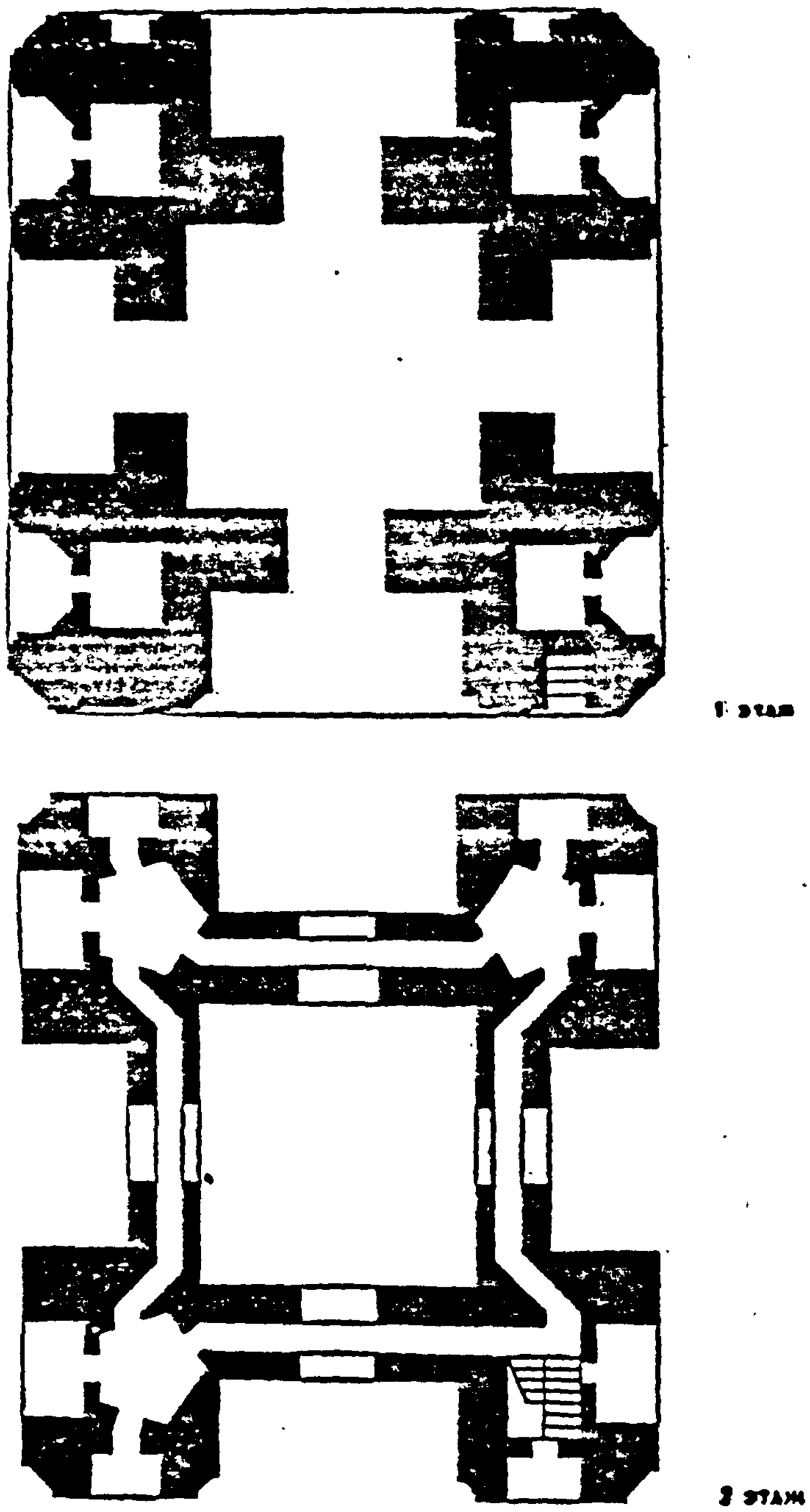
Bibliography

Pugachenkova and Zakhimov, "Khanaka Sheyka Sadreddina," pp. 140-4.

Pugachenkova, "À l'étude," pp. 41-5.

Idem, Zodchestvo, pp. 78-9.

Saljūqī, pp. 119-22.



45) Cat.no.34. Dih-i Manār, Khanqah of Shaikh Armānī: plan (after Pugachenkova)

35

PŪRĀN, BUQ^{c}A OF JALĀL AL-DĪN ABŪ YAZĪD PŪRĀNĪ

Location The village of Pūrān is situated 4km SW of the ^{c}Irāq gate of the old city of Herat.[1] Its only claim to fame is the presence there, on the outskirts of the village, of the grave of Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Yazīd Pūrānī. The grave is set within a modern brick hazira enclosing, in accordance with the holiness of the deceased, a long burial mound. The remains of the buq^{c}a are situated ca. 25m in the qibla direction (W) from the hazira.

Historical references Jalāl al-Dīn was one of the most eminent Sufis of his day, meriting biographies from Jāmī, Vā^{c}iz, Khvāndamīr[2] and a death notice from Samarqandī, the date of his death being 9 Dhu'l-Qa^{c}da 862/18 September 1458.[3] He was buried in Pūrān, and Khvāndamīr adds that Sultan Husain erected a fine building (_^{c}imārat-i ^{c}alī_) at his grave (_bar sar-i mazārish_). The village, and hence presumably the buq^{c}a and mazar, was visited by Bābur and included in his list of the most famous sights of Herat.[4]

Plan (Fig. 46) Possible restorations of the original plan are discussed below. At present there are two dome chambers, the one on the N relatively well preserved, separated by a tall heap of earth which may consist of the collapsed remains of a vestibule.

Elevation a) exterior: (Pl. 168) Only the N dome chamber will be described, as that on the S, as far as can be judged from the remains, is symmetrical.

The top of the N wall is crumbling away, but from the series of twin reveals one can assume that it consisted of a row of blind arched niches set within a rectangular frame. There are two doors in this wall, one leading to the main dome chamber and another at the W end

opening into a small corridor which in turn has access to the main dome chamber and to another door at a 45^{o} angle (Pl. 169). The E wall is in a very ruinous state, but one can recognise that it also had a doorway which led into a small narrow rectangular vestibule in front of the main dome chamber. The S wall is again very dilapidated, but has two projections at a 45^{o} angle which, together with those of the dome chamber opposite, may have formed the sides of a vestibule with the plan of an irregular octagon. The door from the corridor W of the dome chamber emerges at the SW corner, at an angle of 45^{o} to the other entrances. The W wall is plain, although near the top of it the remains of an arch which sprang further W are visible. It is abutted in part by the wall of a new mosque which was recently attached to both dome chambers of the buq^{c}a.

b) interior: The dome chamber is vaulted by an elaborate squinch net leading to a twenty-four-sided star at the base of the dome (Pl. 170). The complexity of the squinch net is shown by the number of rhomboids above each of the lower squinches: fourteen in all. The vestibule on the E side has a simpler squinch net leading to an octagonal star. The ruinous condition of the same vault in the S dome chamber allows us to see that the squinch net is only skin deep.

On the walls the pointing emphasises the horizontal joints of the bricks at the expense of the vertical, a feature which is also found in the mausoleum at Turuq.

<u>Materials</u> Bricks 26-7 x 26-7 x 5cm, RJ 1/2-1cm, HJ 1.2cm. Good quality hard mud mortar, like that used in the buq^{c}a of Ṣadr al-Dīn Armānī.

<u>Date</u> The relatively plain character of the building is shared by a number of other structures which were built in the same area in the second half of the fifteenth century e.g. the buq^{c}as of Mullā Kālān

and Ṣadr al-Dīn Armānī and the Friday Mosques of Ziyāratgāh and Ghuriyān. The squinch net with its multiplicity of rhomboids suggests a narrower range, in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. This being so, it seems reasonable to identify the building with that erected by Sultan Ḥusain at the mazar of Jalāl al-Dīn Pūrānī.

Function Suggestions for the function of the building depend on possible restorations, which must now be discussed. It seems likely that on the E there was an entrance aivan leading to a small vestibule. Rather surprisingly, there was no direct communication with the vestibule and the domed rooms to either side. What did the vestibule lead into? One might expect a courtyard, or a domed room. In the latter case the plan would be similar to the Buq^{c}a of Mullā Kalān, but on a larger scale. However, judging from the way in which the wall beyond the vestibule goes through a series of 45^{o} angles before meeting the bevel at the SW corner of the dome chamber, it is difficult to see how a dome could be erected in this space.

While one can thus assume that the vestibule led to a courtyard, the original plan beyond this point must be a matter of complete conjecture. The space which might have been taken up by cells or arcades, aivans or dome chambers around the courtyard is occupied by the recently built mosque. But the very presence of a courtyard suggests that some combination of these elements would have been used to complete the composition, and the remains of the springing of an arch in the W wall is evidence that cells at least were present.

The terms used by Khvāndamīr to describe the building are ^{c}imārat sar-i mazār. He employs this combination frequently in the Khulāṣat al-Akhbār, where it is used for the buildings associated with the tombs of:

1) and 2) the Sādāt-i Masrakh[5]

3) Majd al-Dīn Tāliba (<u>ᶜimārat-i mazār</u>)[6]

4) Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī[7]

5) Jāmī[8]

6) Shaikh Zain al-Dīn Khvāfī[9]

7) ᶜAbdallah Wāhid[10]

8) Abu'l-Walīd.[11]

Nos. 1, 2, 7 and 8 are extant mausoleums, but it is not known what form the <u>ᶜimārats</u> of nos. 2-5 took. No. 3 is described in another source as a hazira,[12] and no. 2 as a khanqah.[13]

As the present building is situated away from the grave of Jalāl al-Dīn it is certainly not a mausoleum. It was however, intended to commemorate him, and since he was a renowned Sufi, one might expect a building which would contain lodgings for his followers and space for communal devotions. Khvāndamīr seems to reserve the term khanqah for large officially sponsored buildings, frequently erected in tandem with a madrasa. Since this building is not described by him as such, a buqᶜa might be a more appropriate term, since this frequently has both funerary and Sufi connotations. It also may reflect a more loosely organised régime than the official lectures which took place in the khanqahs which were erected with madrasas.

The term buqᶜa does not designate any specific form for a building. The courtyard at Pūrān may have led into a mosque, in which case the combination of elements would be the same as the Tāybād buqᶜa, with the mosque taking a different form in each building.

<u>Recorded</u> June 1975.

Notes

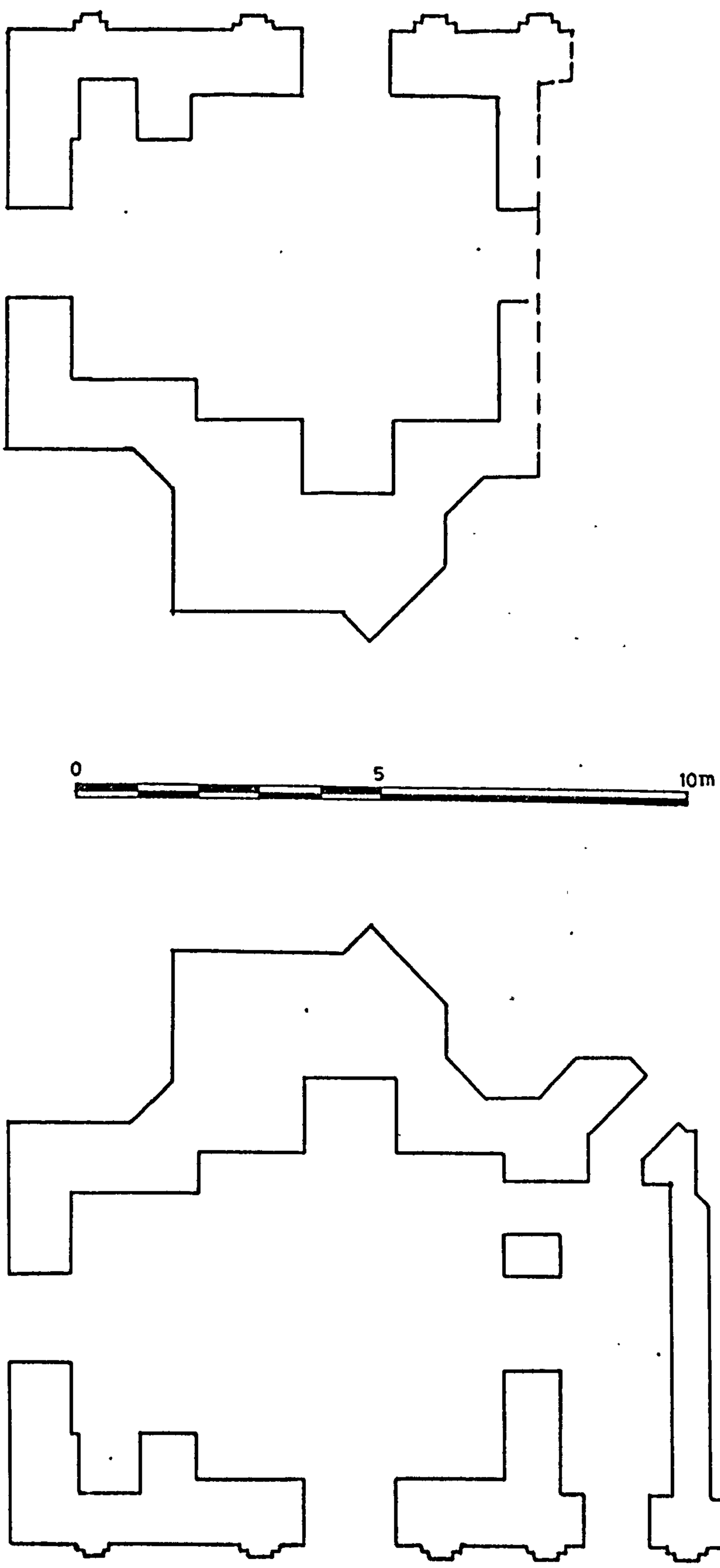
1) Allen, <u>Catalogue</u>, Map 1, 2-H, no. 316.

2) Respectively NU, pp. 501-3; MI, pp. 90-1; HS, IV, p. 60.

3) MS, p. 1174.
4) Bābur Nāma, p. 306.
5) I.e. the mausoleums of ᶜAbdallāh b. Muᶜāwiyya and Abu'l-Qāsim. KA, B.L. Or 1292, f. 386b.
6) KA, p. 14.
7) KA, p. 20.
8) KA, p. 21.
9) KA, p. 21.
10) KA, p. 23.
11) KA, p. 23.
12) MI, p. 45; Allen, Catalogue, p. 180.
13) Sayf, Tārīkh Nāma-yi Harāt, p. 441; Allen, op. cit., p. 151.

Bibliography

Saljūqī, RMH 4, pp. 138-9.



46) Cat.no.35. Pūrān, Buq^{c}a of Abū Yazīd: plan

ĀZĀDĀN, MAZAR-I KHVĀJA ABU'L-WALĪD

Location Ca. 4km NW of the walled city of Herat.[1]

Plan (Fig. 47) Dome chamber preceded by pishtaq on S., modern mosque on N.

Historical sources Khvāndamīr's description of the mazar in the Khulāsat al-Akhbār is as follows:

> The building (ᶜimārat) at the grave (bar sar-i mazār) of the great shaikh, the humble pīr Khvāja Abu'l-Walīd Ahmad, may his grave be hallowed, is one of those erected by Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr (muqarrab al-hażrat al-Sultānī) and there is a great gathering in that holy place on Wednesdays and its shaikh and attendants entertain all who come; and leading to this building Khvāja Nizām al-Mulk Khvāfī, one of the followers of Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr (amīr-i ᶜalī makān), who on account of his ingratitude incurred Sultan Ḥusain's wrath, built a spacious jamāᶜatkhāna, and now they say the Friday prayer there; and also in the vicinity of this lofty buqᶜa the attendants of Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr built an excellent ribat, and the travellers who stay in this auspicious place perform prayers and give praise for its founder.[2]

In the Makārim al-Akhlāq the building is also described as ᶜimārat sar-i mazār.[3]

Vāṣifī describes how every Thursday the most eminent men of society would gather to hear Ḥusain Vaᶜiz preach at the Shrine (sar-i mazār), and goes on to record a disputation on one of these occasions.[4]

Khvāndamīr's biographical notice of Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain al-Vaᶜiz, who died in 910/1504-5, confirms that he preached at the Shrine (dar sar-i mazār) on Thursdays.[5]

Inscriptions A more complete picture of the Shrine and its surroundings can be obtained from the two fifteenth century inscriptions at

the site.

The first is in six lines of thulth on a marble slab set into the wall over the entrance portal to the dome chamber of Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr.[6] Persian, after the initial Quranic quotation.

> "God, eternal dominion to He Who neither dies nor sleeps, said 'Everyone that is thereon will pass away: There remaineth but the Countenance of thy Lord of Might and Glory.'[7] Moreover, after the flight (death) of the pure holy soul of the lord of the master of dignity, the great shaikh and imam of the highest degree, the spiritual leader of the holy, the mystic of the mystics who possess divine revelation, (he who is) followed by the imams of mankind, the Sultan of the throne of holiness, whose sanctuary is the world in accordance with the suitable wishes of the saintly people, (he who is) joined in proximity to the One Eternal (God), the Sultan of truth, of the path and of piety, Abu'l-Walīd Aḥmad b. Abi'l-Raja' ᶜAbdallāh al-Ḥanafī al-Āzādānī al-Haravī, may his soul be blessed; the dear (soul) in the year 232/846-7 flew willingly from the confines of his noble body to the call of the Higher Voice, to your (sic) Lord, to the original abode (heaven). In the reign of His Majesty the Pādshāh, Defender of the Faith, the Sun of the Heavens, the Sultan, Shadow of God, the centre of the circle of security and safety, the commander of the earth and of time, the great King, the conqueror of the world, lord of the auspicious conjunction, maker of kings Shah Abu'l-Ghāzī Muᶜizz-i Milk va Dīn, may God perpetuate his praise and kingdom (and) sultanate, in the royal reign of the confidant of His Majesty the Sultan, Nizām al-Daula wa'l-Dīn Amīr ᶜAlī Shīr, may his prosperity be increased, brought to completion this noble dome chamber (gunbad) and lofty building (binā') and most noble shrine (mashhad); and it was finished through the efforts of the powerful official, the guardian of the conquering government, Khvāja Qavām al-Dīn Nizām al-Mulk b. Ismāᶜīl al-Khvāfī who is the founder of this Masjid-i Jamiᶜ."

Two buildings are thus specified, one built by ᶜAlī Shīr termed a gunbad, binā' and mashhad, and a masjid-i jamiᶜ built by Nizām al-Mulk.

The second inscription is on a marble slab set into a side wall of a cistern at the end of the long courtyard facing the shrine. The cistern appears to be modern, so the original location of the slab is not known. Four large and one small lines of thulth:[8]

"The endowments which in the time of the great humble pīr, may his grave be hallowed, were established in the holy shrine (mazār), and the ancient endowments[9] which were (established) after that are as follows: all of the village of Abu'l-Walīd, all of the village of Āzādān, 70 jarībs of the village of Sainān,[10] 60 jarībs in the village of Zaidarān, 16 jarībs in the village of Qavitān, 4 jarībs in the village of Jaghartān.[11] The personal imperial endowments and grants of the highest emperor (i.e. Sultan Ḥusain), from among the personal lands of the noble one: the village of Buzdān[12] and one tenth,[13] and in addition, the farm of Abrār[14] of the bulūk of Havā Dashtak,[15] the farm of Dih-i Nau also in the aforementioned bulūk, the farm of Kanda[16] also in the aforementioned bulūk, the farm of Mushak[17] in the environs of Tughūz Ribat.[18] The endowment which the confidant of His Majesty the Sultan, the assistant of the royal government Nizām al-Daula wa'l-Dīn Amīr ᶜAlī Shīr, may his rule be perpetuated, ordered for the blessed shrine (mazār) and masjid-i jamiᶜ and the ribat at the river, with administration by the guardian of the conquering government Amīr Qavām al-Dīn Niẓām al-Mulk and his sons: (the village of) Talāba-yi ᶜUlyā.[19] The endowments of the guardian of the conquering government Qavām al-Millat wa'l-Dīn Amīr Niẓām al-Mulk b. Ismāᶜīl al-Khvāfī, who is the founder of the masjid-i jamiᶜ, for the shrine (mazār) and the dār al-huffāz: the bath of the gate[20] and the shops of the seven gates near the shrine (mazār) and the ass-mill at their boundary, the little bazar (tīmcha) in Talāba and the caravanserai in the Bazar-i Khush,[21] the water-mill at the Dūghābād bridge, the Ṣadīq farm in Bādghīs, the water-mill in the village of Talāba-yi ᶜUlyā, 10 jarībs of the garden in the village of Dīvāncha,[22] two jarībs of land in the village of Ghulvān,[23] the farm of Khvāja Malik Simnānī; with the assignment of one third of new endowments which are

also part of the endowments of the holy shrine exempt from official regulation."[24]

The accuracy of Khvāndamīr's account is thus verified: three buildings were endowed by ᶜAlī Shīr, the mazar, masjid-i jamiᶜ and ribat, one of which, the masjid-i jamiᶜ, was built by Nizām al-Mulk. A dār al-huffāz is also mentioned: from the context it is probably another term for the masjid-i jamiᶜ of Nizām al-Mulk, or else an annex to the mazar.

The information presented so far has a number of unusual features, firstly the cooperation by two of the most powerful amirs of the time in building different parts of the complex, and secondly the great disparity between the amounts of property bequeathed by the two. Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr's consisted of the (arable and orchard?) lands of Talāba-yi ᶜUlyā, while Nizām al-Mulk's comprised a mixture of commercial properties and farm land in villages near Herat and in Bādghīs. Why the large discrepancy between the two?

The answer presumably lies in the clause which assigns the administration (tauliyyat) of the waqf to Nizām al-Mulk and his descendants. Even though he is only mentioned as the administrator of the village of Talāba-yi ᶜUlyā bequeathed by ᶜAlī Shīr, it is likely in the absence of other named officials, that he administered the whole of the waqf income, including the other bequests mentioned in the inscription: those remaining from the erection of the first mazar after Abu'l-Walīd's death, and those given by Sultan Husain.

Since Nizām al-Mulk's endowments were considerably larger than ᶜAlī Shīr's, and since he also built the masjid-i jamiᶜ, why is he only mentioned in both inscriptions after the name of ᶜAlī Shīr, and in a less inflated protocol? Perhaps this problem, and the unusual features mentioned above, can be explained by positing the following sequence

of events. In the late fifteenth century the dome chamber which one of the Karts, possibly Fakhr al-Dīn Muhammad (d. 708/1308),[25] had erected over the tomb, was falling into disrepair. ᶜAlī Shīr decided to erect a new dome chamber, but for some reason was short of funds to provide endowments.[26] He persuaded his patron Sultan Husain to bequeath some state lands, but this not being sufficient, he also invited Khvaja Nizām al-Mulk to contribute, with the inducement that he and his sons should be named adminstrators of the waqf. Since Nizām al-Mulk's descendants are mentioned in the waqf, it is likely that it was to be administered as a waqf ahli or family trust. This could have been a lucrative position for Nizām al-Mulk and his family, with surplus funds available for his own expenditure. He would expect to obtain at least one-tenth of the revenue, the amount for trusteeship (haqq-i tauliyyat) assigned to the naqīb of the waqf of Gauhar Shād's foundation at Mashhad.[27] Then, perhaps, in order to be seen to be contributing to a foundation from which he would benefit, Nizam al-Mulk agreed to add a mosque to the dome chamber of ᶜAlī Shīr. Presumably the decisions to build the mosque and dome chamber were made separately, as there is nothing about the architecture of the dome chamber which suggests that it was ever anything other than a self-contained unit. Timurid architecture was capable of devising various ingenious plans for the accommodation of a funerary dome chamber and separate oratory, as the shrines of Khvaja Ahmad Yassavī, Mazar-i Sharīf and Shāhzāda ᶜAbdallāh at Herat show. The prosaic quality of the plan of the dome chamber at Āzādān therefore suggests that it was designed before the plans for a mosque were drawn up.

While the above can be only conjectural, it could explain that while Nizām al-Mulk was relegated to a lesser place in the epigraphic hierarchy than ᶜAlī Shīr, he may have felt that this was amply

compensated for by his position as trustee.

Of the three buildings erected by the two amirs at the site, only the dome chamber survives. The mosque of Nizām al-Mulk was in danger of collapsing in 1335/1956, and was subsequently pulled down and replaced by a new one.[28] Saljūqī gives a fleeting impression of its former state: it was connected to the dome chamber on the N; this led to a courtyard with a shabistān decorated with excellent arabesques and stalactites further to the N.[29]

The dome chamber of Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr

Elevation a) exterior: (Pl. 171) The precise appearance must be conjectural as so much has been damaged and overlaid with restorations. At present the pishtaq on the S in flanked by two-storey niches (Pl. 172), recalling those of Tāybād, but the different colour of the brickwork and break in bond show that they were added later. They may have been added at the same time that the inside wall of that portal screen was reinforced and a new arch built, for here too the change in colour and break in bond are obvious. On the spandrels of the arch of the pishtaq, the outline of the springing of an arch higher than the present one can be seen (Pl. 173). This was probably the profile of the fifteenth-century pishtaq arch, although again its bricks of lighter colour than the original portal screen are evidence of restoration. Given the height of the original pishtaq arch (ca. 15m) and the relative thinness of its piers (2.50m), it is not surprising that the first vault fell. The stubby minarets on top of the portal screen are also modern.

The rectangular doorway at the back of the aivan is now set within an arched recess. Immediately above it is the marble slab containing the foundation inscription, and above that an arched window near the top of the recess. The row of three windows at the rear of the aivan,

with a smaller one above, is probably original, to judge from both the colour of the surrounding bricks and by the way in which the topmost window is cut off by the lower rebuilt arch of the pishtaq. The original pishtaq, therefore, was also barrel-vaulted, like that of Tāybād.

The exterior of the dome is covered with a coating of kāhgil. There is no indication that a double dome was ever contemplated.

The N side is now obscured by the new prayer hall, but as the previous masjid-i jami^{c} was also on this location, the dome chamber would never have had an exterior facade here.

The lateral facades have had later structures erected against both sides. Part of the original scheme can be made out on the W side, where the successive reveals suggest that there was originally a series of three blind arches with rectangular frames. The central one was larger and contained a window with a pointed arch.

b) interior: (Pl. 174) The dome chamber is square with bevelled corners and a shallow barrel-vaulted recess on each side. In the W recess is a semi-octagonal mosaic-faience mihrab with a stalactite semi-dome. A mosaic-faience dado rises to a height of 2.22m, but above this the plaster surfaces have all been repainted.

The four main arches of the dome chamber, the four plain squinches between them, and the eight rhomboidal compartments between those provide a sixteen-sided base. Rather than ending here, however, sixteen intersecting arches extrapolate the zone of transition to a higher plane. The same feature was used in the dome chambers of Kuhsān and Shāhzāda ^{c}Abdallāh in Herat (Cat. Nos. 39, 19).

Decoration The dado has a pattern of eight and twelve-pointed stars surrounded by pentagons on a ground of triangles. The extensive use of white in the pattern, and the greater than average height (2.22m)

assure the dado a prominent role in the decoration of the interior.

The mosaic-faience of the mihrab (Pl. 175) has unfortunately been partially obscured by the addition of paint over the tiles. The rectangular frame has a tree of life panel at the base, and over it a small panel with aphorisms in plaited Kufic in white on a black ground. A fine thulth inscription takes up the rest of the frame, white letters on a dark-blue ground, al-mulk li'llāh in amber Kufic in upper register. It reads:

قال الله تعالى فى الكتاب الكريم

plus Quran XVII/78-82 [30] as far as المؤمنين .

The spandrels of the mihrab have a Khargird type three pattern, of a peony on a loosely arranged floral background. There is an interesting use of a small cloud band motif at the base of each spandrel, where it serves as the point of origin for the floral sprays. Cloud bands had been used previously in miniatures,[31] but their employment here pre-dates their popular use in Safavid tilework.[32]

Date The appointment of Niẓām al-Mulk and ᶜAlī Shīr to the rank of amir in 870/1472 provides a terminus post quem, and Niẓām al-Mulk's death in 904/1498 a terminus ante quem. The architecture and decoration do not permit a more precise attribution.

Condition Good, after recent repairs.

Recorded June 1975.

Notes

1) Allen, Map 2, No. 573.
2) Pp. 22-3.
3) F. 145b.
4) I, p. 448.
5) HS, IV, p. 345.

6) Text in Saljūqī, RMH 4, pp. 133-4.
7) Quran, LVI/26-7.
8) Text in Saljūqī, RMH 4, p. 134.
9) Omit qadr from the text.
10) Allen, No. 343.
11) Probably equals Jaqartān, Allen, No. 174.
12) Allen, No. 174.
13) The text would make more sense here if the wāw were eliminated.
14) This reading is uncertain, but it is not Abdaz as in Saljūqī.
15) Allen, No. 4.
16) Cf. Allen, No. 251, listed as Kanda-yi Āb.
17) Cf. Allen, No. 299.
18) Listed in HA, p. 25, as in the bulūk of Parvāna and Havā Dashtak, located at a distance of 2 farsakhs from the town.
19) Allen, No. 371.
20) Delete the wāw after dār al-huffāz in the text.
21) Allen, No. 102.
22) Allen, No. 188.
23) Allen, No. 210.
24) Since one third was exempted it follows that the other two thirds were subject to government taxes. Neither were waqfs in contemporary Transoxiana or the Aqquyunlu domains automatically exempt from taxation; see Rogers, "Waqfiyyas," pp. 189-90.
25) See Allen, No. 573.
26) Commitment to some other buildings in his extensive programme may have been the reason. We as yet have too little information regarding his other foundations to establish whether joint endowments made it possible for him to be a patron on such a large scale, or whether they were exceptional.
27) Cat. No. 14. It has been estimated that a contemporary waqf of Khvaja Ahrār in Transoxiana ensured that almost one third of its revenues would go to the founder's family; see Rogers, "Waqfiyyas," p. 189.
28) Saljūqī, RMH 4, pp. 135-6.
29) Loc. cit.
30) The same verses are used on the mihrab of the Mosque of Gauhar Shād in Mashhad.
31) In an anthology of 845/1441-2, see Gray, ed., Arts of the Book, Pl. XLI.

32) E.g. on the portal of the Hārūn-i Vilāyat in Isfahan.

Bibliography

Allen, No. 573.

Ghauvās, Rahnamā, p. 19.

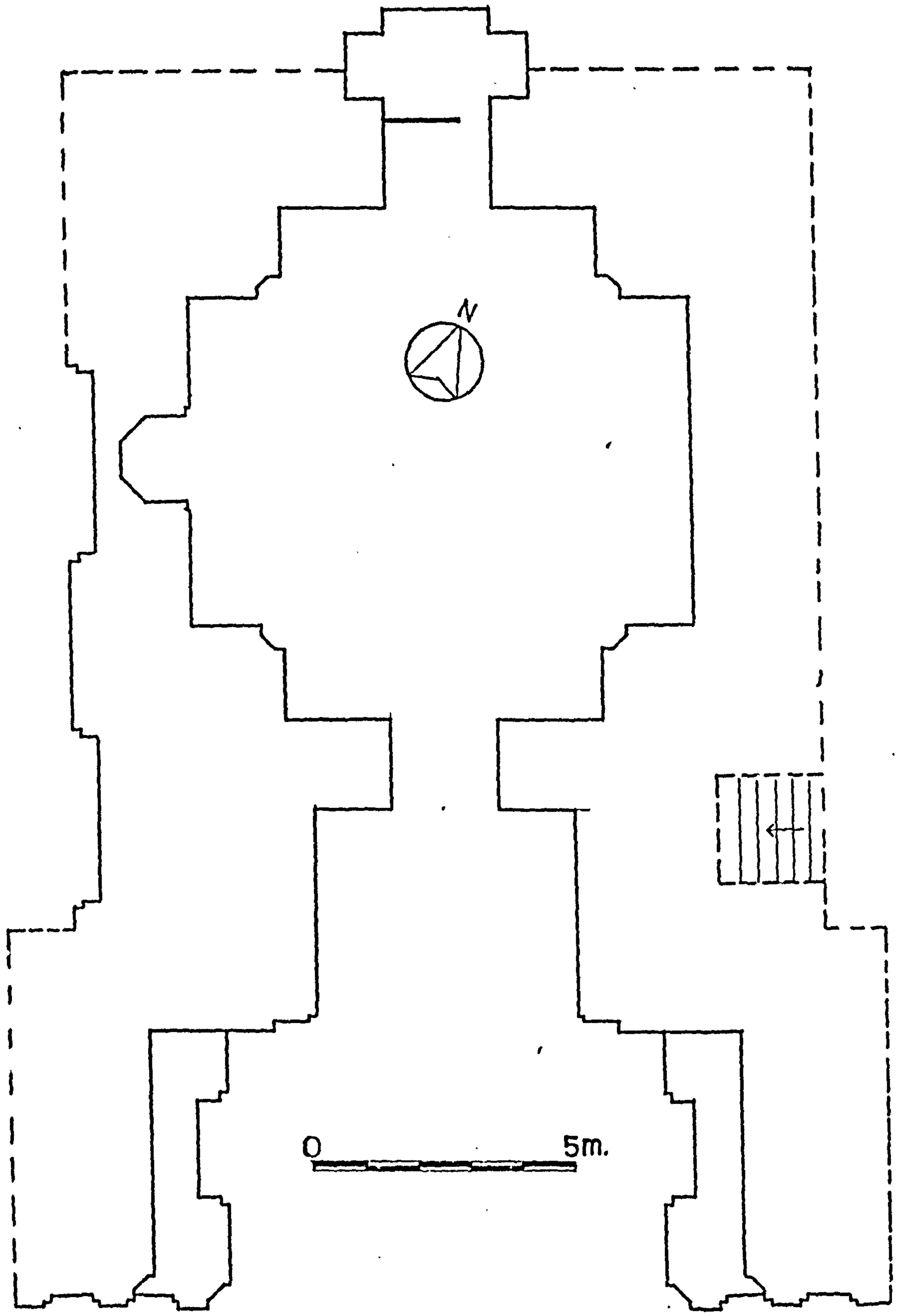
Saljūqī, RMH 4, pp. 130-6.

Golombek, Gazur Gah, Fig. 158.

Togan, "Herat," Fig. 15.

Yate, Northern Afghanistan, pp. 38-9.

Yate, "Notes," pp. 93-4.



47) Cat.no.36. Āzādān, Mazar-i Abu'l-Walīd: plan

HERAT, MAZAR-I SHĀHZĀDA ᶜABDALLĀH

Location On the Kuhandiz-i Musrikh.[1]

Historical sources According to the Maqsad al-Iqbāl, Sultan Muhammad Kart built a fine dome (gunbad-i ᶜālī) at the grave (bar sar-i turbat) of ᶜAbdallāh b. Muᶜāwiyya in 706/1306-7,[2] although Fasīhī, writing some three and a half decades earlier, states that in 737/1336-7 the ᶜimārat and qubba of ᶜAbdallāh were finished by Tāj al-Dīn Ahmad.[3] It is unlikely that a structure erected in 706/1306-7 would need reconstruction only thirty years later, so the work of 737/1336-7 was probably confined to repairs.

Khvāndamīr describes the building in the Khulāsat al-Akhbār as ᶜimārat sar-i mazār, and states that one of Sultan Husain's (sāhib-i qirān) followers erected it.[4] A further notice of Khvāndamīr identifies the builder as Pahlavān Muhammad Gīrūbast, who in 893/1487-8 was buried near the mazār-i sādāt-i Musrikh,[5] and "the holy building which is standing at his grave was built and finished by Pahlavān Muhammad."[6]

I suggest below that the present building is that erected by Pahlavān Muhammad, substantially unaltered.

Plan Pugachenkova's description should be supplemented by Shokoohy's; his measured plan (Fig. 48) is considerably more accurate.

Elevation a) exterior: The main axes of the building are punctuated by aivans, with blind arcading in between. The largest aivan is that on the main entrance facade on the W, flanked by two-storey niches at an angle of 45°, of which only one remains. The present crude semi-dome of this aivan is probably due to restoration.

The next largest aivan, that on the opposite facade, and now walled in, has a squinch net semi-dome which is more likely to be original,

although the painting which covers it is certainly later. The two lateral aivans are now covered with squinch vaults which appear to be restorations. Their portal screen rises only slightly above the rest of the facade.

The exterior of the single shell dome, resting on an octagonal drum,[7] is barely visible from the exterior. There is no indication that a double dome was ever intended, so the dome was clearly designed from the start to play a subsidiary external role.

b) interior: To the left of the main entrance aivan is a small mosque, composed of two adjoining dome chambers. Although the domes are plainly vaulted, resting on pendentives, the recesses of the easternmost chamber have simple but attractive squinch net vaults. Opposite the mosque, to the right of the aivan, is another domed room, with a more elaborate squinch net leading to a sixteen-sided figure at the base of the dome. The four small squinches have stalactite shells just like those of the main dome chamber. A staircase leads from this room to some small cells in the upper storey (Fig. 49) and thence to the roof.

To the left of the main entrance is a small cell, while the symmetrically opposite door leads through two narrow cells and an adjoining bent corridor to the S facade, although the latter exit is now blocked, and the room used by the khādim of the shrine.

The inconspicuousness of the dome from the outside belies its impressiveness from within (Pl. 178). The eight main arches lead to a zone in which eight blind arches alternate with eight windows.[8] Intersecting arches springing from this zone produce a squinch net leading to a sixteen-sided[9] figure at the base of the dome. The scheme is exactly that of the madrasa at Kuhsān and the mazar at Āzādān (Cat. Nos. 19, 36), the only variation being in the number of windows at the base of the dome.[10]

All this zone, as far down as the dado, is painted, but the brown and red pigments, large medallions and naturalistic floral sprays all indicate a post-Timurid date.

The four axial niches (Pl. 180) are vaulted with a squinch net semi-dome, the six-sided bases of which are outlined in a band of prismatic triangles. The small squinches in the corners of the niches are filled with clusters of stalactites, and stalactites are used instead of squinch nets for all of the semi-octagonal niches.

One should also note the small chambers, not mentioned in Pugachenkova's description, which lead off from the semi-octagonal niches in the E diagonal axes. Their function is discussed below.

Decoration The only original decoration consists of mosaic-faience, sometimes used in combination with brick tiles. Remains are found in the entrance and lateral aivans, and on the dado of the main dome chamber.

A considerable amount of the latter has survived, although much of it suffers from overpainting (Pl. 179). There are two main patterns, one of interlacing octagons and eight-pointed stars on the bevelled corners of the central octagon, flanked by engaged marble columns, and on the sides of the niches a simpler lattice of rosettes and cruciform cartouches. Each of these patterns has floral borders. The predominant colour is the dark-blue background, but the stars of the first pattern contain peony-like blossoms which are reminiscent of those on the dado of the mazar at Āzādān.

Only traces now remain of the dado of the entrance aivan, one of pentagonal mosaic-faience stars set amidst brick tiles. The outer edge of the side wall above had a harlequin pattern[11] - polygons with segments of stars - with an arabesque panel at its base, but these have now vanished.[12] Fortunately the two large panels beside them

have remained undamaged. Both use beige brick tiles flush with the mosaic-faience surface, a device that was used later in the Herat Masjid-i Jami[c] and of course extensively in Safavid architecture. The pattern set within the large blind arch is also interesting in that it falls outside the usual categories of arabesques or angular interlacing strapwork. It combines the two on a simple rectilinear grid. Again, this is a presage of the appearance of patterns of this type in Safavid tilework, most successfully in the squinches of the Masjid-i Shaikh Lutfallāh.[13] To the left of this panel is a lattice window. As so many Timurid examples of these have disappeared, it is worth remarking on its elaborate polylobed outline[14] and the delicacy of the floral stems which adorn its grille. The spandrels of the arch above have a Khargird type three pattern with a large peony instead of a medallion in the middle of each face, exactly like that of the mihrab of the mazar at Āzādān.

The spandrels above the lattice windows at the back of the lateral aivans have the same pattern. The semi-octagonal niches at the sides of these also have mosaic-faience spandrels, although the main motif of large scrolling arabesque is in unglazed brick tiles (Pl. 177).

Dating The presence of several features in the tilework, such as its use in combination with flush brick tiles, and of motifs similar to those of the mazar at Āzādān built by [c]Alī Shīr, confirm that the dome chamber is the one built by Pahlavān Muhammad.

This conclusion can be reinforced by consideration of the ground plan. While at first sight the plan of the main dome chamber is similar to that of the madrasa at Kuhsān, the extension of the diagonal axes on two sides betrays a more fluid conception of space. This flexibility is also found on the main facade, where it is obtained by placing the flanking niches at an angle of 45°. A glance at the plan

will confirm the feeling one gets within the building of interpenetration of different spaces, and the way in which wall thicknesses are pared to a minimum by the introduction of small rooms in the corners. The next logical step was to make the units radiating from the central dome chamber all symmetrical, and this is what happens in the early sixteenth-century tomb of Ūlūgh Beg and ᶜAbd al-Razzāq in Ghaznī.[15] The Mīr-i Rūzadār near Balkh (Cat. No. 38) also has a similar plan.

Function In addition to the main dome chamber over the tomb, the mazar has a number of other rooms. How did they function?

Some may have been used for accommodation of travellers. The mazar was certainly among the most important sources of baraka in Herat, as its initial position in the Maqsad al-Iqbāl, the ziyārat-nāma of Herat, demonstrates. One can assume that, like the mazar at Āzādān, a waqf would have been specially created for it, from which funds could have been used to entertain visitors.

The funds could also have provided for a resident shaikh, who may have used the domed room to the right of the entrance for informal lectures. Or, as today, it may have accommodated a khādim responsible for the general upkeep of the mazar.

The small cells could also, at a pinch, have been used for accommodation, or more likely as chilla-khānas. Their presence in the extreme corners of the building recall the position of those in the Masjid-i Gunbad in Ziyāratgāh, and the contemporary description of the Masjid-i Gunbad in Herat where "around the base of the dome chamber they constructed chilla-khānas."[16]

Condition The deformation of the arch profiles on the exterior testify to the precarious state of parts of the building. Several portions of the exterior walls have been recently restored.

Recorded January, June 1975.

Notes

1) Allen, No. 53.
2) P. 13.
3) Mujmal, III, p. 51.
4) B.L. Or. 1292, f. 286b. In ʿItimādī's edition madrasa is given instead of ʿimārat, but this slip of the pen is the editor's, and not Khvāndamīr's (pace Allen, p. 167).
5) ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyya was known as the sayyid-i sādāt: Allen, p. 167.
6) HS, IV, p. 182: "ʿimārati-ki bar mazār-i faiż āsār vāqʿa ast sākhta va pardākhta Pahlavān Muhammad."
7) Not dodecagonal, pace Pugachenkova, "À l'étude," p. 33.
8) Many of the windows are now blocked, giving an unwarranted gloom to the interior.
9) Not 32, pace Pugachenkova, "À l'étude," p. 32.
10) There are none at Āzādān, and four at Kuhsān.
11) Cf. a similar example at Gāzur Gāh, Seherr-Thoss, Pl. 64.
12) They are visible in Survey, Pl. 450a.
13) Seherr-Thoss, Pl. 97.
14) Cf. the rectilinear examples of contemporary Yazd.
15) Hoag, Islamic Architecture, Fig. 365.
16) MI, p. 52.

Bibliography

Survey, Pl. 450a (incorrect attribution).

Allen, No. 562.

Yate, "Notes," pp. 95, 104.

Pugachenkova, "À l'étude," pp. 31-3.

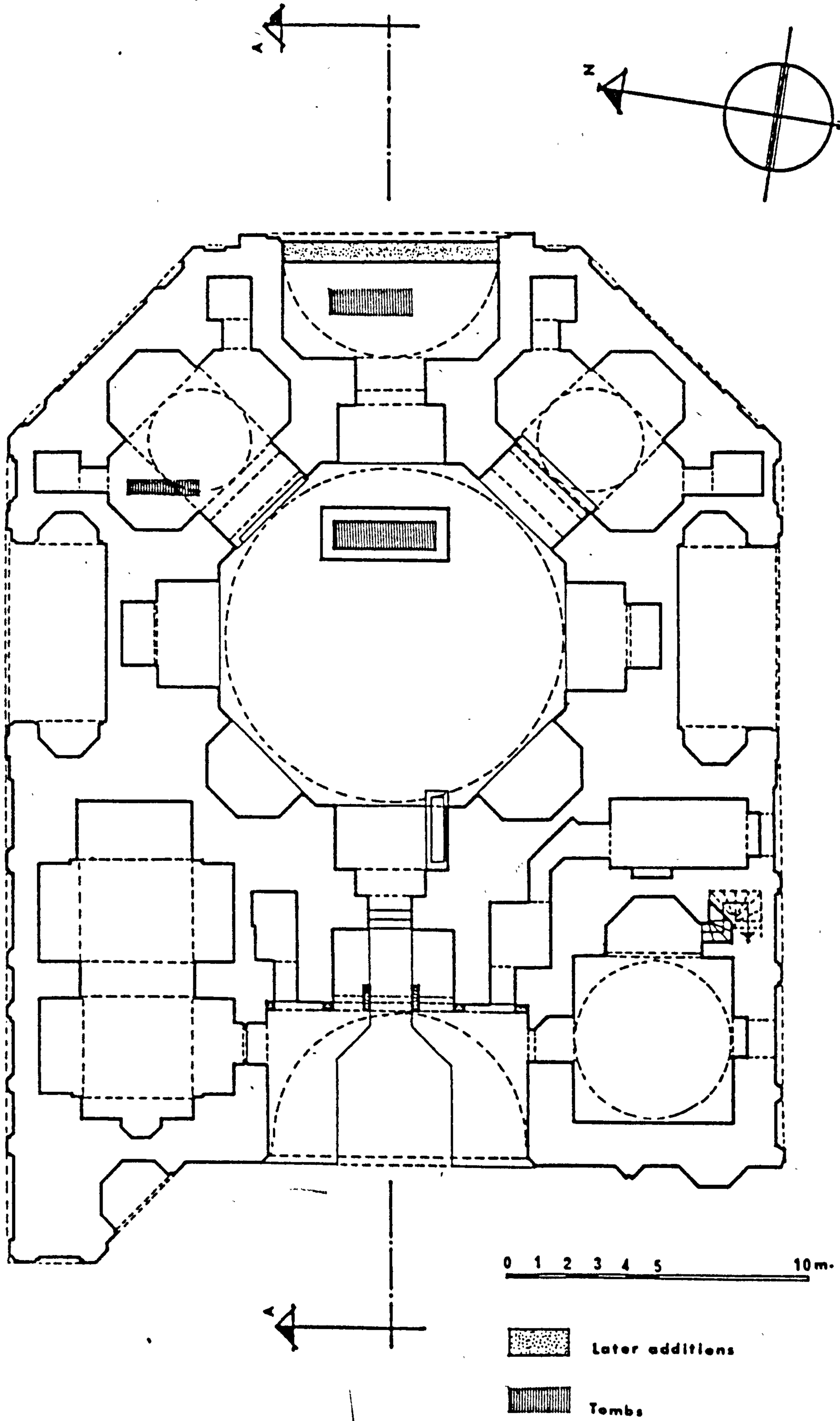
Eadem, Zodchestvo, p. 85.

Dupree, Herat, pp. 26-7 (incorrect attribution).

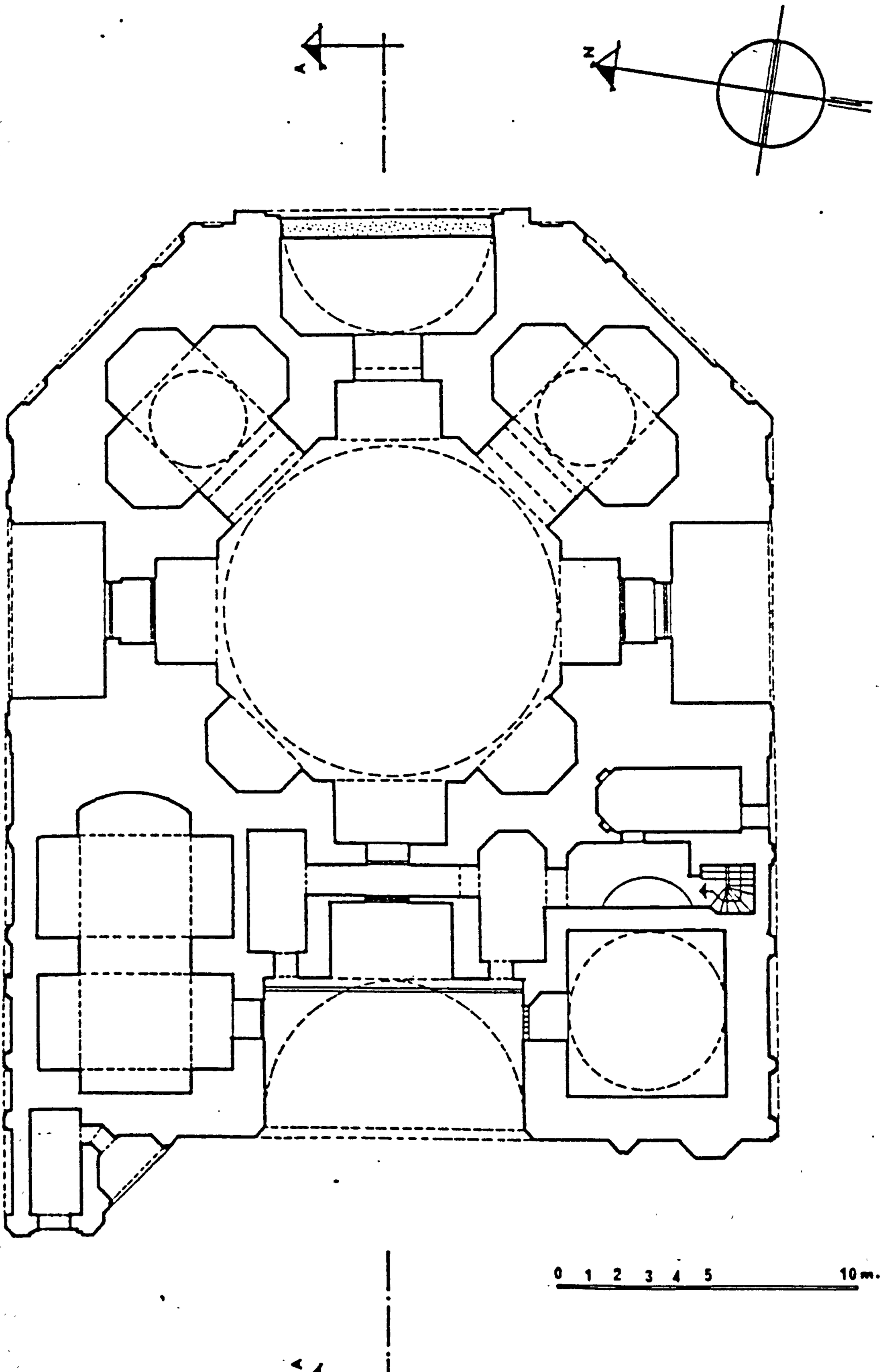
Shokoohy, pp. 54, 59-63, Figs. 39, 44-6.

Ghauvās, Rahnamā, p. 19.

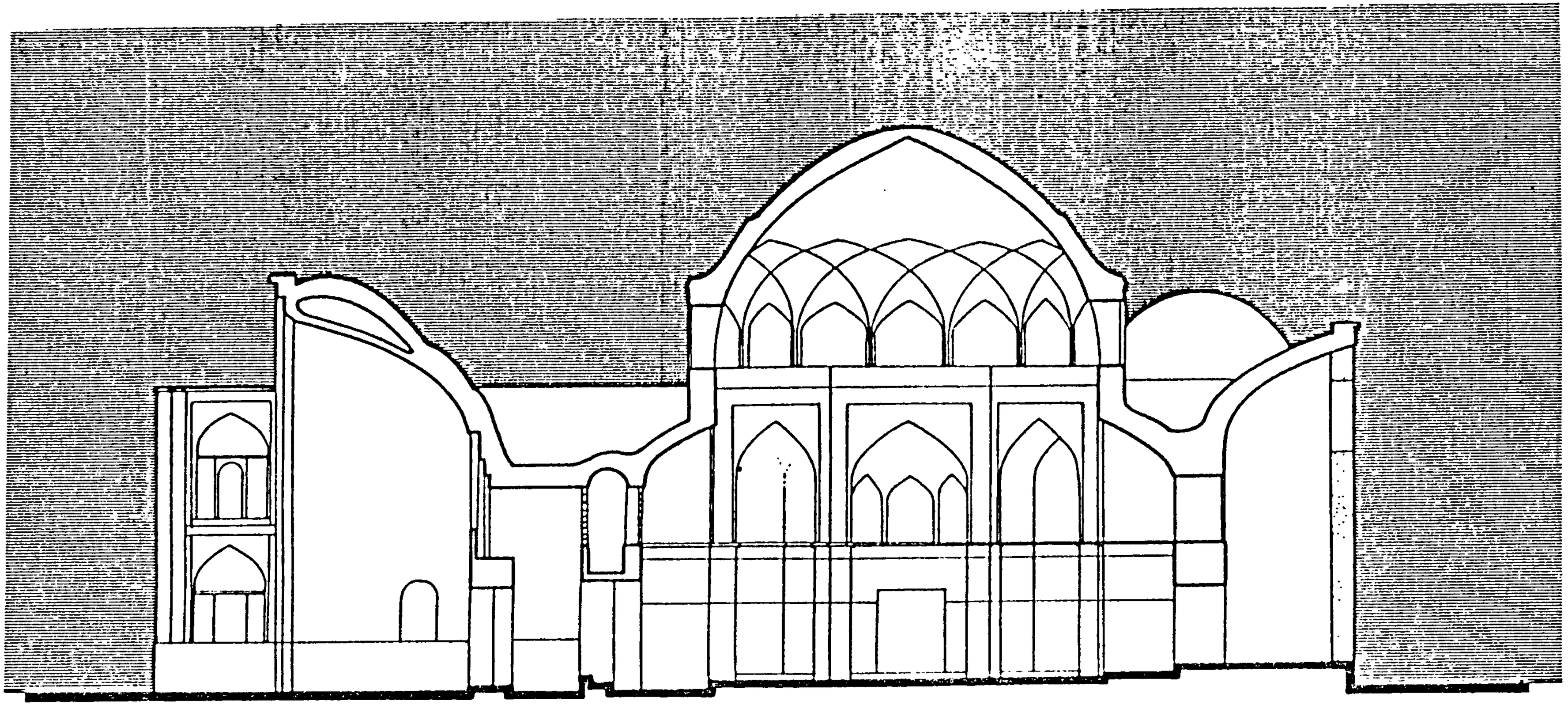
Saljūqī, RMH 4, pp. 32-5.



48) Cat.no.37. Herat, Mazar-i Shāhzāda ᶜAbdallāh: plan (after Shokoohy)



49) Cat.no.37. Herat, Mazar-i Shāhzāda ᶜAbdallāh: plan of upper storey (after Shokoohy)



50) Cat.no.37. Herat, Mazar-i Shāhzāda ᶜAbdallāh:
section (after Shokoohy)

MAUSOLEUM OF MĪR-I RUZADĀR[1]

Location Ca. 4km W of Balkh

Plan (Fig. 51) Octagonal dome chamber preceded by rectangular entrance complex.

As I have not seen the building it is only possible here to comment on the analysis in its publication.

Parallels to the angular interlace stucco ornament of the dome and octagonal niches are also found in the Khargird madrasa and the Masjid-i Hauż-i Karbās near Herat, although the patterns in these examples are formed not so much by raised ribs as by recessed plaques. The combination of pointed stars and polygons is familiar from designs in inset-technique such as those found at Khargird, or even painted decoration as on the mihrab of the Rushkhvār Masjid-i Jami[c]. Unfortunately no illustration is given of the "fine foliate ornament" used in combination with the stars and polygons, which sounds similar to the stucco ornament of the Shrine at Bīdākhavīd,[2] for instance.

As Pugachenkova points out, the elaborate squinch-net vaulting of the entrance vestibule is also paralleled in the Masjid-i Hauż-i Karbās, although numerous examples from the second half of the fifteenth century such as khanqahs at Pūrān and Ziyāratgāh are even more closely related.

One must take exception, however, to Pugachenkova's description of the building as unfinished on the grounds of its lack of exterior decorative revetment, and the surmise that this interruption in the building programme was "most probably occasioned by the period of troubles following the death of Shah Rukh in 1447 which continued throughout the 1450's." Firstly, it is not quite true that exterior

decorative revetment was "virtually a standard feature of Timurid monumental mausoleum architecture." A wide range of Timurid buildings around Herat, including several mausoleums, has little or no exterior decorative revetment; the mausoleums at Āzādān, Langar and Barnābād (Cat. Nos. 36, 39, 58) come to mind, together with such buildings as the Khanqah of Sadr al-Dīn Armānī and the Friday Mosques of Ziyāratgāh and Ghūriyān (Cat. Nos. 33, 34, 57). Besides, as far as can be seen from the exterior, there is no sign of recessed panels e.g. on spandrels, which would have been covered later with mosaic-faience. Neither is the lack of a high double dome evidence of incompletion, as Pugachenkova claims. The mausoleums of Āzādān, Langar and Shāhzāda ᶜAbdallāh (Cat. Nos. 36, 39, 37) are other examples of single shell domes which bear no indication of unfinished work. Secondly, the Mīr-i Ruzadār very strongly resembles the mausoleum of Shāhzāda ᶜAbdallāh and is therefore, like that building, more likely to be dated towards the end of the fifteenth century rater than the middle. The mausoleum of Shāhzāda ᶜAbdallāh has an aivan where the Mīr-i Ruzadār has a domed vestibule, otherwise their plans are virtually identical. As Mīr-i Ruzadār is not qibla oriented, the chamber W of the vestibule, equivalent to the prayer room of the mausoleum of Shāhzāda ᶜAbdallāh, would have had a residential function, like the room opposite. The building would thus be able to incorporate some of the functions of a buqᶜa.

Condition Apparently good.

Recorded Not visited.

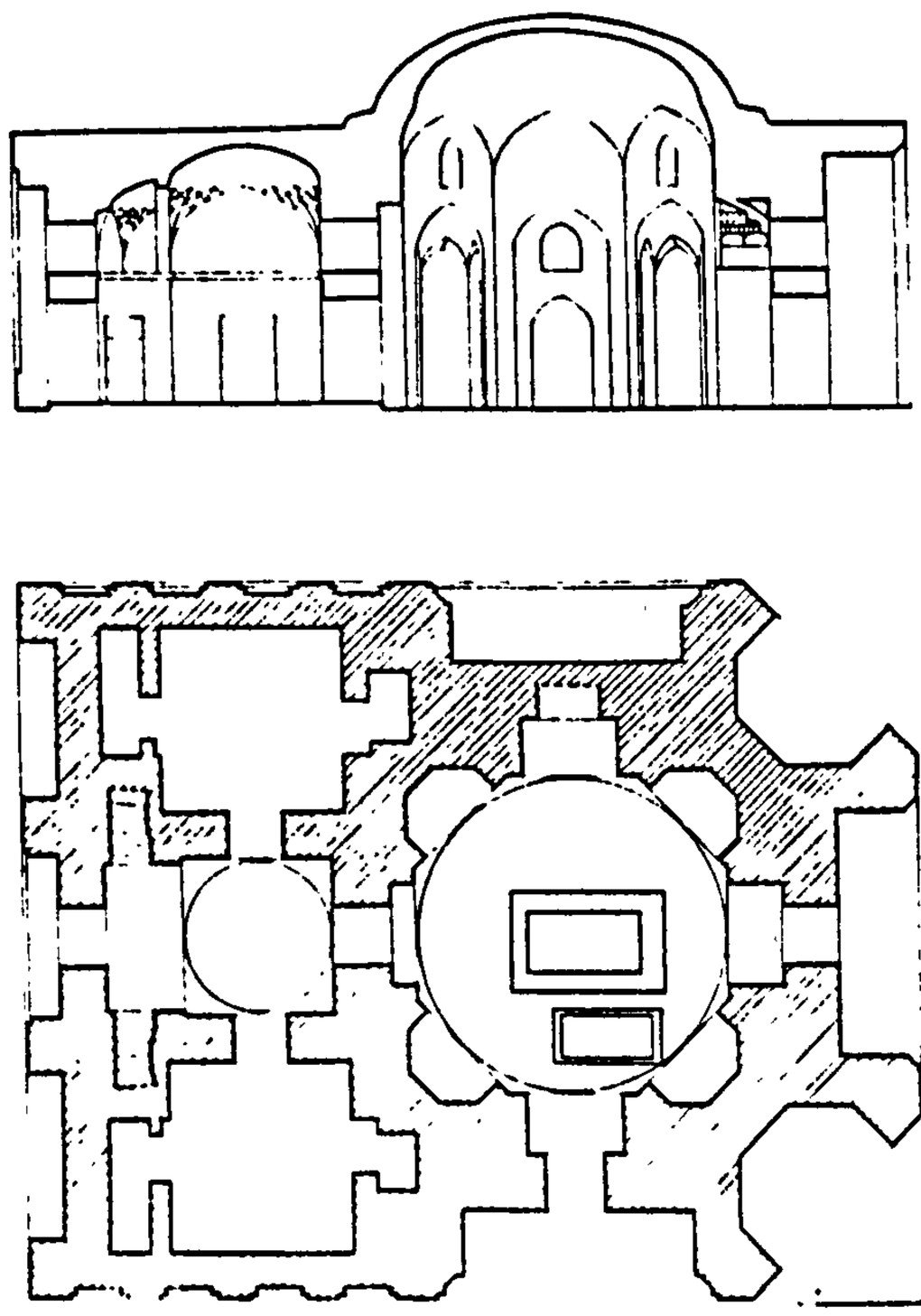
Notes

1) This could either be the Mīr-i Rūzdār or perhaps the Mīr-i Raużadār.

2) Afshār, Yādgār I, p. 557; O'Kane, "Timurid Stucco Decoration."

Bibliography

Pugachenkova, "Little Known Monuments," pp. 33-5, Figs. 6-8.



51) Cat.no.38. Mīr-i Ruzadār: plan
(after Pugachenkova)

LANGAR, MAUSOLEUM OF QĀSIM-I ANVĀR

Location Langar is a village on the route from Herat to Mashhad, ca. 25km or one caravanserai stage NW of Turbat-i Jām. It is now situated 1km E of the main asphalt road, beyond a range of low hills. The mausoleum is situated on the edge of the village. The medieval name of the village was Khargird, sometimes referred to as Khargird-i Jām to distinguish it from the village of the same name in Khvāf. Besides housing the tomb of Qāsim-i Anvār, it is famous as the birth-place of the poet Jāmī.

Historical sources In the Tadhkīrat al-Shu^{c}arā' Daulatshāh writes that Mīr ^{c}Alī Shīr wanted to build a tomb (rauża) for Qāsim-i Anvār and laid the foundations of a building (^{c}imārat) of unequalled beauty; he hoped it would soon be finished.[1] As the Tadkhīrat al-Shu^{c}arā' was composed in 892/1486-7, the account gives an accurate date for the monument, which is not so large as to require a building campaign of more than a few years. Surprisingly, the monument is not mentioned by Khvāndamīr in the Makārim al-Akhlāq, although he does note that Mīr ^{c}Alī Shīr built a caravanserai at Khargird, which has not survived.[2] The tomb is still known by the villagers as that of Qāsim-i Anvār.[3]

Plan (Fig. 52) Square dome chamber with axial niches; entrances on two sides through aivans, three subsidiary chambers entered from exterior. Brief descriptions have been published by Diez and Maulavī.

Elevation a) exterior: (Pl. 181) The most striking feature of the exterior is the duality of the two entrances, each making a strong architectural claim for the viewer's attention. The S aivan would of course have made a firmer statement when its roof was intact; its walls are out of perpendicular, suggesting that they were not massive

enough to carry its weight. The smaller aivan, although not in the middle of the NE side, nevertheless makes a bold impression by virtue of its flanking chambers of lesser height. The building is conceived as a rectangular combination of dome chamber preceded by an aivan, but with a subsidiary unit of aivan and smaller rooms projecting from one side. In this way it differs from the Khanqah of Mullā Kālān, where the two entrance aivans seem to have been conceived as part of the same rectangle.

The gentle swell of the dome is hardly visible from the exterior; when the large aivan was roofed it would of course have been completely invisible, like the domes behind the aivans at nearby Tāybād and Turbat-i Jām.

Apart from one large blind niche with a pointed arch on the NW side, rectangular brick mouldings are used throughout for framing, as on the central cube at Tāybād. Other than this no decorative motifs or materials are used on the exterior.

b) interior: The central space under the dome chamber and the axial niches were all used for a display of plaster rib and squinch-net vaulting of great variety (Pl. 182). The resemblance of the vaulting of the dome chamber with its intersecting ribs to that of Tāybād has been noted previously, and this is considered in more detail in Chapter III. The essentially non-structural character of this vaulting was emphasised. This is particularly evident from one of the gallery vaults, where although the plaster squinch nets cover brick ones of the same shape, the latter has broken away in places to reveal corbelling behind (Pl. 185). The vault of the apsidal niche, as Diez refers to it, is slightly unusual (Pl. 184). It can be paralleled, however, by other late fifteenth century examples in dome chambers, those of the Namakdān at Gāzur Gāh and the mosque in the caravanserai of Qūsh

Ribat (Cat. Nos. 42, 60). The greatest elaboration, however, was reserved for the room at the N corner, which has a central twenty-six-sided dome with four ten-sided satellite stars.[4] The vaulting of the other side rooms has been repaired recently. Apart from the ubiquitous zig-zag motif, no other decorative techniques are employed in the interior.

Inscriptions The monument is anepigraphic, apart from a Safavid farmān of 1046/1636-7 giving notice of tax relief, set at the back of the large aivan.[5]

Material Bricks 26 x 26 x 6 1/2cm, RJ 0.5cm, HJ 1cm.

Function Although Daulatshāh describes the building as a tomb (rauża), the presence of subsidiary chambers calls to mind buildings such as the Buq^{c}a of Tāybād and the khanqahs at Ziyāratgāh and Dih-i Manār. The latter also have an upper gallery like that of Langar. This similarity of form is itself strongly suggestive that the building was used as a khanqah or residence for Sufis, and confirmation is provided by the name by which the village of Khargird came to be known in later times—Langar. A langar is a place where Sufis reside[6] and which in particular provided food and refuge for the traveller,[7] although this was incidentally a service which khanqahs would have offered. One of the side rooms would probably have served as a kitchen, with others being used as living chambers for the resident shaikh or for travellers, while the dome chamber itself - and in summer the large roof space - could have provided shelter for a large number of temporary residents, as an alternative for the impecunious pilgrim or dervish to the caravanserai in the same village.

Condition Good, after repairs in the last two decades. The plaster vaulting urgently needs reinforcement in a number of areas.

Recorded January 1975, February 1977.

Notes

1) TS, p. 263.

2) MA, f. 146b.

3) As it was at the time of Khanikoff's visit; the quotation of him by Diez is about a different monument.

4) Gazur Gah, Figs. 154-5.

5) Text in Maulavī, pp. 21-5. A modern tombstone was erected between 1975 and 1977 beside the brick cenotaph of Qāsim-i Anvār.

6) The Langar-i Amir Ghiyāth was also described as a buq^{c}a, an āstāna and a residence for dervishes; RJ I, p. 140.

7) Maulavī, p. 10.

Bibliography

Diez, Churasanische Baudenkmaler, pp. 69-70, Pls. 37, 39.

Ferrier, Narrative, p. 136.

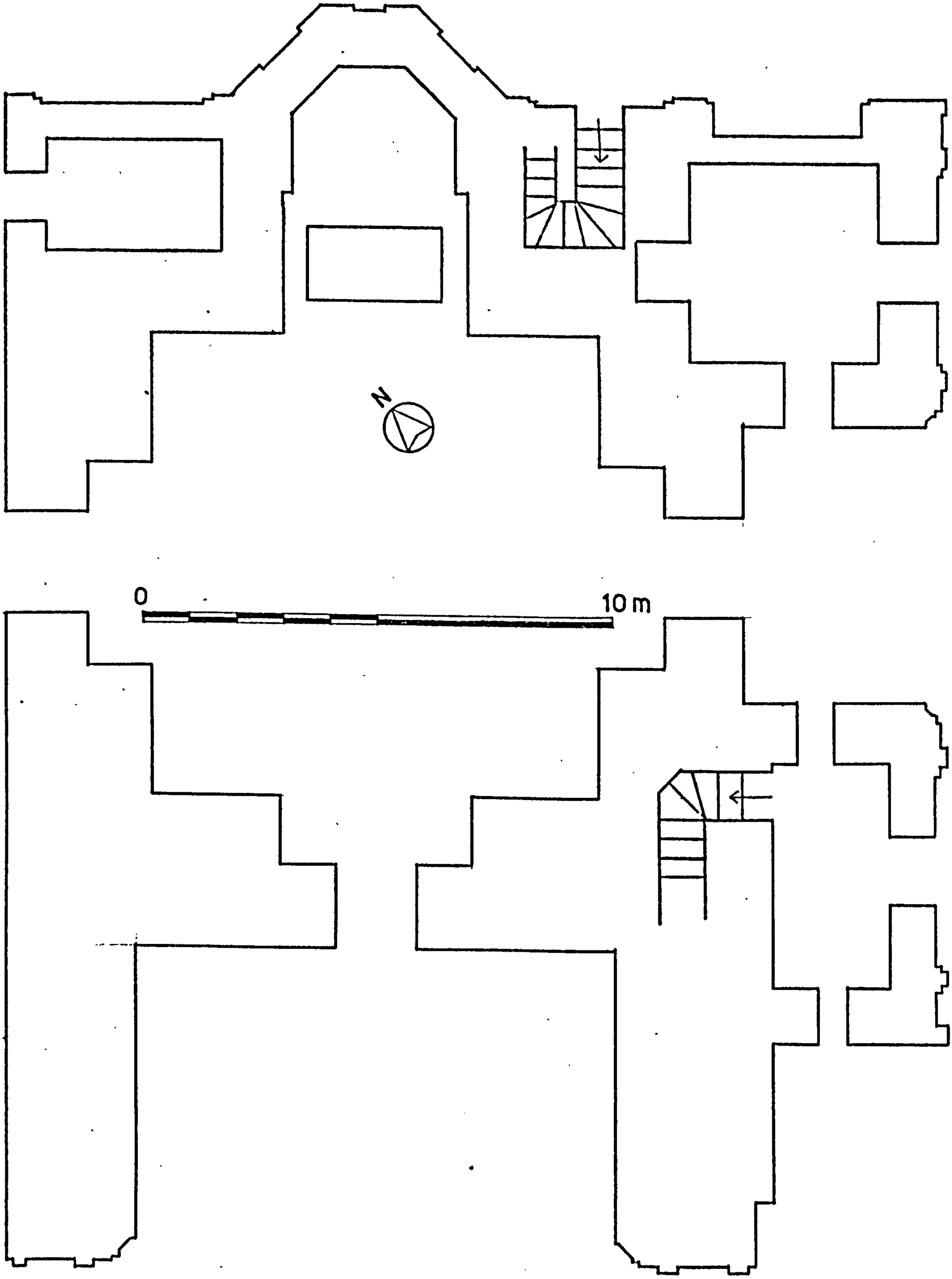
Golombek, Gazur Gah, pp. 64, 76 n. 39, Figs. 154-5.

Khanikoff, Mémoire, pp. 114-5.

Maulavī, Āthār-i Bāstānī-yi Khurāsan, pp. 10-25.

"Tāybād," p. 91, Pl. VIa.

Yate, Khurasan and Sistan, p. 37.



52) Cat.no.39. Langar, Mausoleum of Qāsim-i Anvār: plan

JURJĀN-MASHHAD ROAD, CARAVANSERAIS

In the first volume of Maṭla^{c} al-Shams, published in 1883, Sanī^{c} al-Daula gives an account of the caravanserai near Sankhās called Ribat-i Qillī, and adds the names of thirteen other caravanserais on the pilgrim route from Jurjān to Mashhad which were, according to him, built by Mīr ^{c}Alī Shīr.[1] Several authors have subsequently tried to identify these names with the ruins of caravanserais along the same route, the most significant effort being that of Diez in his own publication of the ribat near Sankhās. Before plunging into another analysis of this list, however, one should surely enquire from which source did Sanī^{c} al-Daula obtain his information. In the margin beside his account he quotes one fifteenth century source, a passage from Daulatshāh, which related how Ribat-i ^{c}Ishq, one of the caravanserais on the list, was first built by Qābūs b. Washmgīr, fell into disrepair, and was rebuilt by Mīr ^{c}Alī Shīr. No reference to any other source is mentioned. With the recent publication of Khvāndamīr's Makārim al-Akhlāq, which gives extensive lists of Mīr ^{c}Alī Shīr's building activities, including forty-nine caravanserais, one would have expected this gap to be filled. Only one of those mentioned in the Makārim al-Akhlāq, however, exactly corresponds with one on Sanī^{c} al-Daula's list—Ribat-i ^{c}Ishq. The two which precede Ribat-i ^{c}Ishq in Khvāndamīr's list, Ribat-i Isfarā'īn and Ribat-i Chinārān, would have been located on the Jurjān-Mashhad road (Chinārān is 60km NW of Mashhad on the main road to Qūchān), but neither coincide exactly with the locations of Sanī^{c} al-Daula's list.

There is thus some negative evidence against the identification of those caravanserais on Sanī^{c} al-Daula's list, other than that of

Ribat-i ᶜIshq, as being the work of Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr. What evidence is there for the contrary? Firstly, Sanīᶜ al-Daula's list is certainly not a random one. Of the fourteen stages which he mentions, all except one can be located with some accuracy on the route between Jurjān and Mashhad. More important, however, is the character of the three caravanserais of the list which survive. Although they are in a state of advanced decay, enough remains in each case to restore their original plans and to compare building and decorative techniques. As will be seen, they display a marked similarity, sufficient to assert that they were built in the same period. As one monument of the group, Ribat-i ᶜIshq, is definitely known to have been built by Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr, there are thus good grounds for accepting the others as his work also. A further argument for the integrity of the list is the similarities between the extant caravanserais and Ribat-i Sangbast, the latter, as we know from Daulatshāh, also being a work of Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr. Why Khvāndamīr's list omits these is a problem. Perhaps it was inevitable that in trying to list the vast quantity which Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr erected - forty-nine are mentioned by Khvāndamīr alone - that some should be accidently left out.

At what time in Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr's long influential life were the caravanserais erected? Ribat-i ᶜIshq must have been finished by 892/1487, the date in which the Tadhkīrat al-Shuᶜarā' was written. Coincidentally, it was in the beginning of the same year that Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr was made governor of Āstārābād by Sultan Husain[2] in a move designed to diminish his influence at Herat. The erection of a chain of caravanserais for those on pilgrimage from Āstārābād to the Shrine City of Mashhad was a project which would obviously benefit Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr's subjects and facilitate his own speedy travel to Herat, so it is likely that at least the plans for their erection were formulated in that year,

if they were not already built.

The remains, if any, of the fourteen caravanserais, will be discussed in turn.

1) RIBAT-I SHAHR-I JURJĀN

The remains of the old city of Gurgān or Jurjān lie some 3km SW of the modern Gunbad-i Qābūs. Nothing of the old city remains above ground. Several seasons of excavations have been conducted by Dr. Y. Kiānī of the Īrān Bāstān Museum, who has informed me that no traces of any caravanserai have been found so far.

2) RIBAT-I FĀRS

According to Diez,[3] this corresponds with Parās, the site of an old Parthian settlement, but I have been unable to locate any reference to it.

3) RIBAT-I DAHANA-YI JURJĀN

The modern asphalt road from Tehran to Mashhad joins the old caravan route here, going along with it as far as the fifth stage, Ribat-i Qarahpīl. The road here turns from the Mazandaran plain into a valley which quickly becomes a narrow defile, and it is at this point that one would expect the caravanserai to be situated, although no remains are apparent today.

4) RIBAT-I DAHANA-YI DASHT

The modern town of Dasht is sited at the eastern end of the Jurjān defile, about 3km S of the asphalt road. Near where the road branches off to Dasht are the crumbling, overgrown remains of a large rectangular building with a square courtyard (Fig. 53, Pl. 186). The building materials are rubble with hard, white mortar, there being no evidence of brick. The ruins of a pishtaq on the E side and of projecting towers at the corners suggest that this is the fourth caravanserai of the route. The site is today called Pukhl-i Qal^{c}a by the inhabitants

of Dasht.

5) RIBAT-I QARAHPĪL

Location Ca. 22km E of No. 4, beside a small village of the same name on the asphalt road to Mashhad.

Plan (Fig. 54) Rectangular, oriented on the compass points, with four corner towers. An entrance pishtaq on the S leads to a U-shaped stable area. The E and W sections of this have a row of niches against the outermost wall; the considerably wider S section is partially divided into two by octagonal piers to each side of a central dome. A smaller vestibule leads to the four-aivan courtyard, with rectangular living chambers between the aivans. There are only twelve of these, three between each aivan, which shows the preponderance of space that was reserved for animals and their keepers in this ribat.

The original plan was twice augmented, once, possibly in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, by the addition on the sides of extra stables consisting of barrel-vaulted halls with niches to either side and three-quarter-round towers on the corners, and relatively recently by an irregular courtyard on the S. The building materials and style of the additions are identical to those of the original work.

Elevation a) exterior: (Pl. 187) The little that remains of the exterior walls shows that rubble masonry was applied in bands of varying width.[4] The wings flanking the entrance aivan have a slightly unusual design, in that the lower recesses are semi-octagonal, while the upper are octagonal. The latter could be reached by staircases from inside, although it is not yet clear whether any other part of the caravanserai had an upper storey. At the back of the entrance aivan is a rectangular panel which may mark the site of an inscription, although there is now no trace of one.

b) interior: The dome immediately inside the entrance (Pl. 188) is

of spherical pendentive construction, a common form for vaulting small spaces, but unusual in this period for a dome with a diameter of 5.15m. The vestibule beyond this is vaulted by four large flat ribs springing diagonally from the corners; the result is a groin vault similar in effect to those in brick of the New Mosque of Turbat-i Jām. The only other vault which is unusual, or at least unusually decorative in the context of the ribat, is that of the N aivan (Pl. 189), with a semi-dome supported by four kite-shaped pendentives rising from a semi-octagon. The pendentives are defined by non-functional ribs outlined in plaster. Otherwise there is no trace of decoration on the caravan-serai.

Materials Bands of rubble; mortar varies from brown, flaky to hard, white with pebble admixture.

Condition Very poor. Almost half the building is in a complete state of ruin. The vaults of the W and S stables (Pl. 190) and of a few courtyard rooms are still largely intact: they are used as stables by the local villagers. The original ground level has risen extensively throughout the building so that it has become impossible to tell whether or not the niches in the stables had chimneys, or where the entrance from the original to the added-on stables was.

Recorded July 1975.

Bibliography

In addition to the historical sources listed under Ribat-i ᶜIshq, there is a brief reference to the "ruins of an old stone rubat or rest house" in Yate, Khurasan, p. 210. On p. 387, when discussing the Ribat-i Qillī, he mentions Sanīᶜ al-Daula's list and writes "I saw those up to Karabil on my Gurgan tour." However, on pp. 211ff., which describe his progress from Qarahpīl to Gurgān, he does not mention any other ribats.

6) RIBAT-I ᶜISHQ

Location 23km E of Ribat-i Qarahpīl, beside the village of the same name. The caravan road here diverges from the asphalt road, the latter heading NE to skirt the Saᶜlūk range on the way to Bujnūrd.

Plan (Fig. 55) This is also in a poor condition, although slightly better preserved than Ribat-i Qarahpīl. Nevertheless, enough remains for the essential elements to be reconstructed. It may be said that the plan is similar to Ribat-i Qarahpīl, although it is augmented by increasing the cross-axis stable area between the entrance portal and the cells of the courtyard into two quite distinct ranges, with apparently little communication between each. The whole caravanserai was conceived on a larger scale: the courtyard is 23m square as opposed to Qarahpīl's 16, and the increased number and depth of the cells round the courtyard is apparent from a glance at the two plans.

Elevation a) exterior: Like Ribat-i Qillī and many earlier caravanserais, three-quarter-round towers appear on the four corners and half-round towers in the middle of the two longest sides. The projection of the aivan in the rear facade of the building is also marked by a half-round tower (Pl. 191), although this facade is the only one which does not have continuous blind arcading between the towers. The incorporation of this feature in the lateral facades may have been precipitated by its use as a visual frame for the entrances at either end. Running above the blind arcading on the three sides was a double-tier dog-tooth moulding of brick. The decorative emphasis, however, is reserved for the entrance pishtaq (Pl. 192). The group of two blind arches on each side is, unlike those elsewhere, in the form of arches with a broken profile, and above them is a rectangular panel with a cartouche with scalloped edges. Only the lower arch of the portal screen is intact; this has an elaborate polylobed form in

plaster, similar to those of many fifteenth century tree of life panels. On the three sides of the entrance aivan are rectangular panels which may have held an inscription. Above this is a row of narrow arches, two in the corners forming squinches, the whole apparently forming a squinch net leading to a semi-dome.

b) interior: There is a round hole in the middle of the soffit of the entrance aivan arch of the entrance portal which, according to local inhabitants, was used to let down a wooden beam from a small upper room to secure the door below. The entrance aivan led into a large domed area, flanked by barrel-vaulted stables with niches to either side. The two remaining squinches of the dome are decorated with blind arcading of plaster ribs reinforced by a core of circular wooden ribs[5] ca. 1cm in diameter. The actual vaulting, as with most of the larger vaults within the ribat, is of brick, the rubble revetment stopping just below the springing. The first large dome chamber leads to a second smaller square area which, to judge from the one remaining corner pier, was vaulted by a groin vault covered by four broad diagonal ribs—a feature also found at Qarahpīl and Qillī. A range of stables extends to either side of this and continues along the lateral sides (Pl. 195). The remaining bays of these stables are groin-vaulted. These bays have niches for the accommodation of the animal keepers on both sides, not on only one as at Qarahpīl and Qillī, and most of those that remain contain fireplaces. Staircases at the end of the stables probably led directly to the roof—the rooms round the courtyard seem to have been all of one storey, except for a small room above the low groin-vaulted vestibule leading into the courtyard. As at Qarahpīl and Qillī, there was only this one means of egress from the stable area to the court, allowing for as much segregation as possible between the occupants of the courtyard cells and those of the stable area.

The accommodation around the courtyard is quite extensive (Pl. 193), consisting of fourteen rooms of varying sizes and one small mosque between the four aivans. Most of the cells have a stone barrel vault of round profile, a fireplace, and a rectangular window above the courtyard door. The mosque in the SE corner had the most elaborate vaulting of the caravanserai: a squinch net leading to a sixteen-sided figure at the base of the dome (Pl. 194). The top of the mihrab, now emerging forlornly out of the rubble nearby, has a smaller squinch net in its semi-domed hood. The corresponding room at the NE corner of the courtyard was in contrast covered by a simple barrel vault.

Again, as in Qarahpīl, it is the axial aivan opposite the entrance which is most prominently decorated, although its size and semi-octagonal apse also serve to emphasise it. The semi-dome above the apse was probably supported in exactly the same way at that of Qarahpīl: four small pendentives between the arches of each face of the semi-octagon.

Windows These all recede from a rectangle on the inside to a very narrow slit on the exterior. Rather than being defensive in concept, they may have served to enable the ribat to be heated easily in winter.

Structural features As with the other caravanserais of this group, there are no visible scaffold holes. With rubble masonry it would undoubtedly have been easier to cover holes by varying amounts of plaster and irregular stones.

Square drainage channels are inset at irregular intervals into the lateral facades.

Materials Rubble, stones 15-25cm thick, applied in bands (e.g. 109, 136cm). Bricks 24 x 24 x 4-5cm. Hard white mortar.

Condition Very poor. More than half of the stables have vanished, and the rooms around the courtyard urgently need consolidation.

Recorded July 1975.

Bibliography

It may be noted that the following consist of the historical sources and commentaries on them; none had located or visited Ribat-i ᶜIshq.

TS, pp. 45, 376.

MA, f. 146b.

Sanīᶜ al-Daula, Matlaᶜ, I, p. 123.

Barthold, III, p. 45.

Diez, Churasanische, p. 86.

Yate, Khurasan, p. 383.

Siroux, Caravansérails, p. 16.

Aubin, "Réseau," pp. 106, 119 n. 58.

Kiani, Caravanserais, p. 35.

7) RIBAT-I QILLĪ

Location Ca. 30km SE of Ribat-i ᶜIshq.

Plan (Fig. 56) This is the best known of the caravanserais in the chain, owing to Sanīᶜ al-Daula's and Diez's publications. Diez's account, where it is known as the Ribat near Sankhās, is substantially correct, but some emendations and additions are necessary.

The plan of Qillī is almost identical to that of Qarahpīl, the main differences being:

a) There are two chambers to either side of the lateral aivans, not one as in Qarahpīl, giving the courtyard a more oblong shape.

b) The incorporation of two large rooms in the NW and SW corners, accessible only from the courtyard, taking up space occupied by stables in Qarahpīl.

c) The qibla orientation, which enabled one of the lateral aivans to

be used as a mosque.

A number of modifications should also be made to Diez's published plan:

1) Although the W and E ranges of the courtyard are in bad condition, it would be preferable to restore their central units as aivans rather than large cells. This makes more sense in the context of other ribats of the same group, and Sanī^{c} al-Daula specifically mentions that "in the courtyard of this ribat three aivans are built, one facing east opposite the large arch of the vestibule...and two other aivans on the south and north."[6] In fact the "large arch of the vestibule" is also an aivan, albeit shallower than the others.

2) The stables running along the lateral wall should be wider, and thus also the rooms in the NW and SW corners. In the case of the latter the rectangular extensions to either side of the central dome should be wider. The semi-octagonal recess of each of these rooms should show a staircase in the niche opposite that leading to the corner tower. There is no evidence, despite Diez's assertion, repeated by Kiani, that either of these rooms served as a bath.

3) The two E piers of the dome behind the entrance portal do not extend as far as the circular columns which flank it. The plan of Qarahpīl shows the correct disposition.

Vaulting Some details may be added to Diez's remarks. The large dome behind the entrance portal vestibule is vaulted like that of Qarahpīl, with four concave diagonal ribs. Fancier vaults are used for the domes of the NW and SW corner rooms (Pl. 199), and the small vestibule: the former have a squinch net leading to a sixteen-sided base, the latter being twelve-sided. The rectangular mihrab also had a small squinch-net vaulted semi-dome, now unfortunately damaged.

Inscriptions At present a plaster ground is visible above the

entrance portal with a pattern consistent with an inscription of mosaic-faience, now fallen. Unfortunately the inscription in stone slabs above the entrance portal which Ṣanīᶜ al-Daula mentions has now completely vanished. Ṣanīᶜ al-Daula recorded the following:

bi'l-istihqāq alā'l-itlāq muzayyan sarīr al-khilāfa

"to the (holder of) the right to (confer?) freedom, the embellishment (read ziyān) of the throne of the Caliphate...," and another phrase: al-ᶜAlā Shujā al-Dunya wa'l-Dīn. Ṣanīᶜ al-Daula went on to conjecture that the inscription was from the middle of the kūrkānī (Timurid) period, but the phrases, so far as I know, are not found in any other Timurid protocol. However, their fragmentary nature makes it difficult to use them for elucidating more positive evidence. The half slabs visible in Diez's photograph[7] may contain the section from bi'l-istihqāq, although the poor quality of the reproduction makes it impossible to be certain.

Decoration Between the remains of the above-mentioned mosaic-faience inscription and the springing of the arch is a panel with trefoil and split-leaf arabesques in low relief plaster. Because of the nature of the field, the design could hardly be symmetrical, but it nevertheless has a certain awkward irregularity. Perhaps this may be explained if a revetment of mosaic-faience was also used here.

Condition Very poor. As the caravanserai is not adjacent to any village natural forces are completing its ruin. In the N stables, for instance, the vault of the main roof first fell, followed by the arches of the N wall collapsing inwards.

Recorded August 1975.

Bibliography

Siroux, Voies, pp. 92, 97.

Kiani, Caravanserais, pp. 146-9.

Survey, II, p. 1250.

Diez, Churasanische, p. 85, Pl. 40.

Sanī^{c} al-Daula, Maṭla^{c}, I, pp. 131-3.

Sykes, "Sixth Journey," p. 6.

8) QARAJA RIBAT

Diez's account of Nos. 6-9 of the ribats is confused because of his misidentification of Ribat-i ^{c}Ishq with Ribat-i Qillī, and because of reliance on Sykes. However, I have not found any unassailable locations for this or the next stage. Only 8km E of Ribat-i Qillī an impression in the ground can be made out of a building with a court-yard, known as a qal^{c}a by the local inhabitants, which seems to have been built of rubble. Its proximity to Ribat-i Qillī presents a problem if it is to be identfied with Qaraja Ribat, although on the other hand it is 45km from Isfarā'īn, a more comfortable day's march than 53km from Ribat-i Qillī. However, given the condition of the remains, any attribution must be tentative for the moment.

9) RIBAT-I NAṢĪRĀBĀD

According to the Makārim al-Akhlāq Mīr ^{c}Alī Shīr also built a ribat at Isfarā'īn,[8] so one would expect the next stage to be SE of that town, halfway between it and Sultan Maidān, perhaps between the modern towns of Bām and Safīābād.

10) RIBAT-I SULTAN MAIDĀN

The valley of Sultan Maidān is situated further SE of Bām, at the point where the route to Mashhad turns NE to cross the Kūh-i Shah Jahān.[9] No remains of any caravanserai were found in the district.[10]

11) RIBAT-I HASANABAD CHIKINA

The modern village of Hasanabad Chikina is situated further NE along the same valley. Beside the village, separated from it by a small spring, is the outline in the ground of a building which had a courtyard and which the locals say was a caravanserai (Pl. 201, Fig. 57). The building material seems to have been fired brick.

12) RIBAT-I CHANBAR GHARBĀL

With this village we reach once again the route of the modern main road leading N from Mashhad to Tehran. It is located 25km due E of Hasanabad Chikina, but ca. 40km by road. The remains of a post-Timurid caravanserai were located near the village, but no signs of an earlier structure were found.

13) RIBAT-I SAYYIDĀBĀD

The town of Sayyidābād is just 16km SE of Chanbar Gharbāl. No remains were found.

14) RIBAT-I SHĀNQALᶜA

Diez surmised that this must be near Mahmūdābād, five hours journey N of Mashhad, and in fact a village of this name is located 3km S of Muhammadābād on the old main road from Mashhad which has now been by-passed by the asphalt road. Local sources said in 1975 that the village had had two qalᶜas which were destroyed about thirty years previously.

Notes

1) P. 123.
2) Barthold, III, pp. 47-8; HS, IV, p. 179.

3) Churasanische, p. 86.

4) Original building: 97, 124cm; first addition: 84, 106, 113cm.

5) This practice is found in much earlier Islamic buildings such as the "Zindān-i Hārūn," the fortified road post near Tehran.

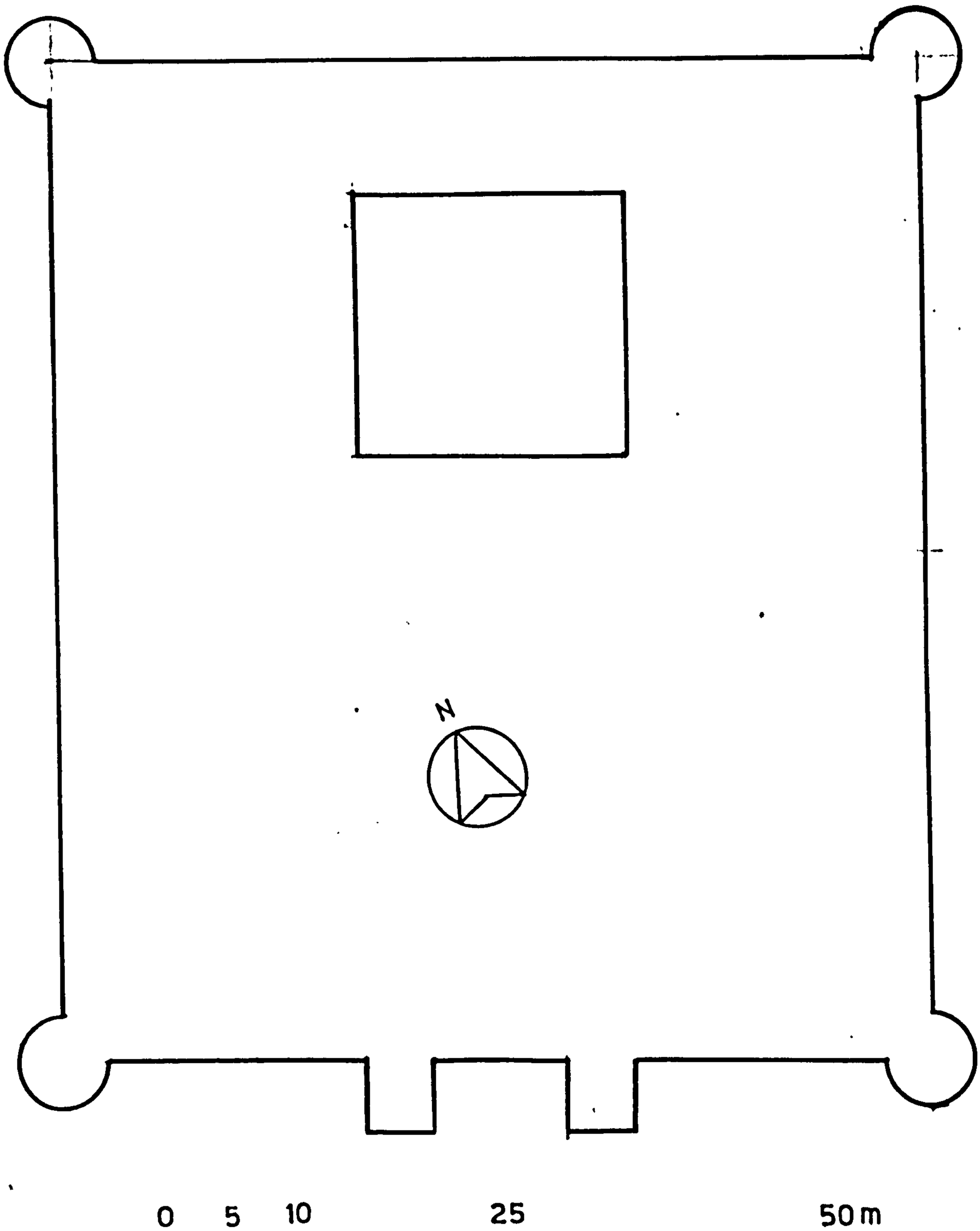
6) P. 122.

7) Pl. 40/2, printed backwards.

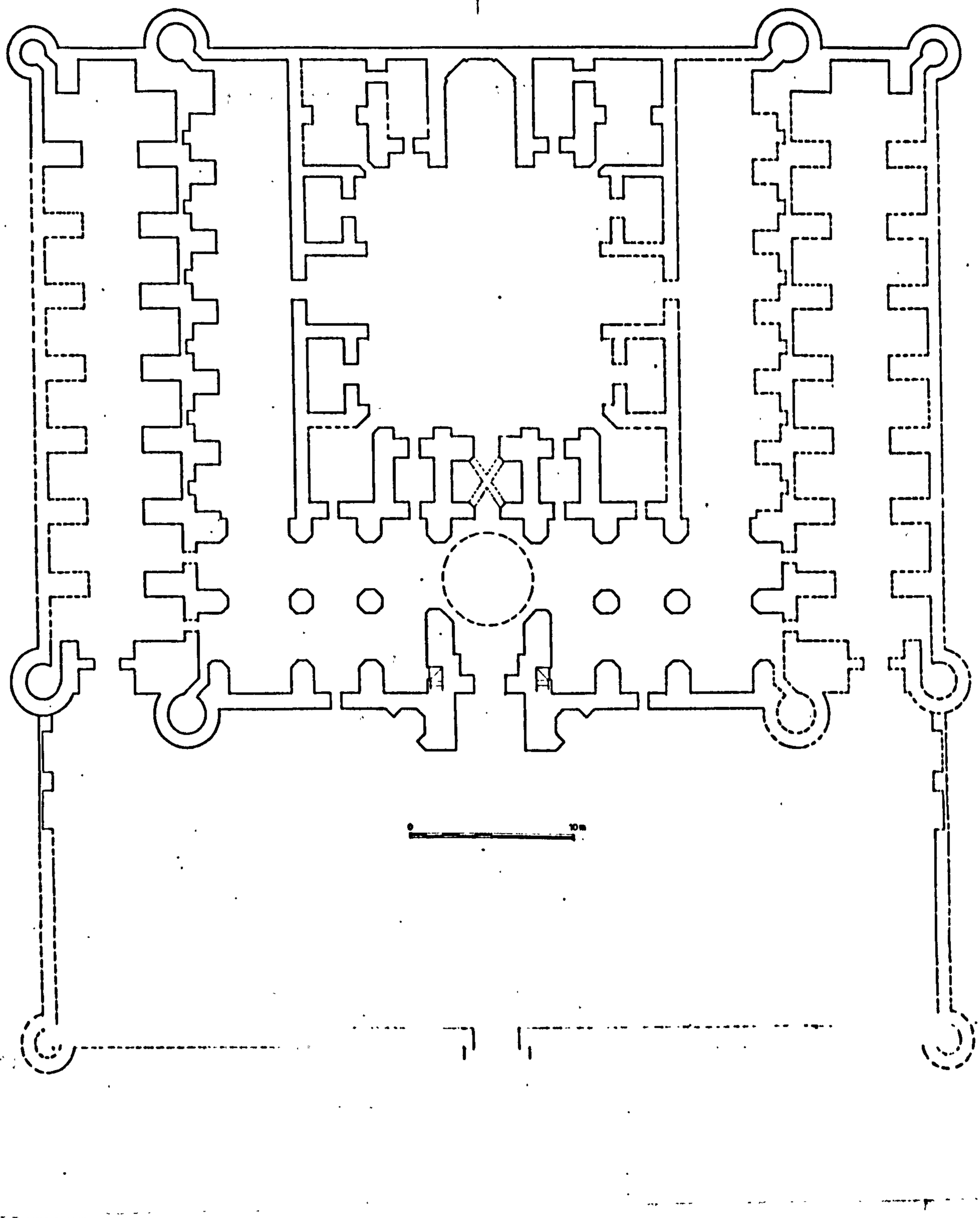
8) F. 146b.

9) See Aubin, "Réseau," Map 2.

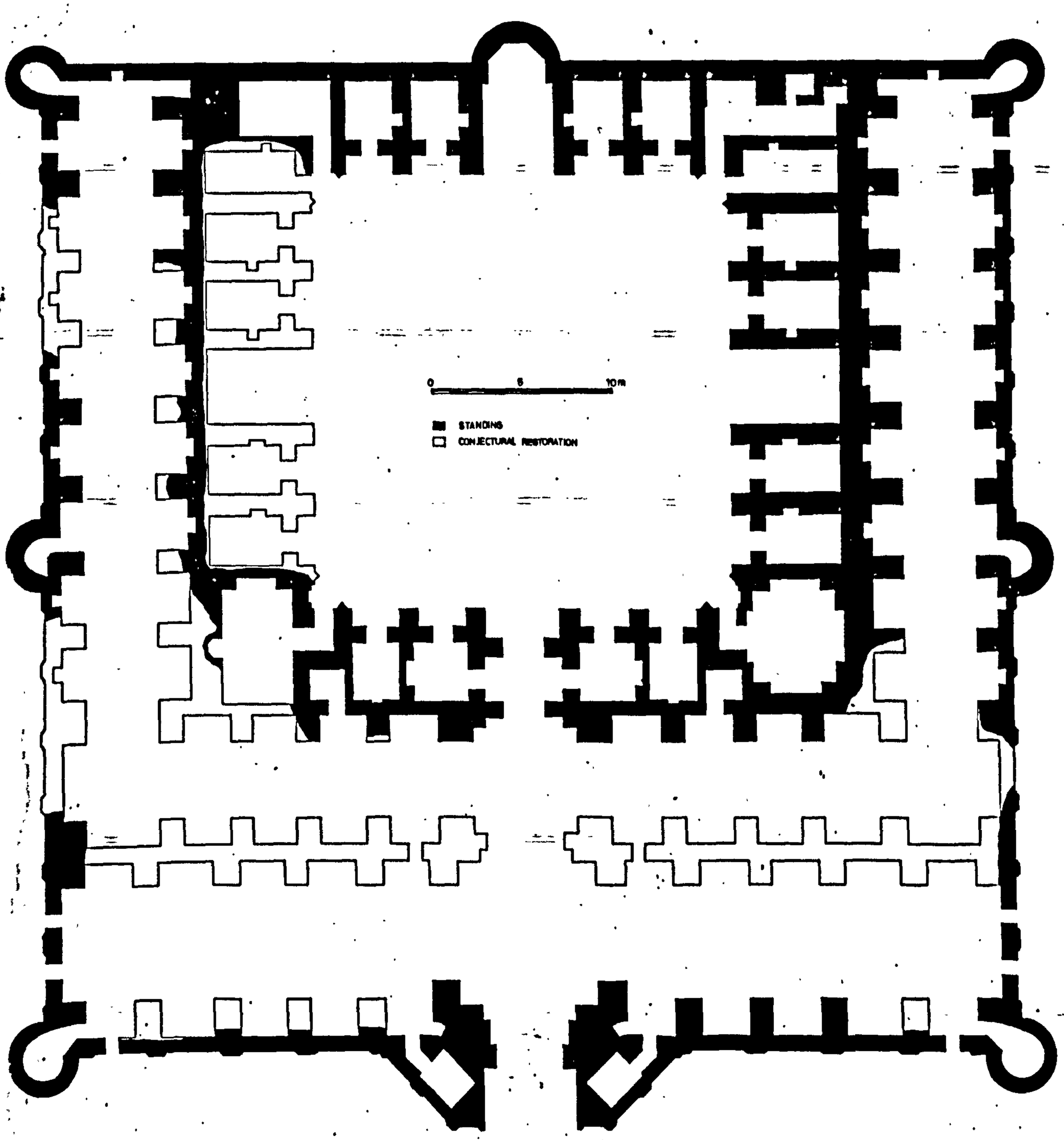
10) The shortest route to Mashhad through the valley clearly bypassed Maᶜdan, so one can disregard Sykes' and Diez's remarks on possible ruins of caravanserais in that area. No remains were found in 1975.



53) Cat.no.40. Ribat-i Nasht: sketch plan



54) Cat.no.40. Ribat-i Qarahpīl: plan



55) Cat.no.40. Ribat-i ᶜIshq: plan

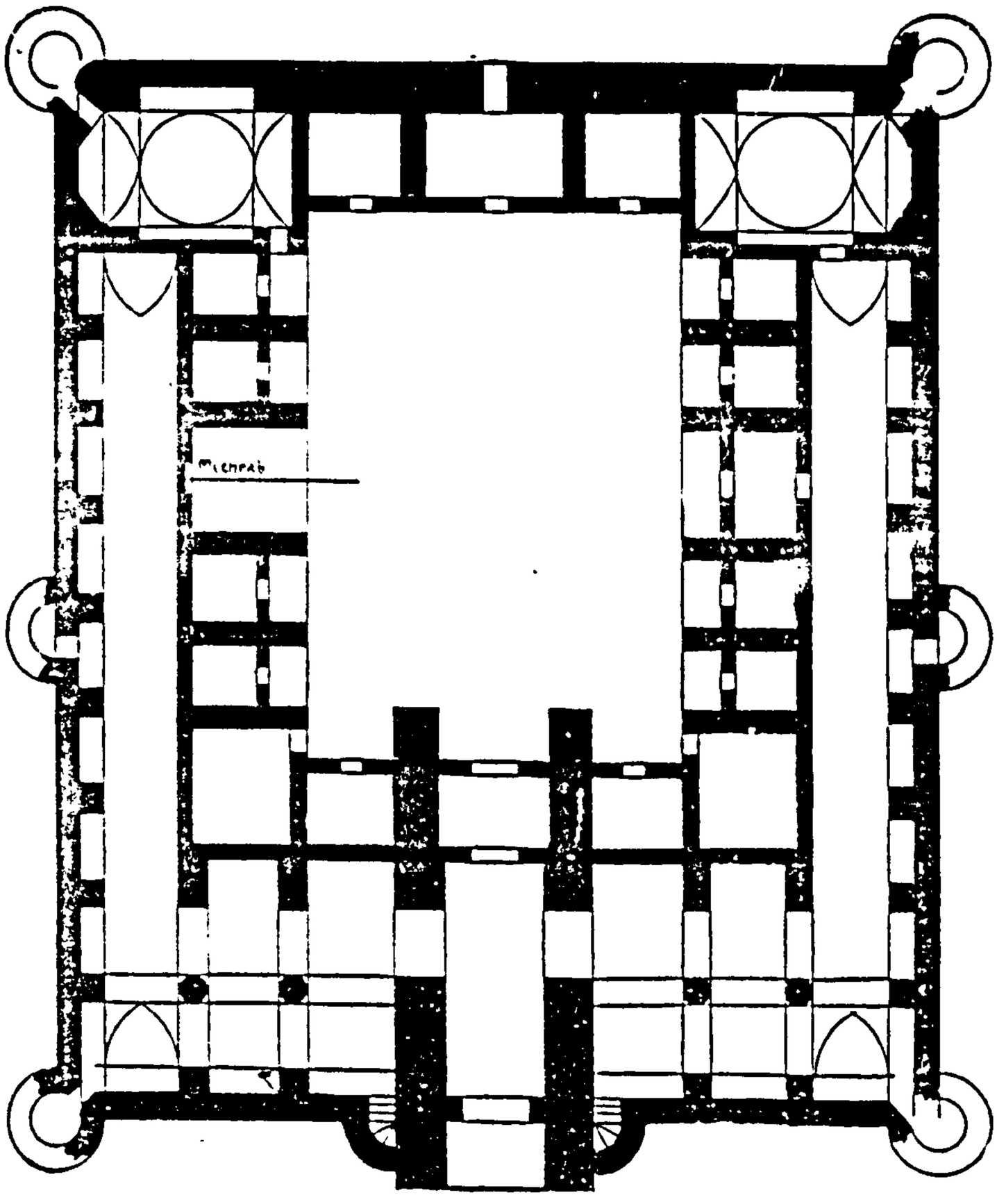
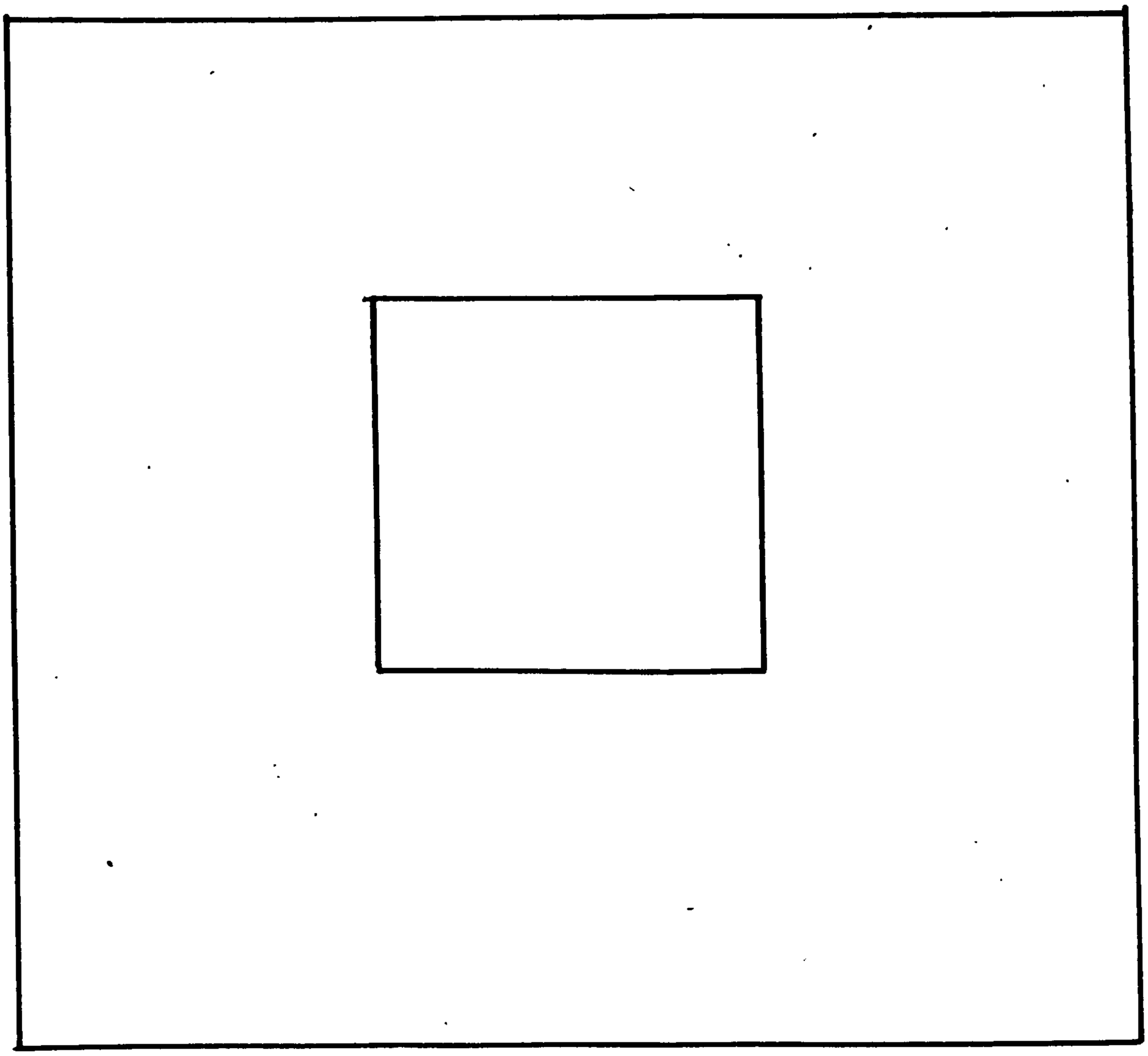


Abb. 39. Plan des Rasthauses bei Senchis.
(Mstb 1:400)

56) Cat.no.40. Ribat-i Qillī: plan (after Diez)



57) Cat.no.40. Hasanābād Chikina: sketch plan

RIBAT-I SANGBAST

Location 38km S of Mashhad, at the crossroads of the modern routes to Herat and Nīshāpūr. As Daulatshāh records, however, it was also on the route from Nīshāpūr to Marv.[1] Despite its prominent location and state of preservation, the building has been ignored by western travellers, no doubt because of the ruins of the older town nearby. Its use in the recent past as a gendarme post may partially account for this.

Plan Outer walls have entrance pishtaq and four three-quarter and five semi-round towers at intervals. Inner courtyard with two aivans and living cells, with larger rooms on the side opposite the entrance, one of them forming a mosque. The cells at the corners of the court-yard are bevelled. The courtyard is preceded by two groups of stables and niches for accommodation: one in a U-shape running behind the courtyard cells on either side (Pl. 205) and with a domed area on the entrance axis, the other consisting of a separate complex to either side of a domed vestibule (Pl. 204). There are thus two domed vestibules leading to the courtyard from the entrance.

Elevation a) exterior: Only the entrance facade has blind arcading: there are five niches between the corner towers and the 1/8th round towers which flank the entrance pishtaq (Pl. 202). Set into the wall beneath each of the niches is a bar for tying up animals. The pishtaq dominates the facade by its height, although the contrast is mediated by two double-storey niches at an angle of 45^{o}, which are at an intermediate level.[2]

b) interior: The first vestibule is vaulted by a squinch net leading to a twenty-sided base for the shallow dome (Pl. 203). Staircases to

either side lead to the balconies and to small domed rooms behind--these would have been among the most desirable places of accommodation in the caravanserai. The second domed vestibule is similar to the first. The stables have raised stalls to either side for the animal keepers, although slightly better quarters are found behind the entrance facade, where the raised stalls open into small living chambers. Beneath the stalls one also finds bars set into the wall at regular intervals for securing animals.

Within the courtyard (Pl. 206) the dominant accent is provided by the two aivans, wider and taller than the cells around, although the portal screen of the aivan opposite the entrance no longer rises to its full height. The soffits of the arches show a simple pattern made by variations in brick lay: it remains horizontal until past the springing and then changes gradually to a vertical lay starting at the back of the aivan. Behind the aivan opposite the entrance is a spacious room corresponding to the interior of the unusually large semi-round tower on the exterior.

The building is anepigraphic, and apart from the elaborate bonding and squinch nets noted above, undecorated.

Materials Baked bricks throughout.

Condition Excellent; most of the brickwork of the building has been repaired recently.

Dating Two contemporary sources, Daulatshāh[3] and Khvāndamīr,[4] write that Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr built a caravanserai at Sangbast, beside a ruined one built by Arslān Jādhib. Can this be the same one? Caravanserais, of course, being primarily utilitarian buildings, are difficult to date on stylistic grounds, since so few of them contain the type of fine decoration which characterised most religious edifices of the time. Vaulting techniques must also be used with caution, since many Timurid

techniques were imitated in subsequent centuries.

It may be more prudent to begin with ground plans. Although those in the catalogue (Nos. 40, 60) constitute virtually all that can be definitely dated to the Timurid period, examples dating from the sixteenth century onwards are numerous. Virtually all of the latter share two characteristics which are not found in Sangbast or in the other caravanserais in the catalogue: an elaborate development into a self-contained unit of the areas leading from the diagonal axes of the courtyard, which also frequently serves as a passage to the stables behind, and secondly, the continuation of the stables behind almost all the cells of the courtyard i.e. including those opposite the entrance.

The absence of these features presents a strong case for a pre-Safavid date. One should also remark on the close resemblance of the plan of Sangbast to Ribat-i ᶜIshq, with the same arrangement of two independent groups of stables, a rare feature in later ribats.

What little decoration there is in the caravanserai - the squinch nets and brick lays - is also consistent with a Timurid date. The absence of any more positive Safavid or Qajar criteria, such as more elaborate brick decoration or squinch nets, is also noteworthy.

There is one feature, however, which strongly suggests a date later than the Timurid period. When all the other caravanserais which Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr built between Mashhad and Herat have disappeared, and when, for example, the Safavid caravanserai at Turuq nearer to Mashhad is in a semi-ruined condition, why should Sangbast be so pristinely preserved? Perhaps Daulatshāh's indication of its location should be borne in mind here: it was not only on the important N-S Mashhad-Herat axis, but also on two of the most important trade routes of the Islamic world in the fifteenth and later centuries: from the W of Iran

to Herat, Kabul and India, and also to Marv, Samarqand and points further E - the silk route. This was presumably enough to keep the caravanserai in good repair for several centuries, although a major repair was apparently carried out in 1856 when Sultan Murād Mīrzā quartered some of his troops there before moving on to besiege Herat.[5] The continued occupation by the army up to recent years has also contributed to the upkeep of its fabric.

Given, then, that the building is indeed that built by Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr, some features can be placed in chronological perspective. For instance, the entrance pishtaq and flanking double-storey niches represent an intermediate stage of development between the simpler entrances of Seljuq and Mongol caravanserais and the increasingly greater amount of space which the entrance area occupies so frequently in Safavid caravanserais.[6] However, the rather awkward configuration of the bevelled niches, which slant inwards towards the portal, was rejected in later ribats in favour of the greater space attainable when they were bevelled back towards the end of the facade.

The bars built into the wall to secure animals may be cited as another feature which quickly gained common currency.

Recorded August 1973, August 1975.

Notes

1) TS, p. 132.
2) The lower storey of these niches has been partially blocked by the army in recent years.
3) TS, pp. 132, 376.
4) MA, f. 146b.
5) Maulavī, bibliography.
6) Cf. Siroux, Anciennes Voies, Figs. 39, 43, 52, 56.

Bibliography: Maulavī, Āthār-i Bāstānī, p. 6.

GĀZUR GĀH, THE NAMAKDĀN

Location In the garden at Gāzur Gāh, ca. 100m W of the Shrine.[1]

Plan (Fig. 58) The building has been published and described by Saljūqī and Golombek, so only additional information will be mentioned here. Firstly, it should be noted that the star-vault of the central dome has been drawn incorrectly in the published plan.[2] Each line of vaulting goes in a straight line from pier to pier (Pl. 208), and is not indented towards the centre as shown in the plan. The vaulting of the Masjid-i Maᶜsūma at Kūhpāya[3] and of the mosque in Qūsh Ribat (Cat. No. 60) provides an exact analogue. It is not quite true that, apart from the star-vault, "no other decoration is in evidence in the pavilion."[4] In one of the upper balconies a squinch net, now almost smoothed over by several coats of plaster, also leads to a star-vault (Pl. 209).

The elements in themselves provide some evidence for a Timurid dating, as closer parallels are found in Timurid architecture; rather than the more intricate type of star-vault or stalactite vault which one associates with Safavid pavilions such as the Hasht Bihisht or Tālār-i Ashraf in Isfahan. Golombek has suggested a seventeenth century date, however, as "the only parallels to this sort of polygonal kiosk date from the Safavid period." This is certainly untrue—apart from the evidence of miniatures, where polygonal pavilions are frequently shown in garden settings,[5] two sources give manifest accounts of this type of building. The first is Ūzūn Ḥasan's Hasht Bihisht in Tabriz, an octagonal building of more than one storey, with entrances on four of the eight sides leading into a central domed area.[6] The

building was set in a large garden. The second is a description by Bābur of the Tarab Khāna in Herat. Unlike most contemporary accounts of Timurid architecture this is not only brief but informative, and so is worth quoting in full:

> "...Muzaffar Mīrzā took me where there was a wine party, in the Tarab-khāna (Joy-house) built by Bābur Mīrzā, a sweet little abode, a smallish two-storied house in the middle of a smallish garden. Great pains have been taken with its upper storey: this has a retreat (hujra) in each of its four corners, the space between each two retreats being like a shāh-nīshīn; in between these retreats and shāh-nīshīns is one large room on all sides of which are paintings which, although Bābur Mīrzā built the house, were commanded by Abū-sa^{c}īd Mīrzā and depict his wars and encounters."[7]

As Bābur is quite explicit on its builder being Bābur Mīrzā, the latter's death, 861/1457, gives us a terminus ante quem for the building. Its form is clear: it is exactly that of the Namakdān except that one instead of two hujras filled the space between the axial aivans (or shāh nīshīns), making it octagonal rather than twelve-sided.

According to local tradition the Namakdān was built by Mīr ^{c}Alī Shīr.[8] However, while he was known to have erected a garden with pavilions called the Bāghcha-yi Gāzur Gāh, its location was farther to the W of the Shrine, immediately to the S of the Jū-yi Sultānī.[9] Nevertheless, his example may have been followed by others or, given his love of the Shrine, where he even deigned to sweep the floors,[10] he may even have built a pavilion which immediately overlooks it. In any case, stylistic considerations point more to a Timurid than a Safavid date.

Condition Good. Recently used as a guest-room for visitors to the Shrine.

Notes

1) Golombek, Gazur Gah, Map C, p. 135.

2) Ibid., Fig. 5.

3) Siroux, "Kouh-Payeh," Pl. XV; O'Kane, "Timurid Stucco." The building is dated Shaʿbān 841/Jan.-Feb. 1438.

4) Golombek, Gazur Gah, p. 52.

5) Fifteenth century examples: Nizāmī, Khamsa, British Library Or. 6810 f. 190a in I. Stchoukine, Les Peintures...Timurides, Pl. LXXXIV; Firdausī, Shāh Nāma, Gulistan Library, BWG, Pl. XLVI-B; Saʿdī, Būstān, National Library, Cairo, frontispiece, BWG, Pl. LXVIII; Nizāmī, Khamsa, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Elliot 317 f. 21b in B. Robinson, Descriptive Catalogue, Pl. VIII; Nizāmī, Khamsa, Keir Collection in R. Pinder-Wilson, "The Persian Garden: Bagh and Chahar Bagh," The Islamic Garden, eds. E. Macdougall and R. Ettinghausen (Dumbarton Oaks 1976), Pl. XI.

6) C. Grey, tr. and ed., "The Travels of a Merchant in Persia," in A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the 15th and 16th Centuries, ed. Stanley, Hakluyt Society (London 1873), pp. 173-7. This passage is also discussed by Pope and Ackerman, Survey, p. 1148 and by Pinder-Wilson, op. cit., pp. 78-9.

7) Bābur-nāma, tr. Beveridge, p. 302.

8) Saljūqī (see bibliography).

9) KA, p. 26; Allen, Catalogue, No. 657.

10) KA, p. 22.

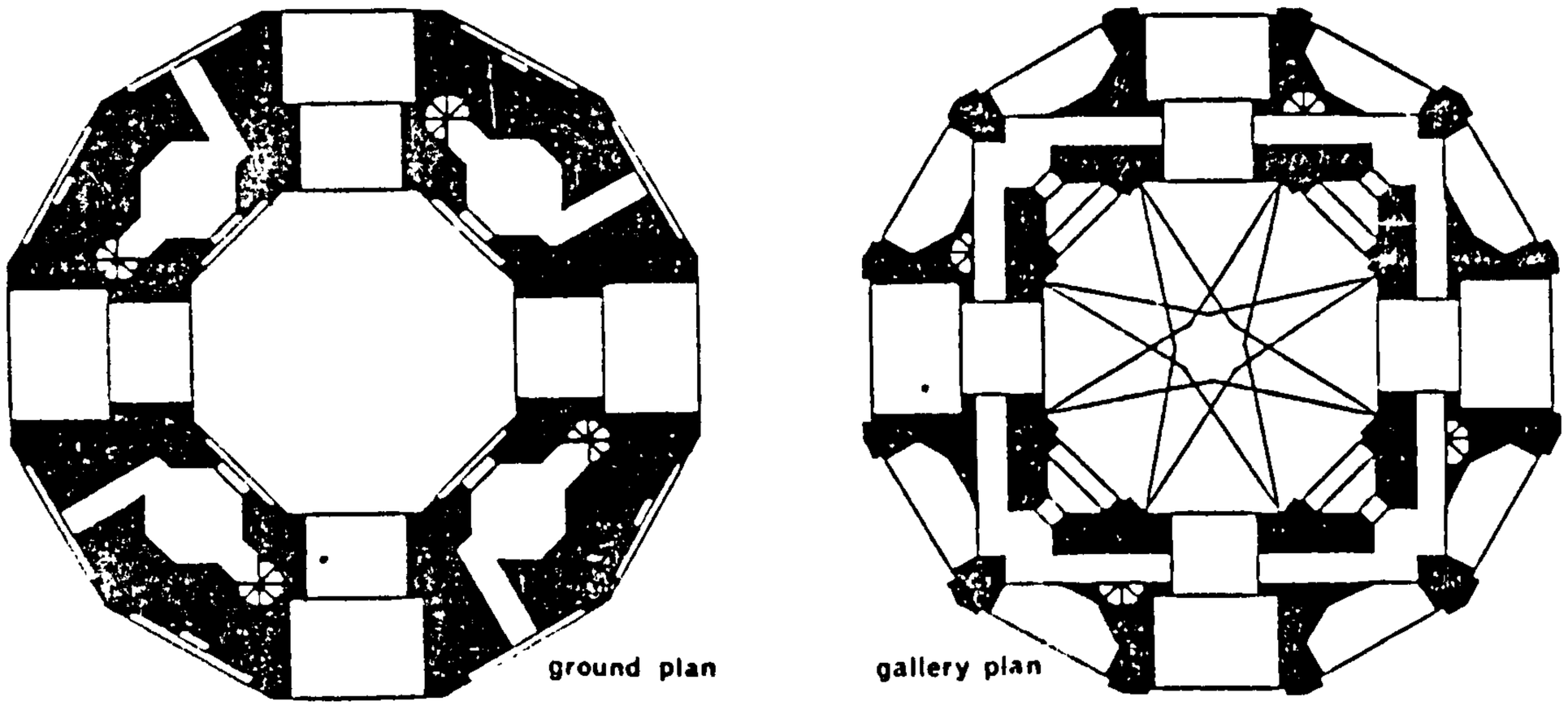
Bibliography

Brandenburg, Herat, pp. 41-3, Pl. 14.

Golombek, Gazur Gah, pp. 50, 70, 87-8, Figs. 5, 142-3.

Saljūqī, Gāzur Gāh, pp. 15-7.

Sourdel-Thomine and Spuler, Kunst des Islam, p. 355, Pl. 348.



GĀZUR GĀH: NAMAKDĀN

(sketch plan)

1 2 4 6 8 10 m

58) Cat.no.42. Gāzur Gāh, Namakdān: plan (after Golombek)

TURUQ, DAM

Location About 5km from the village of Turuq, near Mashhad.

Plan Vaulted dam.[1] Little need be added to Clevenger's description.

Materials Bricks 24 x 24 x 5 1/2cm. Hard grey mortar. On the downstream face the dam rests on an undressed rubble foundation ca. 4m high.

Structural features On the upstream face five holes, at slightly irregular intervals,[2] lead into the well situated within the central abutment. These can probably be taken as an indication of the rate at which the dam was built, one hole being added each year to regulate the flow of water at different levels.[3]

Dating On account of its similarity to the dam at Kibar, Clevenger suggested a fourteenth century date. Maulavī, however, had earlier noted that in a register of the Shrine of Mashhad the dam was attributed to Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr. This can now be confirmed by Khvāndamīr's list of buildings of Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr, among them the bridge and dam of Turuq. Apart from some recent repairs to the top of the dam, it seems to be substantially of one period. There is thus no reason to assume that the present dam at Turuq is not that of Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr.

Condition Good. The dam is still in use.

Recorded July 1975.

Notes

1) On this term see Catalogue No. 6 (Akhlamad dam), n. 1.

2) Clevenger, "Dams," Fig. 33.

3) On this use see Catalogue No. 6, n. 4.

Bibliography

Clevenger, "Dams," pp. 388, 393-4, Figs. 32-4.

Khvāndamīr, Makārim al-Akhlāq, f. 147a.

Maulavī, MN, p. ح.

ZIYĀRATGĀH, MASJID-I CHIHIL SUTŪN

Location Ca. 300m S of the Masjid-i Jami^{c} of Ziyāratgāh, by the side of the Kūcha-yi Du Barādarān.

Plan (Fig. 59) The mosque is oriented on the compass points, with qibla facing W. It is composed of five rows of seven domed bays, three rows forming a closed winter prayer hall (zimistān), the other two being open at the front and sides. The mosque has already been described in some detail by Pugachenkova; the following is designed to amplify and, where necessary, amend her account.

A guldasta on the NE corner of the roof is used for the call to prayer. Although the present structure is modern, it may have replaced an earlier one.

Although the vaulting has been repaired in several places and on more than one occasion, the NW area of the zimistān seems to possess several original vaults which suggest that each bay had a squinch net leading alternately to twelve- and sixteen-sided stars at the base of a shallow dome.

The bay immediately S of the mihrab bay of the zimistān has the remains of a hexagonal grilled window, but this is made up of alternate strips of beige brick and light-blue glazed tiles, rather than of wood as Pugachenkova reports.[1]

One feature not mentioned by Pugachenkova is the chilla khāna, where a Sufi could observe a forty day period of fasting and meditation in seclusion. A staircase cut into the clay on which the mosque was built leads down into a small unlit room with a mihrab, barely high enough to stand in (1.8m) (Pl. 216). The walls are unlined with any building materials, and it may be wondered whether this feature

was not added at a later date. However, it may be that asceticism dictated that the simplest of materials were in keeping with the spirit in which the room was to be used, rendering costly materials superfluous. Such underground chambers were familiar from earlier centuries: Jāmī writes of Khvaja Yūsuf b. Muhammad b. Samᶜān, a 5th/11th century saint, who himself dug a subterranean chilla khāna, in which he spent twelve years.[2] Several were built in the foundations of the Masjid-i Gunbad-i Khvaja Nūr in Herat, a mosque often frequented by one of the leading shaikhs of the early fifteenth century, Zain al-Dīn Khvāfī,[3] and the same feature is found in the late fifteenth century Masjid-i Gunbad (Cat. No. 45), situated not far from the Masjid-i Chihil Sutūn.

The mosaic-faience decoration of the mihrab of the winter mosque has been almost completely destroyed, but that of the summer mosque is well preserved (Pl. 214). The semi-octagonal niche is decorated with banna'i bricks 22 x 4 1/2cm, RJ invisible, HJ of light-blue faience strips, with a striking border of white lozenges on a black ground. Dark-blue faience strips are used between the banna'i borders of the mihrab. The mihrab spandrels and inscription are more elaborately treated, although one is surprised to find that dark-green is not among the colours used.

The inscription is in thulth, with al-mulk li'llāh repeated above in amber Kufic letters, on some of which traces of gilding remain. An attractive touch is the infilling of some of the knotted parts of this Kufic in light-blue. The text is as follows:

"The messenger of God, upon him be peace, (said) 'Prayer is the pillar of religion, and whoever performs it erects (the pillar of) religion and whoever destroys it pulls down (the pillar of religion).'

God, may He be exalted, said 'and whoso turneth away from the remembrance of his Lord; He will thrust him into the ever-

growing torrent: And the places of worship are only for God, so pray not unto anyone along with God' (Quran LXXII/17-18).

The messenger of God, upon him be peace and blessing, said, 'Whoever builds a mosque for God, God will build an abode for him in Heaven.' God the Eminent spoke the truth and His eminent prophet spoke the truth."

Apart from the very beginning of the inscription, where there is a lacuna of one or two words, the text is complete. Only fragments remain of the mihrab of the winter mosque, as noted above. There can thus be no basis for Pugachenkova's report that a mihrab in the mosque contained the name of Sultan Husain and a date of 915 or 919H.[5] The likelihood of a mix-up of notes by her informant is increased by the disparity between the date of death of Sultan Husain (911/1506) and either of the proposed dates.

This being the case, stylistic evidence must provide the criteria for dating.

In itself, the vaulting is indicative of a fifteenth-century date, with the sixteen-sided star vault suggesting a date in the latter half of the century.

The absence of green in the range of mosaic-faience colours might be thought to indicate an early date, but the arrangement of the inscription, with the words or letters often written on three tiers, also suggests a late fifteenth-century date. It is another faience technique, however, which provides conclusive evidence for the date—the use of thin faience strips as HJ between banna'i bricks. This is found in three late fifteenth-century monuments in Khurasan: the khanqahs of Sadr al-Dīn Armānī and Mullā Kālān (the latter from the reign of Sultan Husain) and the repair work of Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr in the Herat Masjid-i Jamiᶜ (904-5/1498-1500) (Cat. Nos. 34, 49, 59). Only one earlier monument, the Shrine at Gāzur Gāh (Cat. No. 9) uses this

technique.

A date in the late fifteenth century, possibly the last decade, is thus indicated by stylistic analysis. It would not contradict our historical knowledge of Ziyāratgāh in the late fifteenth century. The increasing importance of Ziyāratgāh as a suburb of Herat is reflected by the erection of its magnificent new Masjid-i Jami^{c} in 887/1482-3. The large population indicated by a Friday Mosque of this size meant that more capital could be made available for smaller building projects, and the example of a major new mosque in their city may have led to dissatisfaction among the inhabitants of the different city quarters with existing neighbourhood mosques, and to the erection of new ones such as the Masjid-i Chihil Sutūn and the nearby Masjid-i Gunbad.

"The many-pillared mosque" is an idiomatic translation of the Masjid-i Chihil Sutūn. While hypostyle mosques were common in Iran in the early centuries of Islam, most of these were arranged around a courtyard, and had a central accent by means of a wider and taller bay or bays in front of the mihrab. The self-contained rectangular unit at Ziyāratgāh can perhaps be seen as the heir to a different tradition, that of the multi-domed mosque, which frequently took the shape of three rows of three bays.[6] Permutations on this plan also seem to have occured at an early stage: the Masjid-i Jami^{c} at Shāpūrābād NE of Isfahan is a rectangle of three rows of four bays, with the qibla wall on the long side,[7] as at Ziyāratgāh.

Within this framework, however, the division of the Chihil Sutūn into summer and winter quarters is an unusual feature. The other neighbourhood Timurid mosques in the vicinity of Herat, at Hauż-i Karbās and Uba, in addition to a multi-domed zimistān have extensive courtyards in which large numbers could congregate for prayer. A

similar arrangement with the plan of the Chihil Sutūn may have been obviated by its location, as the side opposite the qibla is only 10m from the kūcha which forms the main route from the Masjid-i Jami[c] further N to the main exit from the town on the S. The N side of the Chihil Sutūn is also close to another kūcha which forms one of the main E-W axes of the town, leading from the maidān at the junction of the two kūchas to the Masjid-i Gunbad and further E. Thus the lack of courtyard space may have encouraged the architect to find a new solution to the accommodation of winter and summer quarters in a neighbourhood mosque.

Materials Bricks 25 x 25 x 6cm. RJ 1-1.5cm, HJ 1.1cm.

Condition The summer mosque is in good condition—some of the vaults have been repaired and restored. The winter mosque, as Pugachenkova reported, is dangerously unstable—the peripheral walls lean noticeably outwards at the top.

Recorded January 1975.

Notes

1) "Les Monuments," p. 49.
2) NU, pp. 325-6.
3) MI, p. 52.
4) Saljūqī, p. 113.
5) In a verbal communication Dr Golombek has informed me that she saw no evidence for this date on her visit to this mosque in 1966—a year before Pugachenkova visited the mosque.
6) For a discussion of this type and its relation with mosques of a similar plan in the western Islamic world see Golombek, "Abbasid Mosque," pp. 186-9.
7) Siroux, Anciennes Voies, pp. 225-7, Fig. 77. The only dating criterion which Siroux provides is a sketch of the cusped-shell mihrab. While this does not provide a terminus ante quem of the 3rd/9th century, as Siroux suggests, the mosque is at least likely to be pre-1350 A.D.

Bibliography

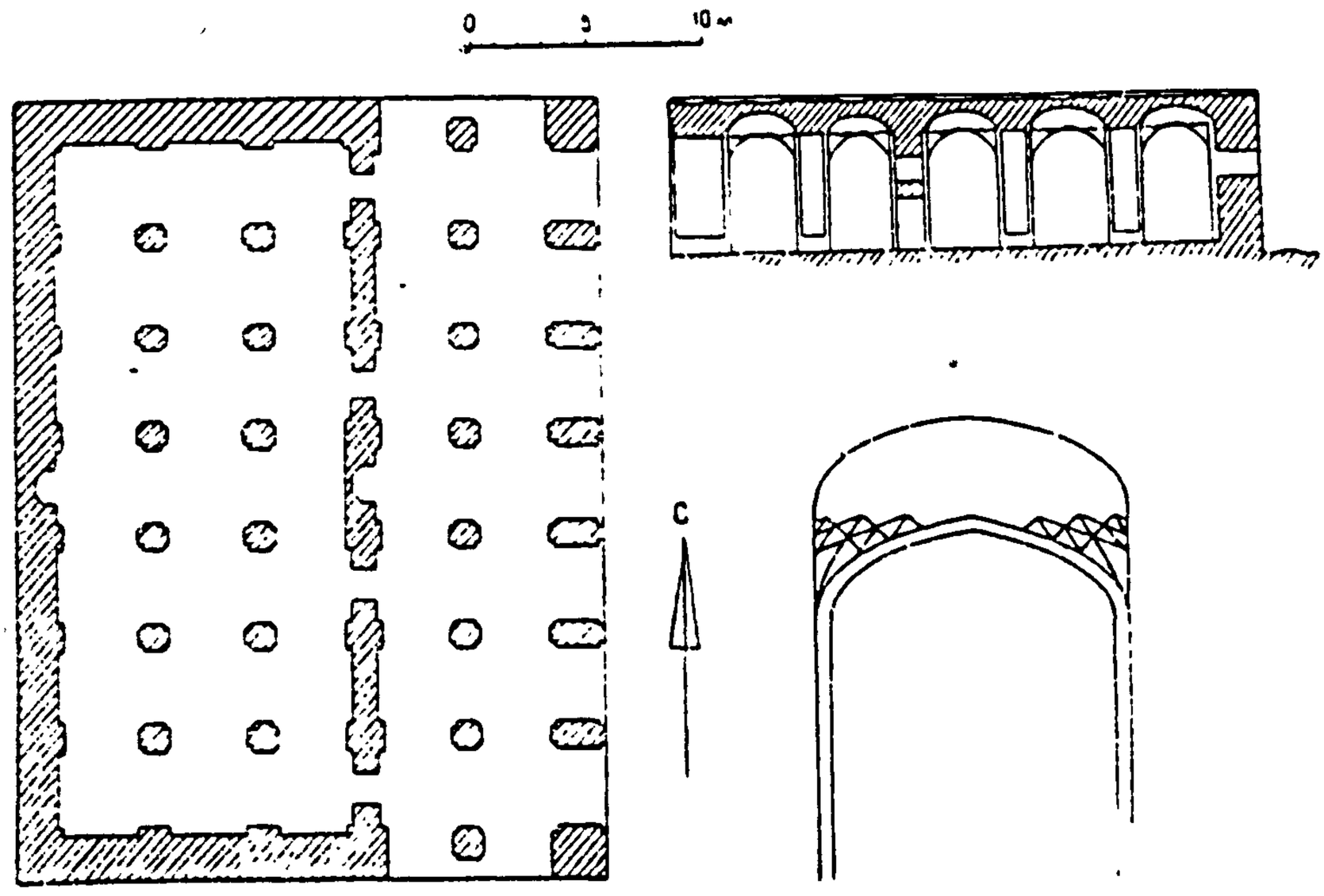
Ghauvās, Rahnamā, p. 42.

Idem, "Qarya-yi Ziyāratgāh," p. 5.

Pugachenkova, "Tri pozdnetimuridskikh Pamyatnika," pp. 36-40, Figs. 5-6.

Eadem, "Les Monuments," pp. 48-50.

Saljūqī, RMH 4, p. 113.



59) Cat.no.44. Ziyāratgāh, Masjid-i Chihil Sutūn: plan and section (after Pugachenkova)

45

ZIYĀRATGĀH, MASJID-I GUNBAD

Location Ca. 200m E of the main square in Ziyāratgāh which is adjacent to the Masjid-i Chihil Sutūn.

Plan (Fig. 60) Irregular square exterior enclosing cruciform dome chamber with doors leading to small vaulted rooms in each of the four corners (their function is discussed below). In front of the mosque stands a small courtyard with a large pool, the courtyard being slightly larger in area than the mosque itself.

Elevation a) exterior: The building has something of a fortress-like appearance from the outside (Pl. 217), consisting for the most part of windowless walls covered in kāhgil, worn away at various intervals to shallow depressions or deep furrows. The square is punctuated only by the entrance portal on the N and by a small aivan on the E. The segmental arch covering the aivan seems to have been restored, but at the rear are the badly-damaged remains of red plaster stalactites which may have originally formed a more articulated semi-dome than the crudely corbelled one which now exists.

The roof is reached by an outside staircase on the N. Since there is no provision for a staircase from the interior to the roof, it is presumably original. The truncated dome rises without transition from the roof. The irregular brickwork and haphazard arrangement of niches leading to the inner dome indicates that it too is for the most part restored. Within the niches four large brick ribs ca. 50 x 20cm meet over the centre of the shell of the inner dome, recalling those of the double domes of the Gunbad-i Sabz at Turbat-i Jām and the Masjid-i Shah in Mashhad. On top of this there is now a makeshift arched buttress which supports the present flat roof of the drum, but from the

presence of the ribs one can assume that the building had a double dome. This, however, is unlikely to have been a tall bulbous shell as found on mausoleums earlier in the century. The lower walls never seem to have been finished with anything other than kāhgil. A bulbous double dome would require a shell of baked brick, but one would not expect to find this on top of so roughly finished a lower section.[1]

Except for the stalactites mentioned above, there is no decoration on the exterior. Apart from the main portal on the north, again consisting of a restored segmental arch, small rectangular doors to either side of it lead to the groups of cells on the NW and NE. A similar blocked door on the SW corner would have led to the adjacent cells.

b) interior: After the present meanness of the exterior, the sophisticated layout and vaulting of the interior come as a surprise (Pls. 218-9). Squinch-net and ribbed vaulting is used throughout, although its outlines, made more incisive in many places by a border of prismatic triangles, have become blurred due to repeated applications of white-wash. The latter at least increases the illumination from the three small windows at the back of the N, W and E recesses which are the only available source of light.

The central dome chamber is in the form of a Greek cross, varied by bevelling the corners of the square to provide doors to the cells. On either side of the doors are two small niches, each with a flat-headed broken arch. They are not set in the middle of the wall but nearer the doorways, for a reason which will become apparent shortly.

Each of the four recesses are vaulted by a squinch net leading to an eight-faceted dome, outlined with a band of prismatic triangles. On the same level are the four squinches of the main dome, given a rather compressed look by the elevation of the dado to almost half their height. This cramped feeling could have been avoided by extending

their lines of support down to the ground, as in the Masjid-i Shaikh Lutfallāh in Isfahan, but instead a narrow cornice which continues round the dome chamber emphasises the horizontality of the structure. The squinches consist of a central semi-dome, similar to the domes of the recesses. The acumen of the designer is shown in the form of the two flanking sections of the squinch. These are divided into two tiers, an upper one with a squinch-net design echoing that of the central semi-dome of the squinch, and two lower panels each of which contains one half of the flat-headed broken arch profile of the niche in the dado below. This explains why the niches in the dado are not in the centre of the wall—their mid-point is set directly below that of the two panels which reflect them above (Pl. 218). But, in what at first seems like an almost mannerist perverseness, the latter are arranged with each half arch facing away from each other, as if the two panels had been somehow transposed. However, a glance at the upper tier shows the reason for this. The two base points of the arches forming the squinch net above now rest on the haunches of the half arches in the panel below instead of on the visually weaker flat head, as would be the case if they were reversed to their "natural" composition.

The squinches form an octagonal zone of transition, but the visual excitement is carried further up (Pl. 219). From here parallel ribs spring from each corner point to the point opposite forming an octagonal star in the centre, in a manner familiar from the Masjid-i Maṣūm^{c}a, Kūhpāya, the Namakdān at Gāzur Gāh and the mosque in the caravanserai at Qūsh Ribat. Even though this produces its own squinch net, smaller versions are employed in the eight lower panels. These squinch nets are varied by including irregular hexagons above the usual rhomboids, a feature which also occurs in the Ziyāratgāh Jami^{c}.

The doorways in the bevelled corners of the mosque open into a small vestibule which leads to further small triangular rooms (Pl. 220). In contrast to the interior of the main dome chamber these are undecorated and completely without light. They are roofed with squinch vaults, with brick blackened from smoke. The lower walls are covered in hard plaster. In one case, in the SE corner, two extra cells are effected by means of an upper storey.

Materials Core of baked brick, mud brick and kāhgil used on the exterior.

Dating Given the absence of epigraphy, historical references and decoration, the vaulting of the interior must provide the criteria for dating. The squinch nets are typical of those which were used throughout the fifteenth century from the Khargird madrasa onwards. The parallel ribs forming an octagonal star are found in buildings covering a similar time span, as we have seen above. The use of irregular hexagons as well as rhomboids in the squinch net may be used to narrow the likely range, since it does not seem to occur before the Ziyāratgāh Jami^{c}. The increase in population which led to the building of the latter shows that funds would have been available for neighbourhood mosques, and as the nearby Masjid-i Chihil Sutūn dates from the same period the Jami^{c} evidently provided a stimulus for the residents of the town quarters to improve their own facilities for prayer. The Masjid-i Gunbad then could be assumed to date between ca. 1483, the date of the Jami^{c}, to the end of the Timurid era.

Function The discussion of the building up to now has been on the assumption that it is a mosque, but some explanation is needed to account for the cells in the corners. Being windowless and very roughly finished, they clearly partake of a different character from the cruciform dome chamber, although there is no reason to believe that

they are not contemporary with it. The solution to their function may be found in a passage in the Maqsad al-Iqbāl relating to another Masjid-i Gunbad located within the city of Herat.

> "On Thursdays those in need perform two prostrations in that mosque and seek their wish and it is proved that they obtain their desire. And they say that the mosque was built 4000 years ago, and that in each century men used it as a place of worship. The Shaikh al-Islām wa'l-Muslimīn Shaikh Zain al-Dīn al-Khvāfī, may he be blessed, went often to the abovementioned mosque and he said that in this place they had performed various acts of devotion and worship (of God) and that (as a result) grace accrued to all who came. And around parts of the base of the abovementioned dome chamber they constructed small cells (chillakhānahā) and those cells (khalvat-khānahā) were quite frightening residences, so that not anyone could stay there alone. And many of the needy had their wishes fulfilled there and every plaintiff who performed two prostrations there on three Thursdays in the hour after sunrise would certainly have his wish fulfilled."[2]

This description, with the cells around the base of the dome chamber (dar ba^{c}żī asās-i gunbad), exactly fits the Ziyāratgāh Masjid-i Gunbad, and indeed even today it would require fortitude to remain alone in the unlit and uncomfortable cells. It is interesting that the nearby Masjid-i Chihil Sutūn also had a chillakhāna. The practice must have been widespread in the town.

Form As a neighbourhood mosque, albeit one with an irregular plan owing to the presence of chillakhānas, the present building is clearly of a different type than the other surviving examples of this genre: the Hauż-i Karbās, the mosque at Uba and the Chihil Sutūn (Cat. Nos. 11, 21, 44), each of which is based on multiplication of a small domed unit. In common with Hauż-i Karbās and Uba the Masjid-i Gunbad has a courtyard, although the original extent or even presence of this is impossible to determine. From the description of the Masjid-i Gunbad

in Herat, however, it would seem that the isolated single dome chamber was not an uncommon form of neighbourhood mosque. Earlier Seljuq examples are known at Barābād and Nūk in the area of Khvāf; both of these, like the Masjid-i Gunbad, have plain kāhgil covered exteriors with a more decorated interior.

There is also a resemblance to the plan of several Timurid khanqahs such as those of Mullā Kālān, Sadr al-Dīn Armānī and the Zarnigār Khāna at Gāzur Gāh (Cat. Nos. 49, 34, 46) in that all feature large central dome chambers with cells at the corners, but the total unsuitability of the cells in the Masjid-i Gunbad for accommodation as regular living quarters clearly sets it apart from the others.

Recorded January 1975, March 1977.

Notes

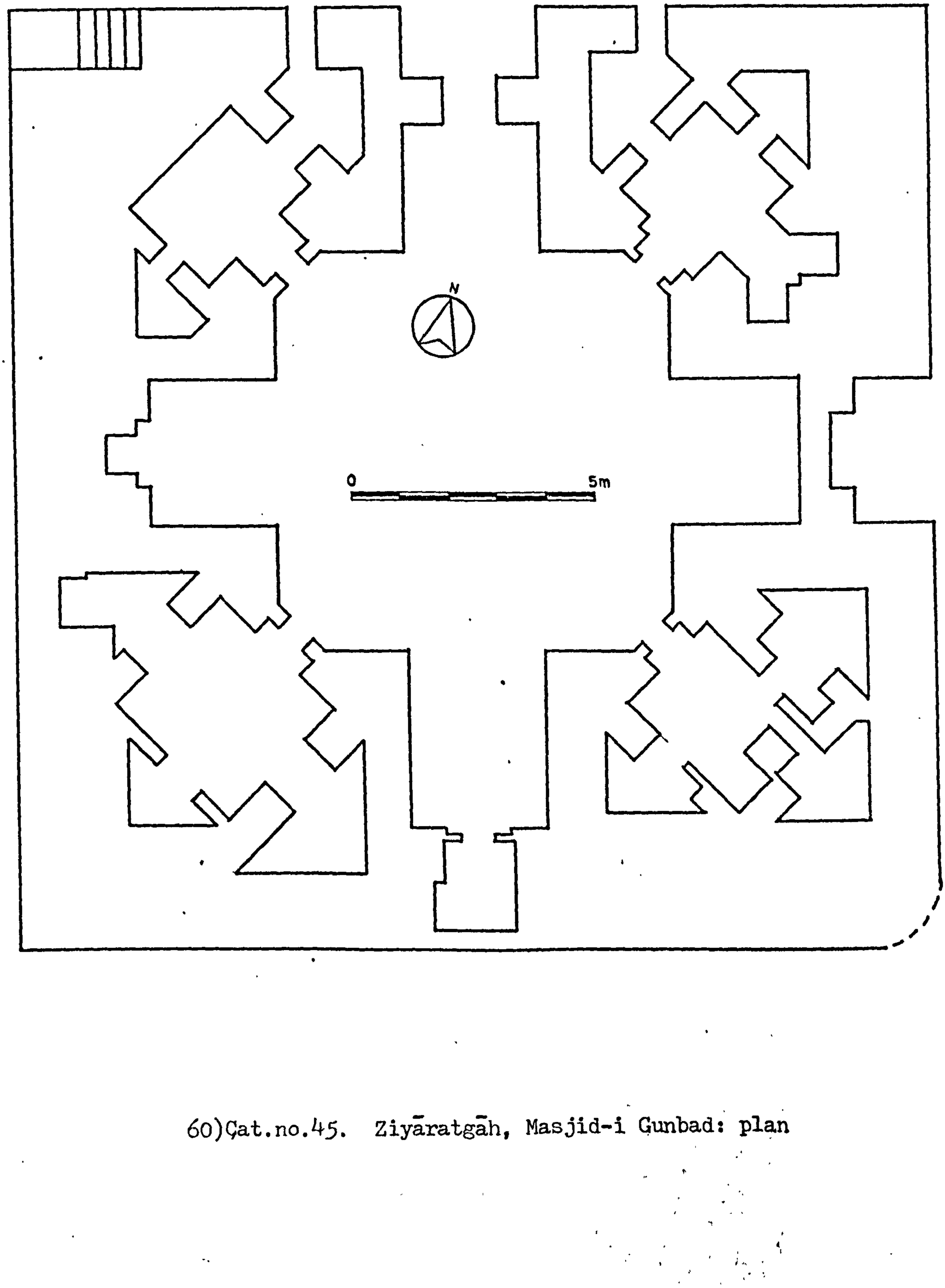
1) It is conceivable that the dome was also covered in kāhgil. Cf. the unpublished Seljuq dome chamber at Barābād near Khvāf.
2) Ed. Haravī, p. 52. An abridged translation of the corresponding section edited by Saljūqī is given in Allen, Catalogue, p. 101.

Bibliography

Pugachenkova, "Les Monuments," p. 52.

Eadem, "Tri Pamyatnika," p. 42.

Ghalivās, "Qarya-yi Ziyāratgāh," II, pp. 5-6.



60)Çat.no.45. Ziyāratgāh, Masjid-i Gunbad: plan

GĀZUR GĀH, ZARNIGĀR KHĀNA

Location At the SW corner of the Shrine of Gāzur Gāh.

Plan (Fig. 61) The building and its decoration have already been described in detail by Golombek. However, there is no question that what seemed to her to be a new facing of the E, W and S of the building is in fact a very recent addition—the new revetment uses bricks 19 x 9 x 5cm as opposed to the original 23 x 23 x 5. What is now a room at the centre of the S side was definitely an entrance aivan, with a squinch net leading to a semi-dome (Pl. 221). The new brickwork also disguised lateral entrances to the N portal, and an entrance to the main dome chamber—the mihrab which now blocks this is of no great antiquity. One other structural feature should also be made clear: the staircases from the lower chambers led to similar upper chambers not merely to galleries.[1] There were thus four original entrances to the main dome chamber, and four smaller chambers on the S side.

Inscriptions and function The main painted inscription which encircles the dome chamber is Quran LVI/1-55, a text which is mostly concerned with the last judgement and the joys that await the elect in paradise. Verses from the same passage are also found on the drum of the Mausoleum of Gauhar Shād, which suggest that the Zarnigār Khāna also had funerary connotations. What, then, would be the purpose of the four small chambers on the S side of the building? They indicate that the building has affinities with a large series of Timurid monuments which had living chambers for Sufis, a large dome chamber for communal activities, and which were built either as mausoleums or as memorials to deceased saints—monuments such as the Buq^{c}a of Tāybād,

the Khanqah of Mullā Kālān at Ziyāratgāh, or the Langar of Qāsim-i Anvār in the village of the same name (Cat. Nos. 24, 49, 39).

As Golombek has shown, the vaulting and decoration point to a date in the second half of the fifteenth century. Are any memorial dome chambers known to have been built near the Shrine at that time? Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr did build a khanqah there, but it was apparently on the E side of the Shrine,[2] wheras the Zarnigār Khāna is SW of it. There are two other possible patrons. One is Khvaja ᶜAlī b. Khvaja Fakhr al-Dīn, who in 845/1441-2 was buried "at Gāzur Gāh outside the khanqah which he himself had built."[3] The other is a nephew of Sultan Husain, Kīchīk Mīrzā, who in 899/1493-4 was buried at the Shrine in a dome chamber which was decorated with a qasīda of Jāmī.[4] This has been interpretated as referring to some additions on the N side of the Shrine, but the description of the "various kinds of painstaking decoration and adornment"[5] would apply better to the Zarnigār Khāna than to those additions. True, there are no remains of Jāmī's verses in the present dome chamber, but so much of the decoration has been destroyed that this is not a fundamental objection. The absence of any gravestone or of a local tradition of the funerary character of the monument (it is referred to locally as a khanqah) are more problematical. Many gravestones in Herat have been removed from their original sites, however, and as the building seems to have been designed as a funerary khanqah, only the Sufi connotations may have survived by oral tradition. Inevitably, however, this remains speculation—the literary sources do not provide enough detail for a secure identification.

Condition Good, after recent restoration.

Recorded June 1975.

Notes

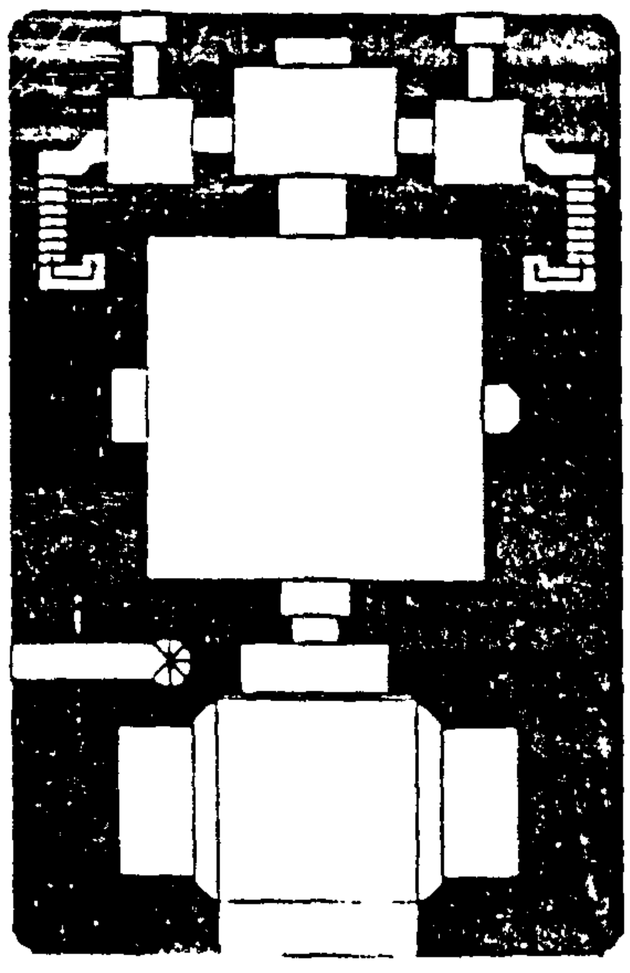
1) As per Golombek, p. 52.
2) MA, f. 155b.
3) MF, III, p. 291.
4) HS, IV, p. 177; Golombek, p. 85.
5) HS, IV, p. 177.

Bibliography

Golombek, Gazur Gah, pp. 51-2, 64-7, 89.

Pugachenkova, Zodchestvo, pp. 76-7, 79.

Saljūqī, Gāzur Gāh, pp. 20-1.



61) Cat.no.46. Gāzur Gāh, Zarnigār Khāna: plan (after Golombek)

MASHHAD, SHRINE OF IMAM RIŻĀ, WORKS OF MĪR ᶜALĪ SHĪR

Historical References In the Makārim al-Akhlāq, Khvāndamīr lists among ᶜAlī Shīr's charitable works the following:

> He built the Dār al-Huffāz in holy Mashhad inside the Shrine (rauża) of Riżā, for the friends of peace and prayer, and they decorated it with infinite pains with arabesques (for islāmī read islīmī) and Chinese painting in lapis and gold, and he also built a spacious aivan, wonderfully decorated and adorned, in that noble shrine, and he also constructed a ghulūr-khāna where every day they distribute food to the poor and the weak.[1]

Qādī Ahmad, in his biography of Sultan ᶜAlī Mashhadī, says that "his grave is opposite the foot (of the tomb) of...the eighth imam..., immediately outside the domed building of the Amīr ᶜAlī Shīr, close to the steel door."[2]

According to Daulatshāh ᶜAlī Shīr was also responsible for diverting the Chashma-yi Gul from Tūs to the environs of the Shrine.[3] Shah ᶜAbbās later incorporated the canal into his construction of what is today known as the sahn-i ᶜatīq, when he found "the former courtyard and aivan of Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr lacking in grandeur and height..., and he extended the courtyard so that the aforementioned aivan was actually situated in the middle."[4] From this we learn that ᶜAlī Shīr's aivan was originally located off-centre in a small courtyard; presumably the old courtyard's centre of axis was in line with the tomb chamber of Imam Riżā, slightly to the E of the aivan.

The extant structures The aivan of ᶜAlī Shīr, as Pope remarked, "has been extensively reconstructed and wholly redecorated." Today it is known as the golden aivan, after Nādir Shah's restoration in 1145-6/1732-3,[5] although the earliest inscriptions on the aivan date

from 1059/1649-50 and 1085/1674-5, both written by Muḥammad Riżā al-Imāmī.[6] The latter is especially interesting for us, reading as follows (Pl. 222):

فی ایام دولة السلطان الاعظم والخاقان العظم مالك الرقاب
الامم مولی ملوك العرب والعجم ابوزی شا سلطان حسین
میرزا بایقرا بهادر خان خلد الله تعالی ملکه کتبه محمد
رضا الامامی ۱۰۸۵

In the reign of the most great Sultan and mighty Khāqān, Master of the Necks of Mankind, Lord of the Kings of the Arabs and the Non-Arabs, Abu'l-Ghāzī Shah Sultan Ḥusain Mīrzā Bāyqārā Bahādur Khān, may God perpetuate his reign. Muḥammad Riżā al-Imāmī wrote it in 1085/1674-5.

This is clearly a garbled version of an original inscription, as is shown by the defectiveness of the titles of Sultan Ḥusain: Abū zī shā for Abu'l-Ghāzī Shāh. Maulavī plausibly suggests that the major earthquake of the previous year 1084/1673 dislodged the tiles of the original inscription which then needed repair.[8] However, the defective state of the original can hardly account for the errors in the repair of Muḥammad Riżā al-Imāmī, since it was clearly redrawn and arranged on two equal tiers in typical Safavid fashion.

It is impossible to be certain whether any part of the aivan as it now stands follows the form, let alone the decoration, of the original. In general outline it is not unlike other Timurid aivans. However, while its squinch-net semi-dome is a feature that was common in the fifteenth century, the chunky stalactites in the corner squinches are untypical of such a date.

What of the other structures which ᶜAlī Shīr erected: the Dār al-Huffāz, ghulūr khāna and dome chamber? It may be possible to conflate the Dār al-Huffāz and dome chamber, especially since we know that in

ᶜAlī Shīr's Ikhlāsiyya complex in Herat his Dār al-Huffāz was a dome chamber (gunbad).[9] In older photographs of the Shrine[10] a tile-decorated dome, probably an outer shell, is visible on a drum behind and to the right of the aivan of ᶜAlī Shīr, over an area which today is a passage-way[11] leading to the Dār al-Siyāda of Gauhar Shād. One would expect ᶜAlī Shīr's foundations at the Shrine to be built in close proximity to one another, so there is a case for suggesting that the room under-neath the dome may have been the Dār al-Huffāz.[12]

I cannot identify any of the modern parts of the Shrine with the ghulūr-khāna, or suggest where it may have been.

Recorded June 1978.

Notes

1) F. 146a.
2) Tr. Minorsky, p. 103.
3) TS, p. 376. The spring is known today as the Chashma-yi Gulsab or Chashma-yi Gīlās (MN, introduction, p. ب). Khanikoff describes it as follows: "one and a half farsakhs (ca. 9km) NE of Tūs the source of the Mashhad river is found; it emerges from a quite picturesque rock and forms a considerable pool of water...this pool is called Tchéchmé-Ghilas (Chashma-yi Gīlās)," Mémoires, p. 110.
4) Mu'taman, Rahnāmā, p. 103, quoting Iskandar Munshī, ᶜAlām Ārā-yi ᶜAbbāsī.
5) For these inscriptions see ᶜItizād Pūr, pp. 226-8 and Sykes, pp. 1135-7.
6) On his numerous inscriptions, principally in Isfahan and Mashhad, see Godard, "Muhammad Ridā al-Imāmī."
7) Not al-muᶜazam, as in all the printed accounts.
8) MN, introduction, p. ل. For the earthquake, see Melville, Historical Seismicity, No. 122. The exact date was July 30 1673.
9) See Allen, Catalogue, p. 94.
10) Yate, Khurasan, opp. p. 328.
11) It is referred to on Yate's plan (Khurasan, opp. p. 332, No. 68)

as a place for drinking water. This is confirmed by Sykes ("Historical Notes," p. 1139), who calls it a saqqa-khana.

12) According to Qāḍī Aḥmad (see n. 2 above), the domed building was opposite the foot of the eighth imam. This normally would mean <u>at</u> the foot, i.e. on the E of the tomb. The dome in the photograph is on the W, however, at the head of the tomb. This weakens slightly the identification of the Dār al-Huffāẓ with this dome chamber, since it puts a rather strained interpretation on "opposite the foot."

Bibliography

Sykes, "Historical Notes," pp. 1133-4.

ʿItiżād Pūr, "Aivān-i ṭilā," pp. 222-230.

Saadat, <u>Holy Shrine</u>, <u>Designs</u>, Pls. 1, 9.

<u>Survey</u>, p. 1203.

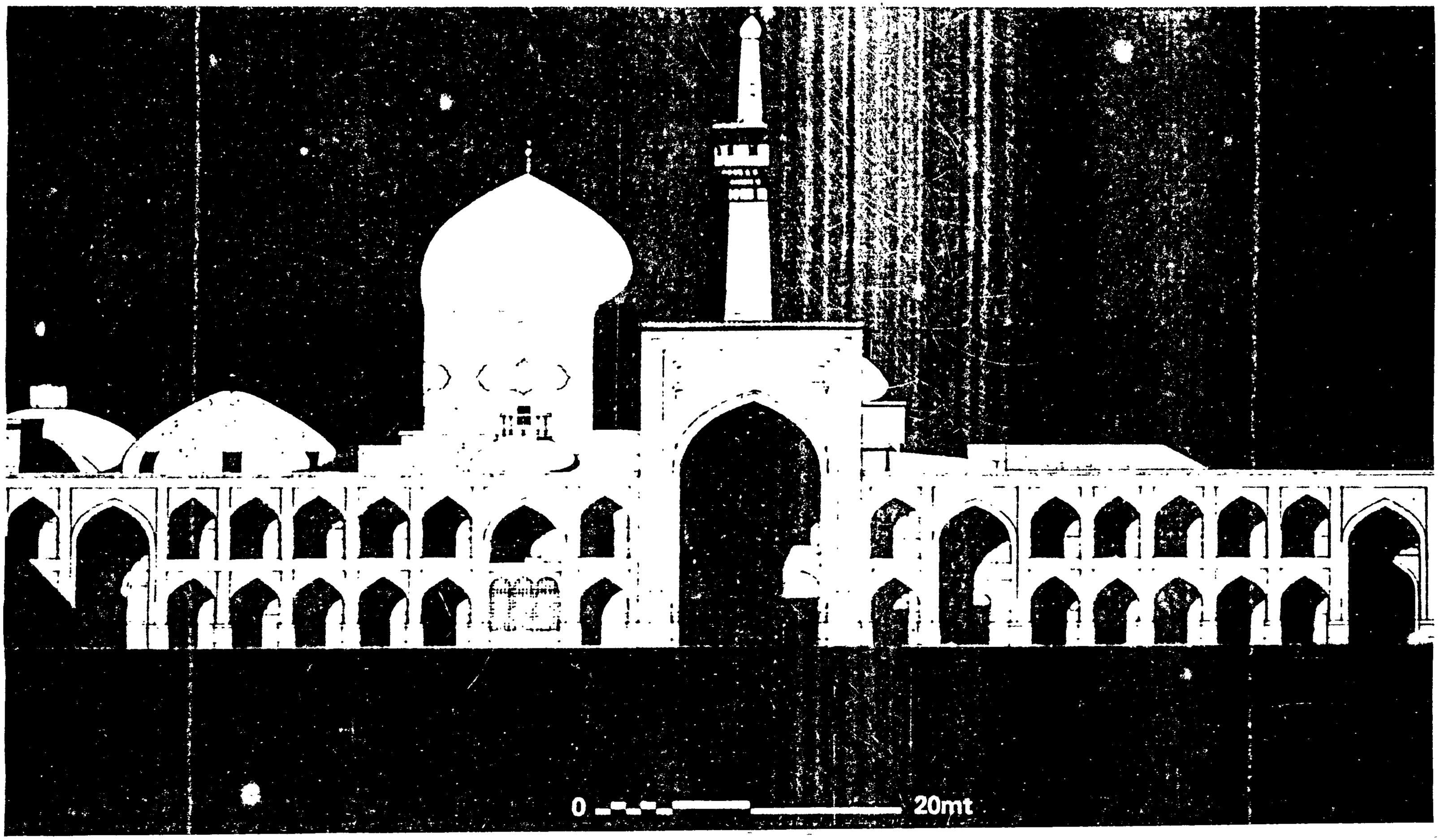
Kāẓim Imām, <u>Mashhad-i Ṭūs</u>, pp. 473-5.

Ṣanīʿ al-Daula, <u>Maṭlaʿ</u> II, pp. 129, 134-5.

MN, introduction, pp. ل to ب.

Mu'taman, "Ṣaḥn-i ʿAtīq," pp. 44-47, 51.

<u>Idem</u>, <u>Rāhnamā</u>, pp. 173-6.



62) Cat.no.47. Mashhad, Shrine; aivan of ᶜAlī Shīr: elevation (after Saadat)

48

TURBAT-I JĀM, ᶜĪDGĀH OF MĪR ᶜALĪ SHĪR

Location In the graveyard ca. 1km SE of the Shrine of Ahmad-i Jām.

Plan (Fig. 63) Aivan flanked by small chambers.

Elevation a) exterior: The front facade (Pl. 223) is of plain brick, with a series of reveals outlining the frames of the central aivan and the two-storey niches to the sides. The latter only exist now on the left side. The lower niche is blind apart from a small door and window leading to the chamber behind. The upper storey niche was vaulted with a semi-dome. It also had a door leading into it, but, to judge from the plain wall behind the niche, it led not to a room but to the roof above the lower chamber.

Although the building is badly damaged at the rear (Pl. 224) - only one quarter of the lower chamber is intact - it is clear from the rough mud-brick facing of the rear of the aivan, carried up to two-thirds of its height, that the front viewpoint was all-important to the architect.

b) interior: Behind the brick piers and soffit of the front of the aivan arch, the vault has collapsed (Pl. 225). The wall surfaces beyond this arch were covered with plaster painted in two colours, cream and red. The side and back walls are plain, except for a rectangular mihrab, vaulted with a squinch net producing a ten-pointed star at the base of the semi-dome (Pl. 226). Some of the rhomboidal facets of the squinch net are bisected with horizontal lines, a feature which recalls those of the lateral chambers in the mausoleum of Qāsim-i Anvār in nearby Langar (Cat. No. 39).[1]

Although the vault of the aivan has mostly collapsed, the remains of the zone of transition suggest a number of possibilities for reconstruction. One squinch is largely intact, and it shows an interesting

variation on the usual squinch net rhomboids, employing instead angled facets with a minimum of intersecting lines, leading to a five-pointed star. This squinch may have been part of a large semi-dome. Another possibility, to judge from the lines of vaulting springing from the niche beside it, is that it was the base of one of two parallel transverse vaults.

Only enough remains of the side chamber to show that it had plain walls and, with the kite-shaped squinch still intact in one corner, a dome with an octagonal base.

Discussion In the Makārim al-Akhlāq, Khvāndamīr lists among ᶜAlī Shīr's work the ᶜīdgāh of Jām.[2] Two factors need to be established to identify the present building with that of ᶜAlī Shīr: its date and its function.

Unfortunately it presents few dating criteria, the vaulting being our most reliable guide. The smooth faceting of the squinch leading to a five-pointed star may suggest an early Safavid date, although the squinch net of the mihrab, as we have seen, most closely resembles another monument of ᶜAlī Shīr, the mausoleum at Langar. Given that this does indicate a late fifteenth century date, the vaulting of the squinch could be seen as a harbinger of the techniques used in squinches in the Safavid period.

The building is known locally as the mosque of Khvaja ᶜAzīz Allāh, after the figure who is reputed to be buried in a domed mausoleum, possibly Safavid, situated opposite the aivan at a distance of 18m.[3] There are no signs of any burial within the aivan. Its location in the midst of a cemetery, however, is quite in keeping with the function of an ᶜīdgāh (or musallā or namāzgāh),[4] used on the two major festivals when it was customary to visit the tombs of relatives. The large open space in front of the aivan also would enable the whole population of

the town to assemble before it in a series of rows.

The form of the building is what one would expect of an cīdgāh— a large aivan which signals the qibla as effectively as the mihrab inside. The earlier cīdgāh at Herat, (re)constructed by Abū Sacīd in 863/1458-9,[5] was described by Khvāndamīr as an aivan,[6] and the later examples at Bukhara and Mashhad are also similar,[7] with lower chambers flanking a central aivan.

Both from the point of view of date and function, therefore, the evidence positively favours identification of this structure with the cīdgāh which cAlī Shīr is known to have erected at Jām. Dating it precisely within his long period of influence is impossible, although the form of the squinch suggests that it was towards the end of his life.

Condition In imminent danger of further collapse.

Recorded July 1975.

Notes

1) Golombek, Gazur Gah, Figs. 154-5.
2) F. 151a.
3) On the mausoleum see Maulavī, pp. 101-2.
4) The three terms can be used synonymously: see Allen, Catalogue, No. 532.
5) MS, p. 1200.
6) KA, p. 22.
7) Bukhara: Pugachenkova, Samarqand, Pl. 104; Mashhad: Godard, "Khorāsān," Fig. 112.

Bibliography

Maulavī, Khurāsān, pp. 100-1.

the town to assemble before it in a series of rows.

The form of the building is what one would expect of an <u>ʿīdgāh</u>— a large aivan which signals the qibla as effectively as the mihrab inside. The earlier <u>ʿīdgāh</u> at Herat, (re)constructed by Abū Saʿīd in 863/1458-9,[5] was described by Khvāndamīr as an aivan,[6] and the later examples at Bukhara and Mashhad are also similar,[7] with lower chambers flanking a central aivan.

Both from the point of view of date and function, therefore, the evidence positively favours identification of this structure with the <u>ʿīdgāh</u> which ʿAlī Shīr is known to have erected at Jām. Dating it precisely within his long period of influence is impossible, although the form of the squinch suggests that it was towards the end of his life.

<u>Condition</u> In imminent danger of further collapse.

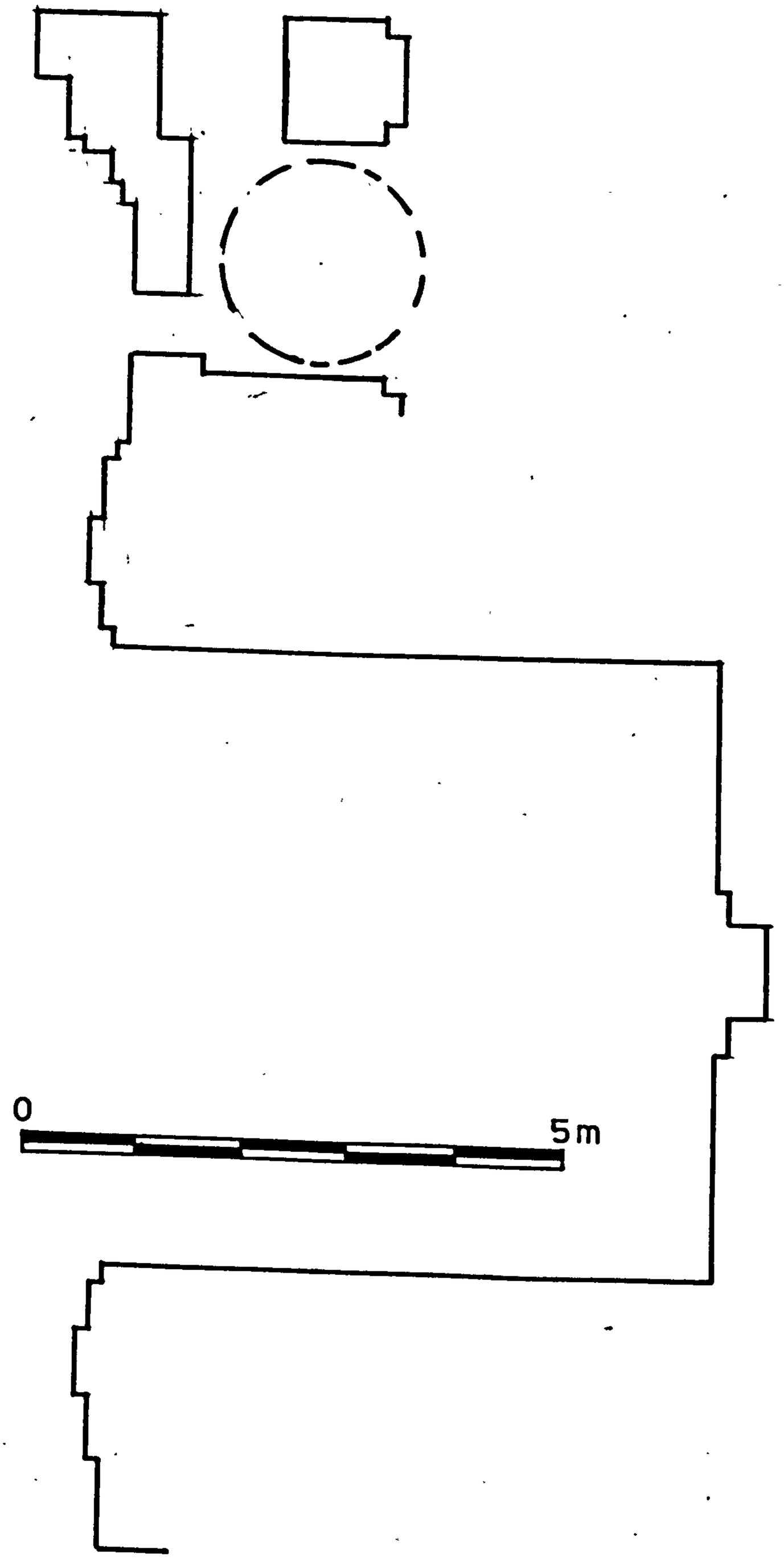
<u>Recorded</u> July 1975.

Notes

1) Golombek, <u>Gazur Gah</u>, Figs. 154-5.
2) F. 151a.
3) On the mausoleum see Maulavī, pp. 101-2.
4) The three terms can be used synonymously: see Allen, <u>Catalogue</u>, No. 532.
5) MS, p. 1200.
6) KA, p. 22.
7) Bukhara: Pugachenkova, <u>Samarqand</u>, Pl. 104; Mashhad: Godard, "<u>Kh</u>orāsān," Fig. 112.

Bibliography

Maulavī, <u>Khurāsān</u>, pp. 100-1.



63) Cat.no.48. Turbat-i Jām, ᶜĪdgāh: plan

49

ZIYĀRATGĀH, KHANQAH OF MULLĀ KALĀN

Location In a cemetery just S of the town of Ziyāratgāh, 18km S of Herat.

Plan (Fig. 64) Centralised dome chamber oriented on the compass points, approached by aivans on the N and W sides, with ancillary rooms in two storeys. Almost the whole SE quadrant has been completely destroyed, making any restoration of this section conjectural. The traces of the springing of an arch in the middle of the E side show that the building extended further east, and was not a regular rectangle. The remains of a wall near this at forty-five degrees to the building's NS axis show that it was also asymmetrical, the aivan on the W not being repeated on the E.

Elevation a) exterior: The N and W facades each consisted of an aivan flanked by smaller niches leading to living chambers in two storeys (Pls. 227-8). The deeper N aivan was the entrance, since it contains the foundation inscription, although surprisingly only the lateral facades are articulated by means of superposed blind niches. Apart from the inscription, the only remaining mosaic-faience is found on the central window at the back of the entrance aivan, in the form of framing bands of light- and dark-blue.

b) interior: Only three of the lower ancillary rooms have vaults which are intact. The NW and NE each have squinch nets, leading respectively to twelve- and twenty-sided stars at the base of the dome. The rectangular room at the SW corner is squinch-vaulted. Staircases at the SW and NE lead to the upper storey, now almost ruined apart from the NE room, which displays part of what may have been a domical vault.

The N niche of the cruciform dome chamber is the largest; it is

vaulted by two stalactite quarter-domes with a shallow central semi-dome—a combination familiar in monuments of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, from the mosque of the Shrine at Gāzur Gāh onwards. The central semi-dome is decorated with five-pointed stars, and geometric patterns are also used on the soffits and backs of the other three shallower niches. This decoration is formed in a way similar to the Rushkhvār Jami^{c}: by scraping away a layer of red plaster to reveal a white undercoat.

Between the niches are plaster stalactite squinches. Thanks to their partial destruction it is possible to observe the manner in which the wall behind is crudely corbelled towards the base of the dome.[1] The dome is likely to have been a single-shell structure like those of the tombs of Shāhzāda ^{c}Abdallāh and Qāsim-i Anvār (Cat. Nos. 37, 39).

The mihrab niche now blocking the W doorway is clearly a later addition: there would have been no need in the original design to duplicate the semi-octagonal mihrab in the W wall of the N aivan.

Inscriptions The inscription which went round the sides and back of the N aivan is mostly destroyed (Pl. 229). The following in mosaic-faience, thulth script, white letters on a dark-blue background, amber letters for the Shah's name and titles, remains on the W wall: " The Sultan al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Abu'l-Ghāzī Sultan (Ḥusain) Bahādur Khān, may (God) preserve his kingship and sultanate, finished (this building) through the effort of..."[2] The now fragmentary continuation of this inscription on the E wall may have been Quranic, with traces above of a repeating Kufic inscription in amber faience. Unusually, there is no spiral or floral background to the inscription, although this feature is shared by the Madrasa Du Dar and the Ziyāratgāh Jami^{c}.

Structural features The building is unusual for its lack of

scaffolding holes, most of which appear to have been filled in after construction. This approach is in keeping with the absence of reveals and blind niches on the main N facade, the main accent being on smoothness.

Materials Bricks 24-5 x 24-5 x 5cm. RJ .5cm, HJ 1.5cm. Special banna'i bricks 20 x 5 x 4cm are used for the dado of the central dome chamber, RJ minimal, HJ faced with light-blue tile 11mm wide.

Historical background The building is known locally as the khanqah of Mullā Kālān, who is identified by Saljūqī as Shams al-Dīn Muhammad. He is reputed to be buried in the hazira situated some 50m NE of the khanqah, although his tombstone has vanished. According to the Maqsad al-Iqbāl, Shams al-Dīn Muhammad, known as Mullā-yi Kalān, was a companion of Shaikh Zain al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tāybādī (d. 791/1389), and was buried in the graveyard (maqbara) of Ziyāratgāh.[3] It is possible, however, that the association of the khanqah with Mullā-yi Kalān was made some time after its erection—had it been built in his honour, one would have expected it to be aligned on the axis of his grave, as is the case at Tāybād.

It is clear from the foundation inscription that although the khanqah dates from the time of Sultan Husain, someone else was responsible for erecting it. Perhaps the person in question is Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr, who is known to have built a khanqah in Ziyāratgāh in which food was distributed to the inhabitants (masākin) and the poor (fuqarā').[4] The only other possible candidate would be the late fifteenth century Masjid-i Gunbad in the centre of the town (Cat. No. 45), but the superior quality of the khanqah in the cemetery is more in keeping with the other building works in Herat of ᶜAlī Shīr, such as the dome chamber at Āzādān (Cat. No. 36) and his repair of the Masjid-i Jamiᶜ (Cat. No. 59).

The apparent absence of any burials within the building, and the disposition of its various units - private living cells juxtaposed with communal spaces (aivan and dome chamber) - corroborate the popular designation of khanqah. The form of the building—aivan flanked by living chambers in two storeys, central dome chamber, and its situation in a cemetery near the grave of the person in whose memory it may have been erected, all recall the Khanqah of Sadr al-Dīn Armānī and the Buq^{c}a of Tāybād. The fourteenth century Khanqah of ^{c}Alā al-Daula near Simnān may also have provided a parallel, although the structures surrounding the dome chamber there seem to have been of only one storey.[5] And as Pugachenkova has remarked, the plan is also related to the funerary architecture of buildings such as the Āq Sarāy and ^{c}Ishrat Khāna in Samarqand.

Condition All of the building is in a highly dangerous state of advanced decay. The last remaining section of the N aivan arch fell after being struck by lightning in April 1975. The NW wall is markedly leaning outwards and is in danger of imminent collapse.

Recorded January, June 1975.

Notes

1) See Golombek (bibliography).
2) Text in Saljūqī (bibliography), p. 113.
3) MI, p. 73.
4) MA, f. 146a; KA, p. 23.
5) Illustrated in Godard, "Les Couples," Figs. 219-20.

Bibliography

Ghauvās, "Qara," p. 7.

Idem, Rahnamā, pp. 42-3.

Golombek, Gazur Gah, pp. 63-4, Fig. 152.

Pugachenkova, "Tri Pamyatniki," pp. 40-2.

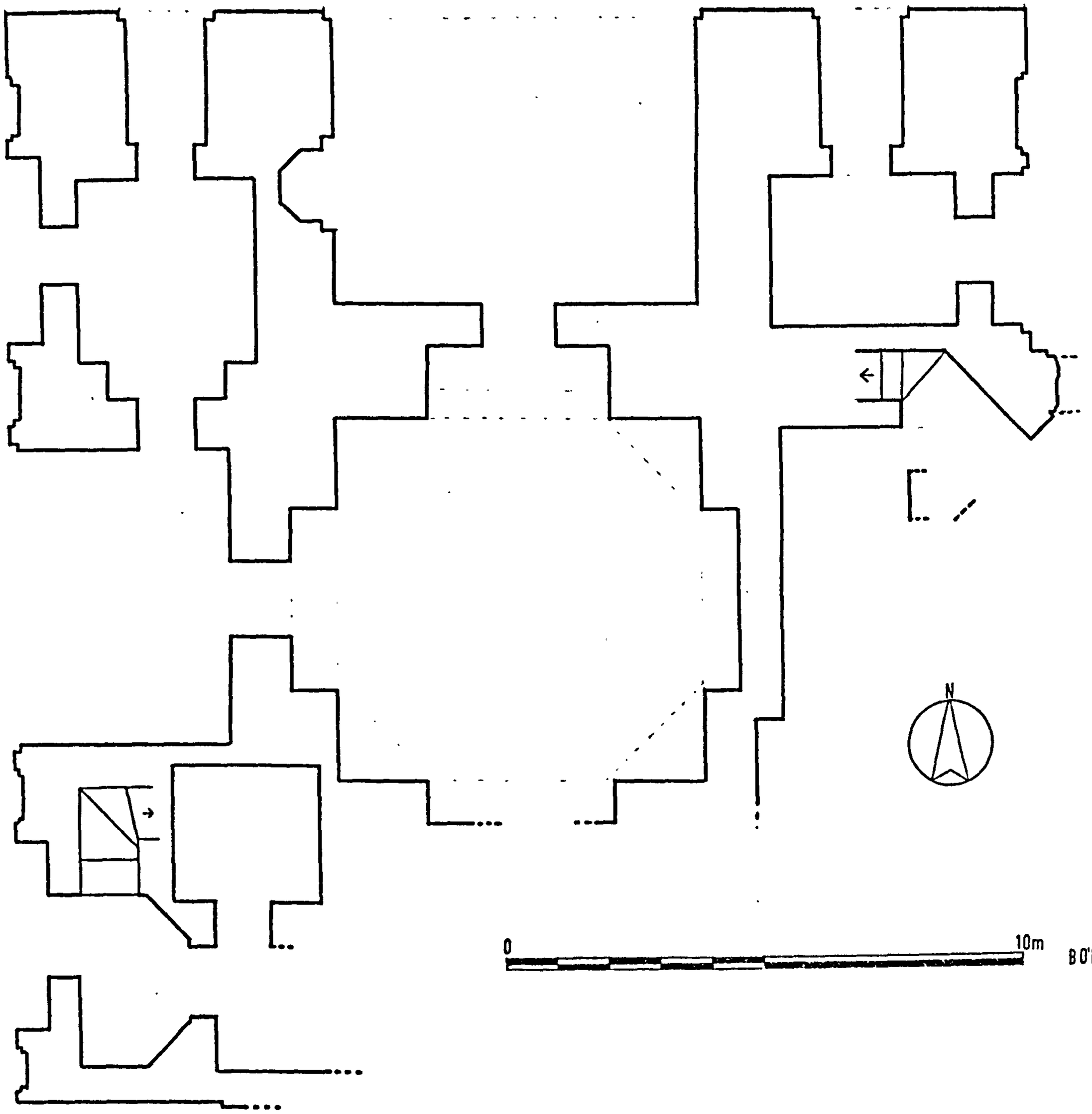
Eadem, "Les Monuments," pp. 51-2.

Eadem, Zodchestvo, pp. 78-9.

Saljūqī, RMH 4, pp. 113-4.

Allchin and Hammond, eds., p. 389, Fig. 7.25.

Allen, Catalogue, No. 575.



64) Cat.no.49. Ziyāratgāh, Khanqah of Mullā Kalān: plan

JĀJARM, MASJID-I JAMI[c]

Location Jājarm is situated on the western boundaries of the province of Khurasan. It now stands between the two prinicipal routes from Tehran to Mashhad, although in the Timurid period, because of the vast pastoral meadows in the area, it was on the main route from Nīshāpūr to Bistām.[1] Its decline started slightly earlier than the advent of motor traffic: Yate, judging from the ruins around the town, estimated that not long prior to his visit in 1897 it had been considerably larger.[2]

The mosque is located in the centre of the town, opposite the remains of the citadel on a tell.

Plan (Fig. 65) Arcades of three domed bays flank a sanctuary dome chamber preceded by a courtyard; narrow shabistān to N[3] of lateral arcade.

Elevation a) exterior: Three of the mosque's perimeter walls are free-standing, while that on the N abuts a private dwelling. The only entrance to the mosque on the E has recently acquired a baked brick pishtaq.[4] The rest of this facade is covered in kāhgil. A rubble foundation is just visible at the base of the S wall, followed by mud-bricks covered with kāhgil. Three windows in this side illuminate the arcade behind. The W or qibla wall has a buttress of mud-brick ca. 52cm deep extending to 5/8 of its total height; the weathered tops of blind rectangular niches can be seen above (Pl. 231). A break is visible between the shabistān and the rest of the mosque. The gentle swell of the sanctuary dome is just visible above the outer walls.

b) interior: All of the interior wall surfaces are faced with plaster.

The small courtyard (Pl. 232) is dominated by the portal-screen of

the arch leading to the sanctuary. Behind it on the roof is a make-shift guldasta.[5] The portal screen may have been heightened by the addition of a row of panels at the top, in three of which tiles with a dark turquoise glaze were inserted. Two of them are fragmentary and, as Diez observed,[6] were probably taken from the mausoleum of Khvaja ʿAlī on the outskirts of the town, the interior of which was formerly covered with such tiles.[7] Below this is a rectangular panel inset with a cartouche with scalloped edges. Although the arches around the courtyard are of different widths, those on the main axis being wider, they are all of the same height. Each has an offset moulding which begins a little below the springing.

An offset is also used to frame the four main arches of the sanctuary dome chamber and, beginning at a slightly lower level, the squinch net of the zone of transition (Pl. 233). The latter produces a sixteen-sided base for the dome. In the upper three tiers the rhomboids have only a single groin down the middle, while those of the two lower tiers are themselves further subdivided into rhomboidal squinch nets. The semi-octagonal mihrab is also covered with a squinch-net semi-dome, although in between the upper and lower tier of rhomboids are two tiers of irregular hexagons (Pl. 234).

The lateral arcades are vaulted with saucer domes on pendentives; most have probably been repaired, since in several places the original offset moulding blends into the surface of the upper vault.

The shabistān has transverse vaults of segmental profile (Pl. 235). The different profile of the vaults, the rough kāhgil finish of the interior, and the break in bond which was noted on the outside indicate a different building period, but rather than being older than the rest of the mosque, as Diez suggests,[8] they are more likely to be of more recent origin.

Dating No contemporary inscriptions are found within the mosque. Two other factors can be discussed: the plan and the vaulting.

Plan Diez saw resemblances to Turkish prototypes in the plan, citing specifically the Mosque of Āqsunqūr in Cairo. However, there are much closer analogues to hand. Several mosques of the Yazd area in the fifteenth century consist of a sanctuary dome chamber preceded by a pishtaq facing on to a courtyard with arcades on the other three sides, the lateral arcades being extended as far as the qibla wall. One of these three sides is frequently taken up with a shabistān.[9] Under this description one could accommodate the Friday Mosques of Maibūd, Kūchuk, Fīrūzābād and Bafrūyā in the Yazd area,[10] and in the town of Yazd the Khiżrshāh, Rīk, Mīr Chaqmāq and Gudāl-i Muṣallā mosques.[11] These all date from the fifteenth century, although an early fourteenth example is also found in the Yazd area in the town of Haftādur.[12] A related two-aivan plan made its way across the Dasht-i Kavīr from Yazd to Bajistān (Cat. No. 8) by the third decade of the fifteenth century. It evidently took a little longer for the Yazd-type plan to spread further afield, beyond the northern border of the Kavīr.

Vaulting The possibilities of a link with Yazd are emphasised by the use of offset mouldings to frame the arches. This occurs on most of the monuments mentioned above.

While Diez's description of the vaulting of the sanctuary as being more primitive than that of Khargird is true insofar as that of Jājarm has none of the intricacy of detail or elegance of finish of the madrasa, this could be as much indicative of provincial patronage as different building periods. The use of smaller units of rhomboids within the larger ones is in fact closer to the dome chambers at Tāybād and Turbat-i Jām, but this kind of squinch net subsequently became one of the clichés of later Timurid and Safavid vaulting. There is one

detail in the vaulting of the mihrab, however, which yields a more precise time-span. This is the insertion of two tiers of irregular hexagons between the usual rhomboids, a feature which occurs in three other Timurid monuments: the Masjid-i Gunbad and Masjid-i Jami^{c} (887/1482-3) of Ziyāratgāh and the Mazār-i Sipahsālār-i Mālik (Cat. Nos. 45, 33, 30). A late fifteenth century date would seem to be appropriate for the use of this feature.

The indication of a late fifteenth century date which the stylistic analysis suggests can be supported by the historical circumstances. Although Mīr ^{c}Alī Shīr's caravanserai route from Āstārābād to Mashhad did not actually pass through Jājarm, its nearest ribat, that of Sankhās (the Ribat-i Qilli), was only one stage away. The increased flow of traffic which it undoubtedly brought may have contributed to the economic prosperity of Jājarm in this period.

Function Although the mosque is known today as the masjid-i jami^{c}, Sanī^{c} al-Daula estimated judiciously that it could hold around 200 men.[14] The original "fine Friday Mosque" mentioned by Muqaddasī[15] would surely have been more spacious. Perhaps it or another mosque on its site was still in use in the fifteenth century, when the present building may have been built as a neighbourhood mosque. Then when the population diminished and the former Friday Mosque fell into disrepair the smaller mosque may have taken over its function.

Condition Good. The building is still in use.[16]

Recorded August 1975.

Notes

1) Aubin, "Réseau," pp. 123-6 and Carte 2, p. 114.
2) Khurasan, p. 387.
3) Although the qibla direction is SW, for ease of description I have taken it to be W.

4) Diez, p. 82, mentions only a simple entrance.

5) Although it has been there at least from the nineteenth century, since it is mentioned by Sanī^{c} al-Daula, p. 112.

6) P. 83.

7) Yate, p. 387. He mentions "large blue tiles on which verses have been brought out in relief." The central tile of those in the Masjid-i Jami^{c} has letters in relief, while the two flanking it are painted black under a turquoise glaze. I can confirm Sanī^{c} al-Daula's reading (p. 113), of which he was unsure, of the hundreds in the date of the tile on the left as 500. The ensuing date 577/1181-2 is the earliest recorded for this particular technique.

8) P. 82.

9) Although the shabistān at Jājarm is probably not contemporary, it could have replaced an earlier one, in which case the plan at Jājarm would be even more similar to the Yazd examples.

10) Plans of these monuments are unpublished, although information on their epigraphy can be found in Afshār, Yādgār, I.

11) Ditto, Afshār, Yādgār, II.

12) Idem, Yādgār, I, No. 18.

13) The familiar moulding of prismatic triangles is used at Jājarm only for the outline of the second tier of rhomboids of the zone of transition.

14) P. 112.

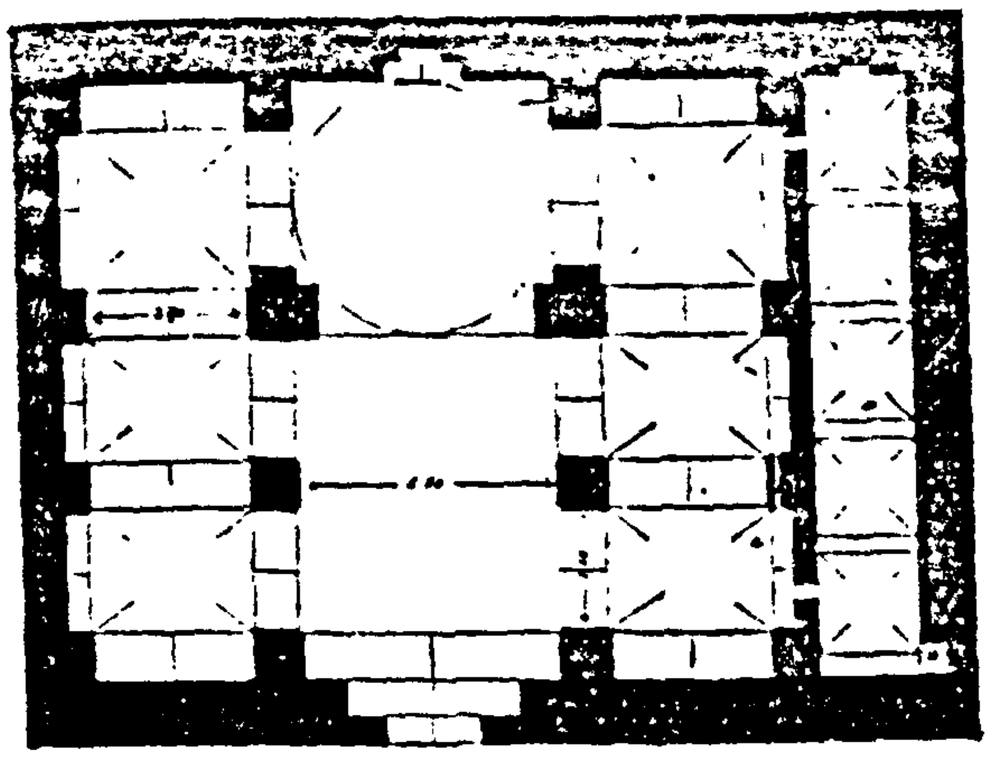
15) Le Strange, Lands, p. 392.

16) Although Diez mentions that at the time of his visit it was no longer in use (p. 83).

Bibliography

Diez, Churasanische, pp. 82-3.

Sanī^{c} al-Daula, III, pp. 112-3.



65) Cat.no.50. Jājarm, Masjid-i Jami^{c}: plan (after Diez)

51

KHUSRAVIYYA, MAZĀR-I BĀBĀ HUSAIN VA BĪBĪ

Location Ca. 35km W of Quchān, in a mountain valley of the Kūh-i Shāh Jahān, on the track from Quchān to Isfarā'īn.

Plan (Fig. 66) Small dome chamber fronted, off-axis, by a deep aivan, larger dome chamber to one side.

Elevation a) exterior: The complex is built on a steep hillside with the front artificially built up, and with the roof only slightly higher than ground level at the rear (Pl. 236). Its form is basically cubic, punctuated abruptly by the stark contrast of the two plaster-covered domes rising from the roof. The domes are devoid of ornamentation. On the S and W sides where the eave overhangs slightly it can be seen that an assemblage of wooden planks is used to support the roof. Kāhgil covers the roof and the side walls, which are unarticulated. However, there is some attempt at architectural organization in the front facade, which commands a sweeping view over the valley of Khusraviyya. It is divided into two tripartite units: the entrance to the large dome chamber framed by a blank niche flanked by two taller ones, and the aivan with two very narrow blank niches on either side. While the lines of these blank niches may have been vertical originally, they are now considerably askew as a result of forces pushing the side walls outwards.

b) interior: The aivan vault is irregular with an apparently two-centred pointed arch on the outside leading to a more upright four-centred arch within. Some deformation was undoubtedly caused by the outward leaning of the E wall. At the back of the aivan is the entrance to the smaller dome chamber. This latter is very simple inside, with walls bare apart from some square niches, and the dome corbelled out

above over plain squinches.

The larger dome chamber is of more architectural interest (Pls. 237-8). Although much of the workmanship is of the same rustic quality which characterises the exterior, the vaulting plan reproduces, albeit in simplified form, the intersecting network of the Timurid dome chambers of Tāybād, Khargird and Turbat-i Jām. Above the square thus created small squinches form an octagonal drum which is carried up and corbelled over to form the dome. Windows on the E and W sides have been blocked up. Each of the lower walls consists of a central niche with smaller blank niches at each side. Several of these have been restored, but one with a multi-foil segmental arch may be original. The presence of bell-shaped capitals below the intersecting arches is due to restoration.

Furnishings Each of the dome chambers has a wooden cenotaph, that of the smaller being dated 988/1580-1. Parts of the cenotaph of the larger dome chamber (Pl. 239) have been broken up and reassembled. The N side appears to be intact, however.

At the top is the following inscription in naskhi:[1]

هذه وفات جناب المرحوم المغفور قطب البدلا شرف الملة والدين
بابا حسين طاب الله ثراه واجعل الجنة مثواه بتاريخ هفدهم
محرم الحرم سنه سبع و تسعين و ثمانمائه

"This is the grave (lit. death) of the late, deceased excellency Qutb al-Budlan Sharaf al-Millat wa'l-Dīn Bābā Husain may God's mercy be upon him and grant him abode in paradise dated 17 Muharram the holy in the year 897/21 November 1491."

The field below it is dominated by a finely carved square panel of angular interlacing strapwork with designs of five- and eight-pointed

stars. The only remaining original work on the sides of the cenotaph is a large rectangular version of this strapwork.

At the top of the S side, in the same hand as that on the N, is the following (Pl. 240):

ذکر تاریخ هجرت بابا از خردمند جوید اهل هنر عمل درویش
محمد بن مرحوم استاد احمد کایزدری (؟) ناظمه حاجی علی
کاتبه فضل الله

"Description of the Bābā's date (of death): from the wise seek the people of knowledge, the work of Darvīsh Muhammad son of the late ustād Shāh Ahmad Kārīzdarī (?) Hājjī ᶜAlī arranged it, Faẓlallāh wrote it."

Khiradmand, by abjad reckoning, gives the date of 898, which was evidently thought to be close enough for poetic purposes. Below the latter is an inscription in four lines dated 952/1516-7.

Materials Rubble faced with plaster on the interior and kāhgil on the exterior.

Dating The dates of the cenotaphs can be used as termini ante quem for each dome chamber. In the case of the larger dome chamber the only other dating criterion is the system of vaulting. Its similarity to the vaulting of the dome chambers mentioned above means that they can be used as a terminus post quem. One might well expect, however, that it would take several generations for an avant garde building technique of the court architects to be copied, even in simplistic form, by a rural artisan. The date on the cenotaph, 897/1491, some fifty years after the earlier experiments, may well represent the date of construction of the monument.

It can be seen from the outside that the dome of the smaller chamber is only half encompassed by the flat roof of the larger complex. The rest of the monument merges untidily into the hillside. It would

seem, then, that this dome chamber is anterior to the larger, despite the later date of its cenotaph. Its utilitarian construction could suggest a date anywhere from the 12th-14th centuries.

The aivan leading to it was probably built at the same time as the larger dome chamber, providing a fitting way for the architect to unite the two dome chambers into a more satisfying ensemble.

Condition Fair. Any fissures may have been covered by recent plastering, but the external walls lean noticeably outwards.

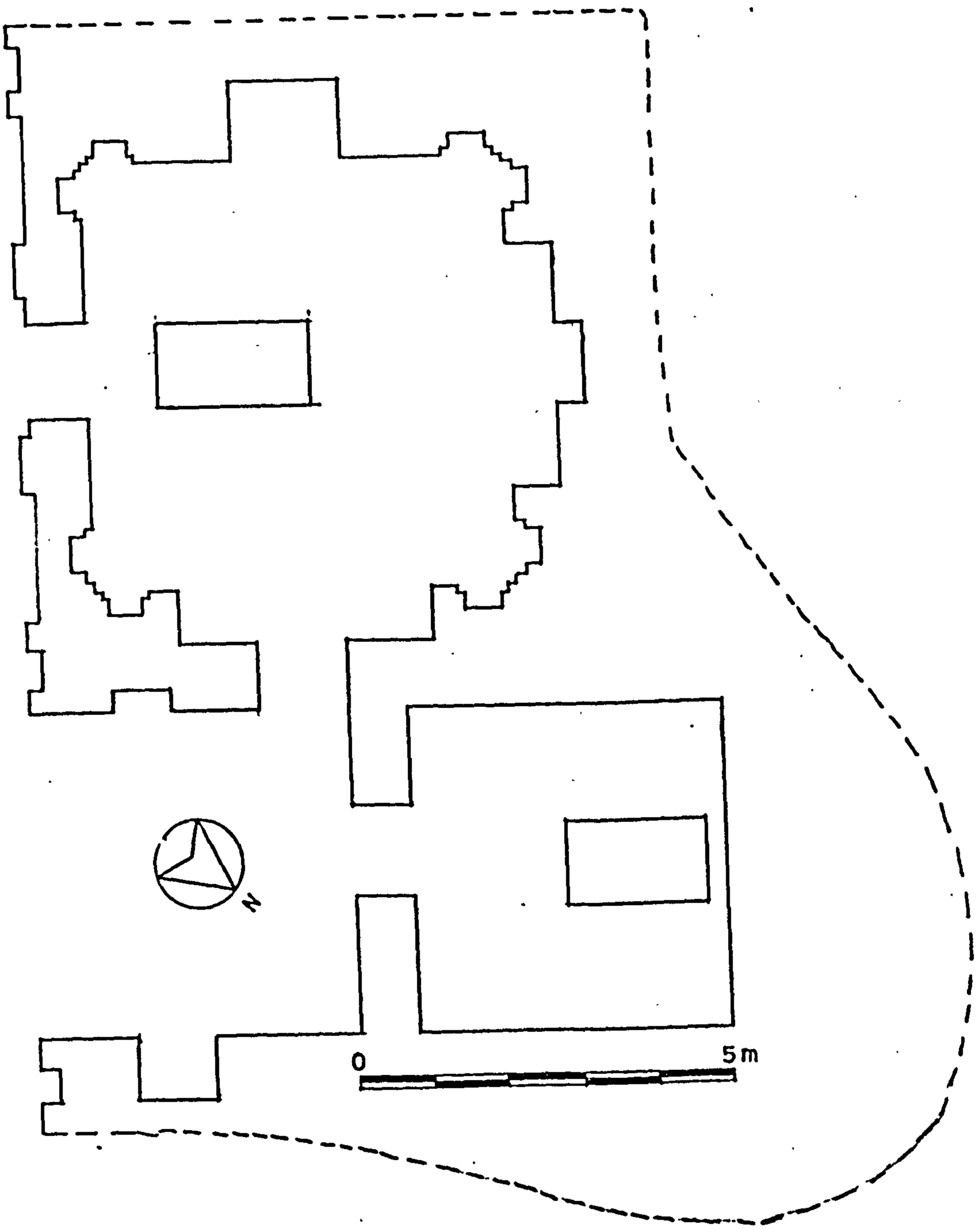
Recorded July 1975.

Notes

1) I would like to thank Sayyid Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā'ī for his help in reading the inscriptions.

Bibliography

Unpublished.



66) Cat.no.51. Khusraviyya, Mazar-i Bābā Husain va Bībī: plan

NĪSHĀPŪR, MAUSOLEUM OF FARĪD AL-DĪN ᶜATṬĀR

Location SE of the modern city of Nīshāpūr, in the old quarter of Shādyākh.[1]

Historical sources In the list of buildings erected by ᶜAlī Shīr, Khvāndamīr mentions the khanqah at the grave (sar-i mazār) of Shaikh Farīd al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār, and goes on to state that when ᶜAlī Shīr made a pilgrimage to Nīshāpūr in 902/1496-7 he found the graves/tombs (maqbaras) of the shaikh in such bad condition that he gave orders that they should be repaired.[2] Daulatshāh also states that he erected a building (ᶜimārat) at the grave (bar sar-i rauża), although while praising it fulsomely he gives no other useful information.[3]

Description a) exterior: Bulbous double dome on high drum above octagon, with axial entrance aivans alternating with semi-octagonal niches.[4] The aivans and niches are vaulted with elaborate squinch-net semi-domes.

b) interior: Above a tall dado four windows alternate with shallow semi-octagonal niches vaulted with the same squinch net that was used on the exterior. The dome springs from smooth pendentives between the niches and windows.

The above description is perfunctory since two photographs of the tomb taken by Sykes in 1908-9[5] show the absence of all tilework on the exterior, the outer bulbous shell of the double dome, and painting on the interior. Yate writing at the end of the nineteenth century remarked that "the outer dome has never been built."[6]

Although the building has thus been restored extensively in the twentieth century, there is also the question of whether it is the one erected by ᶜAlī Shīr—Maulavī quotes a verbal report that it was built

by the Qajar Shāhzāda Sultan Ḥusain Mīrzā Naiyir al-Daula.[7] Archaic Qajar need not be very different from late Timurid and stylistically there is little to point to that positively favours either date, or for that matter, anything in between. It could be said, however, that the squinch nets with their deep faceting and use of small units slightly favours the Qajar alternative, although there is also the possibility that they could be Qajar restoration.

A more cogent argument against a Timurid attribution is the size of the building. It was described as a khanqah by Khvāndamīr, so one would expect a multiplicity of rooms of varying dimensions, and not the single dome chamber which exists today. It is also considerably smaller than the other surviving dome chambers erected by ᶜAlī Shīr at Langar and Āzādān.

While the attribution of the dome chamber to the Timurid period must therefore remain open, it does contain an extremely fine Timurid tombstone (Pls. 241-3), consisting of a tablet (lauh) attached to an octagonal shaft (mīl).

Around the top of the shaft is an inscription giving blessings on the twelve imams,[8] and further down on the back of the shaft is the following distich:

If from east to west there be a leader (imam)

ᶜAlī and his family are sufficient for us.[9]

Below this is the date 891/1486 in figures which, as will be seen from the inscription on the tablet, is that of the completion of the tombstone.

Around the frame of the tablet is:

قال الله تبارك و تعالى and Quran II/255-6.

The stone is broken and the inscription partially effaced at the end of verse 256; it finishes with allāh al-ᶜazīm. At the base of the

tablet on either side is a chahār ^{c}Alī panel in square Kufic.

The main inscription on the slab is in 28 lines, the lower 26 divided into distichs.

The first 22 were transcribed by Khanikoff and sent to Garcin de Tassy who published them with a translation. Sanī^{c} al-Daula later published the same lines with some variations in the readings, and his reading was repeated almost intact (including its inaccuracies) by Maulavī.[10]

Although the last six lines of the slab have been damaged, it has been possible to transcribe most of the original.[11] There follows the text of these six lines and a translation of the complete poem in which divergent readings from the most accessible text, that of Maulavī, are noted.

صاحب خیرات بی کبر وریا ...
نفس را از آز و شهوت کرد ه عقر چو(ن)... بر او باشد بفقر
در سخن عطار دوران آمد ه (صا)حب تحقیق از جان آمد ه
رافعی ختم سخن کن بر دعا ... بر دعا بعد از ثنا
ساعی لوح از بلا محفوظ و شاد (همچو)و تاریخ زمان فیاض باد
عمل عبد الضعیف النحلیف) محی الدین بن کمال الدین

1) God is eternal
2) In the name of God the compassionate the merciful we seek help
3) This is (like) the Garden of Eden in the base (world)
   ^{c}Aṭṭār perfumed the soul (of those in) the base (world)
4) This is the grave of that person[12] so eminent that the very dust from his feet (was the equal of) the eye of heaven
5) Shaikh of the universe, Shaikh Farīd ^{c}Aṭṭār
   Whose disciples are saints
6) Who was such a perfumer that from his breath

7) The world from one end to another was fragrant
In his shop, the abode of angels[13]

8) (Even) the lime-filled bottles were like the heavens
The land of Nīshāpūr is honoured by this[14] excellent place
Until the day of resurrection

9) The land[15] of Nīshāpūr became a mine for his gold (he dwelt in Nīshāpūr), Zarand is his place of birth,[16] Kadkan his place of residence

10) And he lived in Nīshāpūr for eighty-two years
Thirty-two of them in tranquillity in Shādyākh

11) In five hundred and eighty-six Hijrī[17]
By the sword[18] of that sun-like army[19]

12) He was killed, in the time of Hūlāgū Khān
His pure soul was martyred in the massacre

13) The Sufis who have knowledge of the heart's core
Easily part with the straw of the harvest of their being

14) May the Most High God give rest to his soul
Lord, increase his holiness and his victories

15) This tombstone and lofty edifice were completed
in the reign of the King of the World

16) His Majesty Sultan Abu'l-Ghāzī Husain
Shadow of Truth, Protector and Refuge of the Two Worlds

17) Whose destiny[20] is so powerful
That fortune makes his enemies drink poison

18) If Nūshīrvān had heard of his justice
He would have rejoiced because of it[21]

19) From fear of the justice of that brave king
The lion combed the beard of the goat

20) May God perpetuate his kingdom
May He cause his ships to flow on the seas of justice

21) The great amir, the asylum and refuge of the great and small
Has been successful (in building this)

22) The magnanimous Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr[22]
The world compared to his glory is like base dust

23) The charitable lord, free from pride and hypocrisy

24) His spirit is free from lust and desire

25) Since...he is devoted to poverty
Fortune was revealed in the words of ᶜAttār

He was the possessor of knowledge of the soul

26) If you pray, pray with the words of the Quran
...pray after giving praise

27) Keep the maker of the tombstone happy and free from disaster
May its date be in the time of generosity

28) Work of the lowly mean slave
Muhyī al-Dīn b. Kamāl al-Dīn

The computation of faiyāż (generosity) in abjad is 891, the same as that written on the rear of the shaft.

The impossibility of reconciling the supposed date of death of ᶜAṭṭār, 589/1193-4, with the Mongol sack of the city under Tūlī (not Hūlāgū) Khān in 618/1221 shows that the information on the tombstone cannot be relied on for the details of ᶜAṭṭār's life.[23]

The most surprising feature of the inscriptions as a whole is the presence of those with explicit Shīᶜī leanings. It would be interesting to know if the inscriptions were approved personally by ᶜAlī Shīr, in which case they would give evidence contrary to that of Bābur, who lists ᶜAlī Shīr as one of those responsible for Sultan Husain's turning away from Shīᶜism,[24] or whether it reflects the religious persuasions of this part of Khurasan in the fifteenth century—Sabzavar, at any rate, was known then to be still a strong centre of Shīᶜism.[25] ᶜAlī Shīr could not have overly disapproved, since the stone was left intact after his visit to the site in 902/1496-7.

Condition Good, after recent restorations by the Sazman-i Hifazat.

Recorded August 1975.

Notes

1) See the map in Melville, "Nishapur," Fig. 1.
2) MA, f. 146a.
3) TS, p. 142.
4) The S niche is now composed of a staircase instead of a semi-

octagon. Herzfeld's plan (Fig. 67) shows a semi-octagon on all faces, and while there is a small sketch plan showing this disposition in the Herzfeld archives (SK XII, p. 7), his most detailed plan does not include the bay where the staircase is now located (SK XII, p. 6). It is thus difficult to know whether it was originally there or not.

5) In the Royal Geographical Society, London.

6) P. 411.

7) Khurasan, p. 231. Khurāsānī, Hadīqat, p. 128, records his presence in Khurasan in 1332/1913-4.

8) Text in Sanīᶜ al-Daula, p. 103.

9) Text in Sanīᶜ al-Daula, p. 105.

10) See the bibliography below.

11) With the valued assistance of Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā'ī.

12) For janāb read makān.

13) For gīrad read dārad.

14) Omit the alif of īn.

15) For āb read khāk.

16) Omit the va.

17) For Hijrat read Hijrī.

18) For mīgh read tīgh.

19) For mih-i farr read firqa.

20) Omit the va.

21) For ausāf read insāf.

22) For mīr va diyā read mīr-i daryā.

23) For a recent discussion on the problems associated in determining ᶜAṭṭār's death, see Melville, "Nishapur," pp. 109-10.

24) Tr. Beveridge, p. 258; Barthold, III, p. 20.

25) Barthold, III, pp. 19-20.

Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Damascus-III," pp. 26-7, 30-1.

Idem, Archives, SK XII, pp. 6-7.

Maulavī, Khurāsān, pp. 229-33.

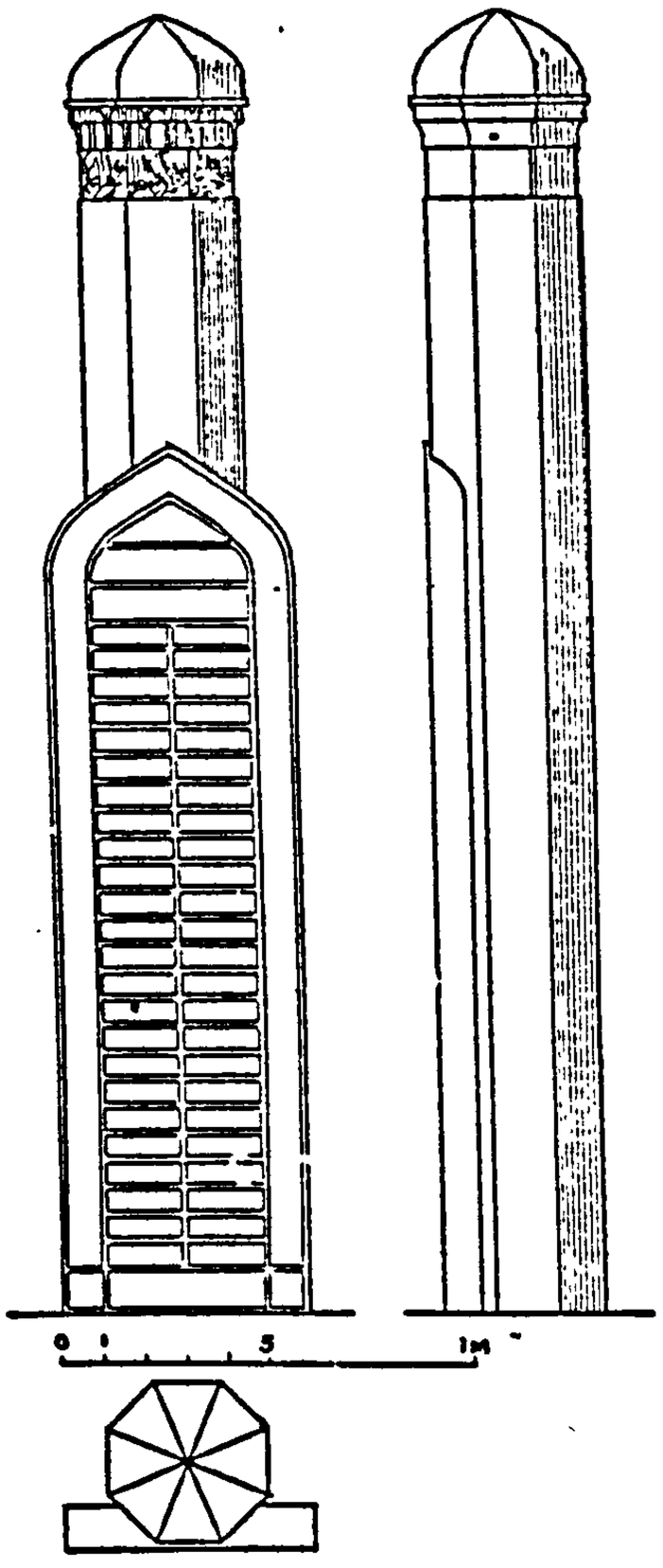
Sanīᶜ al-Daula, Matlaᶜ III, pp. 103-5.

Yate, Khurasan, pp. 410-11.

Khanikoff, Partie, p. 95.

de Tassy, Mantic, pp. II-V.

MN, introduction, pp. يب - يد.



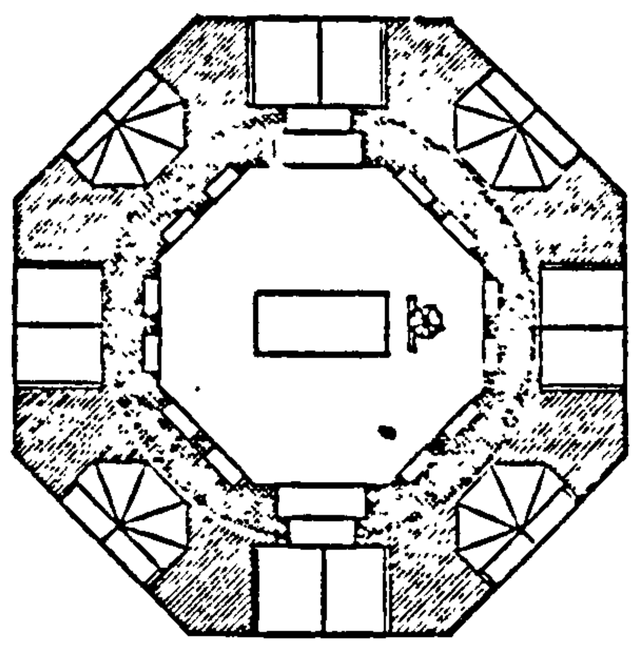


FIG. 51

67) Cat.no.52. Nīshāpūr, Mausoleum of Farīd al-Din ʿAttār: plan and tombstone (after Herzfeld)..

CISTERNS

Utilitarian buildings in Iran, be they bazars, caravanserais, cisterns or hammams, are often among the most difficult to date. An exception can be made for those which have inscriptions, of course, but the absence of decoration, and the purely functional approach to architecture which many of them display mean that differentiation of this type can be problematical. The more utilitarian the structure the greater the problem, and so with cisterns, the simplest of the above group, one encounters the greatest difficulties.

The following list is therefore put forward with some circumspection. Included in it are mainly cisterns erected near Timurid monuments and which may be contemporary with them, as well as two which can be dated, one by an inscription, the other by a literary reference.

All are constructed of baked brick.

1) GĀZUR GĀH, HAUŻ-I ZAMZAM

This is situated opposite the NW corner of the Shrine.[1] A repair inscription of 1100/1688-9 informs us that the cistern (birka) was built by Shah Rukh at the time he erected the Shrine.[2]

As far as I can judge from a photograph of the cistern,[3] it is rectangular, the lateral walls divided into a series of panels by several pilasters; the principal entrance consists of a semi-domed bay, with what appears to be the top of a portal screen of a smaller arch on the side opposite.

2) TĀYBĀD

About 50m N of the aivan of the buq^{c}a is a hauż with a low dome

of depressed profile. The exterior is square.

3) LANGAR

The cistern is situated ca. 1/2km SW of the mausoleum of Qāsim-i Anvār (Pl. 244). It is a substantial edifice, ca. 12m per side. The large dome leads down in a series of steps to the base, at one side of which (originally on four sides?) is a small arched entrance flanked by two deep niches, which could have served as small rooms. There is also an arched opening on the side opposite this entrance.

Maulavī points out that although the village of Langar is provided with water from the Jām river all year round, the cistern would have furnished in summer a source of cool refreshment for the pilgrims and dervishes of the Shrine.[4]

4) ZIYĀRATGĀH

This example is situated just 20m from the SE corner of the Masjid-i Jami^{c} (Pl. 245). A tall semi-domed aivan leads into it, flanked by two semi-octagonal niches at an angle of 45^{o}. While its proximity to the mosque suggests that it might also be the work of Sultan Husain, the Makārim al-Akhlāq mentions a hauż at Ziyāratgāh as one of ^{c}Alī Shīr's works.[5] This example is certainly the most substantial of any remaining in the town, and so more likely to be that of ^{c}Alī Shīr.

5) BĀGH-I NAZARGĀH

For the location of this area, approximately halfway between the old city of Herat and Gāzur Gāh, see Allen, Catalogue, Map 2, No. 643.

The plan is comparable to the cistern of Langar, although here one can say that the plan definitely called for small entrance aivans on each side, and for deep niches/small rooms in the corners (Pl. 246).

The interior is typical (Pl. 247): there are four absolutely plain squinches in the corners, and the dome is smoothly corbelled out above in horizontal courses. The garden in this area existed before the reign of Sultan Husain,[6] although the hauż could be assigned a date anywhere in the second half of the fifteenth century.

6) HERAT CITADEL: HAUŻ OPPOSITE SW CORNER[7]

According to Allen this is called the Hauż-i Pahlavān,[8] but the reference to Saljūqī which he gives in support of this mentions a Hauż-i Pahlavān opposite the Hauż-i Chahār Sūq,[9] situated in the centre of the old city.

There are two historical accounts of a hauż opposite the citadel, which I believe can be equated with the present one. The Makārim al-Akhlāq lists among the works of ᶜAlī Shīr the "hauż opposite the citadel (dar muhādhā-yi qalᶜa) of Ikhtiyār al-Dīn."[10] In the translation by Hakīm Shāh Muhammad Qazvīnī (early sixteenth century) of the Majālis al-Nafā'is, Sayyid Ikhtiyār is attributed the following verse which "aptly gives the date of the hauż at the foot of the citadel."[11]

حوض که خواهم از صفایش گویم
صد بار دهن بآب حیوان شویم
هر چند که هست منبعش چشمه خضر
تاریخ وی از ساقی کوثر جویم

Let me speak of the purity of the cistern which I desire
Let me wash my mouth a hundred times in its water of life
So much the more that its source is the Spring of Khiżr
I seek its date from "the cupbearer of Kauthar."
(sāqī-yi Kauthar = 897/1491-2)

Unlike the other cisterns, this is rectangular both inside and

outside. Four arched openings lead into it, those on the long axis being the major ones, with steps leading down into the reservoir.

The way in which this cistern is vaulted is its main interest (Pl. 248). Being rectangular, of course, it could not be vaulted with a dome: instead it consists of a transverse vault flanked by two cloister vaults. In the central section of the cloister vaults and the lower section of the transverse vaults the bricks are laid vertically, a feature which links the disparate parts of the vaulting into a visual whole. The vault is crowned by a small dome at the top of the transverse arch. This elaborate vaulting system was presumably the grounds for the attribution of a Safavid date which has been made elsewhere,[12] but in fact the closest parallels are with two other Timurid monuments in Khurasan, the Masjid-i Jami^{c} of Bajistān and the Khanqah of Kadkan (Cat. Nos. 8, 62).

It was noted above that a number of the cisterns had small rooms in the corners. As these were not structural necessities, one might assume that the designer conceived them as a place of shade in which those using the cisterns in the summer months could have found repose, perhaps while consuming a repast. The rooms do not have doorways, and so would be unsuitable for any type of living or storage accommodation, but would still be adequate protection from the glaring sun overhead.

Notes

1) I presume this can be identified with Allen, Catalogue, No. 49 (Hauż near Gāzurgāh), although he locates it at the SW corner.
2) Text in Saljūqī, Gāzur Gāh, p. 22; tr. in Golombek, Gazur Gah, p. 93.
3) Golombek, op. cit., Fig. 144.
4) Khurāsān, p. 27.

5) F. 146b.

6) Allen, Catalogue, No. 643.

7) Its location is marked on the map in Lézine, "Hérat," Fig. 1, No. 5. A photograph of the interior is given in Pl. IIa.

8) Catalogue, No. 50.

9) Khiyābān, p. 57.

10) F. 146b.

11) MN, p. 271.

12) Allen, Catalogue, No. 50.

Bibliography

In the notes. One may add Māyil Haravī, "Birkahā," which gives a list of cisterns in and around Herat, its main usefulness being in the publication of the inscriptions of several Safavid cisterns.

HERAT, MADRASA OF SULTAN HUSAIN

Location NW of the city of Herat, straddling the Injīl river.

Historical sources In comparison with the mosque and madrasa of Gauhar Shād, Sultan Husain's madrasa and khanqah received scant attention from the literary sources.

From among the adjectival fulsomeness of Khvāndamīr's description in the Khulāsat al-Akhbār some facts emerge. Each of the two buildings had fine and lofty domes (gunbad), assembly halls (jamā^{c}atkhāna), arches (tāq) and arcades (rivāq). A dome chamber on the W of the madrasa was specially erected as the mausoleum (maqbara) of Sultan Husain, and this was lavishly and skillfully decorated by the builders (muhandis) and painters, with gold and lapis lazuli used in the decoration. At the time Khvāndamīr wrote (905/1499-1500) eight lecturers received endowments for teaching in both institutions. Food was distributed every morning to the poor by the attendants (khuddām) of the khanqah. The renowned teacher Kamāl al-Dīn Vā^{c}iz delivered a sermon once a week, followed by prayers from the shaikh of the khanqah.[1]

Mīrkhvānd's description of Sultan Husain's funeral also indicates that the madrasa had a dome chamber intended to serve as his tomb: after prayers were performed in the ^{c}Īdgāh of Herat his catafalque (tābūt) was taken to the "gunbad-i madrasa-yi sharīfa" which "had been built for this purpose" and buried in accordance with the sharī^{c}a.[2] Khvāndamīr also mentions the burial of Haidar Muhammad b. Sultan Husain in the madrasa,[3] but his most frequent notice of it is in his biographies of the ulama of Herat in the Habīb al-Siyar; altogether fifteen are mentioned as having taught there and in other institutions.[4] It was clearly, along with Mīr ^{c}Alī Shīr's Ikhlāsiyya madrasa, the most

important educational establishment of its time.

According to Khvāndamīr this inscription by ᶜAbd al-Qādir, one of the mudarris of the madrasa, was above its door: "This building which is a marvel in the eyes of the painters of China and Khitā, its builder and year of completion is Shah Sultan Husain Bāīqarā." The last phrase by abjad reckoning gives 898/1492-3.[5]

By the nineteenth century the khanqah had completely vanished, and not much more remained of the madrasa than we see today. Saljūqī's uncle Siraj al-Dīn gives an extensive account of the madrasa which must be suspect as in 1833, before he was born, Lal described the madrasa as levelled to the ground, apart from two arches and four minarets.[6] Yate, and Holdich's map confirm that two arches between each pair of minarets (and only these) were still standing in 1885. One of the pair is visible in Holdich's sketch (Pl. 75). It appears to be an aivan vaulted by a semi-dome, with the extremities of the portal screen showing above. The other remaining arch was presumably the entrance portal. Lal and Yate also comment on the tombstone "of Sultan Husain" lying to the W of the madrasa, although Ferrier provides most information about its surroundings:

> "Shah Hussein had commenced a smaller mosque close to this [Gauhar Shād's mosque], which he had intended for his own mausoleum; of the walls, about ten feet in height alone remain; for the cupola has fallen in. A tomb of black marble, and similar to the one I had so much admired at Gazer-Gah, in the centre of the ruins, is supposed to be the last resting-place of this magnificent patron of architecture."[7]

Standing remains (Fig. 68, Pl. 249) Today the tombstone lies in a large depression; the walls which Ferrier noticed have all but disappeared. They may have been used as a quarry by those in search of building material. No traces remain either of the arches between

the minarets; they were probably levelled at the time of the demolition in 1885 of the Mosque of Gauhar Shād.

Excavations have been carried out recently at the base of the SW minaret (Fig. 69, Pl. 250). They show that the base was octagonal, joined to the madrasa only on the N side. Brick piers on a stone slab foundation abut the corners of the octagon; they may have been carried up to form a niche facade. Clear traces of the floor were found N and NE of the minaret together with the beginning of a staircase. The area NW of the base is more difficult to interpret, but the partial uncovering of a floor in this area shows that the minaret was not at the western extremity of the madrasa.

Traces of what may be the original building occur elsewhere only on the banks of the Injīl. According to Lal and Saljūqī the river flowed under the N and S aivans. This indeed could be assumed from the way in which the river was diverted to flow through the area of the madrasa, halfway between the pairs of minarets. Remnants of a wall are found on the bank in line with each pair of minarets; these are presumably part of the foundations of the N and S aivans. The effect of water running through the middle of the courtyard may be judged easily from the Madrasa Mādar-i Shah in Isfahan, but the idea was incorporated earlier in the madrasa and khanqah of Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr, through both of which the Injīl flowed.[8]

There is thus little information on which to base a reconstruction of the plan. As a starting point one can assume a four-aivan courtyard like other known Timurid madrasas. While the domes, arches and arcades which Khvāndamīr refers to are the building blocks of most Islamic edifices, the mention of jamāᶜatkhānas recalls ᶜAbd al-Razzāq's description of the Shrine at Gāzur Gāh, where the large chambers of the entrance complex are also called jamāᶜatkhānas.[9] Since the entrance

complex was used at Gāzur Gāh and in the Mosque of Gauhar Shād and the Khargird madrasa it was evidently a standard feature of court sponsored four-aivan courtyard buildings, and it is unlikely then that Sultan Husain's madrasa did not also have one. The most interesting feature of the building is perhaps the location of the funerary dome chamber of Sultan Husain. This was certainly W of the rectangle created by the four minarets and, to judge from the location of the supposed tombstone of Sultan Husain and the depression around it, on the central axis. This would align it firmly in the tradition of the madrasas of Tūmān Āghā at Kuhsān and Sarāy Mulk Khānum at Samarqand. Like them, the exterior of the dome chamber may have been octagonal.

Decoration On the remaining minarets the decoration begins at a height of 16m, indicating that the walls of the madrasa reached to that point. This may be compared with a figure of 12m for the Khargird madrasa. Unfortunately the annual summer wind of "one hundred and twenty days" has left only fragments of decoration on the sheltered side. The scheme is similar to that of the minaret of the Mosque of Gauhar Shād: two wide inscription bands with small framing bands above and below enclose a large field divided into geometric units by strips of white tile.[10] The remains of the mosaic-faience within these fields are as fine as that of the Gauhar Shād ensemble, with black, dark- and light-blue and an unusual light-green used as grounds.[11]

In 1885 the tilework inside the remaining arches was "almost perfect" according to Yate, and Saljūqī's great uncle remembers exceptionally fine marble slabs inside the entrance aivan:

"These two slabs were polished like transparent crystal and beautifully carved and adorned with haft rang tiles with the utmost skill giving the impression of gold and jewels so that it seemed to be decorated with the brush of the finest master."[12]

Structural features Sixteen scaffold holes, some with the wood still protruding, extend round the NE minaret where the decoration in banna'i-technique begins. The banna'i-technique field is wider here than on the other minarets. It also differs in that the white tiles used for the main geometric field are flat in section, rather than semi-circular as on the other three minarets. Evidently a different team was used to decorate it. The difference in length between the start of decoration and the bottom of the stalactite cornice of each minaret shows that some improvisation occurred, however:

	SW	NW	NE	SE
bottom of cornice	48.15	46.79	47.38	49.30
beginning of decoration	16.01	14.48	13.40	15.53
	32.14	32.31	33.98	33.77m

The SE minaret is the tallest remaining, at 58.72m. Even in its truncated form it is thus considerably higher than the two-storey minaret of the Madrasa of Gauhar Shād (42.40m),[13] and in their original form the four minarets must have dominated the surrounding countryside even more than they do today.

Materials Bricks 26-7 x 26-7 x 5-5 1/2cm. Hard white mortar with small pebble admixture.

Furnishings Only two people are mentioned in the literary sources as having been buried in the madrasa, Sultan Husain himself in 911/1506 [14] and his son Haidar Muhammad in 908/1502-3.[15] However the black tombstone popularly known as the haft qalam which is reputed to be that of Sultan Husain is in fact in the name of his father Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mansūr who died in 843/1439-40.[16] All surfaces of this tombstone, including the shallow plinth on which it rests, display stone carving equalled only by its companion in Gāzur Gāh.[17] The sides

provided the artist with a broad space of which he took full advantage (Pl. 251). The borders have confronted, serrated sickle leaves, similar to those of Gauhar Shād's tombstone in her mausoleum. In the main field the background is provided by a floral scroll raised 10-12mm above the flat base. The individual blossoms on this scroll are themselves carved in relief, and shoot at random with flamboyant panache. But raised a further 15mm above this layer is a two-plane lattice design, one plane with large peony-like blossoms, the other with serrated calyx leaves echoing those of the border, all joined by criss-crossing stems. Within the outline of the peony blossoms the outline of yet smaller buds and blossoms unfold, and the swirling rhythm of the calyx leaves is emphasised by their subdivision into a series of tiny whorls. This is one of those rare works of art where each part of the decoration is complete in itself, yet at the same time is felt to be in the context of the larger whole.[18]

The haft qalam at Gāzur Gāh is organized differently, yet the serrated leaves and the fantastic peony blossoms show that it is closely related. It is dated 902/1496-7, and dedicated to a prince. Saljūqī is of the opinion that it was made for Shah Gharīb Mīrzā, a son of Sultan Husain who died in that year, and that it was removed from the madrasa to Gāzur Gāh at a later stage.[19] This is certainly plausible. Sultan Husain may well have intended his own tomb to be used as a family mausoleum, and it was finished well before Shah Gharīb died. There is also evidence that tombstones were removed to Gāzur Gāh and reused.[20]

But what of the tombstone of Sultan Husain's father? In 882/1477-8 Sultan Husain had a platform (suffa) built at Gāzur Gāh specifically for "the tomb of the late Sultan Ghiyāth al-Sultana wa'l-Dīn Mansūr and his pious descendants."[21] A tombstone dated 889H. in the name of

Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mansūr was placed on top of the suffa.[22] Both the inflated titulature and stylistic evidence suggest that the tombstone dated 843H., now in the madrasa, was the later of the two made for Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mansūr. It seems Sultan Husain wished to have the head of his family reburied in a way that would give credit to himself and his magnificent new building, and so ordered the new tombstone to be made.

It is clear that the carving in such a tombstone would take a considerable amount of time—if not the seven years which is reflected in the popular name haft qalam.[23] It is therefore likely that the absence of a similar tombstone in the name of Sultan Husain was caused by lack of time—a space of only twelve months elapsed after Sultan Husain's death before Herat was taken by the Uzbeks.

Condition All the remaining minarets are leaning slightly.

Recorded December 1974, March 1977.

Notes

1) KA, pp. 17-8.
2) RS, VIII, p. 240.
3) HS, IV, p. 257.
4) Ibid., pp. 337-359.
5) KA, p. 41. It is also possible that the "Inscription of a madrasa" recorded by Marvārīd dated 899/1493-4 refers to Sultan Husain's complex as it is clear from the text that two buildings (buq^{c}a) are being referred to. See SN, f. 82b (text), p. 73 (translation).
6) Sirāj al-Dīn's account is translated in Allen, Catalogue, pp. 144-5.
7) Allen, Catalogue, p. 143, takes this account as proof that Lal exaggerated the madrasa's state of ruin, but Ferrier is only referring here to the declivity below ground level in which the tombstone was situated.

8) KA, p. 19. One can compare Ibn Battūta's description of the Friday Mosque of Ashtarjan, called by Ibn Battūta Ushturkān, "a pleasant township, with numbers of running streams and orchards, and possessed of a very fine mosque intersected by the river." (Travels, II, tr. Gibb, p. 294. The identification of Ushturkān with Ashtarjān was made by Miles, "The Inscriptions," p. 89.)

9) MS, p. 564.

10) Cf. Lézine, Pl. XVII.

11) Good colour photograph in Seherr-Thoss.

12) Saljūqī, Khiyābān, p. 21. As the aivan was still standing in 1885, his testimony may be more reliable here.

13) Measurements of minarets from UNESCO, Citadel and Minarets.

14) RS, VII, p. 240; Bābur Nāma, tr. Beveridge, p. 293.

15) See n. 3.

16) The text of the inscriptions on the tombstone are in Saljūqī, Khiyābān, pp. 53-4.

17) For photographs of the haft qalam at Gāzur Gāh see Golombek, Gazur Gah, Figs. 124-7.

18) The superb wooden doors dated 918/1512-3 in the Shrine at Rayy are the closest successors to the haft qalam tombstones in style. See Hidāyatī, Āstānā, pp. 66-7.

19) Saljūqī, Khiyābān, p. 56.

20) The tombstone of Muhammad b. Bāysunghur who is known to have been buried beside his father in the Madrasa of Gauhar Shād is now to be found at Gāzur Gāh; Golombek, Gazur Gah, p. 86. She also notes a tombstone with two dates, 1025/1616 and 1127/1715, which has evidently been reused; ibid., p. 40.

21) Text of the inscription on the platform in Saljūqī, Gāzur Gāh, p. 61; translations in Golombek, Gazur Gah, p. 85 and Qādī Ahmad, Calligraphers and Painters, p. 105.

22) Text in Saljūqī, Gāzur Gāh, p. 61.

23) The popular origin of the name is explained in Saljūqī, Khiyābān, pp. 54-5.

Bibliography

Afghān, Athār-i Harāt, pp. 55-7.

Idem, "Āramgāh," pp. 7-10.

Brandenburg, Herat, pp. 35-7, Pls. 7, 9.

Byron, Oxiana, pp. 101-2.

Allen, Catalogue, No. 491.

Allchin and Hammond, eds., p. 380.

UNESCO, Citadel, pp. 34-44.

Bruno, "Restoration," p. 108, Figs. 85-93.

Ferrier, Caravan, p. 179.

Ghauvās, Rāhnamā, p. 41.

Hill and Grabar, p. 56, Figs. 134-5.

Holdich, ILN, p. 179.

Idem, map, RGS.

Jairazbhoy, Outline, p. 270.

KA, pp. 17-8.

Lal, Travels, pp. 256-7.

Idem, "Description," p. 15.

Lézine, "Hérat," Pls. I, XVII.

Maitland, Diary, p. 407.

Niedermayer, Afghanistan, pp. 58-60, Pl. 157.

Pelly, Journal, p. 67.

Saljūqī, Khiyābān, pp. 10-11, 51-6.

Idem, Gāzur Gāh, pp. 64-7.

Seherr-Thoss, Pl. 59.

Survey, p. 1141, Pl. 427C.

Togan, "Herat," p. 436.

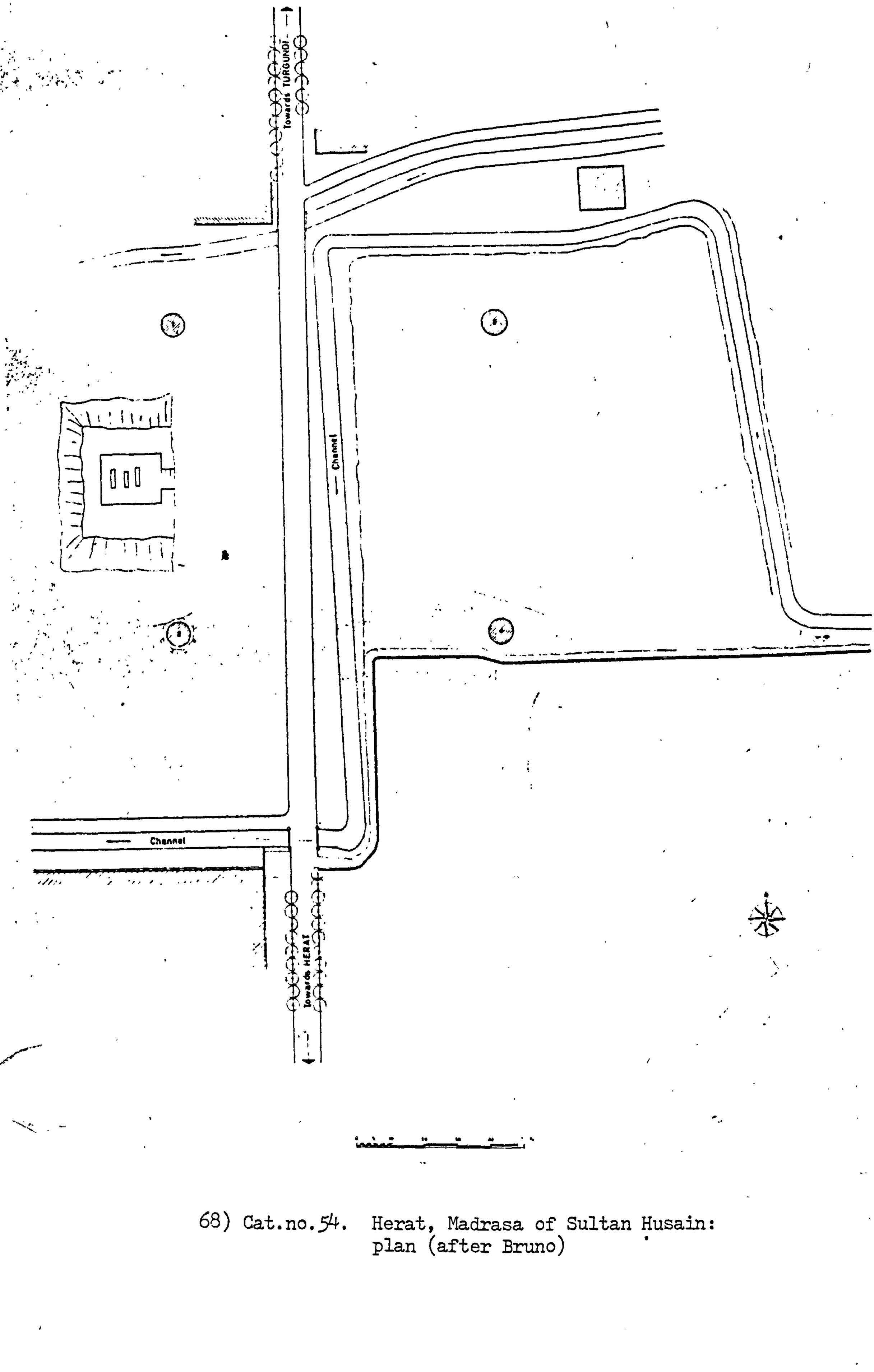
Wolfe, Herat, pp. 40-1.

Yate, Afghanistan, p. 30.

Idem, "Inscriptions," pp. 290-1.

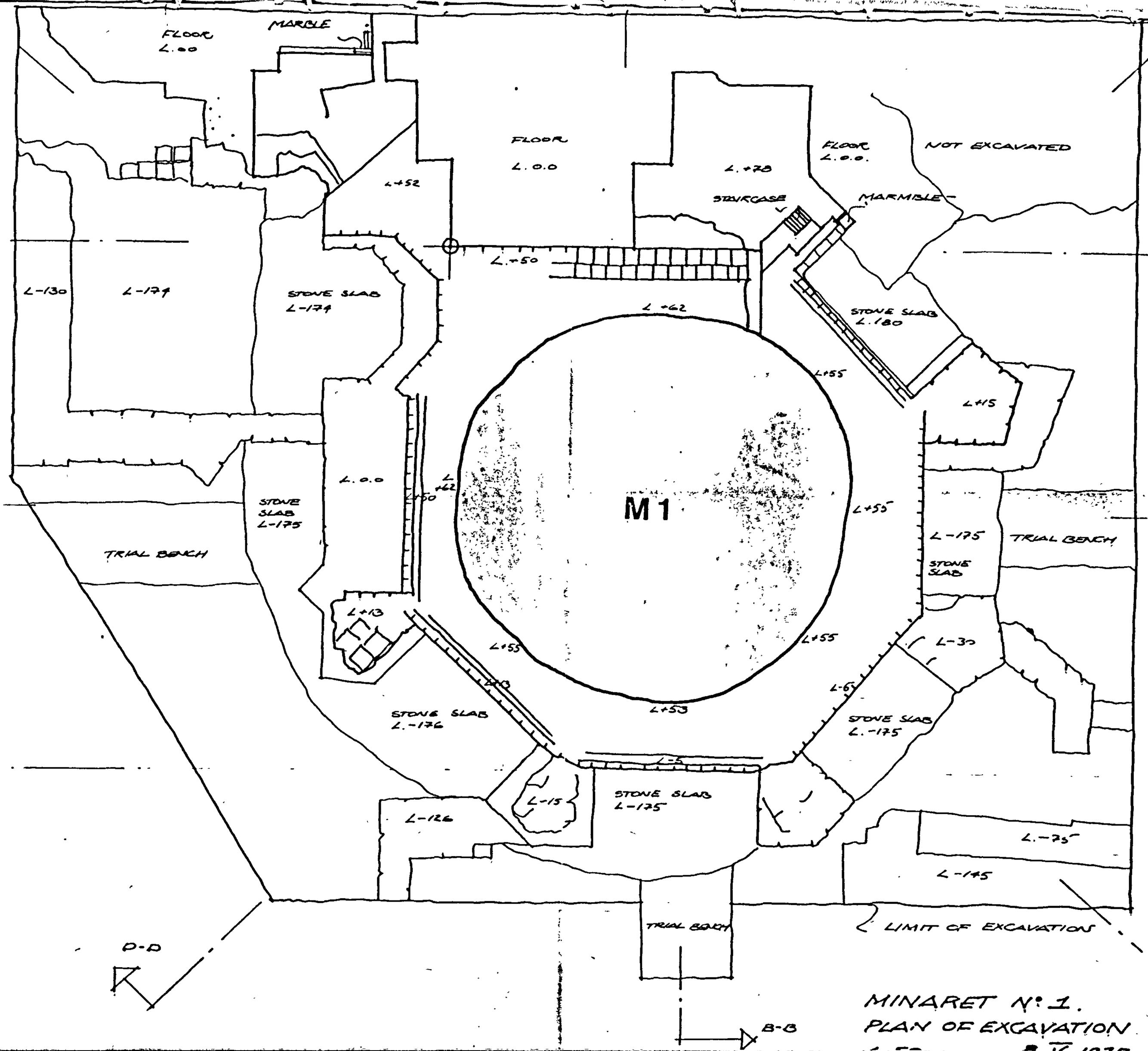
Idem, "Notes," p. 96.

Zestovsky, "Esquisse," pp. 18-19.



68) Cat.no.54. Herat, Madrasa of Sultan Husain: plan (after Bruno)

69) Cat.no.54. Herat, Madrasa of Sultan Husain: plan of excavation of SW minaret (after UNESCO)



NĪSHĀPŪR, MASJID-I JAMI^{c}

Location In the centre of Nīshāpūr. The present Masjid-i Jami^{c} is reckoned to be about 5km NW of the medieval centres of Nīshāpūr, which were devasted by six earthquakes between 1161 and 1405 A.D. As the mosque is dated 899/1493-4, it is of use in supplying a terminus ante quem for the move to the new site. This is more likely, however, to have taken place earlier in the century, after the last major earthquake in 1405 A.D., as the city would have needed considerable time to regain its wealth for major building projects from commerce. The founder of the mosque, one Pahlavān ^{c}Alī, does not seem to be mentioned by the Timurid court historians, so one may presume that he was a local dignitary who, after assembling some wealth, wished to use it for a pious cause. He would naturally want to locate a new Friday mosque in the centre of his urban milieu.[1]

Plan (Fig. 70) For descriptive purposes the qibla will be taken as S. Two-aivan mosque, with arcades several bays deep arranged around a rectangular courtyard (Pls. 253-4). Although to an observer standing in the middle of the courtyard the mosque looks as if it is symmetrical on the axis bisecting the aivans, a glance at the plan will reveal the deep incongruities of the various parts. While the N aivan is located in the middle of the N courtyard facade, the centre of the qibla aivan is 90cm E of the centre of the S facade of the courtyard, a surprising difference even in so large a mosque. This in itself would necessitate some differentiation of the prayer halls on either side of the qibla aivan, but in fact the internal arrangement of the E and W halves of the mosque is totally different.

That on the E is more homogenous, consisting of bays of equal

dimensions throughout, except for a row of rectangular bays in the SE section. However, their integration with the lateral niches of the qibla aivan is awkward, neither of the two niches being in the centre of the bays. In the area to the SW, however, twenty-four smaller bays are found which more closely centre with the side niches of the aivan. The bays on the W side of the courtyard are different again, with rectangular vaulted bays flanking square ones, while the NW shabistān presents a series of irregular square and rectangular bays.

Two small entrances are found near the middle of the lateral walls of the mosque, while the main entrance is through a portal and small vestibule behind the N aivan.

Elevation A row of modern shops jutting out on either side of the entrance aivan disguises any original facade which the mosque might have had. In its present form the entrance aivan probably dates from 1285/1868-9, the date found on cuerda seca tiles in the spandrels of the portal, with the signature "Ismāʿīl." On either side of the spandrels are two stone inscriptions dated 1021/1612-3 granting tax relief to the citizens of Nīshāpūr.[2]

Inside, however, the mosque is dominated as much in elevation as in plan, by the huge mass of the qibla aivan, vaulted by a simple pointed barrel vault. Two-storey niches are found on the sides of the vault; the lower ones are framed by blind segmental arches, the upper are plain. The latter were open originally, leading to the roof of the adjoining shabistāns. More unusual is the row of three niches, connected by smaller tunnel vaults, above the mihrab at the back of the aivan (Pl. 252). They recall the galleries leading round the dome chambers of mosques of the Yazd school, such as the Masjid-i Jamiʿ of Yazd or the Masjid-i Shah Valī of Taft. The mihrab is of no great antiquity, but it contains an inscription mentioning repairs in the

year 1126/1714-5,[3] and above it is a Quranic inscription which will be mentioned shortly.

The portal screen of the aivan has three superposed niches on either side, the lower two blank, the upper one opening into a small chamber. The bricks of the latter, however, are of a different colour from the rest of the aivan and may well be later. Behind the portal-screen are two semi-octagonal stumps with steps leading to them, evidently all that remains of earlier minarets. According to Sanī[c] al-Daula there was a minaret above each aivan at the time of his visit.[4]

The bays of the E side of the mosque are mostly vaulted by domical pendentives, although the shabistān E of the qibla aivan has some bays with squinch nets producing a twelve-sided star at the base of the dome. The latter section appears to have undergone a thorough recent restoration, however. On one of its piers is a fragmentary polished black stone with a trefoil arched mihrab surrounded by a naskhi inscription giving part of Quran III/17-18; it may date from the fourteenth century.

Only some parts of the shabistān W of the qibla aivan have undergone repairs. The bays are smaller and lower here (Pl. 257), with simple kite-shaped squinches, and on one occasion a squinch net producing a sixteen-sided base to the dome. The larger bays W of the courtyard display domes with alternate eight- and twelve-sided bases, like those of the Masjid-i Chihil Sutūn, Ziyāratgāh. According to the mutavallī the NW shabistān was built in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shah, which would correspond with the date of the tilework on the entrance aivan (1285/1868-9).

Sanī[c] al-Daula mentioned that a qanat and several trees were present in the courtyard. These have subsequently given way to the

barrenness of paving and a small central hauż.

Inscriptions The foundation inscription, in the unlikely position of the pier E of the qibla aivan, reads as follows[5] (Pl. 255):

"From Pahlavān ᶜAlī, son of the noble family of Bayāzid,
May this building remain as a memorial for the town of Nīshāpūr,
A mosque which is to be the Kaᶜaba of the people of true faith.
It was all accomplished by the grace and bounty of the Omnipotent
In the reign of the Royal Warrior of the Faith, the Prince of the Age,
Sultan Husain Protector of Religion, the Powerful King.
It was finished in the year 899,
The place which is the mosque (sijda gāh) of the people of the age.
Read the date of this and say a sincere prayer for the
Justice of the instigator (of the mosque) and count (his) good works."

Modern terra-cotta tiles surround the inscription, but in any case it is unlikely to have been originally placed on the pier where it now stands.

The inscription over the mihrab is in thulth, with an upper line of Kufic (Pl. 256). The letters of the thulth inscription are arranged above each other in places in a manner typical of inscriptions of the fifteenth century. The inscriptions are on two stone plaques. The first reads:

"The Most High said, 'Lo those who merit Paradise this day are happily employed.'" (Quran XXXVI/55.) The last word is only partially intact.

The second reads:

"God Most High said, 'But ah! thou soul at peace! Return unto thy Lord, content in His good pleasure! Enter thou among My bondsmen! Enter thou My Garden!'" (Quran LXXXIX/27-30.)

The eschatological emphasis of these passages prompts the suggestion

that they may have been removed from a mausoleum. Given the way in which the plaques have been assembled with an abrupt break in the middle, it is at any rate clear that they were not sited there originally.

Materials The conglomerate nature of the building is emphasised by the varieties of brick sizes found in its various parts:

entrance aivan		22-3 x 22-3 x 4
N	aivan	23-6 x 23-6 x 5
S	aivan	25 x 25 x 5
shabistān W of qibla aivan		20-4 x 20-4 x 5
shabistān E of qibla aivan		23 x 23 x 4-5
shabistān in NW corner		22-6 x 22-6 x 5cm

The wide variations in some of the individual parts indicate re-use of bricks.

Dating Although there is a foundation inscription of 899/1493-4 in the mosque, in view of the disparate nature of its parts the question arises whether any sections in fact date from the fifteenth century, and if some do not then what form did the mosque founded in the fifteenth century take?

The stylistic analogies are extremely few—the segmental blind niches at the side of the qibla aivan, and the squinch-net vaulting, the latter being a feature which was frequently imitated in later centuries.

The off-centre location of the qibla aivan in particular suggests that the structures surrounding the courtyard have undergone major alterations. One may start by presuming that the monolithic qibla aivan, with its segmental blind niches, is a feature of the original mosque. The western shabistān is keyed in to the aivan more closely than the eastern one, but it is built of re-used bricks of quite

different measurements from those of the aivan. In fact the vaults of neither shabistān fit comfortably and logically into the space allotted for them. In the area where the vaulting bears the closest resemblance to other fifteenth-century examples, the arcade W of the courtyard, the same problem reasserts itself—it neither follows on naturally from the shabistān beside the aivan, nor in itself, with its combination of square bays flanked by rectangular ones on either side, is it the kind of natural vaulting solution which one would expect from, say, the Fridays Mosques of Ziyāratgāh or Ghuryān.

It is thus impossible to say with certainty whether any other parts of the mosque are contemporary with the qibla aivan. Granted that there was an aivan there, however, what, if anything, would one expect to surround it in a fifteenth-century mosque in Khurasan? The answer may not be very different from what is present today—an aivan opposite, possibly two more at the sides, with arcades joining them to form a courtyard. Precedents for two-aivan mosques are not lacking in Khurasan, as those of Sangān-i Pā'īn, Zuzan, Faryūmad and the Timurid example of Bajistān (Cat. No. 8) show. A one-aivan mosque in a courtyard setting is also possible, such as the Masjid-i Mahalla-yi Gudāl-i Musalla[6] in Yazd or, possibly, the Masjid-i Jami[c] of Khvāf. But the present shape of the mosque is itself the best argument for supposing that the first one had only two aivans—although the arcades to the E and W of the courtyard seem to have been drastically repaired at different times, neither give any indication that there might have been an aivan in their midst.

The original state of the N side of the mosque is a little more speculative, as it is rather clumsily tacked on to the sides of the courtyard by a bay on each side which is much smaller than all the others, and since its aivan is correctly centred, unlike that of the

qibla aivan.

While it may seem unsatisfactory not to be able to deduce the original state of the mosque from its present condition, the many repairs and rebuildings seem to have obliterated most of the evidence which would enable us to do so. Without excavating, all one can say at the moment is that the greatest likelihood is that the mosque was originally similar to the form it now presents, a two-aivan courtyard mosque.

Condition Good.

Recorded August 1975.

Notes

1) For a further discussion of the move of the town to the present site, and of its earlier destruction by earthquakes, see Melville, "Earthquakes in Nishapur," pp. 116-7. A Pahlavān ᶜAlī of Bamrūd in Quhistān is mentioned in the tadhkīra of Akhī Muhammad Shah as being a disciple of the latter (Aubin, "Santon," pp. 209, 213). However, as the latter died ca. 1410 A.D. (ibid., p. 187), this Pahlavān ᶜAlī cannot be the same as the founder of the mosque, although a descendant may have taken the same name. The family was certainly wealthy: Pahlavān ᶜAlī was taxed 2,000 dinars by Tīmūr's tax collector, indicating that he held extensive properties (ibid., p. 209).
2) Text of these in Maulavī, pp. 204-6.
3) Maulavī, pp. 208-9.
4) See Bibliography; p. 91.
5) Text in CII (supersedes all other versions), but omits navad u from the date.
6) Ca. 1460 A.D., plan unpublished.

Bibliography

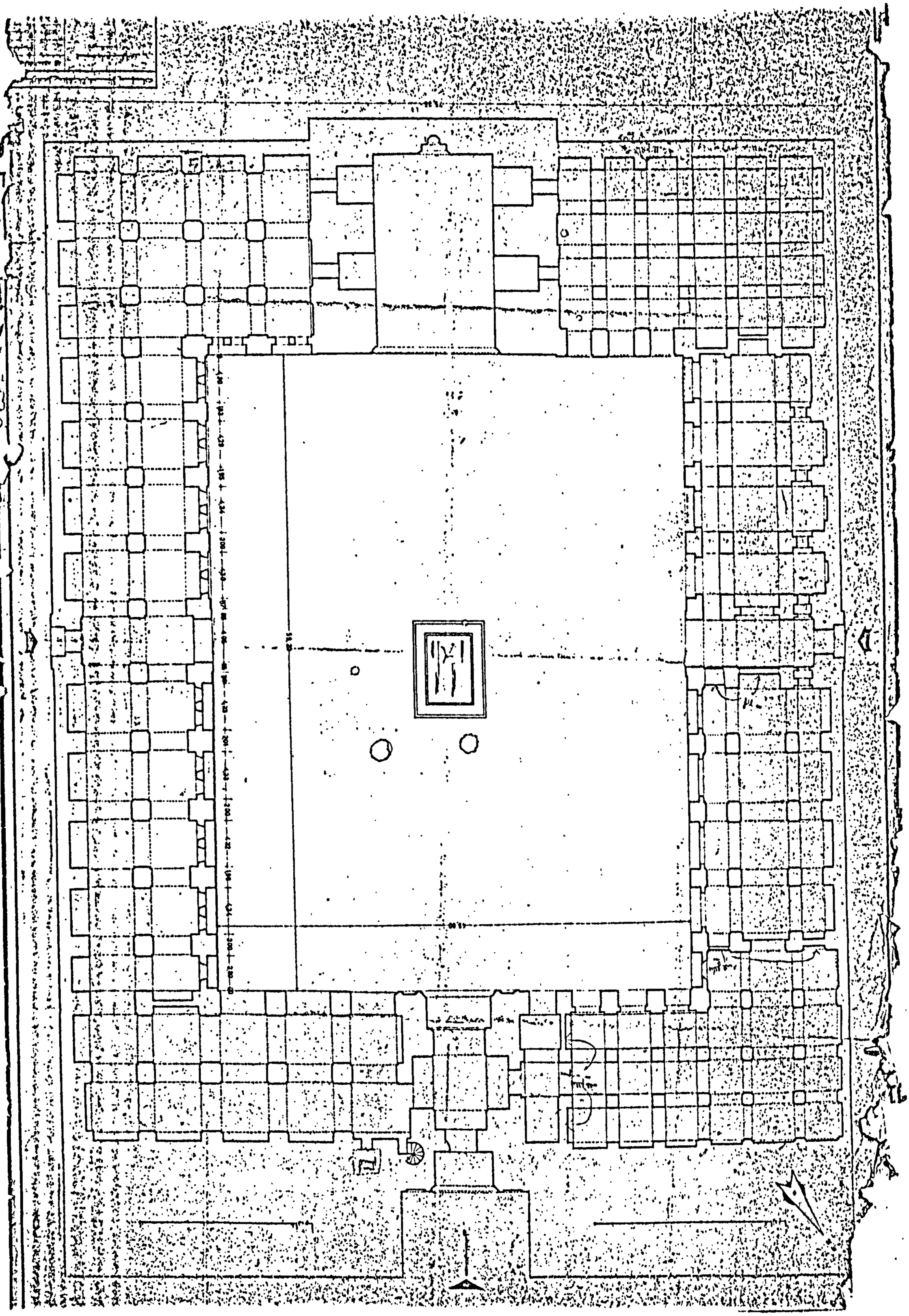
Hanaway, CII, p. 5, Pl. XXIV.

Godard, "Khorāsān," p. 145.

Melville, "Earthquakes in Nishapur," pp. 114-6.

Mishkūtī, Fihrist, p. 110.

Sanī^{c} al-Daula, Matla^{c}, III, pp. 91-6.



70) Cat.no.55. Nīshāpūr, Masjid-i Jami^{c}: plan
(after Sazman-i Hifazat)

SIBARZ, ZIYĀRAT OF KHVAJA NIẒĀM AL-DĪN

Location On the spur of a grave-covered hillside on the edge of the village of Sibarz. The latter is on the left bank of the Harī Rūd ca. 43km above Uba.[1] The village is alternatively called Isbarz or Isfarz.

Plan (Fig. 71) Free-standing octagonal dome chamber, symmetrical on all sides.

Elevation a) exterior: (Pl. 258) Each side has a very shallow aivan leading to a doorway with a flat wooden lintel, with a narrow flat-headed window above, topped by two rectangular blank niches. The wooden lintels of the doorways have now all disappeared, but one of those which supported a window above is still in position.

The area between the top of the entrance arches and the base of the dome is poorly preserved. Originally the spandrels of the entrance aivans probably continued straight up as far as the base of the dome, in a manner similar to the Mausoleum of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār or the tomb towers at Qum. The dome is a single shell, with a steep profile, pierced by four flat-headed axial windows at the base.

b) interior: (Pl. 259) Two crudely assembled heaps of stone on the ground evidently mark the site of graves, although it is unlikely that they are contemporary with the fabric of the building. Saljūqī was told in Chisht that the monument possessed an underground vault in which the remains of several bodies were miraculously preserved, but no evidence of this was found.

The exterior elevation is reflected in the interior with the same absence of decoration, apart from the scant remains of a thin layer of plaster. Wooden boards are used for the transition from octagon

to dome.

Structural Features Just below the offset of the eight interior arches it is apparent where some bricks have dropped away that wooden planks are inserted into the wall. Scaffold holes on the exterior are confined to two on the outer piers of each face of the octagon, and in the interior one at a similar height in the middle of each pier. Some of the latter still have beams within them.

Material Bricks 24 x 24 x 4cm; RJ minimal to 1cm, HJ 1.5cm, little pointing. Some bricks are noticeably darker than usual; they may be re-used. Soft brown mortar, with little or no gypsum admixture—this may explain the parlous state of the monument.

Dating Although the monument is known locally as the Ziyārat of Khvaja Nizām al-Dīn, his grave, marked by a large mound of stones and a tombstone dated 15 Safar 902/23 October 1496,[2] is situated some twenty yards from the mausoleum. Although Saljūqī refers to the building as a khanqah, the presence of grave mounds within it reflects its obvious function as a mausoleum—a single dome chamber with eight entrances is manifestly unsuitable for living accommodation.

The total absence of any decoration together with the monument's utmost simplicity of form make it impossible to assign any precise date. The octagonal form is one which was used for numerous mausoleums from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century in Iran, although it is those of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which provide the closest parallels. Fifteenth century octagonal mausoleums include those at Sangvar, Ziyārat-i Tīmūr Lang, Nīshāpūr and Chaghatāy, although all of these, apart from that at Nīshāpūr, have square interiors.

Two other factors point to a date later than the fourteenth century. Firstly, the arch profiles are less exaggeratedly pointed than those typical of the fourteenth century. Secondly, the presence of

another tombstone near the mausoleum, very finely carved by a local craftsman and dated 7 Dhu'l-Qa^{c}da 849/4 February 1446 shows that the town enjoyed some prosperity in the fifteenth century and could well have provided a patron for a minor building such as this. While it is not clear whether or not the tomb was built a generation or two earlier than the date of 1496 A.D. recorded on Khvaja Nizām al-Dīn's tombstone, the present identification of the tomb with his name suggests that it more likely was built before rather than after this date.

Condition Poor. The inferior quality of the mortar has aided the removal of bricks from the bases of the piers.

Recorded June 1978.

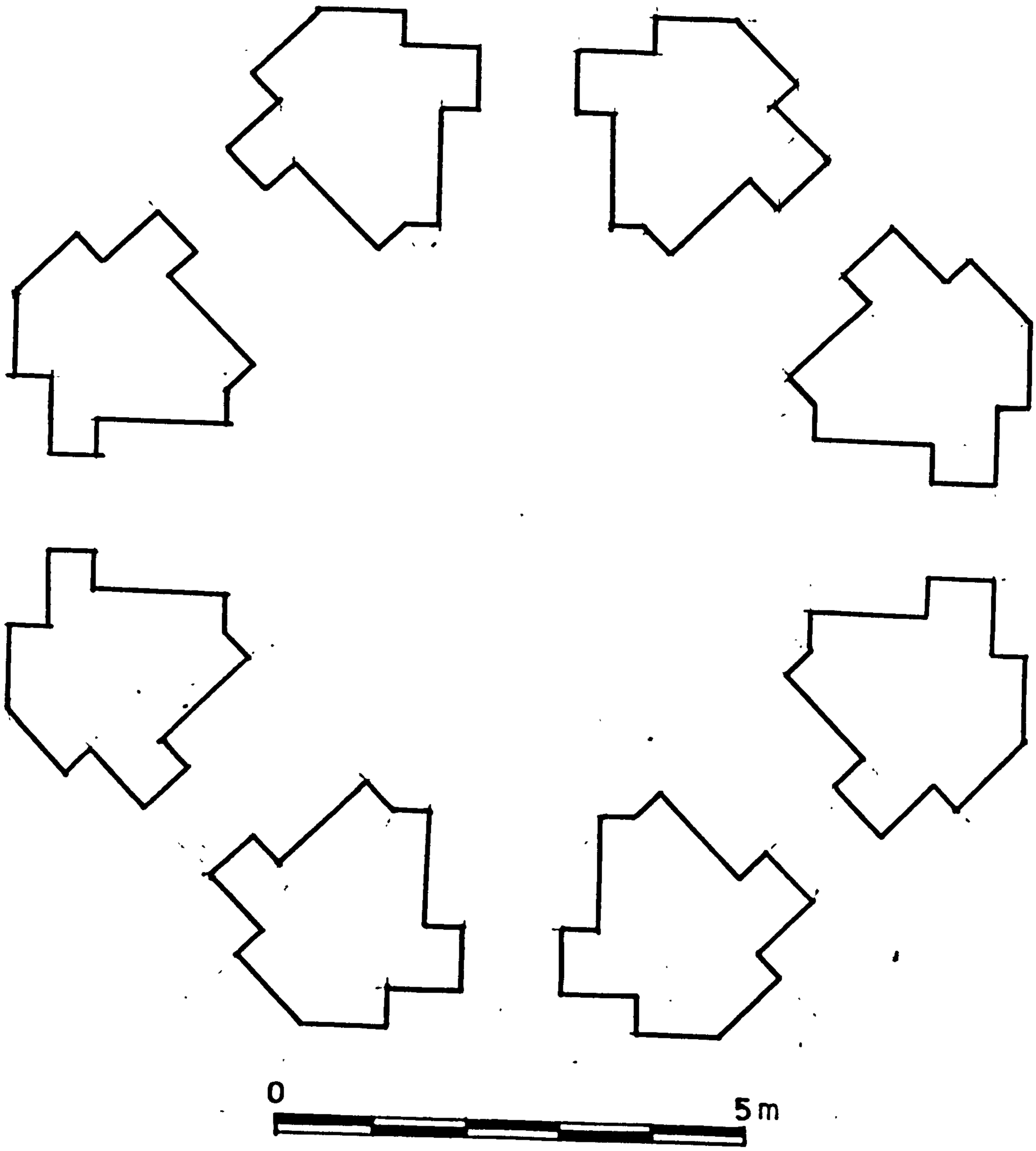
Notes

1) The village is recorded in Adamec, Herat, p. 375.
2) The inscriptions on this and the tombstone mentioned below are given in Zipoli.

Bibliography

Saljūqī, Mazārāt, notes, pp. 157-8.

Zipoli, "iscrizone," p. 332.



71) Cat.no. 56. Sibarz, Ziyārat of Nizām al-Dīn plan

GHURIYĀN, MASJID-I JAMI^{c}

Location On the eastern edge of the town of Ghuriyān, ca. 66km W of Herat.[1] In 783/1381 the town of Fūshinj, approximately half-way between Herat and Ghuriyān, was besieged and sacked by Tīmūr on his way to conquer Herat.[2] From that time onwards its importance as a local centre seems to have been superseded by Ghuriyān.[3]

Plan (Fig. 72) Four aivan mosque with domed sanctuary chamber. The plan is strikingly similar to the Masjid-i Jami^{c} of Ziyāratgāh. One sees the same large sanctuary aivan (Pl. 262), with three smaller aivans around the courtyard (Pl. 261). Flanking the sanctuary aivan are two blank niches—less successful than their counterparts at Ziyāratgāh since their lack of depth and their separation from the lower niches emphasises their superficiality.

The scale is smaller than at Ziyāratgāh; the arcades surrounding the courtyard are only one bay deep, and any attempt at monumentality is negated by continuing the gallery space round three sides of the dome chamber, thus dividing the arch between the sanctuary and the sanctuary aivan into two. The less ambitious height of the dome chamber allows an arresting innovation in Timurid architecture: axial aivans leading north and south from the dome chamber.[4] The sanctuary is thereby more fully integrated with the adjoining prayer areas.

The east side of the mosque has been very badly damaged. At present it consists of a modern shabistān of mud-brick, entered from the southeast. The restoration of the ground plan of this area, shown without shading, with an entrance aivan leading into a vestibule flanked by two shabistāns, is based on a simplification of the plan of the Ziyāratgāh Masjid-i Jami^{c}.

Decoration There are no traces of any decorative material being used—mosaic-faience, plaster or stone. The mosque is anepigraphic.

Material Fired brick 26-7 x 26-7 x 6cm, RJ 1.0, HJ 1-1.5cm.

Structural features The domed vaults of the arcades surrounding the courtyards are roofed by kite-shaped squinches, producing eight-sided domes. The sanctuary has a more ambitious squinch net forming a sixteen-sided dome (Pl. 263). Two large holes in the zone of transition allow us to appreciate the nature of the dome: it is quite hollow, and the real dome is simply corbelled out above (Pl. 264). The emphasis on surface appearances in Timurid architecture has here reached the stage where an apparently load-bearing vaulting system has as much structural function as banna'i-technique, mosaic-faience or stalactite vaulting.

Condition In addition to the holes in the roof of the sanctuary dome chamber, mentioned above, the top of the sanctuary aivan has been destroyed and five large fissures are visible on its spandrels. The western half of the southern wall has a pronounced outward lean.

Dating Any epigraphic evidence has presumably vanished with the original entrance portal. As the town of Ghuriyān did not rise to prominence until after the destruction of Fūshinj, one would expect a considerable amount of time to have elapsed until Ghuriyān would become important enough to warrant a Friday mosque of the size of the one under discussion.

The close similarity of the Ghuriyān Masjid-i Jami^{c} to the Ziyāratgāh Masjid-i Jami^{c} (889/1484) has been noted above. The evidence of the false squinch-net vaulting would point to a slightly later date than Ziyāratgāh, towards the end of the fifteenth century.

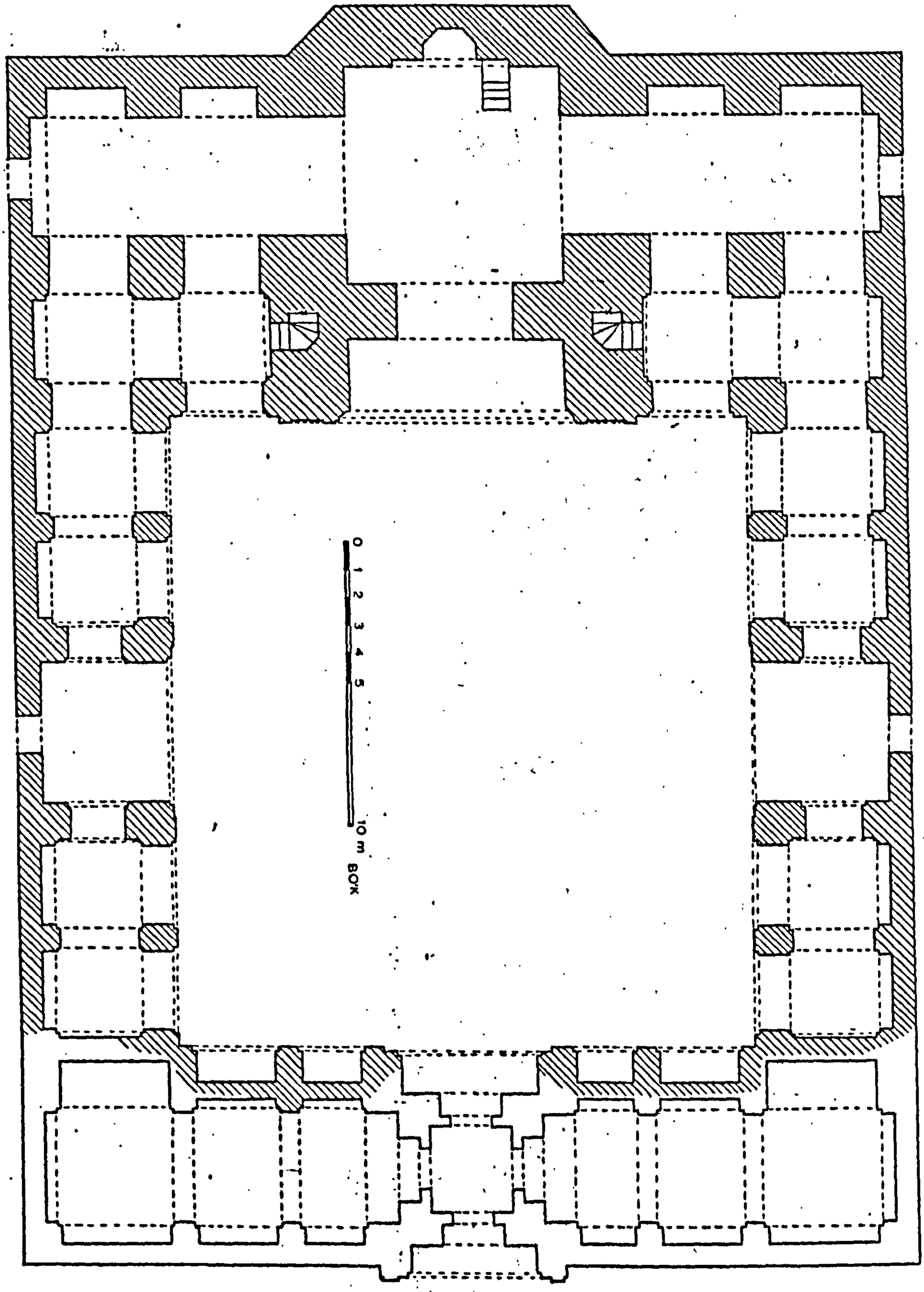
Notes

1) Adamec, Herat, pp. 139-142; map III-7-C.
2) Shāmī, Zafar Nāma, pp. 82-3.
3) Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, p. 411 incorrectly states that Ghuriyān sprang from the ruins of Fūshinj.
4) For simplicity of description the qibla has been taken as facing W.

Bibliography

Saljūqī, RMH 4, p. 146

Ghauvās, Rahnamā, pp. 43-4.



72) Cat.no.57. Ghuriyān, Masjid-i Jami^{c}: plan

HERAT, MASJID-I JAMI^{c}

Location In the NE quarter of the old walled city.[1]

Historical Sources A detailed review of these has recently been made by Allen.[2] The misalignment of the qibla of the mosque[3] has led to the suggestion that the site was previously occupied by a cultic building,[4] but the only historical record of this is a rather unsatisfactory notice by Zestovsky[5] of an anonymous manuscript which states that the Muslims destroyed a temple of mountain pagans in order to build on the site.

The mosque as it stood until nearly the end of the fifteenth century was basically the result of a Ghurid building campaign of ca. 597-600/1200-3, with some repairs by the Karts. However, Jalāl al-Dīn Fīrūzshāh, Shah Rukh's amir, also undertook some restoration.[6] I^{c}timādī, writing in 1963, states that the name of Shah Rukh was still visible in an inscription on the W arcade of the mosque,[7] but no record of this has otherwise been preserved.

It is with the major repairs by Mīr ^{c}Alī Shīr from Ramadān 903/ April 1498 to 14 Sha^{c}bān 905/ 23 June 1500 that we are concerned with here.

The work began, as Khvāndamīr reports, with structural consolidation, particularly of the qibla aivan, whose height was raised by seven zar^{c} or cubits, in this case ca. 4.83m.[8] After the reconstruction was completed in 904, work began on decoration, with tile-mosaicists (kāshī-tarrāshān), painters (hunarmandān-i naqqāsh) and stone-masons (sang-tarrāshān) being employed.[9] In the Khulāsat al-Akhbār Khvāndamīr reports that because of Mīr ^{c}Alī Shīr's personal presence and interest throughout the construction it was all completed in an

exceptionally short time. Further evidence of this is recounted in the Makārim al-Akhlāq when the calligrapher appointed to draw the inscriptions, Khvaja Mīrak Naqqāsh,[10] was unreasonably late in executing his commission, rendering the tile-mosaicists idle. In order to circumvent this Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr had the dīvān draw up a bond for a fine of 5,000 dinars, and having found out with some difficulty the village where Khvaja Mīrak was hiding, had the summons delivered to him. The latter was compelled to go shamefacedly to the mosque to ask for the bond to be rescinded, and when Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr acquiesced on condition that the inscriptions be finished as quickly as possible, Khvaja Mīrak retired to his house and didn't leave until fifteen days later when he had finished the work.[11]

Construction The first question to be determined is: what part of the fabric of the building can be attributed to the restoration of 904H.? Even without Khvāndamīr's specific reference to the qibla aivan, its use of transverse vaulting would suggest a post-Ghurid date. As the vault was made seven zarᶜ higher than before, the present vault must be Timurid rather than Kartid. The other three aivans also have similar transverse vaulting,[12] and may be ascribed to the same date.

A glance at Stuckert's plan will show that the smaller aivans to either side of the qibla aivan are connected awkwardly to the arcades behind them. As the line of arcades is unlikely to have changed considerably since the mosque's foundation in 1200 A.D., and as there are also Ghurid remains in this area, these flanking aivans are probably also Timurid additions, necessary in part because of the need to buttress the now taller central aivan. Whether either of the two stubby minarets on the side of the aivan dates from this period is open to question. Both had faience decoration,[13] although since they

were different from one another[14] they were almost certainly built at different times. The closest parallel to these in Timurid architecture are the small domes on top of the E aivan at Gāzur Gāh, but as it is impossible to say that even those are contemporary with the building on which they stand, one is left without any precedents. However, the staircases at the base of the piers show that access as at least as far as the roof was intended, and possibly also to a minaret further up. One of the minarets, then, may have been Timurid.

Photographs taken before the Afghan restoration of the forties and later show that a gallery of smaller arches was placed on top of the courtyard facade between the aivans.[15] This gallery was covered with Timurid mosaic-faience decoration, and an inscription ran along the top. It was probably also part of Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr's work, providing both a convenient platform for more faience decoration and additional buttressing for the aivans. The gallery could be seen as a modified version of that in the Mosque of Gauhar Shād in Mashhad.

Decoration S aivan: Framing the arch of the S aivan was an untwisted cable moulding with star-patterned convex tiles, probably cuerda seca (Pl. 267).[16]

Running round three sides of the aivan is a frieze with a painted stucco inscription, large thulth in lower register with smaller Kufic above. Behind the inscriptions, at a slightly lower plane, is a very delicate foliated spiral. The model for this must have been the Madrasa Du Dar, Mashhad, where the four courtyard aivans have similar decoration, although the elevation of the script above the background here gives it greater force and legibility.

Courtyard facades, S side: Early photographs show that more of the decoration of this side remained than of any other.[17] The aivan was framed by a large thulth inscription, at the base of which was a panel

of medallions on a floral ground within a polylobed arch (Pl. 267). This is a variation on the usual Timurid vertical climbing arabesque, and it is one of the earliest appearances in mosaic-faience of those medallions which were to prove so popular in Safavid and Qajar tile-work. The lower medallion could be described as a truncated fleur de lys, although one could also consider it as half of a quatrefoil. Similar medallions had been used in painted decoration before,[18] but its only previous appearance in mosaic-faience was in the Blue Mosque in Tabriz, where it was used in the slightly different context of banna'i-technique.[19] Above this lower medallion is a cartouche with al-mulk li'llāh in Kufic. An identical medallion can be found on a Safavid tree of life panel on the qibla aivan of the Isfahan Masjid-i Jami^{c}.[20] Dominating the field in the centre is a large irregular six-lobed medallion, for which a Safavid successor can also be found.[21] Two identical panels still survive today in the mosque, just above the dado of the piers W of the S aivan. They are surrounded by modern tilework. Niedermayer's Pl. 151 shows there was a frieze of inset-technique here originally, so perhaps these panels were taken down from the side of the aivan and reassembled in the place which they now occupy.

A border which was used extensively throughout the courtyard[22] displays another tendency that was to become typical of Safavid tile-work—the thickening of a floral stem by the addition of a darker border around it, all on a white ground.

The spandrels of the courtyard arcades also had large medallions on a floriated spiral ground, and above it the narrow panels to either side of the gallery arches had a pattern of angular interlacing strapwork (Survey Pl. 450B).

The soffits of the courtyard arcades above dado level were covered

with a distinctive treatment which still survives in the bays W of the S aivan (Pl. 265). Thin strips of beige brick 4 1/2cm wide, with minimal rising joints, alternate with slightly recessed strips of light blue tile 1 1/2cm wide. The whole is surrounded by a border of black, white and black strips each 3cm wide.

Below, the dado on the sides of the piers is of inset-technique: cuerda seca tiles recessed below beige brick tiles (Pl. 266). These are clearly visible in old photographs[23] and several still survive. As usual they have a white slip, with a dark-blue ground forming rosettes in reserve. Light-blue is used for floral stems, and a bright yellow both for borders and arabesques. The yellow is untypical of earlier Timurid cuerda seca, but once again it is a feature which looks forward to the type of cuerda seca used in the Safavid period.

The marble engaged columns which survive at the corners of the piers seem to be original. They are finely carved, with a vase-shaped base leading to a spirally-fluted column and a three-tier stalactite capital.

Most of the decoration on the other sides of the courtyard had vanished by the early part of the twentieth century, although fragments of mosaic-faience on the spandrels of the aivan adjoining the qibla to the S could still be made out.[24] Saljūqī published a photograph of the SW corner of the courtyard which shows the end of an inscription on the abovementioned aivan.[25] The border with the thickened outline which we have noted above is used here, and a half quatrefoil medallion appears in isolation on a panel just below the inscription.

The outer doors, W side: In the Survey Byron mentioned an inscription "of moulded stucco on a blue ground (which) graces a portal to the Masjid-i Jami^{c} at Herat."[26] This is almost certainly the portal which is illustrated in a photograph by Schroeder. A copy in the Fogg Art

Museum is labelled "inscription outside west side," referring to one of the two outer portals, and another copy in the Courtauld Institute in London gives the following transcription:

بین مکه و هجر فی سنه خمس و تسعمایه

Between Mecca and Hajar, in the year 905/1499-1500.

The inscription, in thulth, is not stucco but cut brick raised above the background—the same technique that was used on the portal-screen inscription of the Tāybād buq^{c}a. Below it was a mosaic-faience panel similar to those at the base of the inscription on the S aivan. E side: The redecoration of the Ghurid portal has been described in some detail by Lézine and Melikian Chirvani. One of Lézine's photographs[27] shows that flanking the inscription on the portal screen was a border of inset-technique; the tiles, presumably cuerda seca, have the same pattern and shapes as some of those on the dadoes of the courtyard arcades. The inscription and its border have now been removed to reveal the Ghurid inscription underneath, but the Timurid reworking of the vault inside the portal gives a valuable insight into the aesthetics of the late fifteenth century (Fig. 74).

The emphasis is on smoothness, on the most gradual transition possible from one plane to another, eliminating the play of light and shadow. The blind arches on the sides are covered with banna'i bricks with horizontal pointing recessed only very slightly beneath the surface. The mosaic-faience spandrels of this arch have a pattern in which, like the decoration in the courtyard, large medallions are also prominent, and the lines of the arabesque are thickened by different coloured backgrounds. Despite the use of these large motifs, however, the design has a rather nebulous quality, mostly because of the unusual amount of dark colours used—amber arabesques on a black ground, all on a dark-blue ground, with white and light-blue employed only sparsely.[28]

The border of inset-technique which frames the vault above consists of mosaic-faience stars and strips of tile very slightly recessed from the brick ground. Hexagons, six-sided stars and a herring-pattern form a design which is echoed in many later Safavid monuments.[29]

In the squinch net and semi-dome above it the mosaic-faience medallions are in fact set flush with the banna'i bricks and strips of dark-blue tiles between them. The squinch net ensures that the transition from lower rectangle to semi-dome is as seamless as possible, and the setting of the bricks and mosaic-faience medallions on the same plane in the semi-dome above it underlines the continuation of this theme.[30] It is difficult to disagree with Melikian Chirvani's conclusions that this failure "to project a vision into three-dimensional space...is a sure sign of decadence in architecture."[31]

Inscriptions Only the inscriptions of the S aivan can be reconstructed. These have been published by Allen,[32] and given their possibility of iconographic interpretation one can only lament with him that the remainder has not survived. As mentioned above, they were all the work of Khvaja Mīrak Naqqāsh.

Furnishings Another loss is that of the marble minbar which Shams al-Dīn Sang-tarrāsh carved from a block of marble specially purchased from its owner in Khvāf.[33] A stone minbar three steps high exists in the Madrasa of Ūlūgh Beg in Ghujdavān, but this was clearly a much finer affair, having nine steps in all. A better idea of it may be obtained from one seven steps high apparently carved from one block of stone dated 787/1387-8 which was found at the Qal^{c}a-yi Sang, Sirjān,[34] or from another depicted in a Herat miniature of 840/1436.[35]

In conclusion, one should emphasise the emergence in the tilework of this building of several features which were to have a lasting influence on Safavid decoration. Unfortunately, with the destruction

of so many late fifteenth century monuments, it is impossible to know what links in the stylistic chain are missing, and therefore to what extent the tilework here was truly innovatory.

Condition What remains of original work is stable.

Recorded December 1974, February 1977.

Notes

1) Allen, Catalogue, Map 2.
2) Ibid., pp. 103-7.
3) Glatzer, "Das Mausoleum," table on p. 13.
4) English, "Herat," p. 77; Allen, op. cit., p. 103.
5) "Esquisse," p. 12.
6) KA, p. 10.
7) Ābidāt, p. 21.
8) KA, p. 11; Allen, op. cit., p. 106. The value of the zar^{c} has been obtained in this case by collating the measurements of the four aivans, courtyard and exterior dimensions of the mosque given by Khvāndamīr (KA, p. 13) with Stuckert's plan ("Der Baubestand," Fig. A). The average equivalent works out at nearly 69cm, but the close range of figures obtained is good evidence for the accuracy of both Stuckert and Khvāndamīr. In the following table the dimensions are the number of zar^{c} according to Khvāndamīr; the figures in brackets are the corresponding values of the zar^{c} in centimetres.

exterior dimensions	254 (70) x 150 (70)
courtyard	104 (68) x 84 (69)
W aivan	65 (67) x 20 (55)
N aivan	23 (69) x 15 (70)
E aivan	28 (67) x 15 (70)
S aivan	22 (68) x 13 1/2 (66)

9) KA, p. 12.
10) One of the most famous painters, as well as calligraphers, of Sultan Husain's court. See HS, IV, p. 348; tr. Arnold, Painting in Islam, p. 139; ed. Gray, Arts of the Book, index.
11) MA, ff. 176b-177a.

12) Photographs in the Schroeder archive of the E and S aivans confirm that the transverse vaults existed before the reconstruction in the 1940's, and his sketch plan also suggests that the N aivan had transverse vaulting.

13) Niedermayer, Pl. 149; Glatzer, op. cit., Fig. 2.

14) See the sketch elevation in Stuckert, Fig. C.

15) Niedermayer, Pls. 149, 151; Glatzer, Figs. 1, 3; Schroeder archive.

16) Wilber, Fig. 14; Niedermayer, Pl. 151.

17) Niedermayer, Pl. 151; Schroeder archive; Wilber, Fig. 14; De Cardi, RGS.

18) E.g. in the Madrasa Du Dar. Cf. also the quarter medallions in contemporary bookbinding, e.g. ed. Gray, The Arts of the Book, Pl. XI.

19) Hill and Grabar, frontispiece.

20) Godard, "Historiques," Fig. 172. The panel dates from 938H.

21) In the Masjid-i Shah, Isfahan; Pope, Persian Architecture, Figs. 286, 288.

22) Wilber, Fig. 14.

23) De Cardi, RGS; Schroeder archive.

24) Niedermayer, Pl. 149.

25) RMH 4, second after p. 172; Allen, Catalogue, p. 108.

26) P. 1142.

27) Pl. XIa.

28) Melikian Chirvani, Pl. XIV.

29) E.g., in the Masjid-i ᶜAlī in Isfahan and the tomb of Khvaja Rabīᶜ in Mashhad.

30) Melikian Chirvani, Pl. XV.

31) P. 327.

32) Catalogue, pp. 109-10.

33) KA, p. 12.

34) Excavations in Iran, p. 26, Fig. 28.

35) Séguy, Miraculous Journey, Pl. 26.

Bibliography

Allen, Catalogue, pp. 103-11.

Melikian Chirvani,"À propos," pp. 322-7.

Stuckert, "Baubestand," pp. 3-5.

Glatzer, "Mausoleum," pp. 6-22.

Frye, "Timurid Monuments," p. 209.

Golombek, Gazur Gah, p. 72.

Niedermayer, Afghanistan, Pls. 149-151.

Schroeder, unpublished photographs and sketch plan in Fogg Museum of Art.

De Cardi, unpublished photographs in Royal Geographical Society, London.

Wilber, "Eighth season," Fig. 14.

I^{c}timādī, Ābidāt, pp. 16-40.

Ibid., "General Mosque," pp. 40-50.

Zestovsky, "Esquisse," pp. 12-4.

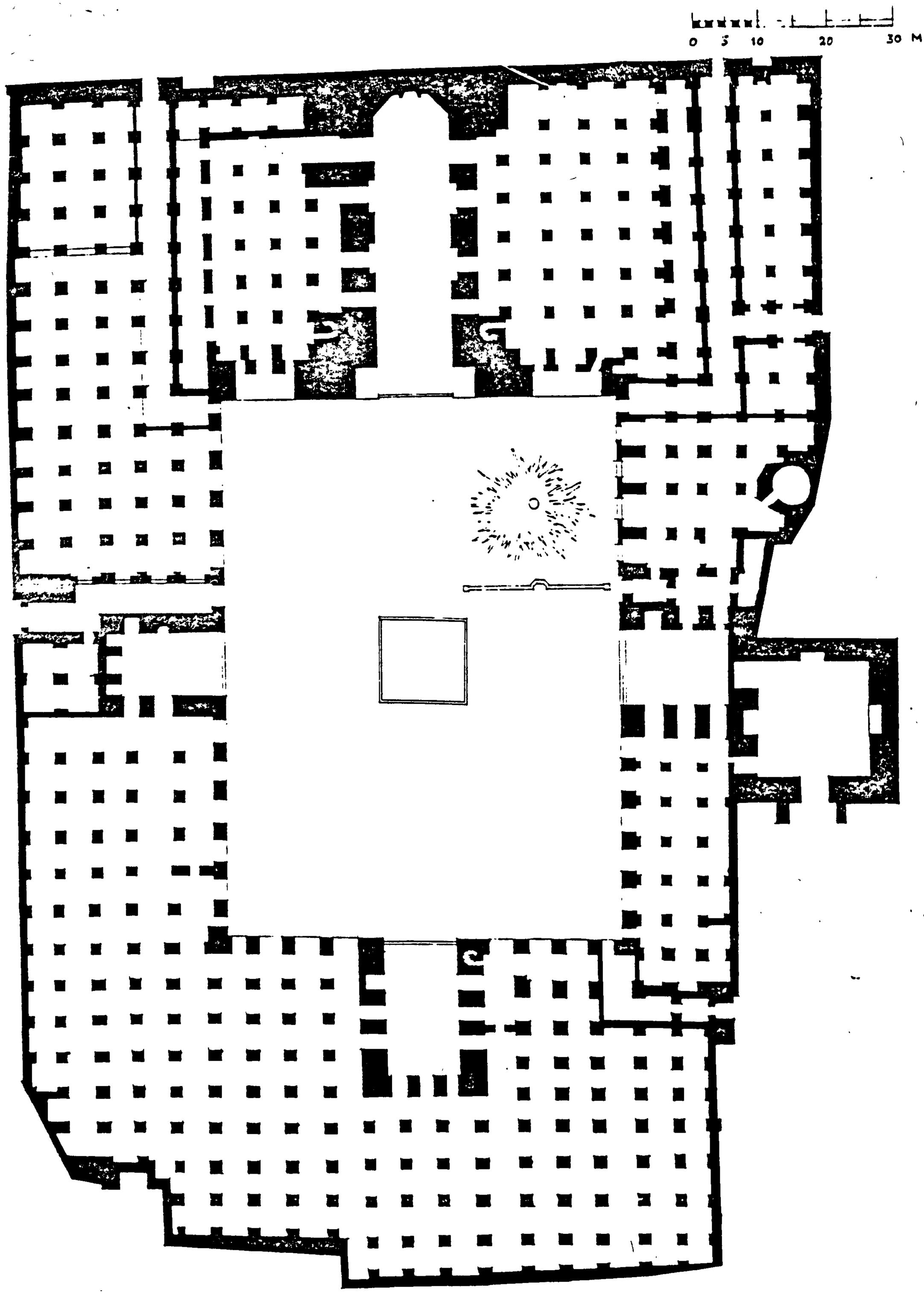
Ghauvās, Rahnamā, pp. 36-7.

Byron, Oxiana, pp. 103-5.

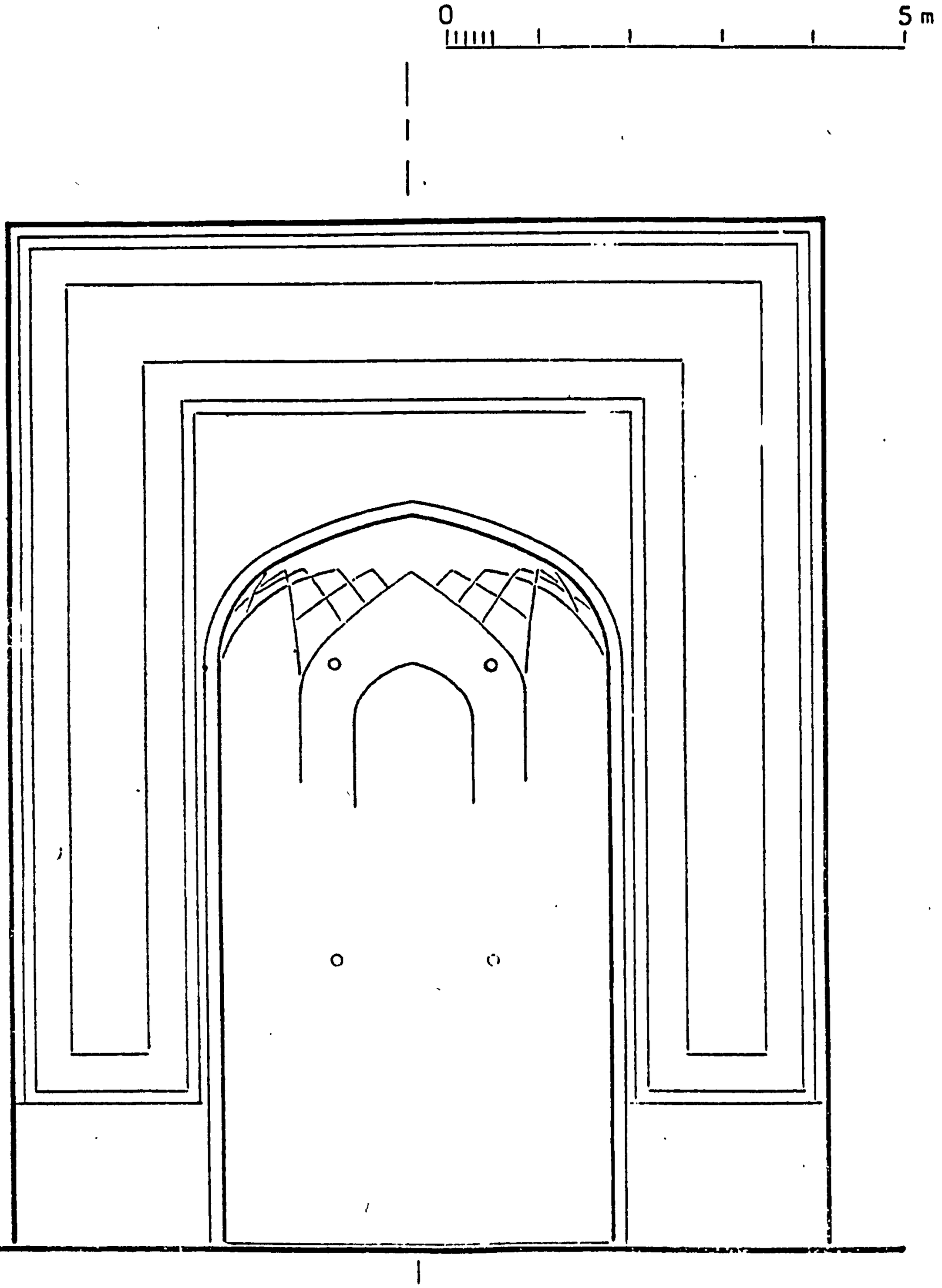
Lézine, "Hérat," pp. 133-144.

Saljūqī, RMH 4, p. 172.

Survey, Pl. 450B.



73) Cat.no.58. Herat, Masjid-i Jami^{c}: plan
(after Stuckert)



74) Cat.no.58. Herat, Masjid-i Jami^{c}: restored elevation of E portal (after Lezine)

QŪSH RIBAT

Location "At the southern entrance of the Ardewan or Kush Robat pass, 40km NNW of Herat."[1] The building is beside the asphalt road to Kūshk, on what was the main Herat-Marv caravan route.

Plan (Fig. 75) Rectangular, with central two-aivan courtyard. A preliminary publication of the building has been made by Pugachenkova;[2] the following is designed to supplement her account.

A number of changes may be suggested to her published plan. All the range of cells along the S wall seems to have been rebuilt, including the S wall itself. It does not have a semi-circular tower in the centre like the N wall opposite, and a clear break in masonry can be seen towards the S of the eastern wall. One can only speculate what the original arrangement might have been, but a range of stables symmetrical to those on the N side is the most likely possibility. Although the present cells on the S wall had some kind of portico in front of them, as shown in the plan, it is unlikely that they were originally present, either on this or on the W side of the courtyard.

On the N salient flanking the entrance to the building, a niche ca. 1.5m wide and deep is omitted, and the vaults of the stables inside (marked as the gallery on Pugachenkova's plan) have a squinch net leading to a twelve-sided base for the dome, not eight-sided as depicted. The NW corner tower is not solid, and at a later date a doorway has been knocked through from inside.

Elevation a) exterior: Like Ribat-i Sangbast, only the principal, eastern, facade, is decorated with blind arches (Pl. 268). The main entrance is most unusual, however, consisting of two relatively widely spaced salients whose outer sides are quarter-round, the top third of

which has decorative brick patterns, crosses on the S tower, lozenges on the N. Their abnormality consists in their being too wide apart and too small to have supported the usual kind of entrance, an aivan. The actual entrance arch is less than half the space between the salients.

b) interior: As at Ribat-i Sangbast (Cat. No. 41) there are only two aivans round the courtyard. Their spandrels also have decoration by means of bricks set at right angles to one another. Apart from this, however, decorative effects are achieved only by vaulting. The most elaborate is in the mosque, where an octagon is formed by eight pairs of intersecting ribs (Pl. 270). A small lantern is inserted in the tip of the dome. Although, as Pugachenkova points out, general precedents for intersecting ribs are provided by the tomb of Sultan Sanjar in Marv and the mosque at Turbat-i Jām, more exact analogues are the Namakdān at Gāzur Gāh and the Masjid-i Maᶜsūma at Kūhpāya.[3] These, like Qūsh Ribat, have much thinner ribs than their Seljuq or Kartid counterparts—their conception is not so much one of power based on load-bearing elements, but of a typically Timurid elegance and display. Lower down, the walls of the mosque have blind arches now covered in white plaster, one large and two small on each face. The mihrab is a plain semi-octagonal niche.[4]

The largest dome in the building is that in the stable area at the NE corner, supported on a sixteen-sided base (Pl. 272). The S wall of this dome chamber is blocked at present, but it probably communicated directly with the stables along the NW, as shown on the plan. Another large dome chamber, referred to as the mihmān-khāna by Pugachenkova, is located two bays S of the mosque (Pl. 271). The dome curves gently out beyond small pendentives which span the eight arches. Between the mosque and mihmān-khāna is another domed room with yet

different vaulting: two transverse vaults transform the rectangle into a square which is then sail-vaulted.

Windows There are three slits at the N and S ends of the W wall which widen considerably towards the interior (Fig. 76).

Features of Construction Square drainage channels are inset at irregular intervals into the outer walls. Very little evidence of scaffolding holes.

Materials Rubble foundation visible on parts of E facade to height of ca. 80cm. Bricks 27 x 27 x 6cm. RJ 5cm, HJ 8cm.

Date Lisa Golombek has identified the ribat as that mentioned in a waqf inscription at Gāzur Gāh dated Ramadān 905/April 1500.[5] The bequests were made by Amir Shujāᶜ al-Dīn Muhammad, holder of the military office of Amir of the Falcon House (amārat-i qūsh-khāna), the ribat being named after his office. The inscription lists the bequests as follows: "the chahār-bāgh and tāhūna (mill) near the chahār-bāgh and one mansion (sarā) and one caravanserai and contiguous shops in Narūchāq, one shop near the ribat and the Farm of the New River and another farm in the aforementioned Qūsh Ribat."[6] Bequests for the Shrine at Gāzur Gāh and a madrasa at Chīchīktū are also mentioned, both, especially the former, being granted much more property than Qūsh Ribat. According to Golombek "in the case of...the caravanseray 'Qūshribāt,' it is almost certain that a new construction was involved."[7] One should interpret "new" here as meaning in the lifetime of Shujāᶜ al-Dīn Muhammad—he was chief beg of the Barlās tribe from which Sultan Husain was descended, and would have been influential enough to erect a building such as Qūsh Ribat from the time of his arrival in Khurasan from Transoxiana in 877/1472-3.[8] On stylistic grounds it is difficult to narrow down this range of the last quarter of the 9th/15th century, although the smoothness of the zone of transition in the mihmān-khāna

is akin to the spirit of buildings towards the end of this period, such as the portal of the Herat Friday Mosque.

The preservation of Qūsh Ribat makes one regret all the more the loss of so many others from the same period, since it is difficult to know how much its apparently unusual plan is representative of the period. The atypical entrance has been mentioned above, but more peculiar is the absence of cells on three sides of the courtyard. This is clearly a different conception from the norm: in this caravanserai only the wealthiest could be accommodated in comfort or privacy, with the others relegated to the courtyard or stables. Perhaps it was one in which Shujā^{c} al-Dīn Muḥammad himself expected to stay frequently; at any rate the variety of vaulting and brick decoration gives it a sophistication which is unmatched by its much larger contemporary at Sangbast.

According to Pugachenkova, certain features of the ribat such as the slit windows, the flat roofs and the intervallic towers indicate its occasional military use. However, even though, as she points out, it may have been occasionally used for quartering troops, it is difficult to imagine occasions, such as a siege, when those features would actually have been put to a military use. Mangonels and cannon had been used in Iran from the beginning of the fifteenth century,[9] and the siting of Qūsh Ribat, nestling in the skirt of the hills beside the pass, would make it an easy target for such weapons.

Appendix The Southern Annexe

First one may quote a late nineteenth century description by Maitland:

> "South of the main building, and attached to it, but with no communication, is a wing, or annexe, as long as the main building, but only three arches deep, and without courtyard

or enclosure. This is still in good repair. It was probably intended for travellers of superior quality, or for women, and I was surprised to observe that in every recess, along both sides, were rectangular fireplaces with flues. There are no windows, and the interior is gloomy to a degree."[10]

There are in fact ten bays in each of three rows, although the length of the front and rear facades obviously provides for eleven, with a row of three large bays behind the entrance aivan in the middle and five slightly smaller ones to either side. Perhaps the annexe was unfinished, other evidence for this being the presence of blind arches on the S side of the main facade and their absence from the N.

As Pugachenkova has pointed out, the most unusual feature of this building is in the zone of transition, which consists of elementary "Turkish triangles," with each pendentive two-faceted in the smaller domes and three-faceted in the middle bays. These, however, are not of much use in establishing a date for the annexe—they are as much out of context in Safavid as in Timurid architecture. Perhaps the most significant factor for dating purposes is that the annexe was built on to the S wall of the main ribat. As that S wall is itself probably a later rebuilding, a Timurid date for the annexe is unlikely.

Recorded January, June 1975.

Notes

1) Adamec, Herat, p. 286, map III-8-A.
2) See bibliography. The forthcoming detailed publication announced by Golombek does not seem to have appeared yet.
3) See Cat. No. 42.
4) The ribat is oriented towards the compass points, with a slight deviation of 15° towards the E, according to Pugachenkova. This means that the mosque can be added to the numerous list of those in Herat and its environs which are incorrectly oriented. See Glatzer, "Das Mausoleum," pp. 12-3.

5) Gazur Gah, p. 88.

6) Saljūqī, Gāzur Gāh, p. 28. For Marūchak see Adamec, Herat, p. 295, map III-3-A. It is clear from the text that the ribat was at the centre of a small agricultural settlement.

7) Gazur Gah, p. 88.

8) Biographical details in Golombek, op. cit., p. 88; Barthold, III, pp. 38-9; SN, pp. 87-9, 172-3.

9) Minorsky, Persia in A.D. 1478-1490, Annex II, p. 116.

10) See bibliography.

Bibliography

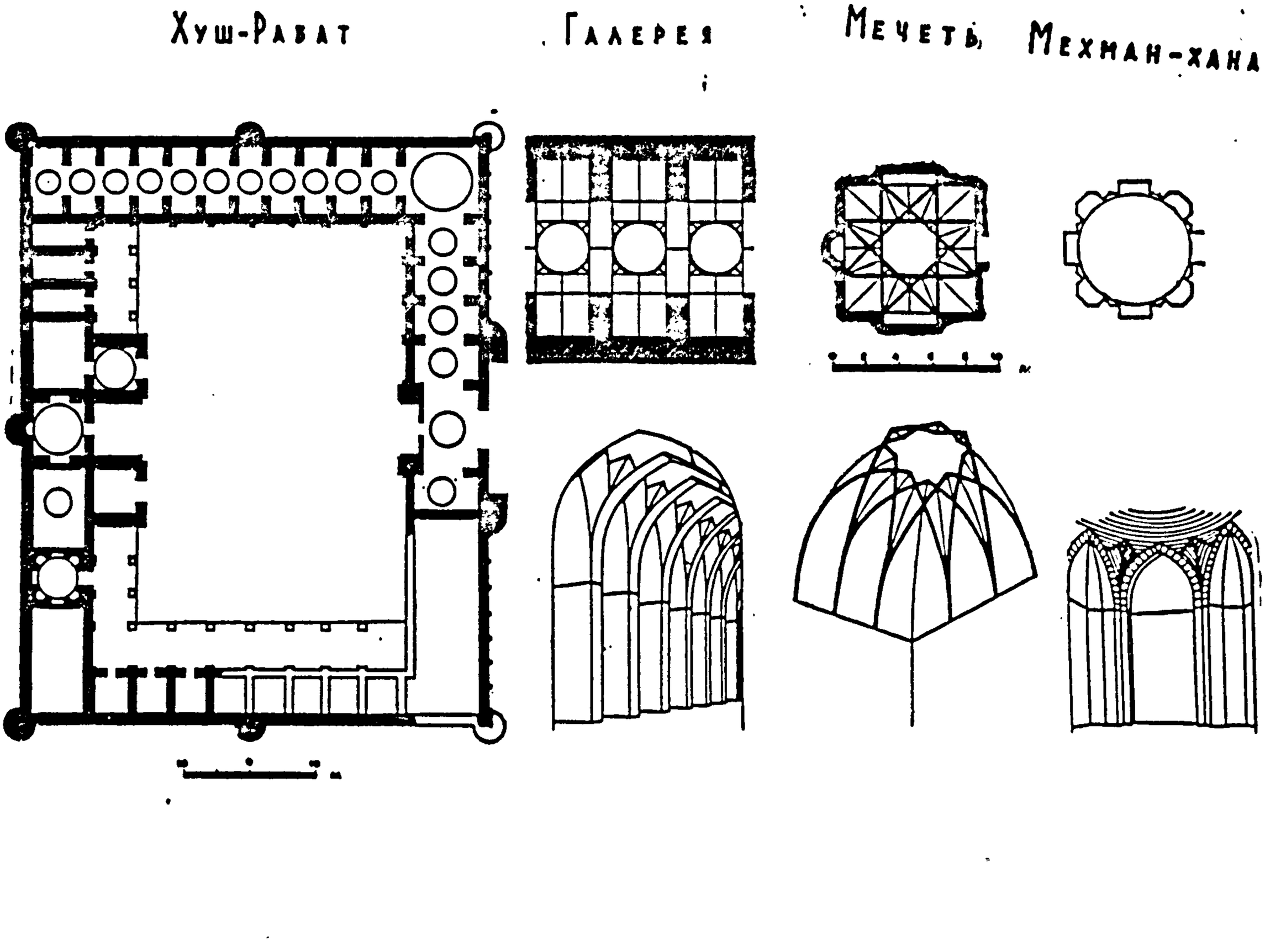
Golombek, Gazur Gah, pp. 72, 74, 88, 99.

Pugachenkova, "À l'étude," pp. 45-9.

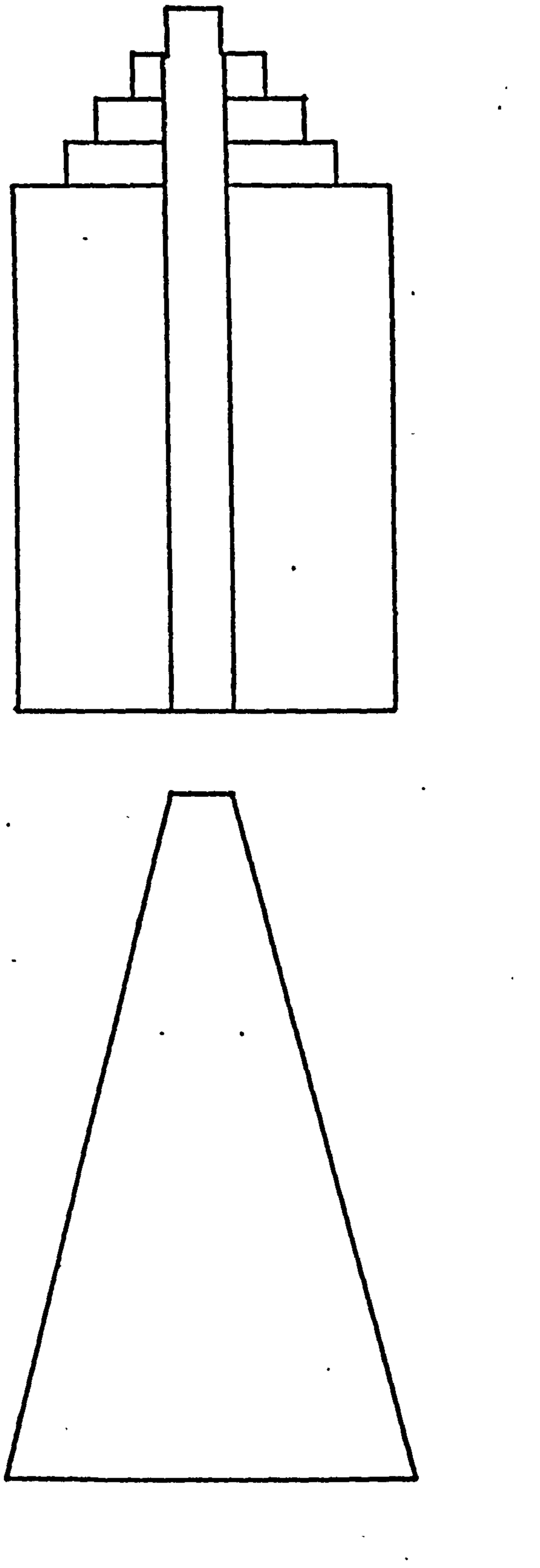
Maitland, Diary, p. 164.

Yate, Khurasan, p. 23.

Allchin and Hammond, eds., Archaeology, p. 389.



75) Cat.no.59. Qūsh Ribat: plan
(after Pugachenkova)



76) Cat.no.59. Qūsh Ribat: detail of window

HERAT, GHĀR-I DARVĪSHĀN

Location On a hill ca. 300m N of the concrete road skirting the northern edge of Herat, N of the area known as the Bāgh-i Dasht.

Plan (Fig. 77) Aivan leading to an irregular enclosed space.

Elevation a) exterior: The monument is located at the rear of a small platform on which five graves are marked out by rectangular heaps of stones. Similar stones are arranged on the roof and on either side of the aivan, camouflaging the building and making it difficult to distinguish from the surrounding burial areas (Pl. 273).

The aivan arch has sharply curving shoulders. Its two-centred appearance may be due to displacement: at present only one course of brick supports the weight of the rubble above. Originally, the sides of the aivan would have continued upwards to form a rectangular frame.

b) interior: A low doorway leads to a dark interior. Two narrow windows at the back of the aivan provide the only supplementary light. Three sides of the interior are formed of natural rock. Courses of rubble masonry smooth the irregularities in the side walls and provide a base for the shallow brick squinch-vault above (Pl.274). A similar vault was used to repair one of the cells on the S of the courtyard of the Shrine at Gāzur Gāh.[1]

Decoration Traces of a mosaic-faience inscription remain on a rectangular panel over the doorway (Pl. 275). The script is a gold nasta^{c}liq on a dark-blue ground, with a lighter blue spiral. According to Saljūqī it is from a quatrain by Jāmī, although it does not appear in the Dīvān-i Kāmil-i Jāmī (ed. Hāshim Rāżi, Tehran 1341/1962). What remains of the inscription is consistent with Saljūqī's restoration, which is as follows:

ای داشته از سلطنت عالم ننك

وی آمده از جفای ایام بتنك

بیرون زده زین سرای فانی اورنك

بر دامن کوه در بر آورده زسنك

From royalty he had a world of fame

From time's yoke he became sorrowful

Honour cast off from this transitory abode

On the side of the mountain he erected (this building) of stone.

The inscription provides us with the only reliable dating criteria. The script is nasta^{c}liq, which would suggest a date not earlier than late 15th century. The letters of the inscription are a deep amber-gold colour; in Safavid mosaic-faience colour schemes this was usually replaced by a brighter yellow hue. Together these factors would indicate a date of ca. 1500 A.D.

Material Burnt brick 26 x 26 x 5cm. RJ 1cm, HJ 1.5cm.

Function According to the inscription, if Saljūqī is correct, the building served as a place of retreat for one who renounced the world.[2] Its situation beside a graveyard on a lonely hillside far removed from the amenities of life, the name of the site itself and the limited interior space all corroborate this function.

Towards the end of his life Shaikh Zain al-Dīn Khvāfī (d. 838/1434-5) built a zāwiya in a corner of the mountain (dar gūsha-yi kūh) of Gudhara, the bulūk which included the range of hills to the S of Ziyāratgāh. The zāwiya was named Darvīshābād, and we are told that Shaikh Zain al-Dīn repeatedly performed the "forty" there, undoubtedly referring to a forty-day retreat.[3] This structure could have been very similar to the Ghār-i Darvīshān. The latter, however, may have had a building history similar to that of Pīr-i Bakrān, where a pīr's

rudimentary dwelling became part of a shrine finished after his death. A disciple of Kījīk Mīrzā may then have been responsible for its erection. The inscription is more likely to refer to someone who is already dead, and the reference in it to a building of stone, if it is not merely poetic license, may apply to an earlier dwelling place of the ascetic. The pīr and his followers presumably occupy the five graves in front of the aivan.

Condition Good.

Recorded June 1975.

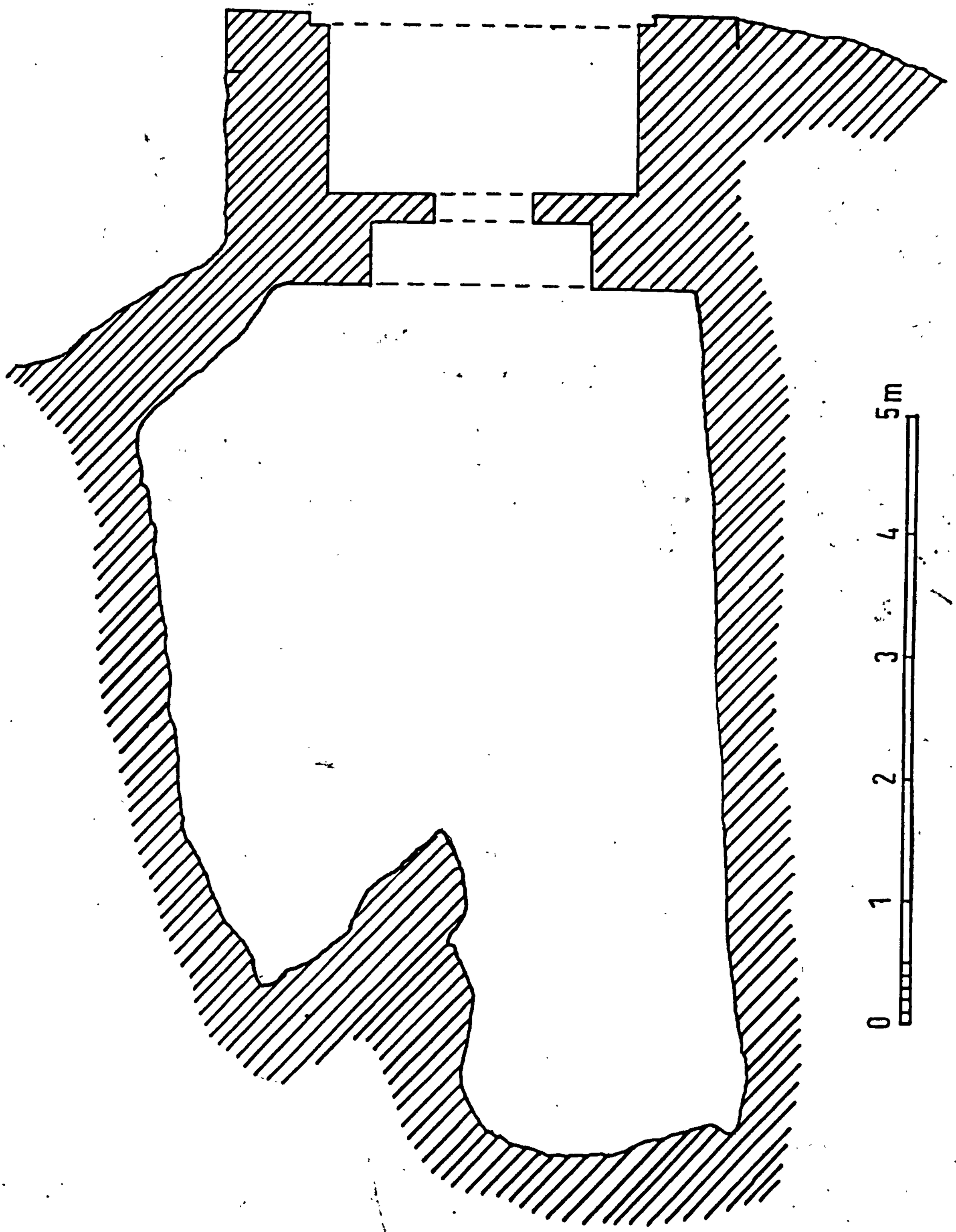
Notes

1) Golombek, Gazur Gah, Fig. 52.
2) Saljūqī speculates (p. 61) that Kījīk Mīrzā, a nephew of Sultan Husain, who became a religious ascetic after performing the pilgrimage to Mecca, is referred to. For his biography see HS, IV, pp. 174-7.
3) MI, p. 81; Allen, Catalogue, no. 543.

Bibliography

Saljūqī, RMH 4, pp. 61-2.

Ghauvās, Rahnamā, p. 39.



77) Cat.no.60. Herat, Ghār-i Darvīshān: plan

KADKAN, MAZAR-I NIZĀM AL-MULK

Location The village of Kadkan is situated ca. 55km due S of Nīshāpūr and ca. 41km NW of Turbat-i Ḥaidariyya. A good unpaved road connects with the two cities. The mazar is set against a steeply rising slope on the outskirts of the village.

Historical references No mention of the mazar has been found, but the village is mentioned as a residence of Shaikh Farīd al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār in the inscription on the 8th/15th century tombstone in his mausoleum in Nīshāpūr.[1]

Plan (Fig. 78) Aivan with an upper gallery flanked on S by domed room and on N by vaulted hall.

Elevation a) exterior: More of the building was intact at the time of Sykes' and Maulavī's visits, and the latter publishes a picture of the portal screen of the aivan[2] and the wall flanking it to the S, both of which are now destroyed. From the photograph it appears that the wall to the S, which would have led into the dome chamber, had a blind niche next to the aivan and a window further S. A hill unfortunately obscures the lower part of the walls. According to Sykes the exterior of the dome was decorated in white, dark- and light-blue tiles. He makes no mention of its shape.

The only original part of the exterior which survives today is the N wall and part of the E wall of the vaulted hall. For the moment we may use the term shabistān (winter prayer hall) by which Maulavī describes this hall. The wall is divided by a series of reveals into panels of blind arches. There is only one of these now present on the E wall as the wall to the S of the doorway has been rebuilt.

b) interior: Maulavī shows photographs of the interior of the dome

chamber which indicate that it had a cruciform plan with a squinch-net zone of transition.[3] He mentions a dado of finely cut dark-blue and white tiles which has now completely vanished.[4] Of all this only a fragment of the NW squinch and the recess adjoining it is left. The remains of painted decoration cling precariously to the remaining vaults: on a brown-red ground medallions are outlined in white or red and are filled with white arabesques; dark-blue and black are also sparingly used (Pl. 278). Maulavī noted a painted inscription with Quran XXXVI as far as verse 36, after which was the date Dhu'l-Ḥijja 906/July-August 1501.[5] He also noted that underneath this plaster there was another layer of painted plaster which showed that this date must be that of a later restoration.[6] The same feature of several layers of painted plaster can easily be made out today. Sykes compared the interior to the tomb of Khvaja Rabīᶜ, and without the presence of the date which Maulavī noticed one might indeed have suggested a date on stylistic grounds of up to a century later for the painting, with its emphasis on a few large medallions rather than the Timurid preference for smaller units.

The chief interest of the shabistan to the other side of the aivan lies in its vaulting, rendered more conspicuous by painting the brick joints with white plaster (Pl. 279). At its centre are two transverse vaults of a peculiar profile incorporating a cross-vault. Abutting these at either end are two cloister vaults, the centre span of which is transverse vaulted with the same profile as the two large ones in the middle. The squinches at either end of the cloister vaults are simply corbelled towards their apex, but variety is achieved by inserting a section in the middle of the squinch where the bricks are laid in segmental curves. The vaulting as a whole is very similar to the oratories which flank the qibla aivan of the Bajistān Masjid-i Jamiᶜ

(Cat. No. 8). A gallery on the N side of the shabistān is divided into niches vaulted by semi-domes with unusually archaic squinches (Pl. 280) resembling those of Fīrūzābād—or of the semi-dome over the mihrab at the Ziyaratgāh Friday Mosque. Four small cells are introduced into the thick wall below the gallery, and two more are found on either side of the plain semi-octagonal mihrab, the latter being the same shape as that in the central aivan.

The S wall of the shabistān has been partly rebuilt, but at the SW corner an original staircase leads to the gallery, and also communicates with small rooms at the back of the aivan. Further up it reaches a higher gallery above these small rooms. This gallery is composed of three rooms, the central rectangular, the two flanking it semi-octagonal. The remains of vaulting on one of the latter seem to indicate that it was covered with a corbelled semi-dome with elaborate brick lays similar to those in the shabistān.

Furnishings In the dome chamber there was a tombstone in the name of one Shaikh Muᶜizz al-Dīn Nizām al-Mulk, dated 7 Muharram 938/22 August 1531. This had been removed for safekeeping to a nearby house at the time of Maulavī's visit,[7] and according to my local informants subsequently stolen and later recovered from Nīshāpūr. It is now in the Masjid-i Jamiᶜ. Some later tombstones have been added to the E wall of the shabistān.

Materials Bricks 24 x 24 x 5cm; RJ minimal to 1/2cm, HJ 1.2cm. The mortar is coloured by the presence of a little mud and small pebbles. The repairs on the S wall of the shabistān include a rubble facing to a height of 127cm.

Date Assuming that the date was correctly read by Maulavī, the mazar must have been built before 906H., when the dome chamber was redecorated. Dating controls, however, are few. The squinch nets certainly indicate

a fifteenth century date, although they have irregular hexagons above the series of rhomboids, which appears first in late fifteenth century monuments such as the Masjid-i Gunbad and the Jami^{c} of Ziyāratgāh (Cat. Nos. 38, 45). The vaulting of the shabistān is paralleled by two monuments, the Friday Mosque of Bajistān and the cistern of Mīr ^{c}Alī Shīr opposite the citadel in Herat (897/1491-2) (Cat. No. 53), which also have cloister vaults abutting tansverse vaults.

It is likely, then, that the building was erected in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, although admittedly this raises an unanswered question of why the decoration of the dome chamber was redone in 906H.

Function In spite of the mundane elements which make up this complex of aivan, vaulted hall and dome chamber, their relationship to one another, and such details as the two-storey galleries and rooms of the aivan and the cells of the hall, combine to make the plan an unusual one. Firstly, it abandons one of the main preoccupations of Timurid architecture, that of symmetry. This could be contrasted with the Shrine of Khvaja Ahmad Yassavī, for instance, which accommodates a large range of functions and rooms within a near symmetrical plan. Secondly, its disposition of galleries along the N wall of the hall and on the third-storey level at the back of the aivan is not readily paralleled by earlier buildings.

Although the building is known today as the mazar of Khvaja Nizām al-Mulk this, as Maulavī points out, is unlikely to be the original designation, as his tombstone is dated 938, 32 years after the repairs of 906. The inscription on the tombstone does give part of his genealogy, indicating that he was descended from two other shaikhs, his father Shihāb al-Dīn Salām Allāh and grandfather Na^{c}īm al-Dīn Ni^{c}matallāh al-Khalva'ī al-Kubrawī. The nisba al-Kubrawī indicates a

a follower of the tarīqa of Najm al-Dīn Kubra, and we might expect that Shaikh Shihāb al-Dīn and Nizām al-Mulk were also followers of the order. This being so, one could speculate that the mazar is a khanqah, perhaps erected for Na^{c}īm al-Dīn al-Kubrawī and his followers. Na^{c}īm al-Dīn may have been buried in the dome chamber, followed by his descendants, although only the tombstone of his grandson is extant.

The small cells, either for residences or for chilla, the larger hall and aivan for prayer, communal recitations and accommodation of travellers, the tomb of the shaikh—these are all elements that one would expect to find in a Timurid khanqah.[8] Even granted that this was the original function, however, it must be admitted that the arrangement of the building is an unusual one. It was presumably erected under local patronage, perhaps from Nīshāpūr, the nearest large town. The Timurid historians are similarly silent about the erection of the Friday Mosque there in 899/1493-4. This may explain the non-conformity with what we know of metropolitan Timurid architecture, although there is the possibility that some of the buildings described as khanqahs by Khvāndamīr in the Khulāsat al-Akhbār which have not survived may have provided prototypes.

Notes

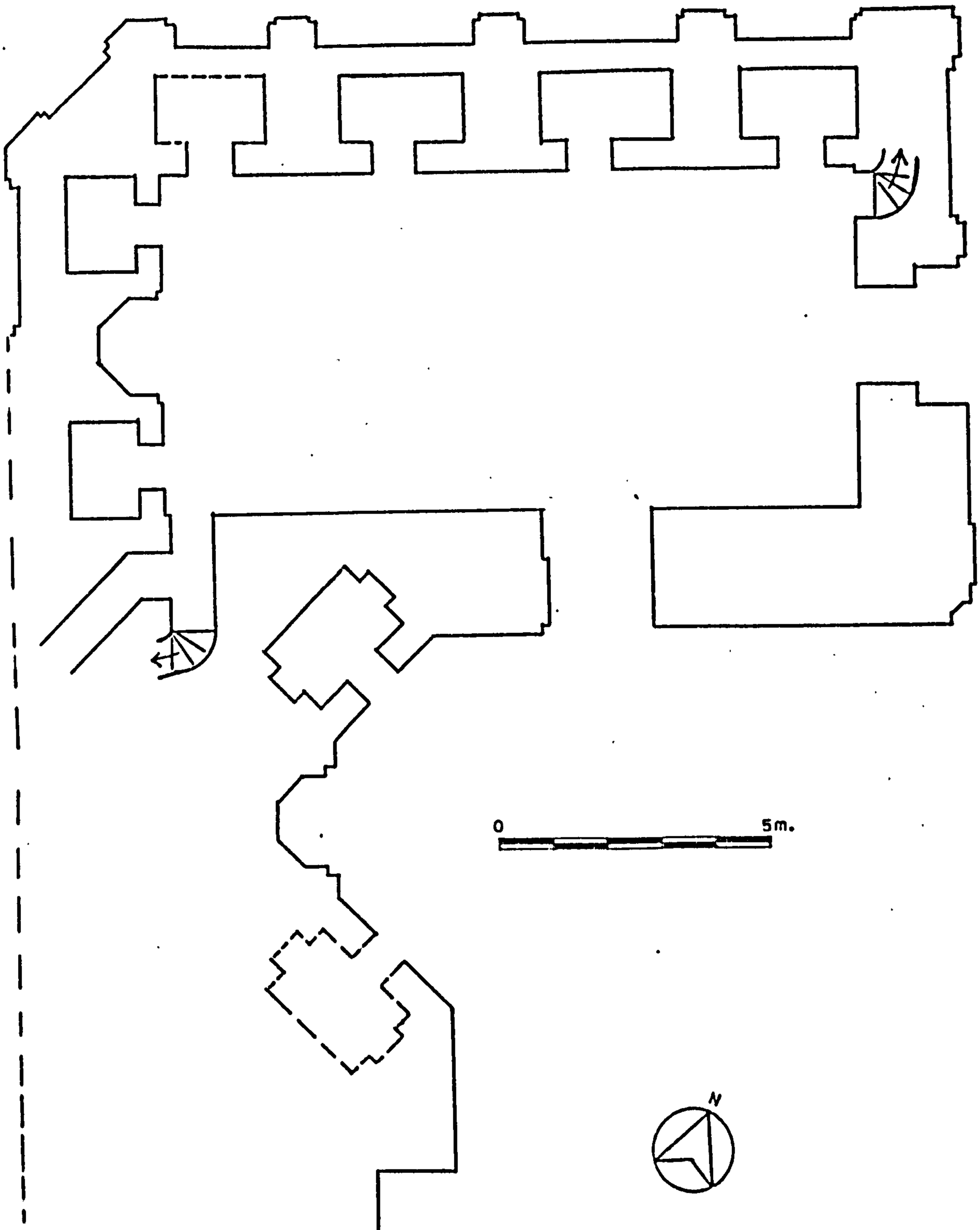
1) See Catalogue No. 52.
2) Maulavī, p. 33.
3) Pp. 31-2.
4) P. 30.
5) P. 31.
6) P. 32.
7) The text of the inscription on the tombstone is given on pp. 32-3.
8) Compare the description of a buq^{c}a in Yazd in O'Kane, "Tāybād," p. 95.

Bibliography

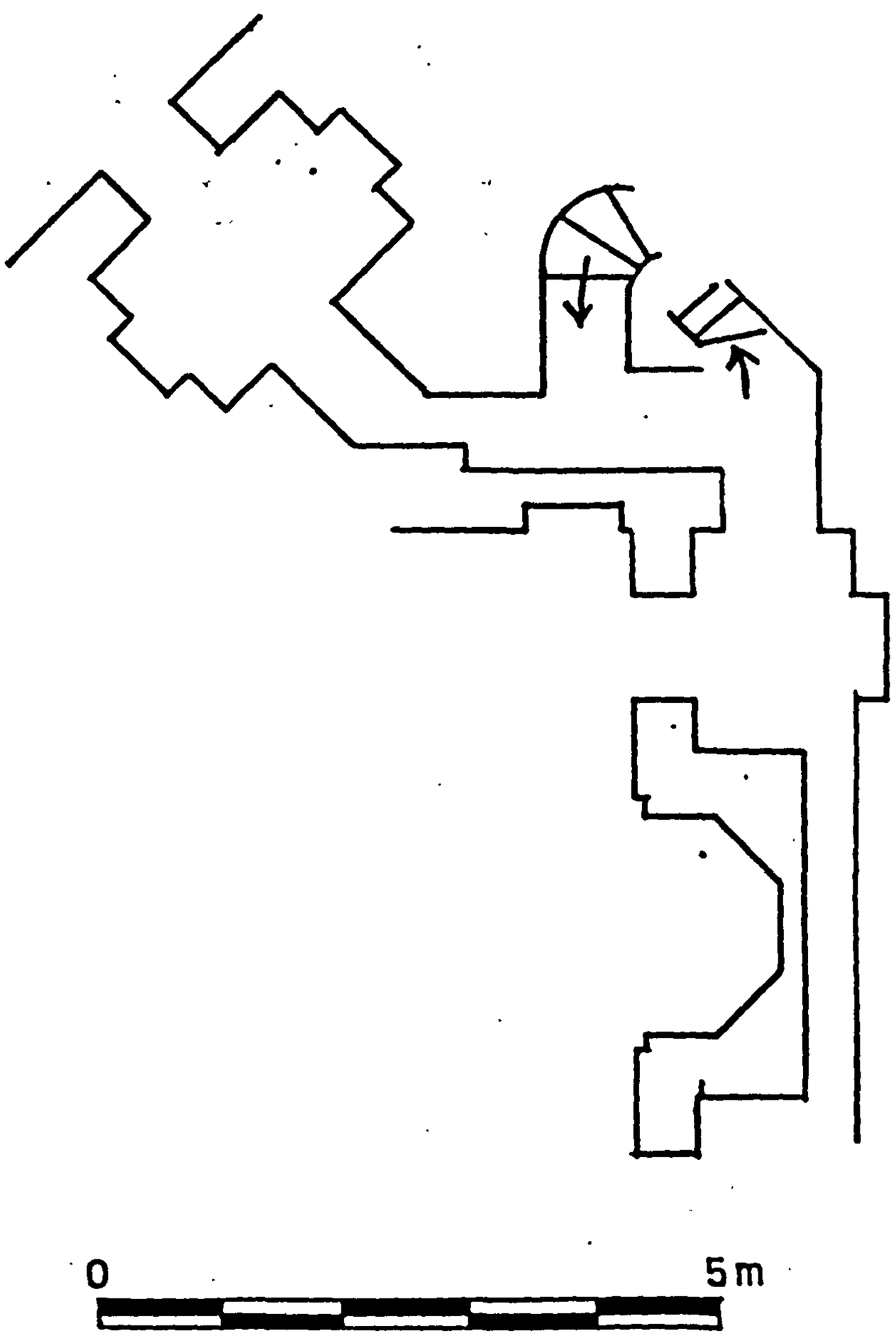
Maulavī, "Kadkan," pp. 28-34.

Sykes, "Sixth Journey," p. 156.

Mishkūtī, Fihrist, p. 95.



78) Cat.no.61. Kadkan, Mazar-i Nizām al-Mulk: plan



79) Cat.no.61. Kadkan, Mazar-i Nizam al-Mulk: plan of mezzanine floor