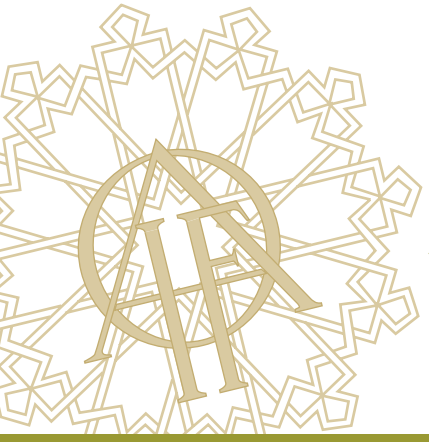
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AnIsl 20 (1984), p. 85-101

Bernard O’Kane

Salǧūq Minarets: Some New Data [avec 4 planches].

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SALĞŪQ MINARETS : SOME NEW DATA

Bernard O'KANE

Salğūq architecture is particularly rich in minarets, with over forty extant from the territory of modern Iran, and nearly half that number of contemporary examples in Afghanistan and Soviet Central Asia. Such a legacy, unrivalled in any other part of the medieval Islamic world, is all the more impressive in an area which is one of the world's major earthquake zones. If it is surprising that so many have survived earthquakes, it is equally strange, for instance, that so many have been unaffected by the depredations of brickhunters, especially when the mosques which they adjoined have, in many cases, completely disappeared.

One of the three minarets which I propose to discuss in this paper [1], that of Qāsimābād [2], provides a possible solution for this phenomenon : it was attached to a mosque completely built of sundried bricks [3]. These would be suitable for the stresses of a structure of modest height, while the tall thin shaft of the minaret would require baked bricks to prevent it from collapsing upon itself. Although sufficient remained of the buildings surrounding the Qāsimābād minaret in the early 20th century to show that it was originally a courtyard structure [4], in the case of other minarets which are now completely free-standing such as those of Ziyār, Fīrūzābād or Ḫusrawgird [5], the perishable nature of an adjacent mud brick mosque might account for their present isolation [6].

[1] An earlier version of this paper was delivered at a symposium on Salğūq art held in the University of Edinburgh in August-September 1982. I would like to thank Alaa El-Din Shahin for his drawings of Figs. 5-7.

[2] The village of Qāsimābād is situated 7 km. northwest of Zāhidān in Iranian Sīstān.

[3] G.P. Tate, *Seistan* (Calcutta, 1910), p. 268.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] For Ziyār see M.B. Smith, « The Manârs of Iṣfahân », *Āṯhâr-e Îrân* I (1036), pp. 341-6. Fīrūzābād : E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler* (Berlin, 1918), pp. 50-1. Ḫusrawgird : *Ibid.*, pp. 48-9.

[6] A « nearly totally disappeared » mud brick building, presumably a mosque, still lies adjacent to the minaret of Ḫwāğa Siyāh Pūš. See K. Fischer, « Interrelations of Islamic Architecture in Afghanistan », *Marg* XXIV/1 (December 1970), p. 56. For a developement of the argument that isolated minarets may have served as beacons or watch towers see A. Hutt, *The Development of the Minaret in Iran under the Saljûqs*, M. Phil., University of London 1974, pp. 113-20.

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In urban centres which have remained constantly populated, however, the fabric of the main mosques was frequently repaired or renewed as necessary throughout the centuries. A tall minaret of baked brick would be less likely to be altered or replaced in such repair work for a number of reasons : firstly, because of its inherent stability, and secondly, because of the difficulties involved in fully demolishing it. A third consideration could well have been aesthetic : unlike the main body of a Salğūq mosque, the minaret was almost invariably adorned with fanciful decoration in the form of diaper bonding or Kufic inscriptions. These factors may well be responsible for the large number of Salğūq minarets which are attached to mosques of much later date [1].

TAFRIŠ

To these latter examples may be added the minaret of the Friday Mosque of Tafriš, a monument which does not seem to have attracted the attention of scholars previously [2]. The town, located to the northwest of Qum, « is so situated that from all sides you must cross passes and descend thereto » [3]. In medieval sources it is most frequently mentioned along with Qum, Sāva and Âva as being one of the main centres of Šīʿism [4].

The Friday Mosque to which the minaret is attached bears a date of 1273/1856-7 on the entrance portal and apart from the minaret does not bear any sign of earlier work.

DESCRIPTION. The minaret consists of a slightly tapering circular shaft of baked brick (Fig. 1, Pl. XI). It was originally taller than its present height of 16 m., the top course at present consisting of a row of modern bricks.

[1] E.g. Dāmġān, Zarand, Kāšān, Varzana, Gurgān and Nūšābād. Dāmġān : C. Adle and A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, « Les monuments du XI[e] siècle du Dâmġân », *Studia Iranica* I (1972), pp. 243-9. Zarand : A. Hutt, « Three Minarets in the Kirmân Region », *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1970), pp. 172-5. Kāšān : A. Hutt and L. Harrow, *Iran* 1 (London, 1977), pp. 86-7. Varzana : A. Hutt, « Recent Discoveries in Iran, 1969-70 : a Major Islamic Monument », *Iran* IX (1971), p. 160; for illustrations see *idem, The Development of the Minaret,* Pls. 81-2. Gurgān : Hutt and Harrow, *op. cit.*, p. 123. Nūšābād : R. Hillenbrand, « Saljûq Monuments in Iran : the Mosques of Nûshâbâd », *Oriental Art* n.s. XXII (1976), pp. 265-72.

[2] The article of Mihdî Bahrâmî, « Āṯâr-i târîḫî-yi Tafriš », *Mağala-yi Āmûziš u Parvariš* XI/1 Farvardīn 1319/1940, pp. 40-8, is concerned only with some of the mausoleums in the town.

[3] Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb,* ed. G. le Strange (Leiden and London, 1915), p. 68; trad. G. le Strange (Leiden and London 1919), p. 72.

[4] A. Bausani, « Religion in the Saljuq Period » in *The Cambridge History of Iran, V, The Saljuq and Mongol Periods,* ed. J.A. Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), p. 294.

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A flight of eight steps inside the mosque leads to a rectangular doorway beyond which the staircase spirals upwards around a rectangular newel in the usual anticlockwise direction.

The base of the shaft is revetted with modern stone slabs, but above this the shaft is divided into a number of decorative bands. The first section above the socle in plain bond is superseded by one of the most common patterns in Salğūq minarets, interlacing lozenges. The pointing of this section is flush with the brick surface, making the design harder to discern than is usual in other examples [1].

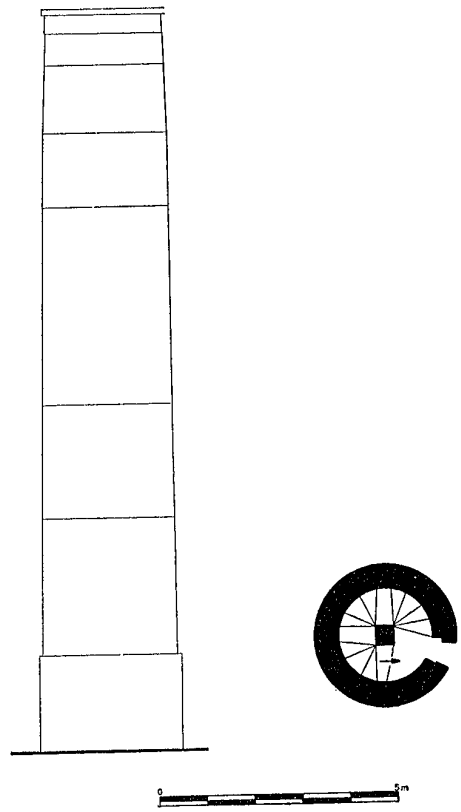


Fig. 1. — Tafriš, Friday Mosque. Plan and elevation of minaret.

The wider band above this consists of decoration in plain bond, but one which is differentiated from that below by means of wider rising joints, with finger-impressed brick plugs. Although this offers an expanse of relatively plain decoration, the emphasis given to the wide rising joints encourages the eye to find diagonal patterns, speeding one's vision upwards towards the second diaper pattern, one which is closely related to, but not exactly the same as the one below.

Just below the present summit are the scanty remains of a Kufic inscription (Pl. XI *b*). Unfortunately this is so fragmentary that it is difficult to make out individual letters, much less words. No traces remain of any signs of ornamentation either in the background field or on the letters themselves, an indication that the original inscription may have been as plain as those of the Gurgān or Kāšān Friday Mosques, or that of Sangbast [2].

[1] E.g. in the minarets of Kāšān (see p. 86, n. 1 above) or Kirmān, for which see Hutt, « Three Minarets », pp. 175-8.

[2] For Gurgān and Kāšān see p. 86, n. 1 above, Sangbast : D. Sourdel and J. Sourdel-Thomine, « A propos des monuments de Sangbast », *Iran* XVII (1979), pp. 109-114.

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DATING. Given the lack of decoration of the inscription and the fairly pedestrian character of the decoration of the rest of the shaft, it is difficult on stylistic grounds to suggest a precise date for the minaret.

The plainness of the inscription, however, is in fact a positive feature which serves to distinguish it from the more elaborate variety which was prevalent in the earlier 11th century or the later 12th century. The minaret of Sangbast, for instance, has recently been ascribed to the early twelfth century on the grounds that the simplicity of its inscription accords well with such other minarets as those of Dawlatābād (502/1108-9). Sāva (503/1109-10 and 504/1110-1), Ḫusrawgird (505/1111-2) and Bisṭām (514/1120-1) [1].

A succession of decorated and plain bands are found in a number of other Salğūq minarets. Apart from those mentioned above, the minarets of Nūšābād, Zavāra Friday Mosque, Varzana and the Iṣfahān manār Guldasta are all broadly similar [2].

One negative feature, the lack of any glazed elements, should also be considered here. There are in fact few dated examples of minarets with glazed tilework between the first dated occurrence at Sīn (526/1132) and those of the end of the twelfth century such as Ǧām (590/1193-4) and Vabkent (593/1197) [3]. Its sparse use on the minarets of Sīn and the Zavāra Friday Mosque (530/1135-6) suggest that they are at the naissance of its external use, while the numerous Salğūq minarets of the Iṣfahān area with more elaborate glazed tilework [4] indicate that it was a technique which proved immediately popular. It seems that few minarets erected after that of Sīn (526/1132) failed to avail themselves of the opportunities glazing offered to highlight an inscription or decorative band.

Geographically the nearest Salğūq minarets to Tafriš which survive are those of Sāva. One was built adjoining the Friday Mosque by Muḥammad b. Malikšāh in 504/1110-1 and another, built one year earlier by the local ruler, Abū Dulaf Surḫāb, adjoins the Masğid-i Maydān [5]. They are different in style, the latter being much simpler and bearing

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

[2] For Nūšābād see p. 86, n. 1 above. Zavāra : Hutt and Harrow, *Iran* 1, Pl. 52. Varzana : Hutt, *Developement*, Pl. 47. Iṣfahān : Smith, « Manârs », Fig. 219.

[3] Sīn : M.B. Smith, « Material for a Corpus of Early Iranian Architecture. III. Two Dated Seljuk Monuments at Sîn (Iṣfahân) », *Ars Islamica* VI (1938), pp. 1-10. Ǧām : A. Maricq and G. Wiet, *Le Minaret de Djam* (Paris, 1959) (Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, T. XVI). Vabkent : B. O'Kane, « The Minaret of Vabkent », *Proceedings of the Symposium on the Art of the Saljūqs in Iran and Anatolia*, ed R. Hillenbrand (forthcoming).

[4] ʿAlī, Sārabān, Ziyār and Rahravān : see Smith, « Manârs », pp. 332-46.

[5] G.C. Miles, « Inscriptions on the Minarets of Saveh, Iran » in *Studies in Art and Architecture in Honour of K.A.C. Creswell* (Cairo, 1965), pp. 163-78.

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a clear resemblance to that of Tafriš. Perhaps Abū Dulaf might have erected minarets in other towns under his dominion at the same time, or perhaps the examples of those of Sāva could have spurred the inhabitants of Tafriš to emulate them. Other nearby towns also have examples of architecture from the first half of the twelfth century, such as the Friday Mosque of Gulpāygān (498-512/1104-18) and the nearby, probably contemporary minaret, or the dome chamber of the Friday Mosque of Burūğird (530/1135-6). While the minaret of Tafriš is less elaborately decorated than any of these, one should remember that it is, and was, a provincial town. In the *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* Mustawfī writes that the annual revenue of the thirteen willages which comprised the district of Tafriš was 6,000 *dīnār*s, a paltry sum compared to the 117,000 which he ascribes to Kāšān [1].

In conclusion, it seems incontrovertible that minaret of the Tafriš Friday Mosque dates from the Salğūq period. Unlike other undated brick minarets such as those of 'Alā' near Simnān, Nayrīz or the Mīl-i Nādirī [2], whose anepigraphic character or decoration leaves a nagging doubt as to their Salğūq dating, the decorative bands of Tafriš and especially the traces of a Kufic inscription provide a clear mandate for one. The absence of glazed elements suggests that this should be earlier than the second half of the twelfth century, while the amount of Salğūq architectural activity in nearby urban centres in the first half of the twelfth century indicates that the Tafriš minaret could well have been built at that time. Although not a monument of the highest aesthetic importance it provides more evidence to show that even in minor provincial towns Salğūq architecture of a high standard was being produced.

QĀSIMĀBĀD

In contrast to the minaret of Tafriš, that of Qāsimābād [3] has been long been familiar to Islamicists, mainly through a number of publications in the early twentieth century by G.P. Tate [4]. Several attempts were made to read those parts of the inscription which were visible in Tate's photographs; these suggested that the lower inscription bore the name of Tāğ al-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl Naṣr and the upper one that of his great grandson Tāğ al-Dīn Ḥarab [5].

(1) Text, p. 68, tr. p. 72. Although Mustawfī was writing in the 14th century, the situation is unlikely to have been very different two centuries earlier.

(2) Hutt and Harrow, *Iran* 1, Pls. 35, 20 and 27 respectively.

(3) The village is located some 8 km northwest of Zāhidān, the capital of Iranian Sīstān.

(4) *Seistan* (Calcutta, 1910), pp. 268-71, ills. opp. pp. 22, 270; *The Frontiers of Baluchistan*, ill. opp. p. 224; « Inscriptions from Sistan », *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1904, pp. 171-3.

(5) A.G. Ellis, « Inscriptions from Sistan », *JRAS* 1904, p. 174; R.C.E.A. n^{os} 3259, 3786.

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Apart from several brief references in later publications to the works of Tate, no one interested in the monument seemed to have visited the site before Anthony Hutt in the early 1970's, who was able to ascertain that the minaret had fallen down around 1955 [1].

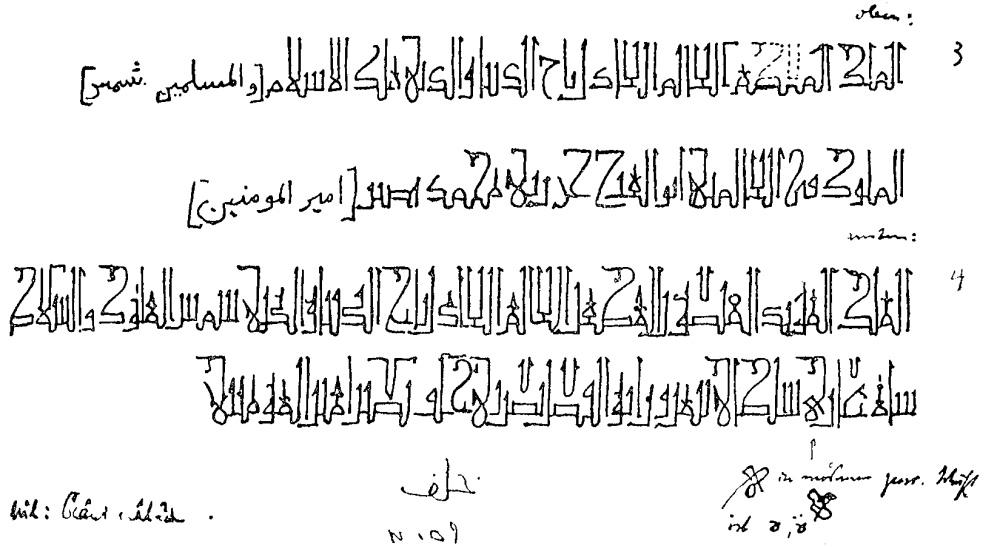
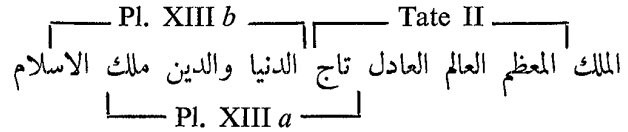


Fig. 2. — Qāsimābād, minaret. Sketch of upper and lower inscriptions by Herzfeld.

Fortunately, however, recent research in the Herzfeld archives in the Freer Gallery of Art has uncovered some photographs of the minaret and beautifully detailed transcriptions and readings of the two Kufic inscriptions (Fig. 2, Pls. XIII *b*, XIV *a-b*) [2]. Two unpublished photographs in the Royal Geographical Society, one of very high quality, are also of considerable help in verifying Herzfeld's work (Pls. XII, XIII *a*). His readings are as follows :

upper inscription :



[1] Hutt, *Developement*, p. 292.

[2] I would like to thank Esin Atil and Holly Edwards for facilitating my work in the Freer Gallery. Herzfeld's material on the minaret is contained in Sketchbook XIII, pp. 26-7, which contains on the spot records (see Fig. 4), and Notebook 109, pp. 3-4, which seems to have been written up later (see Fig. 2).

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Pl. XII
والمسلمين شمش) الملوك فى العالمين ابو الفتح حرب بن محمد
Tate I

نصير (امير المومنين)

lower inscription :

Pl. XIV *a*
Pl. XIII *b*
الملك الموید المنصور المظفر العالم العادل تاج الدنیا والدین
Pl. XIV *b*
Tate II
Pl. XIII *a*

Pl. XIV *a*
Pl. XII
Pl. XIII *b*
شمش الملوك والسلاطين شاه غازى سلطان نيمروز ابو الفضل نصر
Pl. XIV *b*
Tate I
Pl. XIII *a*

Pl. XII
بن خلف نصير امير المومنين

The numbered brackets underneath and above the text correspond to those portions which can be seen in the plates [1]. Although it has not been possible to find complete photographic coverage of the inscriptions, it can nevertheless be seen that virtually all of Herzfeld's reading can be verified, sufficient to suggest that the remainder of his on the spot recording is likely to have been accurate.

The two Tāğ al-Dīns mentioned in the inscription are members of the Ṣaffārid dynasty, an exceptionally long-lived family who survived conquest by several other rulers. The Tāğ al-Dīn Naṣr b. Ḫalaf who is mentioned in the lower inscription came to power in

[1] Tate I and II refer to the illustrations in his *Seistan* opp. pp. 22 and 270 respectively.

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Sistan in 499/1106 [1]. In the *Tārīḫ-i Sīstān* his father is given the *laqab* Bahā' al-Dawla, a title given to both Bahā' al-Dawla Ṭāhir and Bahā' al-Dawla Ḫalaf. There was some doubt as to which of these two brothers was the father of Tāğ al-Dīn [2], a doubt which this inscription now resolves in favour of the latter.

Ğūzğānī, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī,* is particularly praiseworthy of Tāğ al-Dīn, relating how both in the city and province of Sīstān numerous monuments (*āṯār*) of his goodness remained [3]. As an example of his learning and enlightenment he relates how the sovereign himself occasionally read the Friday *ḫuṭba* [4]. Perhaps Tāğ al-Dīn ordered the mausoleum (*rawḍa*) in which Ğūzğānī says he was buried in Sīstān [5]. It seems likely that his reign was one which was conducive to the patronage of public works.

After his death, aged over 100, in Ša'bān 559 / June-July 1164 [6] he was succeeded by his son Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad who promptly blinded one of his brothers, 'Izz al-Mulūk, and put another eighteen to death in one day [7]. His reign continued in the same blood-thirsty manner until Tāğ al-Dīn Ḥarb, the son of 'Izz al-Mulūk, organised a coup in concert with the nobles on 11th Ša'bān 564 / 11 May 1169 [8].

Ğūzğānī is equally laudatory of Tāğ al-Dīn Ḥarb's reign. He is reputed to have shown extreme favour to the *'ulamā'*. He also ordered that a carpet should be woven for every mosque of Bukhārā and that similar floor coverings and other gifts should be sent to the Shrine at Mecca [9].

Since Tāğ al-Dīn ruled for some 60 years, dying in 612/1215-6 [10], one could be excused for thinking that he must have been a very young man when he first occupied the throne. In fact the individual members of the dynasty seem to have reflected the longevity of the dynasty itself — Tāğ al-Dīn was one hundred and twenty (lunar) years old when he died and therefore a mere sixty upon his accession [11]. When then in the exceedingly long lifetime of Tāğ al-Dīn might the minaret have been built?

[1] *Tārīḫ-i Sīstān,* ed. Malik al-Šu'arā' Bahār (Tehran, 1314/1935), p. 390.

[2] C.E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh, 1980), p. 103.

[3] Ed. H. Ḥabībī (Kabul, 1964), p. 276, tr. H.G. Raverty (London, 1881), II, p. 187.

[4] Text, p. 277, tr. p. 189.

[5] *Loc. cit.*

[6] *Tārīḫ-i Sīstān,* p. 391.

[7] *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī,* text p. 277, tr. p. 189.

[8] *Tārīḫ-i Sīstān,* p. 391; *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī,* text pp. 191-2, tr. pp. 278-9. Ğūzğānī makes it clear that Tāğ al-Dīn Ḥarb was the son of 'Izz al-Mulūk and therefore the grandson of Tāğ al-Dīn Naṣr, rather than the great grandson, as assumed by Tate and Ellis.

[9] Text, p. 279, tr. p. 192.

[10] *Loc. cit.*

[11] *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī,* text, p. 279, tr. p. 193. According to the *Tārīḫ-i Sīstān,* p. 393, he died on 3 Rağab 610 / 18 November 1213.

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One surprising aspect of the inscriptions is the apparently equal prominence which they give to each ruler. Tate suggested that this was because the minaret was begun under Tāğ al-Dīn Naṣr and finished later under Tāğ al-Dīn Ḥarb [1]. But there is no sign of any break in bond or differences in epigraphy between the two inscriptions which would support such a theory. It would be quite unprecedented in a Salğūq foundation inscription for a ruler to devote so much space to his ancestry, but when a tributary or relative of the ruler is the founder it is usual for him to give the full titles of his overlord [2]. In fact the protocol of Tāğ al-Dīn Naṣr is obviously more inflated — *al-mu'ayyad al-manṣūr* is absent from Tāğ al-Dīn Ḥarb's titles, and the former is described as *sulṭān* and *šams al-mulūk wa'l-salāṭīn,* whereas the latter is merely *malik* and *šams al-mulūk* [3].

The presence of the names of both rulers on the minaret indicates that the younger must have been responsible for its erection — had Tāğ al-Dīn Naṣr built it, there would have been no need for his grandson Tāğ al-Dīn Ḥarb to be mentioned. On the other hand, the inflated titulature of Tāğ al-Dīn Naṣr and in particular his epithet *sulṭān* versus the *malik* of Tāğ al-Dīn Ḥarb make it equally clear that the minaret must have been erected while Tāğ al-Dīn Naṣr was still the reigning *sulṭān,* i.e. before his death in 559/1164. As Tāğ al-Dīn Ḥarb had already reached the age of sixty upon his accession to the throne he would have had ample opportunity within the previous forty years or so to exercise his patronage.

At this stage the question may be raised of how or whether the stylistic evidence of the monument's form and decoration corresponds with the historical evidence.

The absence of glazed elements, as with the Tafriš minaret, suggests the earlier rather than the later half of the twelfth century [4]. As regards positive evidence, the inscriptions and their borders present a number of features which can be used for comparison. The lower inscription is framed by guard bands above and below consisting of waving terracotta strips forming a double bow pattern alternating with lozenges (Pl. XIV *a*). The increased

[1] *Seistan,* p. 271.

[2] See, for example, the inscriptions in the name of Abū Manṣūr Ilāldī in the Great Mosque of Diyarbakr which display prominently the name of the reigning Salğūq Sulṭān : R.C.E.A. nos 2973, 3007.

[3] For a contemporary example of the use of these terms see the inscription of 550/1155-6 of Abu'l-Muẓaffar Maḥmūd in the Great Mosque of Diyarbakr and in particular the comparative tables assembled by Herzfeld in *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum. IIe partie : Syrie du nord. Inscriptions et Monuments d'Alep* (Cairo, 1955), pp. 178-9. For a discussion of the origin of most of the terms used in the inscription see N. Elisséeff, « La titulature de Nûr ad-Dîn d'après ses inscriptions », *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* XIV (1952-4), pp. 155-96.

[4] See above, p. 88.

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height and elaboration of the inscription in the upper register calls for a more elaborate border, and this is provided by extra terracotta strips forming an interlace which echos that of the inscription itself (Pl. XII). Such guard bands are found in numerous other Salğūq minarets. At its simplest it appears just below the inscription of the Tafriš minaret (Pl. XI *b*) and at Kirmān, while more complicated examples akin to those of the upper field at Qāsimābād are found in several early twelfth century minarets : Sāva (504/1110-1), Dawlatābād (502/1108-9) and Ḫusrawgird (505/1111-2) [1]. The pattern seems to have been less popular thereafter, although a version of it can be seen on the lowest border of the second tier of the minaret of Ǧām (590/1193-4) [2].

The inscriptions themselves are extremely decorative, and call for comment. Three items can be considered here, the flowering tendrils (Fig. 4) and interlacing stems of the upper inscription, and the form of the letters themselves, which seems to be identical in both upper and lower inscriptions.

With the help of Herzfeld's drawings it has been possible to complete an alphabet (Fig. 3). All the letters have a variety of decorative flourishes above the line, the simplest being the swelling and narrowing to a point of *alif, bā, rā,* etc. (Fig. 3 n^{os} 1, 2, 5, 6, 12, 14, 17). Another group, the *fā, mīm* and *wāw* (Fig. 3 n^{os} 10, 13, 16), have terminals consisting of straight points, trilobes or half-trilobes, and in one case (Fig. 3 n° 13) a crescent-like appendage. The *ǧīm, ṭā* and *kāf* (Fig. 3 n^{os} 3, 8, 11) have related forms, resembling to a reversed S, with the uprights curving back along the line before bifurcating to the left. The final *nūn* and *yā* (Fig. 3 n^{os} 14, 17) are also similar to each other, knotting below the base line, with the stem rising vertically and then bifurcating left in a manner similar to the previous group.

The *ǧīm/hā* with a reverse S-curve ending in bifurcation is common in eleventh-twelfth century epigraphy, appearing on the walls of Diyarbakr in an inscription dated 42x/1029-37 [3] and on the minaret of Dawlatābād (502/1108-9) [4]. But an exact correspondance to the horizontal upper fork and the double curling lower fork (Fig. 3 n^{os} 3, 8, 11) is to be found in the inscriptions of the minarets of Ġazna, e.g. in the *kāf* of *malik* on Mas'ūd's

[1] Kirmān : Hutt, « Three Minarets », Pl. IV, where a circle, rather than the lozenge of Qāsimābād alternates with the double bow. Sāva Friday Mosque : Miles, « Inscriptions », Fig. 2 d. Dawlatābād : J. Sourdel-Thomine, « Deux minarets d'époque seljoukide en Afghanistan », *Syria* XXX (1953), Pl. XIX l. Ḫusrawgird : *A Survey of Persian Art,* ed. A.U. Pope and P. Ackerman (London and New York, 1938) (henceforth *Survey*), Pl. 358 b.

[2] Maricq and Wiet, Pl. III.

[3] S. Flury, *Islamische Schriftbänder : Amida-Diarbekr. XI Jahrhundert* (Basel, Paris, 1920), Pl. III.

[4] Sourdel-Thomine, « Deux minarets », Fig. 3.

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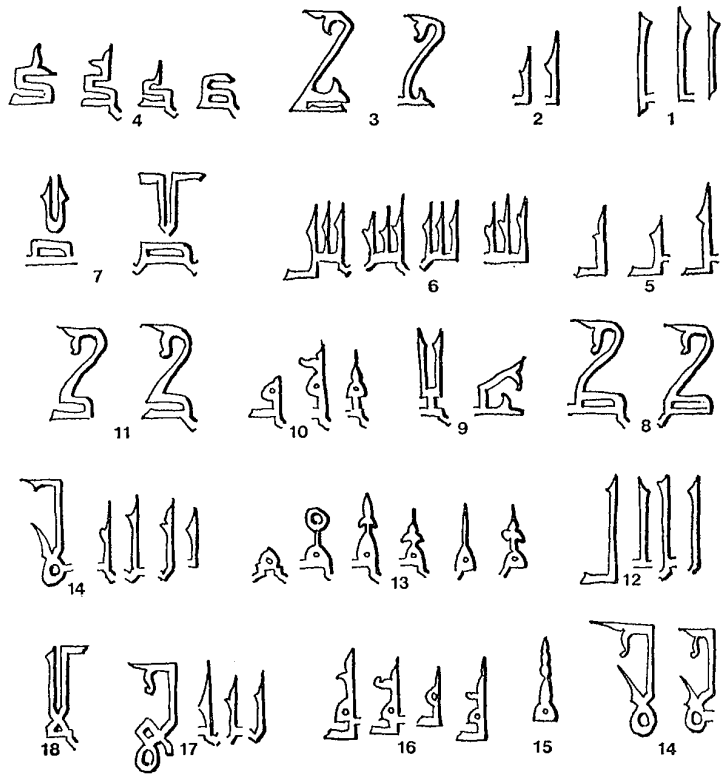


Fig. 3. — Qāsimābād, minaret. Alphabet of inscriptions.

minaret [1] or the *ẓā* of *muẓaffar* of Bahrāmšāh's [2]. Other striking similarities with these alphabets are the final *nūn*, e.g. in *mu'minīn* on Masʿūd's minaret [3] and *amīn* and *yamīn* on Bahrāmšāh's [4] the latter displaying exactly the same diagonal pointed termination of Qāsimābād. The S-shaped *dāl* with terminal bifurcation (Fig. 3 n° 4c) is found in the *dawla* [5] and *Masʿūd* [6] of the earlier and the *dawla* [7] of the later Ġazna minaret, while the initial and medial *ʿayn* (Fig. 3 n° 9) of Qāsimābād have exact counterparts in the *aʿẓam* [8] and *Saʿd* [9] of Masʿūd's minaret. One more detail shows the close resemblances of this group : the fleur-de-lis on top of the *fā* and *mīm* [10].

(1) *Survey*, Pl. 357 A.b.
(2) *Survey*, Pl. 357 B.d.
(3) *Survey*, Pl. 357 A.e.
(4) *Survey*, Pl. 357 B.d and c.
(5) *Survey*, Pl. 357 A.b.
(6) *Survey*, Pl. 357 A.a.
(7) *Survey*, Pl. 357 B.a.
(8) *Survey*, Pl. 357 A.c.
(9) *Survey*, Pl. 357 A.a.
(10) Cf. Fig. 3 n^{os} 10 and 13 with *Survey*, Pl. 357 A.e.

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The links between the inscriptions of the minarets of Ġazna and those of the later Ġaznavids and Ġūrids can be traced in a number of monuments : Bust, Čišt, Šāh-i Mašhad, Ğām and Herat [1]. The concept of a family grouping of these monuments is reinforced by the incorporation in their inscriptions of knotted stems and elaborate terracotta foliation above the letters. While each of these elements is common enough on its own [2], their combination is a feature typical of epigraphy only in the eastern Salğūq world.

The knotted stems of the Ġazna minarets and the mausoleum of Čišt are relatively simple. With the advent of Šāh-i Mašhad riotous contortions appear which are only slightly mitigated in the last of the series, the Herat Friday Mosque. The regular knotting of Qāsimābād (Pl. XII) clearly has more in common with the earlier Ġaznavid examples.

The foliation of this group also displays differences, with the attenuated tendrils and trilobed blossoms in two tiers of Masʿūd's minaret standing out from the generally coarser later work. The trilobed arch between the uprights of Masʿūd's minaret is repeated exactly at Qāsimābād (Fig. 4) and the trilobed buds which surround this area at Qāsimābād are those of Masʿūd's minaret writ large. The same trilobed arch and lobed buds or blossoms can also be found on the dado of Masʿūd's palace at Ġazna [3].

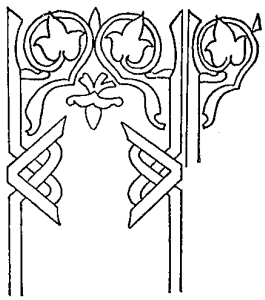


Fig. 4. — Qāsimābād, minaret. Detail of decoration by Herzfeld.

As the reattribution of the minaret formerly thought to have been the work of Maḥmūd to Bahrāmšāh showed, archaicisms can play havoc with the criteria used for dating by stylistic comparison. With this caveat in mind, however, the accumulated evidence of the decoration of the Qāsimābād minaret

[1] Bust : J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Lashkari Bazar. IB. Le Décor non figuratif et les Inscriptions* (Paris, 1978) (Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan t. XVIII), especially Ch. IV. Čišt : Maricq and Wiet, *Djam*, App. 1. Šāh-i Mašhad : M.J. Casimir and B. Glatzer, « Šāh-i Mašhad, a Recently Discovered Madrasah of the Ghurid Period in Ġarğistân (Afghanistan) », *East and West* n.s. XXI/1-2 (1971), pp. 53-68. Ğām : Maricq and Wiet. Herat : B. Glatzer, « Das Mausoleum und die Moschee des Ghoriden Ghiyât ud-Dîn in Herat », *Afghanistan Journal* VII/1, (1980), pp. 6-22.

[2] For an early example of knotting see the minaret of Termez (423/1031-2), Flury, *Islamiche Schriftbänder*, Pl. XX, and for a list of others, see Sourdel-Thomine, « Deux minarets », p. 120, nn. 3-4. Examples of terracotta folioation without knotting include Ḫargird : A. Godard, « Khorâsân », *Āthâr-ē Īrân* IV (1949), Fig. 61; Ribāt-i Šaraf : *ibid.*, Fig. 3; Zawzan : *ibid.*, Fig. 99; Ğām : Maricq and Wiet, *Djam*, Pl. VII.1.

[3] D. Hill and O. Grabar, *Islamic Architecture and its Decoration* (London, 1967), Fig. 613.

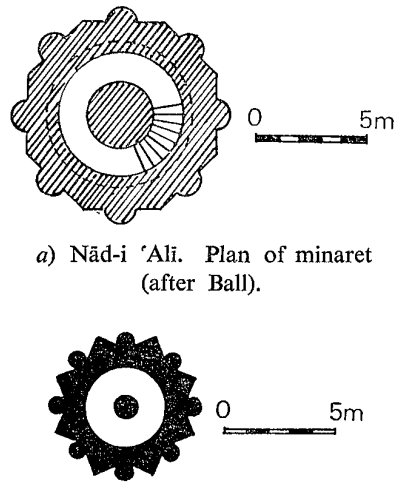
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— guard bands, epigraphy, knotting, foliate ornament, and the very specific resemblances to the minaret of Masʿūd' suggest a date in the earliest range permissable on historical grounds i.e. the second quarter of the twelfth century. Indeed as the minaret of Bahrāmšāh itself shows, the simplification of Qāsimābād versus Masʿūd's minaret is precisely what one would expect in this period.

NĀD-I ʿALĪ

The ruinfield of Nād-i ʿAlī is situated just across the Afghan border from Zāhidān. It has been identified as the location of Zaranǧ, the medieval capital of Sīstān. Like the minaret of Qāsimābād, that located here was first published by Tate [1]. It has received scant subsequent attention for the good reason that it too later collapsed [2].

The Royal Geographical Society in London has a print of the minaret in its collection which is identical to that published by Tate [3], but whose clearer definition permits a more detailed description and analysis (Pl. XIV *c*).



a) Nād-i ʿAlī. Plan of minaret (after Ball).

b) Ḫwāǧa Siyāh Pūš. Plan of minaret (after Ball).

Fig. 5.

It was built of baked brick, and was described by Tate as standing at one corner of a rectangular building which contained rooms around a central courtyard [4]. The scanty remains of these structures also seemed to have been built of baked brick, unlike the mud brick mosque surrounding the Mīl-i Qāsimābād.

The lower tier of the minaret consisted of a sharply tapering octagon with a circular buttress in the middle of each face. While one can see from the plan (Fig. 5 *a*) that this is an accurate description, looking at the photograph (Pl. XIV *c*) it is possible to detect a visual ambiguity between the essentially octagonal plan and one which is composed of wide flanges alternating with smaller buttresses. The latter

[1] *Seistan*, pp. 202-3, Pl. opp. p. 202.

[2] For a recent bibliography of the site see W. Ball, *Archaeological Gazetteer of Afghanistan* (Paris 1982), n° 752, pp. 189-90.

[3] The photograph, like Pl. III a, is attributed to T. Ward, 1921, although the date, eleven years after the publication of the same photograph by Tate, is an obvious discrepency.

[4] *Seistan*, p. 203.

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interpretation calls to mind immediately the nearby minaret of Ḫwāǧa Siyāh Pūš [1] with its plan of regularly alternating flanges and round buttresses of equal diameter (Fig. 5 *b*). In Zarand, northwest of Kirmān, the minaret of the Friday Mosque also has a low base of this plan [2], while further afield the Qutb Minar of Dehli provides an obvious parallel. Although on a much larger scale, the use of alternating circular and flanged bastions is also found on the medieval fortress of Čihil Burǧ, located some 25 km. east of Nād-i ʿAlī [3].

Because of the accumulation of debris at the base of the minaret of Nād-i ʿAlī it is difficult to be sure of the original height of the lower octagonal tier although, as can be judged from the photograph (Pl. XIV *c*), it does not seem to have been much more than 10 m., roughly equal to its greatest diameter at the base. Above this rose a cylindrical shaft. Whether the minaret of Ḫwāǧa Siyāh Pūš ever had an upper tier is not clear, but the octagonal flanged minarets of Ġazna were surmounted, until their collapse in the early twentieth century, by tall cylindrical shafts [4]. Compared with the Ġazna towers the lower octagonal tier of Nād-i ʿAlī was relatively squat. It forms an interesting link between the taller stellar bases of Ġazna and Siyāh Pūš and the vestigial ones of Zarand and Nigār [5].

In terms of decoration the minaret of Nād-i ʿAlī also presents unusual features. Like Siyāh Pūš, what remained of it was anepigraphic, with patterns produced by simple variations in the lay of the unglazed bricks. Whereas with Siyāh Pūš alternate rows of horizontal and vertical lay form the main decorative theme [6], at Nād-i ʿAlī deeply recessed grooves with cruciform elements are prominent. On top of these grooves are what appear to be an imitation of a discharging gable over a lintel (Fig. 6), such as that which appears in the minaret at Sangbast (Fig. 7). While recessed cruciform elements form the major decorative scheme of many earlier Salǧūq minarets, such as those of Simnān and Dāmǧān [7], the tall narrow slits of Nād-i ʿAlī are more like windows in fortified monuments, such as the city walls of Yazd or Herat [8]. It is possible to view this feature and the strongly

[1] A bibliography is given in Ball, *Gazetteer*, N° 607, p. 162.

[2] See p. 86, n. 1 above.

[3] Ball, *Gazetteer*, N° 190; M. Klinkott, *Islamische Baukunst in Afghanisch-Sîstân* (Berlin, 1982) (Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Ergänzungsband 8), Figs. 138-9.

[4] Hill and Grabar, *Islamic Architecture*, Fig. 145.

[5] For Nigār see Hutt, « Three Minarets », Fig. 4.

[6] A close parallel is provided by the decoration on the interior of the dome of the twelfth century mausoleum at Bust : Hill and Grabar, *Islamic Architecture*, Fig. 158.

[7] *Survey*, Pls. 359-60.

[8] *Survey*, Pls. 373-4.

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battered slope of the lower tier as another element which links Nād-i ʿAlī to the fortifications of Čihil Burǧ mantioned above [1].

In his description Tate mentioned the traces of a balcony which projected beyond the sides [2]. He refers to the brackets formed of two widths of brick side by side which curve out and in again at the base and again to a lesser degree above (Pl. XIV *c*). They may indeed have supported a balcony, although they may also have played a solely decorative role like their only close counterparts, the « bird-like » elements at the top of the duodecagonal zone of the tower of Mihmāndūst [3].

A twelfth century date has been proposed for the minaret of Siyāh Pūš [4], making it contemporary with that of Qāsimābād. There has been little discussion of that of Nād-i ʿAlī. Tate did not venture an opinion, while Diez, the next to comment, suggested tentatively that it might be identifiable with one of the minarets of the Great Mosque of Zarang built by Yaʿqūb b. Layṯ, the ninth century founder of the Ṣaffārids [5]. Fischer

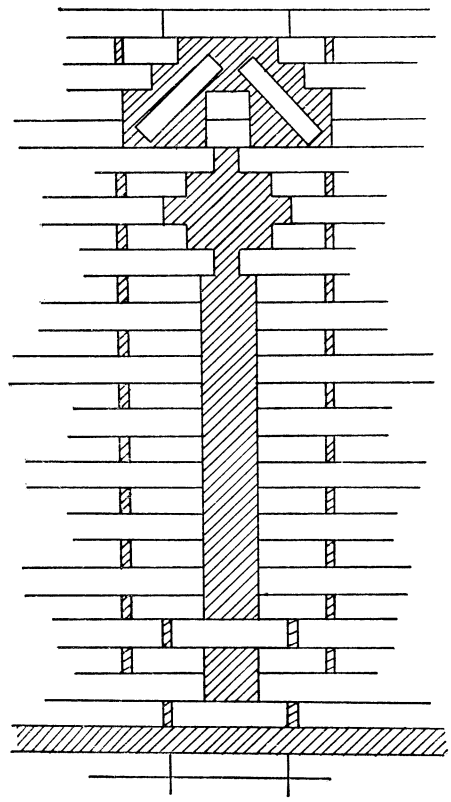


Fig. 6. — Nād-i ʿAlī, minaret. Detail of brick decoration.

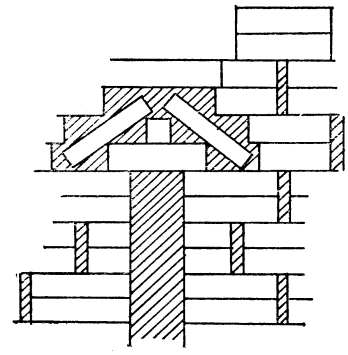


Fig. 7. — Sangbast, minaret. Detail of window (after Schroeder).

[1] See p. 98, n. 3 above. Diez has also remarked that the blind windows and great diameter of this minaret may have been inspired by watch towers : « Manāra », *EI*[1], p. 230.

[2] *Seistan*, p. 202.

[3] C. Adle and A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, « Les monuments du XI[e] siècle du Dāmġān », *Studia Iranica* I/2 (1972), Fig. 1, Pl. XXV.

[4] See the publications by Fischer listed in Ball, *Gazetteer*, p. 190.

[5] *Persien. Islamische Baukunst in Churāsān* (Darmstadt, 1923), p. 163 and p. 75, n. 1. Yaʿqūb's minaret is referred to by Muqaddasī : see G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (London, 1966), p. 337.

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dated it broadly with the Mīl-i Qāsimābād to the beginning of the second millenium A.D.[1] while in the *Survey* Schroeder mentioned it without discussing it in detail, although including it in the context of other Salğūq minarets[2]. From the discussion above of its form it can be seen that the closest parallels are indeed with monuments of the Salğūq period, although it would be possible to argue that the slenderer silhouettes of the Ġazna minarets are likely to have been derived from the squatter form of Nād-i ʿAlī. The decoration of Nād-i ʿAlī is more idiosyncratic, but here too it is possible to adduce Salğūq parallels. Together with the minarets of Qāsimābād and Ḫwāğa Siyāh Pūš it forms an addition to the list of monuments which may well have been built within, or shortly before the reign of Tāğ al-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl Naṣr.

With the coming of the Salğūqs in the eleventh century the Ṣaffārid political orbit shifted westwards, away from the Ghaznavids, their former overlords. Tāğ al-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl Naṣr became a tributary of Sulṭān Sanğar, an alliance which the latter cemented by giving Tāğ al-Dīn his sister, Ṣafiyya Ḫātūn, in marriage[3]. Nevertheless, as we have seen, the remaining Ṣaffārid monuments of the Salğūq period have strong similarities with those of Ġazna. It is hardly surprising, however, that there should be strong culturalties between the Ṣaffārids and later Ġaznavids when Tāğ al-Dīn Naṣr had played so valiant a part in the battle which restored Bahrāmšāh to power, his exploits being celebrated in verse by ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ Ğabalī, court poet of Bahrāmšāh and Sanğar[4]. Tāğ al-Dīn was also the recipient of many laudatory *ġazals* of ʿUthmān Muḫtārī, the royal poet of the Ġaznavids[5]. Both Tāğ al-Dīn Naṣr and Tāğ al-Dīn Ḥarb were thus contemporaries of Bahrāmšāh, and given their familiarity with Masʿūd III's magnificent minaret, it is interesting to record their varied reaction to it — in the case of Bahrāmšāh a nearly exact copy of inferior workmanship; in the case of Qāsimābād a form in the shape of the more usual circular shaft, but whose inscriptions closely recapture the spirit of the earlier Ġaznavid tower. The latter, as suggested above, may even have taken its inspiration in part from another Ṣaffārid monument of the Salğūq period, the minaret of Nād-i ʿAlī.

[1] « Types of Architectural Remains in the Northern Part of Afghan Seistan », *Bulletin of the Asia Institute of Pahlavi University* II (1971), p. 47; Interrelations of Islamic Architecture in Afghanistan » *Marg* XXIV/1 (December 1970), p. 56.

[2] *Survey*, pp. 1023, 1027-8.

[3] Dawlatšāh al-Samarqandī, *Taḏkirat al-šuʿarā'*, ed. Muḥammad Ramaḍānī (Tehran, 1338/1959), p. 85.

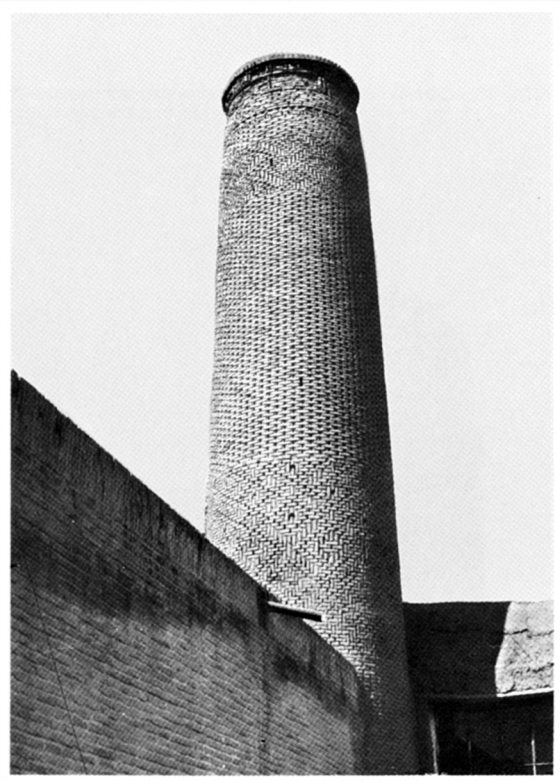
[4] C.E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids : Splendour and Decay* (Edinburgh 1977), pp. 96 and 178, n. 45; G.M. Khan, « A History of Bahram Shah of Ghaznin », *Islamic Culture*, XXIII (1949), pp. 75-6.

[5] Bosworth, *Later Ghaznavids*, p. 178, n. 45.

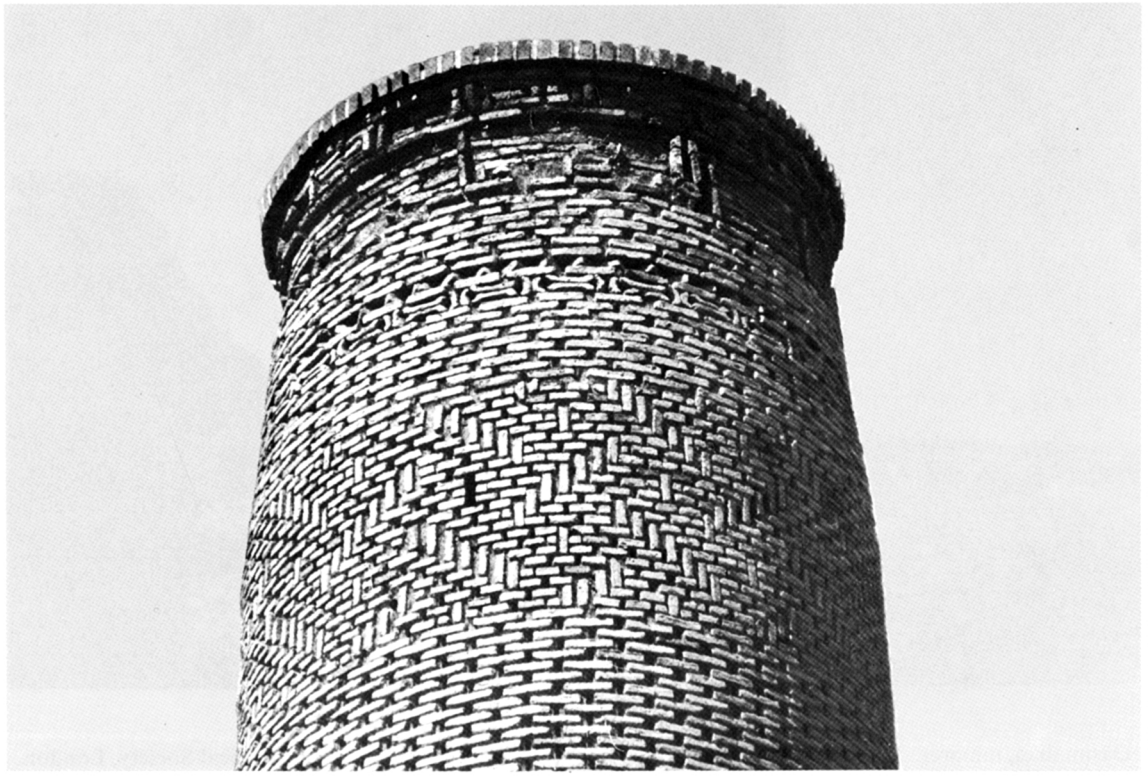
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It would not be right to conclude without recalling the role of Ernst Herzfeld in this paper. Apart from their vital importance to Ṣaffārid architectural history, the inscriptions of Qāsimābād give valuable evidence of genealogy and protocol. It is a tribute to Herzfeld's fieldwork and epigraphic skills that it is possible to discuss them, decades after they have been reduced to rubble.

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a — Tafriš, Friday Mosque. General view of minaret.



b — Tafriš, Friday Mosque. Detail of top of minaret.

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Pl. XII



Qāsimābād, minaret. Photo by N. Ganja Singh, 1906, courtesy of the Royal Geographical Society, London.

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a — Qāsimābād, minaret. Photo by T. Ward, courtesy of the Royal Geographical Society, London.



b — Qāsimābād, minaret. Photo by E. Herzfeld, courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.

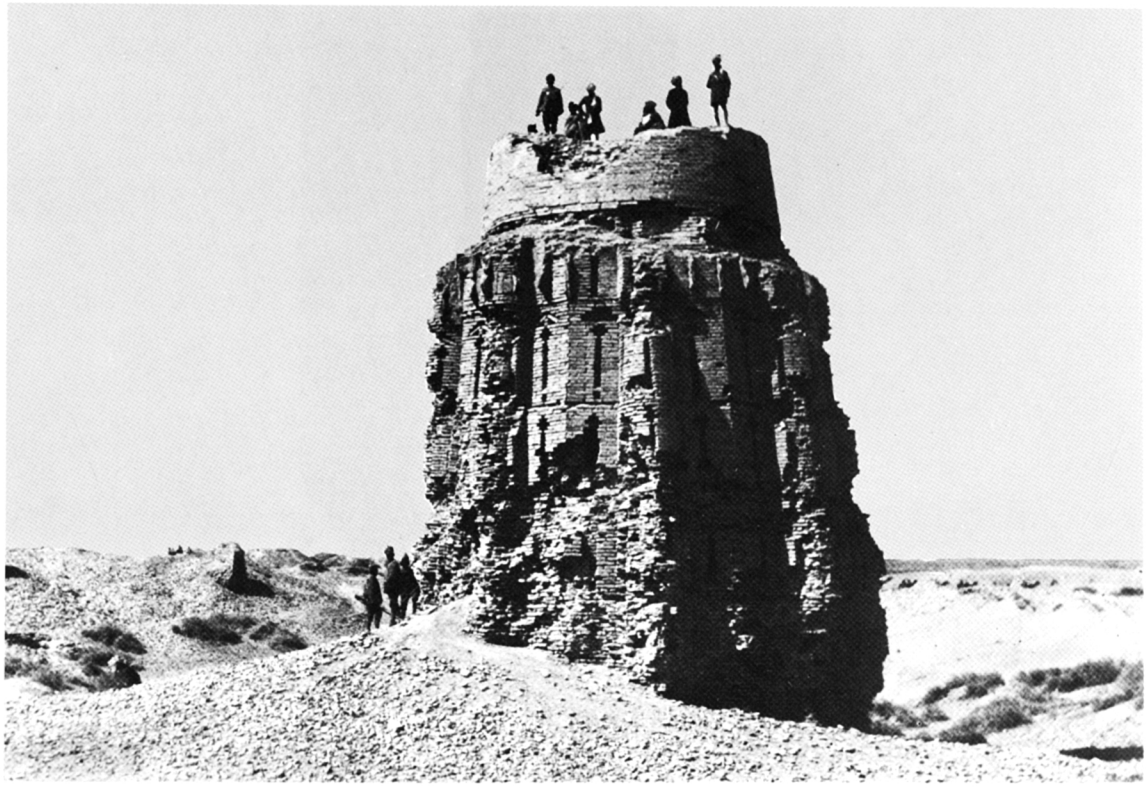
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a — Qāsimābād, minaret. Detail of lower inscription. Photo by E. Herzfeld, courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.



b — Qāsimābād, minaret. Detail of lower inscription. Photo by E. Herzfeld, courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.



c — Nād-i ʿAlī, minaret. Photo by T. Ward, courtesy of the Royal Geographical Society, London.

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