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The Friday Mosque of Faryūmad and its Inscriptions: Evidence of Construction Activity during the Era of the Mongol Khans in Iran

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ABSTRACT

The Friday mosque of Faryūmad is located in eastern Iran (the Khurasan region). Ilkhanid written sources, such as *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* by Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī (1281–1344), recount that Faryūmad was known as the centre of Juvayn. Earlier Saljuq sources (e.g. *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq*) note that Faryūmad was a large district and had its own governor in the period prior to reaching its significance in the Ilkhanid period. Despite the monument's significance for the understanding of the evolution of construction technology from the Saljuq to the Ilkhanid period, it lacks consistent research. This paper proposes the first systematic analysis of the monument's epigraphic corpus and includes its full documentation. It suggests new information regarding the history and patronage of the Faryūmad Friday mosque. The examination of historic inscriptions of the monument also provides new information regarding the identity of the patron of the mosque. Furthermore, examination of inscriptions and stucco revetments allows for a revised chronology of the construction and decorative phases of the monument.

KEYWORDS

Khurasan; Friday mosque; stucco; Saljuq; Mongol

1. Introduction



The Friday mosque of Faryūmad is located in Faryūmad village, which is situated on the great Khurasan route in the Juvayn-Bayhaq region. The uniqueness of the Faryūmad Friday mosque stems from its two-*ayvān* (vaulted hall) ground plan and from its exceptionally rich stucco and terracotta revetments, which embellish its architectural surfaces. Scholarly attention of the mosque was triggered by the early work of, and visit to the site by, André Godard in 1940.¹ However, despite a number of studies since then, our knowledge of the mosque has not progressed much. Although the Faryūmad mosque is richly decorated with more than 50 stucco and terracotta inscriptions, to date only a few of them have been documented and read. Another challenging issue of the investigation of the great mosque of Faryūmad is the lack of historical inscriptions. Accordingly, this article aims systematically to examine and read the inscriptions of the building for the first time. With detailed analyses of the monumental inscriptions, the

date of the mosque can now be determined more precisely.

2. Overview of Past Studies

Scholarly attention of the Faryūmad mosque² was triggered by the early work of André Godard, although the first study of the mosque from a historical point of view dates from the Qajar period.

Ismā'īl ibn Ḥusayn Dih Mullāyī mentioned the village of Faryūmad and its Friday mosque in his manuscript on the history of the Bisṭām region in 1296SH³/1879.⁴ He briefly describes the mosque, following the general description of the historical and geographical location of Faryūmad. He mentions a monumental Thuluth inscription in cut-brick technique, which contained the names of the ruler and builder and which has long disappeared. Moreover, he read the inscription in the south *ayvān* containing the signature of the builder and mentioned the name of the building's architect for the first time.

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¹Godard, "Khorāsān," 7.

²The Faryūmad mosque was registered by André Godard in the Iran National Heritage List as a thirteenth-century mosque under registration number 345 in 1321SH/1942.

³I use a double dating system where both Hijri and Gregorian dates are applied as appropriate. Solo dates refer to the Gregorian calendar, while dates in the Hijri Shamsi calendar are indicated with "SH" following the year (e.g. 1349SH); Hijri Qamari dates are left without designation.

⁴This manuscript is preserved under number 4330 in the Malik National library in Tehran. Sa'īdeh Ḥusayni is the first scholar to refer to this text (Ḥusayni, "Bāzshināsī-yi masjid-i jāmi'-i Faryūmad," 47–9).

Eric Friedrich Schmidt took two aerial photographs of Faryūmad in 1937. In these images the ruins of the fortification named “Shahristān” near the village can be seen, clearly showing the large extent of Faryūmad.⁵

In his article on the architecture of Khurasan,⁶ André Godard produced a ground plan and photographs of the mosque of Faryūmad (Figure 1/1). Additionally, he discussed briefly the historical background of Faryūmad as well as describing the building. Godard paid more attention to the geometric and floral decorations of the building, but he apparently did not read any inscriptions in the structure other than the signature above the mihrab frame. By observing comparative examples and historical texts about Faryūmad and its surrounding area, Godard dated the building to the twelfth century. However, according to Yaqūt Ḥamawī’s historical account, Godard also raised the possibility of dating this building to the thirteenth century.⁷

Donald Wilber visited Faryūmad in 1946 and reported that his visit took place in bad weather, thus his documentation remained incomplete.⁸ In comparison with Godard’s description, Wilber’s report offers some new points and gives a more detailed reading of the builder’s signature. In addition, he takes a closer look at the construction of the building. Wilber dates Faryūmad to two different phases, the earliest construction activity to the Saljuq period, and a second phase, that he dates to 1320. His dating is based on the general type of building and the comparative examples of the dated Ilkhanid monuments, such as the Friday mosque of Bisṭām, the Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī complex, and the Ölĵaitū mausoleum in Sulṭāniya. Wilber asserts that he saw traces of earlier stucco decoration belonging to a mihrab niche through gaps in the grand mihrab. Wilber did not give more precise information about the position of these gaps on the mihrab, and it may be assumed that the weather conditions affected his observation.⁹

In the first systematic study of the Faryūmad mosque, ‘Abdulḥamīd Maulavī describes the mosque in detail, giving measurements and readings of some of the inscriptions.¹⁰ He suggests that some patterns from

the Ribāṭ-i Sharaf (508–549/1114–1155) were adopted from this mosque, and proposed a new dating to the second half of the eleventh century.¹¹

‘Alī Sajjādī briefly describes the main mihrab of the Faryūmad mosque in his book and dates it to the second half of eleventh century.¹²

In 1378SH/1999 Parīvash Akbarī wrote about the mosque of Faryūmad.¹³ She claims that this mosque was built in the Khwarazmian period (1077–1231), as she had already asserted in her previous essay on Khwarazm architecture.¹⁴ Akbarī also discussed the small mihrab in the northern passage of the east wall in the south *ayvān* discovered by the Muṣṭafā Dānishvar Tehrānī in 1365SH/1986.

Chahryar Adle discussed Faryūmad and its mosque and found similarities between the decoration of the mosque and that of the Ilkhanid monuments in Bisṭām and Khusrushīr (located 40 km north-east of Faryūmad), and suggested that ‘Alā-al-Dīn Muḥammad Faryūmadī (appointed in 727/1326 as vizier by the Ilkhan Abū Sa’īd) should be considered as patron of the building.¹⁵

Another systematic study of the Faryūmad mosque was published by Sa’īda Ḥusaynī in 1385SH/2006.¹⁶ This work was based on the documenting project of the Faryūmad mosque, which took place in 1381SH/2002. She discusses this mosque after a comprehensive geographical and historical description of Faryūmad. What distinguishes Ḥusaynī’s work from other studies is her accurate observation of the building. She complements Wilber’s statement on the traces of primary building activity by introducing new evidence on the south *ayvān*. Based on her observations, she drew up a plan in which she highlights various construction phases of the Faryūmad mosque (Figure 1/2). Her precise sketches are especially noteworthy. Nevertheless, despite her close observation, Ḥusaynī provides weak conclusions. Having deciphered two inscriptions of the building, she identifies them as Shi’i hadith. This is her main argument for dating the monument to the period of Ilkhan Ölĵaitū after his conversion to Shiism (709–711/1309–11).¹⁷

⁵Schmidt, *Flights*, pls. 61–2.

⁶Godard, “Khorāsān,” 83–112.

⁷Godard, “Khorāsān,” 112.

⁸Wilber, *The Architecture*, 157.

⁹The Faryūmad mosque was also briefly noted in a booklet produced by Muḥammad ‘Alī Shafī’i of the Shāhrūd Office of Culture in 1342SH/1963. However, the focus of this book was on the life of Ibn Yamīn Faryūmadī (c. 685–769/1286–1368), which provided some useful information about the history of Faryūmad (Shafī’i, *Ibn-i Yamīn; Šafā, Tārīkh-i Adabiyat-i Īrān*, 957).

¹⁰Maulavī, *Āthār-i Bāstānī*, 489–517.

¹¹Maulavī, *Āthār-i Bāstānī*, 513.

¹²Sajjādī, *Sīr-i taḥavul-i mihrab*, 124–5.

¹³Akbarī, “Masjid Jāmi’ Farūmad,” 161–2.

¹⁴Akbarī, “Mi’mārī-yi Masjid,” 163.

¹⁵Adle, “Faryūmad,” 384–5.

¹⁶Ḥusaynī, “Bāzshināsī-yi masjid-i jāmi’-i Faryūmad,” 58.

¹⁷Ḥusaynī, “Bāzshināsī-yi Masjid-i Jāmi’-i Faryūmad,” 64–5.

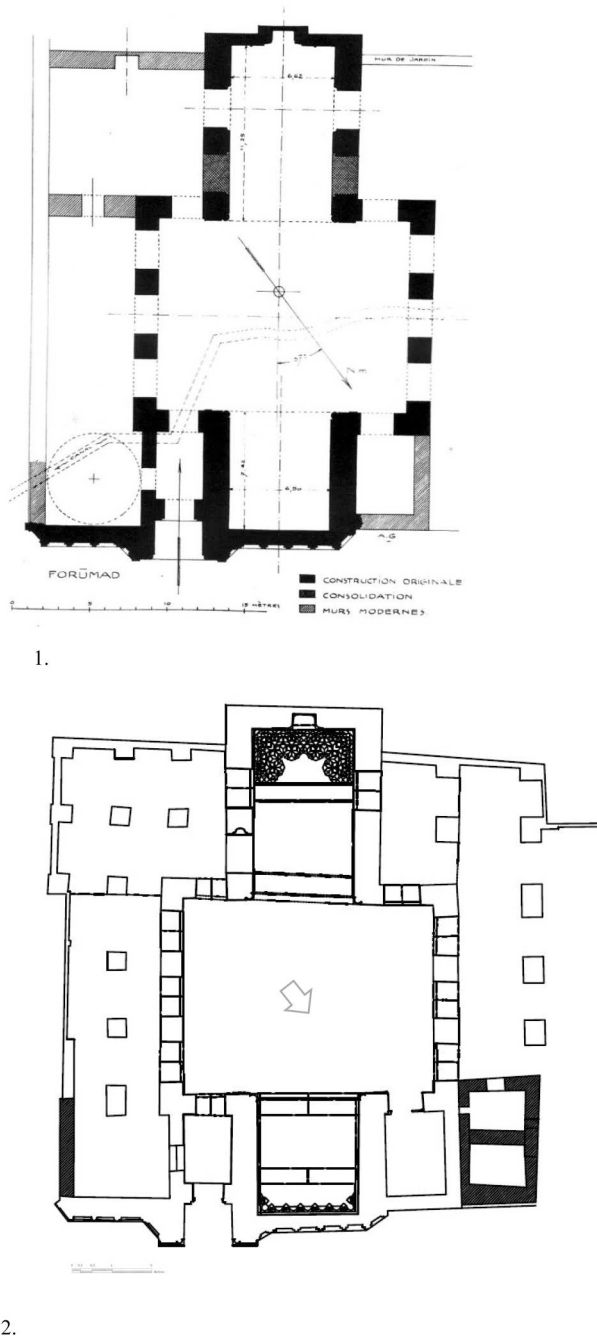


Figure 1. 1. Ground plan (A. Godard). 2. Ground plan (S. Hūsaynī).

Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Zārī describes the building and its decoration and classifies the inscriptions based on their style, that is, Kufic, Reyhan, and Thuluth. However, he does not concern himself with their content and his study is generally more descriptive than analytic.¹⁸

The latest work on this mosque, by Kāveh Maṣṣūrī et al., is based on an archaeological restoration project of the great mosque of Faryūmad carried out in 1391–92SH/2012–13.¹⁹ They used an interdisciplinary approach by applying archaeological and archaeometric methods to distinguish the buildings phases in the mosque. Despite the production of precise 3D models and sketches, they provide scant new information about the different construction phases and their patronages.²⁰ The investigation by Maṣṣūrī et al., as in the previously mentioned studies, lacks any documentation or an epigraphic programme. The content of the inscriptions was missing from all the researches carried out on the Faryūmad mosque. There has been no attempt to sort out the information which has been provided through this significant number of preserved inscriptions.

This study presents the first systematic analysis of the monument's epigraphic corpus and a full documentation. It presents new material leading to a revised interpretation regarding the history and patronage of the mosque of Faryūmad.²¹

3. Historical Role and Historical Geography of Faryūmad

Faryūmad²² is located about 20 km north of the main road between Shāhrūd²³ and Sabzavār. The nearest town to Faryūmad is Dāvarzan. The great mosque is in the centre of Faryūmad village and located only a few metres away is the mausoleum of Ibn Yamīn Faryūmadī. An archaeological ruin is situated at the southern edge of Faryūmad. This seems to be the Shahrīstān, whose foundation is attributed to 'Alā'-al-Dīn Muḥammad Faryūmadī.²⁴

No mention of the name "Faryūmad" is found before the Saljuq era. Five different names are used in primary sources for this place, three of which are common: Faryūmad, Farūmad, and Furūmad; and two are rare: Faryūmaz and Farīvand.²⁵ Hūsaynī claims that the

¹⁸Zārī, "Faryūmad," 93–128.

¹⁹Maṣṣūrī et al., "Siyr-i Taḥavul-i Maṣṣūd," 165–92.

²⁰The study by S. Hūsaynī is not considered in this research (Maṣṣūrī), or in the study by Zārī.

²¹The present account of the mosque is based on my visit in February 2020. In addition, historical photographs have been used that provide additional information on the condition of the building and allow conclusions to be drawn on changes and renovations.

²²Grid Reference: 36°30'47"N, 056°45'01"E.

²³Shāhrūd is a town in Semnan Province. Faryūmad village was until recently part of the Shāhrūd district. However, in 1390SH/2011 part of Shāhrūd was separated off to become a new distinct town called Mayāmiy.

²⁴Samarqandī, *Tazkarat al-Shu'arā*, 275.

²⁵There is a madrasa in the shrine complex at Turbat-i Shaykh-i Jām, which was built by the vizier 'Alā'-al-Dīn Muḥammad Faryūmadī in the early fourteenth century and is known as Farīvandī madrasa (Golombek, "The Chronology of Turbat," 35).

name Faryūmad was derived from two Old Persian words; *faryū* and *maz/mad*, meaning “faithful” or “truthful” and “owner” or “holder” respectively. ‘Alī ibn Zayd-i Bayhaqī (Ibn Funduq) asserts that the word *maz* was frequently used in Pahlavī and means *zamīn-i pak va khush*, “the pure and agreeable ground”. He refers to Faryūmaz as an instance of this word.²⁶

Faryūmad was first referred to in the book by Ibn Funduq from the Saljuq period, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq*, in the middle of the twelfth century. Ibn Funduq explains that Faryūmad was one of the twelve parts of Bayhaq during the reign of the governor of Khurasan, ‘Abdullāh ibn Ṭāhir (c. 182–230/798–845).²⁷ He quotes a text by ‘Abdullāh ibn Ṭāhir about Faryūmad:

خَيْرُ قُرَى بِيَهَقِ جُلَيْنٍ²⁸ وَ أَطْيَبُهَا فَرِيَوْمَد

*khayr qurā Bayhaq Julayn wa aṭayabuhā Faryūmad.*²⁹

“Julayn is the best Village of Bayhaq, and Faryūmad is the purest and the most sacred!”

According to Bayhaqī, the Friday prayer was held in Faryūmad.³⁰ He mentions the name of Faryūmad’s governor and preacher in the mid-twelfth century.³¹ Faryūmad must have been an important place in the Bayhaq region even before the Ilkhanid era and had a Friday mosque even then. This contradicts Godard’s claim that Faryūmad achieved importance as a provincial centre only in the Ilkhanid period. The references for Godard’s argument were two primary sources: *Mu‘jam al-Buldān* written in 1224–28 by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī and *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* written in 1340 by Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī. These works introduce us to the historical geography of medieval Nīshāpūr, especially two neighbouring rural areas, Bayhaq and Juvayn.

According to Yāqūt, the main urban centre (*qaṣaba*) of Bayhaq was Khusrujird first, followed by Sabzavār,³² and he also states that the *qaṣaba* of Juvayn was Āzād-vār.³³ Mustaufī reported that Faryūmad was the central part of Juvayn, and Sabzavār kept its central role in Bayhaq.³⁴ According to these primary sources, it is most likely that Faryūmad first lost its importance at the end of the Saljuq period. It regained its importance as

a main region in a different geographical division, namely the Juvayn region. Possible reasons for these incidents might lie in the Ghuzz invasion of Khurasan during the twelfth century, which is mentioned in some primary sources.³⁵

Besides Ibn Yamīn, other well-known families also hail from Faryūmad. The best known is the Faryūmadī family, who rose to become a regional power in Khurasan in the Mongol-Ilkhanid era.³⁶ ‘Izz al-Dīn Ṭāhir Faryūmadī was the head of this family, and according to Juvaynī he was a trusted person and the grand vizier of the *amīr* Arghūn Āqā (ruled in Iran in 641–54SH/1243–56).³⁷ Wajīh al-Dīn bin Ṭāhir Faryūmadī (d. 685/1286)³⁸ and ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn Muḥammad Faryūmadī (d. 742/1342) were also known as Faryūmadī viziers in the Ilkhanid era.³⁹

4. Descriptions of the Building and its Decoration

Today, the mosque of Faryūmad is a freestanding building, except for its south side which is adjacent to a private house. The architecture of the Faryūmad mosque is characterised as a Khurasanī mosque with two *ayvāns* (Figure 1). It has a deep qibla *ayvān* and a smaller one on the north side. The *ayvāns* are not completely coaxial but they show the same arrangement of flanking arcades with twin decorative blind arches on their second storey (Figure 2).

Two *riwāqs* (porticos) connect the *ayvān* wings on the east and west sides, forming a courtyard 12.5 × 6.5 m.⁴⁰ Their pointed-arch triple arcades are the only surviving parts of these *riwāqs* (Figure 3). The entrance portal with a high rectangular screen (*pīshṭāq*) is located on the north-eastern side. The adjacent facade is constructed of two tiers of shallow blind niches (Figure 4).

The pointed tunnel vault and half-dome of the portal niche once had a revetment of stucco *muqarnas* (honeycomb vaulting) cells, of which only the lower two tiers are preserved. The surfaces of the *muqarnas* cells are decorated with floral and geometric motifs and grid

²⁶ Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq*, 37.

²⁷ Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq*, 39.

²⁸ Julayn is a village next to Sabzavār.

²⁹ Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq*, 34.

³⁰ Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq*, 277.

³¹ Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq*, 170.

³² Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 537.

³³ Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 192.

³⁴ Mustaufī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, 213–4.

³⁵ Rāvandī, *Rāhat al-Ṣudūr*, 180–3; Nīshābūrī, *Saljūqnāma*, 50–1.

³⁶ See Rūdgar, “Khāndān-i Zangī-yi Faryūmadī,” 163–80.

³⁷ Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*, 243.

³⁸ Ḥamadānī, *Jāmi’ al-Tawārīkh*, 1163.

³⁹ Qazvīnī, “Tārīkh-i Ta’līf-i Faraj,” 296–303; Rūdgar, “Khāndān-i Zangī-yi Faryūmadī,” 163–80.

⁴⁰ Manṣūrī et al., “Siyr-i taḥavul-i masjid,” 176.



1.



2.

Figure 2. 1. North wing 2. South wing (Aghajani 2020).



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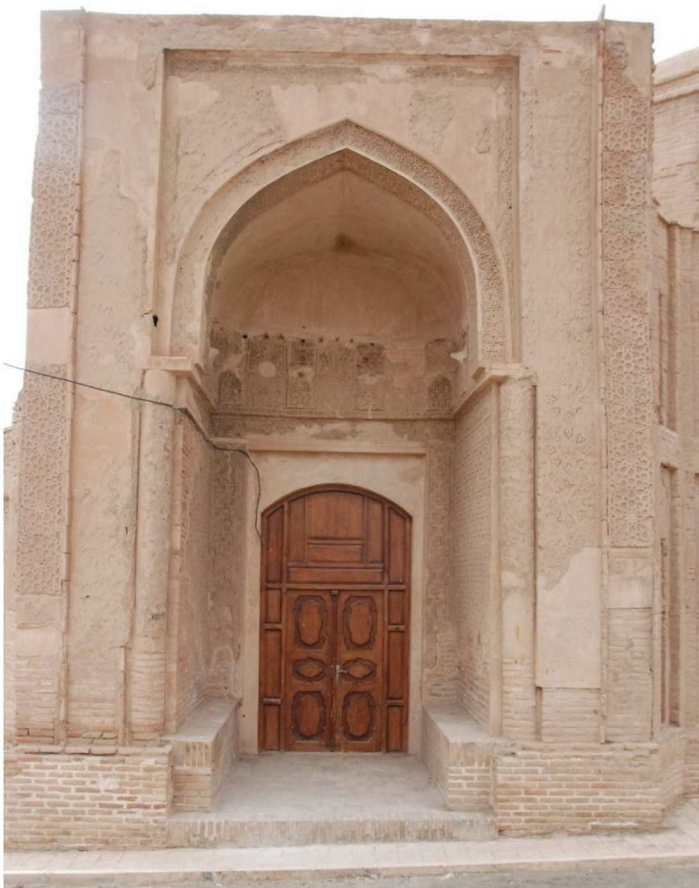


2.

Figure 3. 1. East *riwāq* 2. West *riwāq* (Aghajani 2020).



1.



2.



3.



4.

Figure 4. 1. View from the north-east 2. Entrance portal 3. Western facade 4. Eastern facade (Aghajani 2020).

patterns. A panel with a signature inscription was also placed in the lowest tier of the *muqarnas* (see appendix below, inscr. no. 2). A parallel to this *muqarnas* vault in stucco can be found on the Ghurid portal of the Friday mosque of Herat (597/1200).⁴¹

Today, the door is set within a rectangular frame. However, according to historical photographs, this door was previously flanked by a poly-lobed arch frame (Figure 5/2). An inscription band runs along the archway below the *muqarnas* vault (inscr. no. 1, Figure 5/1). The soffit of the portal is adorned with a *giriḥ* pattern in stucco and the archivolt has a stucco inscription band in interlaced and foliated Kufic (inscr. no. 4, Figure 5/3).

There are six blind arches on the western side of the entrance portal, four in the middle flanked by two narrow ones. On the east side there are five blind arches and only the most eastern arch is narrow (Figure 4). It seems that there was an inscription band offset above the lower blind niches in a rectangular frame. Unfortunately, these inscriptions are severely damaged and only four on the west side as well as a small part of an inscription on the east side are legible (inscr. nos. 5–9).

The entrance portal opens from a staircase into a corridor. Another staircase leads down to the small central court. There is a dome chamber in the north-east corner of the mosque, which preserved only two of its simple squinches. The access to this room was through the archway on the east wall of the entrance corridor (Figure 5/4).

As mentioned above, there are two *riwāqs* on the east and west sides of the courtyard with their arcade facades, which are three bays wide. All bays were destroyed and only their pointed-arched openings survive. The facades were covered with stucco decorations, on which there are preserved traces of joint plugs. All arches have been decorated in the same way. Their archivolt has a concave form and a stucco inscription (inscr. nos. 10–15). The soffit is adorned with stucco decoration with geometric and floral motifs. Similar to the entrance portal, there are two horizontal inscription bands in rectangular fields at the base of the soffit (inscr. nos. 16–21, Figure 6/1).

The same epigraphic programme has been used for the lateral archways on both *ayvāns*. Religious quotes decorated the base of all soffits in these archways (inscr. nos. 23–26). In the same style as the stucco inscription on the archway's archivolt of the *riwāqs*,

an elaborate quranic inscription can be seen on the archivolt of each lateral pointed archway of the south *ayvāns* (inscr. nos. 27–28, Figure 6/2).

The archivolts of the lateral east and west pointed archways of the north *ayvāns* as well as the horizontal friezes over the spandrels of the archways were covered with terracotta panels (inscr. no. 29, Figure 7/1).

On the south *ayvān* two inscriptions can be seen on the lofty arch and around the spandrel. Unfortunately, the inscription around the spandrels has been severely damaged, but by observing it from certain angles a cursive inscription can be made out. The only surviving monumental inscription is on the archivolt of the south *ayvān* (inscr. no. 32, Figure 7/2).

Apart from these stucco inscriptions, the south *ayvān* was embellished with terracotta elements covering the spandrel, external frieze, and engaged columns. One of the external friezes has a terracotta band of ornament that mimics an inscription. The remains of a cursive inscription can be observed above the eastern archways on the south wing, but it is no longer legible (Figure 7/3).

The south *ayvān* measures $11.25 \times 6.62 \times 14$ m⁴² (D × W × H) with two pointed archways on its east wall and a pointed archway on its west wall (Figure 8/1–2). The north archway on the east wall was bricked up during the reconstruction of the building. There are two overlying inscriptions on the archivolt of the south pointed archway of the east wall, both in Kufic script and in two different styles (inscr. nos. 33–34, Figure 8/3). The dado zones and soffit of all the archways are decorated with stucco. A medallion with an inscription is set on the corner of the south plinth zone of the south archway in the west wall. This inscription is no longer legible, and a small stucco mihrab is set on the southern dado zone of the north archway in the south *ayvān*'s east wall (Figure 8/4).

On the back wall of the south *ayvān*, a grand stucco mihrab with a niche is flanked by engaged columns (Figure 9). The geometrical and floral motifs and the epigraphic friezes are the principal elements of the stucco decoration. The conch is adorned with floral decoration, filled with a grid pattern, and some of the floral motifs are painted in green against a blue and white background. According to a historical photograph, there are remains of some knotted patterns along the top of the capitals, which might be knotted Kufic (Figure 10/1). On the arch of the niche are some interesting details. This niche had a multifoil arch, with only a few traces of the cusps remaining (Figure 10/2).⁴³ The

⁴¹Hansen et al., *The Ghurid Portal*, 63–7, figs. 6.6, 7.13.

⁴²Godard, "Khorāsān," 85; Maulavī, *Āthār-i Bāstānī*, 496.

⁴³Similar examples of this kind of arch can be seen in late eleventh- to early twelfth-century marble mihrabs from Ghaznavid palace. See Islamic Ghazni project, Inv. nos. C2952 and IG0062.



1.



2.



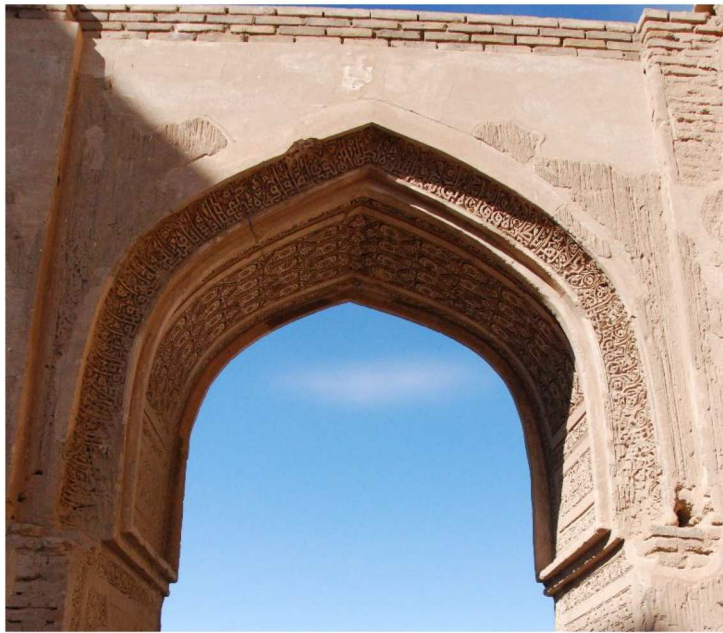
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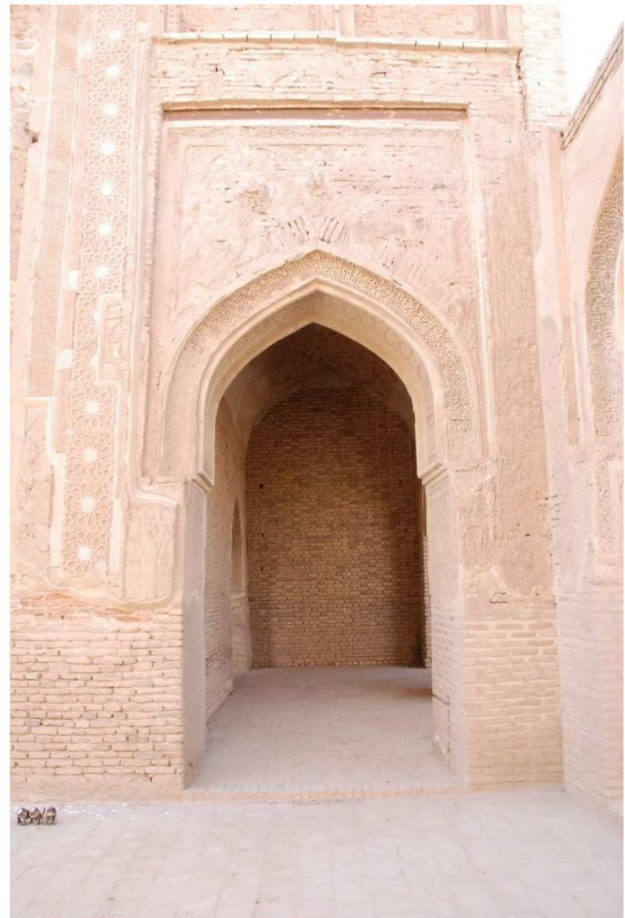
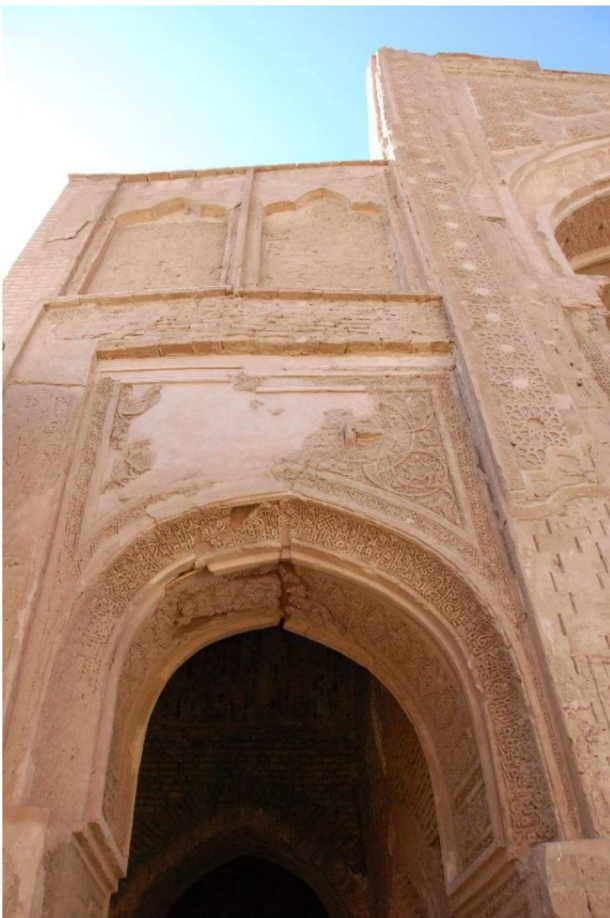
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Figure 5. 1. Vaulting of entrance portal (Aghajani 2020). 2. Entrance portal before the recent renovation (ICHTO 2003). 3. Archivolt of entrance portal (Aghajani 2020). 4. Dome chamber, north-east corner of the mosque; left: north wall, right: west wall (Aghajani 2020).



1.



2.

Figure 6. 1. West *riwāq*, left: northern arch, right: soffit of the middle arch. 2. South *ayvān*, left: east lateral archway, right: west lateral archway (Aghajani 2020).



1.



2.



3.

Figure 7. 1. West lateral archway of the north *ayvān*. 2. South wing, function inscription on the archivolt. 3. South wing, left: pseudo inscription, right: remains of an inscription above the eastern archway (Aghajani 2020).



1.



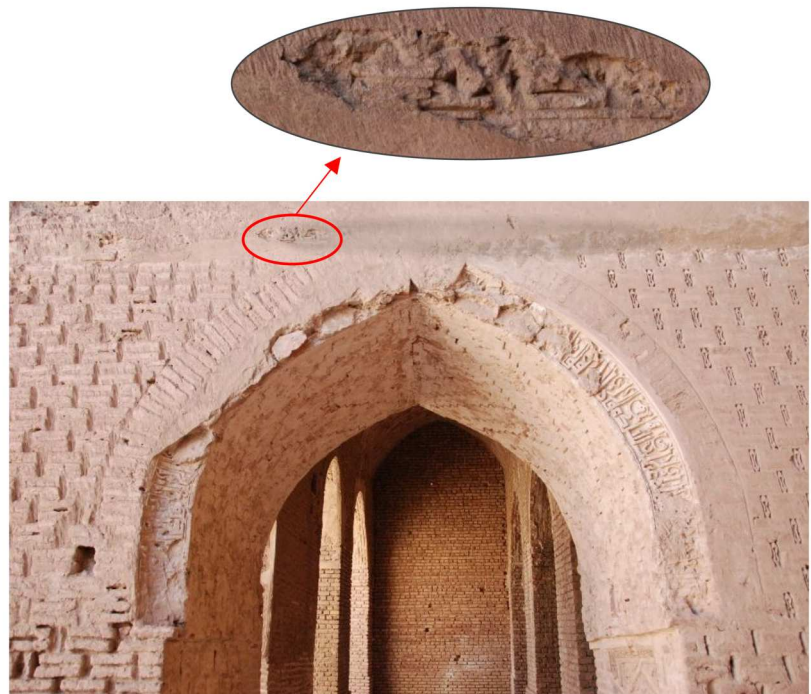
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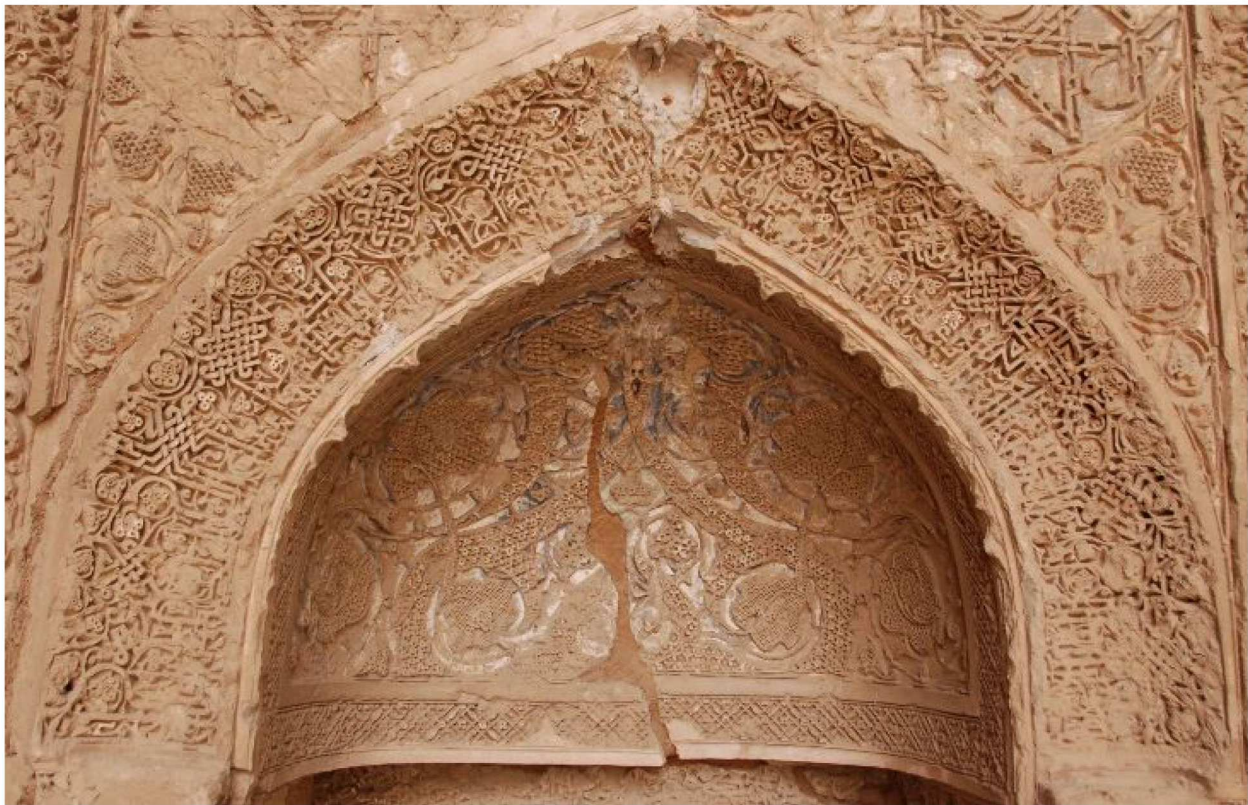
Figure 8. South *ayvān* 1. East wall 2. Southern archway of the west wall 3. Southern archway of the east wall 4. Small mihrab 5. Northern archway of the east wall (Aghajani 2020).



Figure 9. Grand mihrab (Aghajani 2020).



1.



2.

Figure 10. Grand mihrab 1. Detail of capital and archivolt (A. Godard 1940, Département des Arts de l'Islam, Musée du Louvre [1APAI_07675]). 2. Mihrab niche (Aghajani 2020).

epigraphic band on the arch was delicately made out in stucco. The archivolt of the mihrab is adorned with a magnificent floriated knotted Kufic inscription (inscr. no. 39). According to historical photographs, at the apex of this arch there was a small medallion, filled with a cursive inscription which has since been completely destroyed (inscr. no. 40, [Figure 10/1](#)).

The spandrels of this arch are decorated with large medallions in the corners, with tendrils and leaves with grid patterns in a symmetrical layout on the vertical axis. A cursive inscription was included in the wide band frames of the mihrab niche (inscr. no. 42). Both sides of the band on the dado zone have been destroyed, and the remains of this inscription are in poor

condition. This inscription band is surrounded by a wide frieze with an interlaced strapwork pattern into which are set floral motifs. Above the mihrab frame, on the crowning frieze, two epigraphic panels are visible (inscr. no. 43). Above these bands there are two medallions of the same size and form as the medallions on the mihrab spandrels.

The qibla wall is distinguished not only by this elaborate mihrab but also by a stucco *muqarnas* vault (Figure 11/1). In the middle of this vault at the base, there is another signature of the builder. This inscription is the most frequently mentioned epigraphic element in the literature on this building (inscr. no. 45, Figure 11/2), and the different readings of this signature are as follows:

Dih Mullāyī: ‘amal ‘Alī Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd Jāmī Semnānī;
 Godard: ‘amal ‘Alī;
 Wilber: ‘Alī Jāmī al-Sanāyī Semnānī;
 Maulavī: ‘amal-i ‘Alī ibn Abul-Ḥasan ibn Maḥmūd ... al-Shahristānī;
 Adle: ‘Alī ibn Abul-Ḥasan ibn Maḥmūd (‘Ishāq?) Shahristānī;
 Kiyānī: ‘Alī Ḥājji al-Sanā’ī Semnānī;
 Akbarī: ‘amal ‘Alī ibn Abul-Ḥasan ibn Maḥmūd al-Jāmī [al-Ḥājji] al-Shahristānī;
 Zārī: ‘amal ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-bannā’ Semnānī;
 Maṣṣūrī et al: ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Maḥmūd al-Jāmī al-Shahristānī.⁴⁴

Clearly, no two of these readings are identical. In the course of the renovation of the building at the beginning of this century, this panel was also renovated and some of the words were damaged (Figure 11/3). This inscription was scratched again in recent years and has been severely damaged. Following the historical photographs and other signatures in this building, a new reading for this inscription is provided below.

The stucco *muqarnas* vault is richly decorated with floral motifs and grid patterns on the squinches. The same vaulting system was used in the north *ayvān* and the entrance portal. However, in the north *ayvān* the *muqarnas* vault is plain (Figure 12/1). The south *ayvān*'s vault collapsed at some time and was reconstructed in the last few decades (Figure 11/5). Two different vaults

were used: the above-mentioned *muqarnas* vault above the mihrab and a frontal pointed barrel vault with a transverse arch stretching in between. This arch is adorned with carved stucco in high relief. The surface of the pointed barrel vault is covered with carved stucco in the *giriḥ* pattern. On the bases of this vault on the sides are two wide stucco inscription bands. The inscription on the east side is almost destroyed and the west side is in hardly better condition (inscr. no. 46, Figure 11/4). Running around the top of the walls of the south *ayvān* below the zone of transition is a cursive⁴⁵ inscription in stucco (inscr. no. 47). The continuation of this inscription is recognisable on the north *ayvān* at the same level (inscr. no. 48). The north *ayvān* is less deep, and lower, than the south *ayvān*, which measures 12 × 6.5 × 7.25 m (H × W × D).⁴⁶ This collapsed *ayvān* has the same vaulting system as the opposite side, which was renovated simultaneously with the south one.

The soffits of the north *ayvān* arch and transverse arch are covered with flat stucco with a geometrical pattern filled with rosette and blossom motifs, similar to the soffit of the opposite *ayvān*. The walls of the *muqarnas* vault are plastered white. Each base of the transition zone of the barrel vault between the transverse arches is decorated with a rectangular panel. Each panel is framed by a Kufic band and a blind arch whose spandrels are decorated with floral motifs (Figure 12/2).

5. Content of the Inscriptions

There are 51 preserved inscriptions in this building, of which about 90 percent are religious inscriptions – quranic, hadith, and religious formula; there are only six secular inscriptions, as signatures and foundation inscriptions.

The quranic inscriptions can be divided into two categories, standard and non-standard texts. The first group includes the verses, which are frequent in the inscriptions of the Saljuq-Ilkhanid architecture in the Islamic world, such as inscriptions nos. 4 and 39, which adorn the archivolt of the portal and the great mihrab. The second group comprises the verses of the Qur’an, which are not frequent in monumental inscriptions of this period. For example, inscriptions nos. 10–15 with the complete verses of Sura 75 (al-

⁴⁴Husaynī, “Bāzshināsi-yi masjid-i jāmi’-i Faryūmad,” 49; Godard, “Khorāsān,” 106; Wilber, *The Architecture*, 156; Maulavī, *Āthār-i Bāstānī*, 504; Adle, “Faryūmad,” 385; Kiyānī, *Tārīkh-i Hunar*, 68; Akbarī, “Masjid Jāmī Farūmad,” 162; Zārī, “Faryūmad,” 106. Maṣṣūrī et al., “Siyr-i Taḥavul-i Masjid,” 178.

⁴⁵Godard describes the type of this inscription as a cursive script (“caractères arrondis”; Godard, “Khorāsān,” 105). While translating his book into Persian this term was mistakenly translated as Reyhan script (one of the six canonical scripts of Islamic calligraphy). Since then, this inscription has been mentioned as Reyhan by some researchers.

⁴⁶Akbarī, “Masjid Jāmī Farūmad,” 162.



1.



2.



3.



4.



5.

Figure 11. South *ayvān* 1. *Muqarnas* vault (Aghajani 2020). 2. Current state of the signature on the lowest tier of the *muqarnas* vault (Aghajani 2020). 3. Signature, after the renovation in 2003 (ICHTO). 4. West base of the barrel vault (ICHTO 2003). 5. Before the renovation, in 1985 (ICHTO).



1.



2.

Figure 12. North *ayvān* 1. *Muqarnas* vault. 2. West base of the barrel vault between the transverse arches (Aghajani 2020).

Qiyāmah) adorning the arches of the east and west *riwāqs*, as well as inscriptions nos. 47–48 with the complete text of Sura 67 (al-Mulk) adorning the top of the walls of the south and north *ayvāns*. The possible sign and message of such inscriptions can be detected by examining their content and investigating the religious and social movements in this region in the middle of the thirteenth century. Examining details of the content of the non-standard religious inscriptions of the Faryūmad mosque will be left for future studies, to keep the scope of this article manageable. However, the content of the secular inscriptions will be examined below.

6. Dating

The two inscriptions, different in text and style, one above the other on the southern niche in the south *ayvān*, were mentioned as an argument for different construction phases in the Faryūmad mosque (see [Figure 8/3](#)).⁴⁷ When describing the construction phases, Wilber claims that the south *ayvān* was first erected in the Saljuq period, as the earliest structure of this building. However, he points out that traces on the east wall at a height of 4 m are the only evidence of the first building activity in the Faryūmad mosque.⁴⁸ In the drawing of the ground plan by Godard, the south *ayvān* was drawn symmetrically (see [Figure 1/1](#)). He assumed that the same filled openings existed in the west wall.⁴⁹ There is no evidence on the west wall for this assumption and generally for the Saljuq building activity, as Ḥusaynī also noted.⁵⁰

There is a distinct crack on the southern part of the east wall, caused by the wall's expansion in the direction of the qibla wall, probably in the second construction phase ([Figure 13/1](#)). Furthermore, there is more evidence of the difference between the east and west walls, in the bricklaying of the pointed arches. On both pointed arches in the east wall, the bricks are laid in a soldier course, with the narrow sides visible above the inscription (see [Figure 8/3,5](#)). Opposite, on the only opening in the west wall, the bricks are laid in a sailor course, with the broad faces (long sides) visible (see [Figure 8/2](#)). According to this evidence, it can be assumed that the south *ayvān* might have been constructed during the second phase, concurrently with the north *ayvān* ([Figure A7](#)).

6.1. Dating of the First Phase

To date this phase, it is necessary to observe the revetment features of this construction phase, in other words, the epigraphy, geometric and vegetal motifs in brick, stucco, and wall painting.

Inscriptions 33, 36, and 37 can be dated to this phase. These inscriptions have the same style, that is, constructed in foliated Kufic. Most of the letters have simple regular Kufic shapes without any interlacing elements. Stems and tails have bi-lobed terminals and almost all letters have rising tails in different forms. The upper zones of the flat letters are filled with floral ornament such as tendrils and leaves, some of which are punched with four holes (see [Figures 8/3–5; 13/2](#)).

This style of simple foliated Kufic on a flat base line with a few balancing ornaments in the upper zone can be seen in many inscriptions from the eastern Islamic world, such as the stucco panel from Sabz Pūshān at Nīshāpūr⁵¹ and Shīr Kabīr Mausoleum in Dihistān (both attributed to the second half of the fourth/tenth century), and the Chihil Dukhtarān tower in Dāmghān (446/1054–55).⁵²

Another construction element from the first phase is the brickwork on the facade of the south *ayvān*'s east wall and their niche dados. They feature paired stretchers with wide vertical joint plugs ([Figure 8/3,5; Figure 13](#)).

The remnant of a painted frieze is visible on the east wall above the south arch, bearing a repeated motif, the same as the decorative plugs on the lower part of the wall. Ḥusaynī assumed that this frieze framed an inscription.⁵³ A tiny piece of the same frieze in stucco survived, set in the same position above the north arch (details of [Figures 8/5; 13/1](#)). Using different materials for a frieze is unusual. There are two possible explanations: either the painted frieze is a renovated work, or there were two bays in this space between the northern and southern arches. The same frieze made out of stucco runs around the small mihrab ([Figure 8/4](#)).

Additional elements from this phase is the brickwork with geometric patterns on the court facade of the east wall of the south *ayvān*, which forms diaper patterns. Each pattern contains four terracotta insets in the middle ([Figure 13/3](#)). The developed form of this technique was also used in this mosque in the second phase ([Figure 14/1](#)).

⁴⁷Godard, "Khorāsān," 105.

⁴⁸Wilber, *The Architecture*, 156.

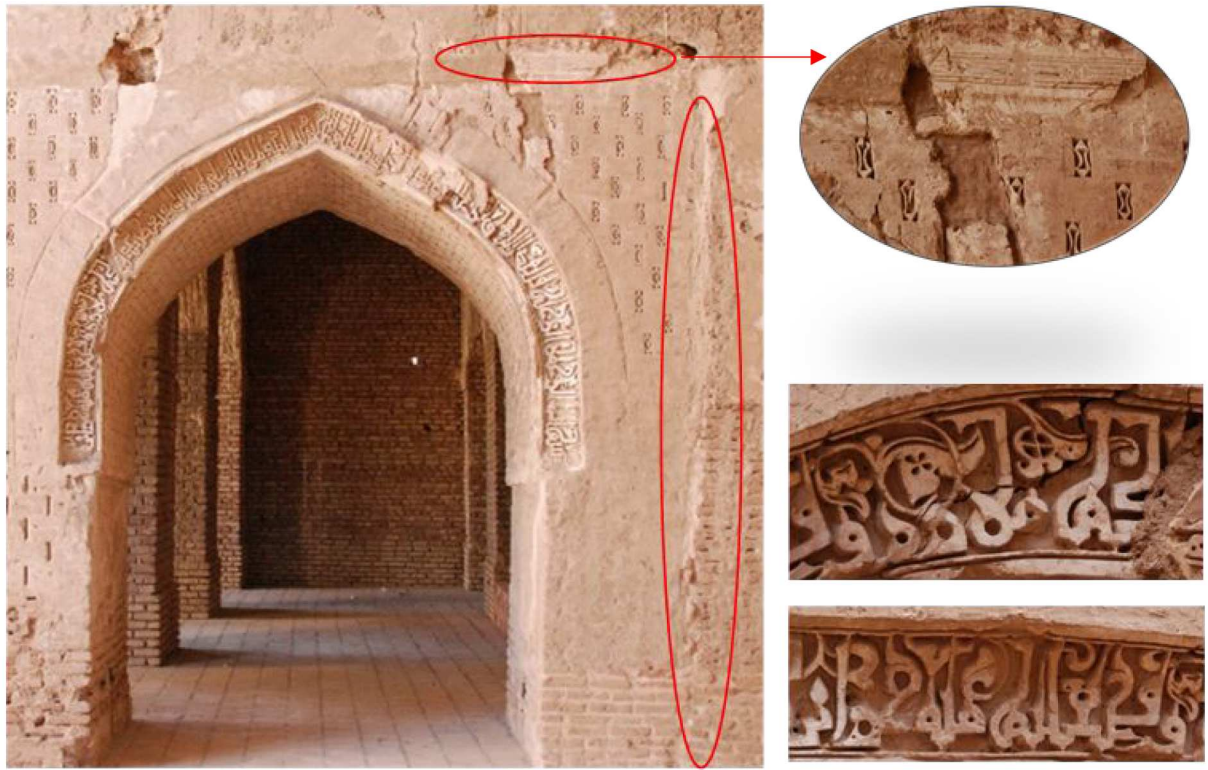
⁴⁹Godard, "Khorāsān," 88–9.

⁵⁰Ḥusaynī, "Bāzshināsī-yi masjid-i jāmi'-i Faryūmad," 57.

⁵¹Dado zone in the MET collection, Accession No. 40.170.442.

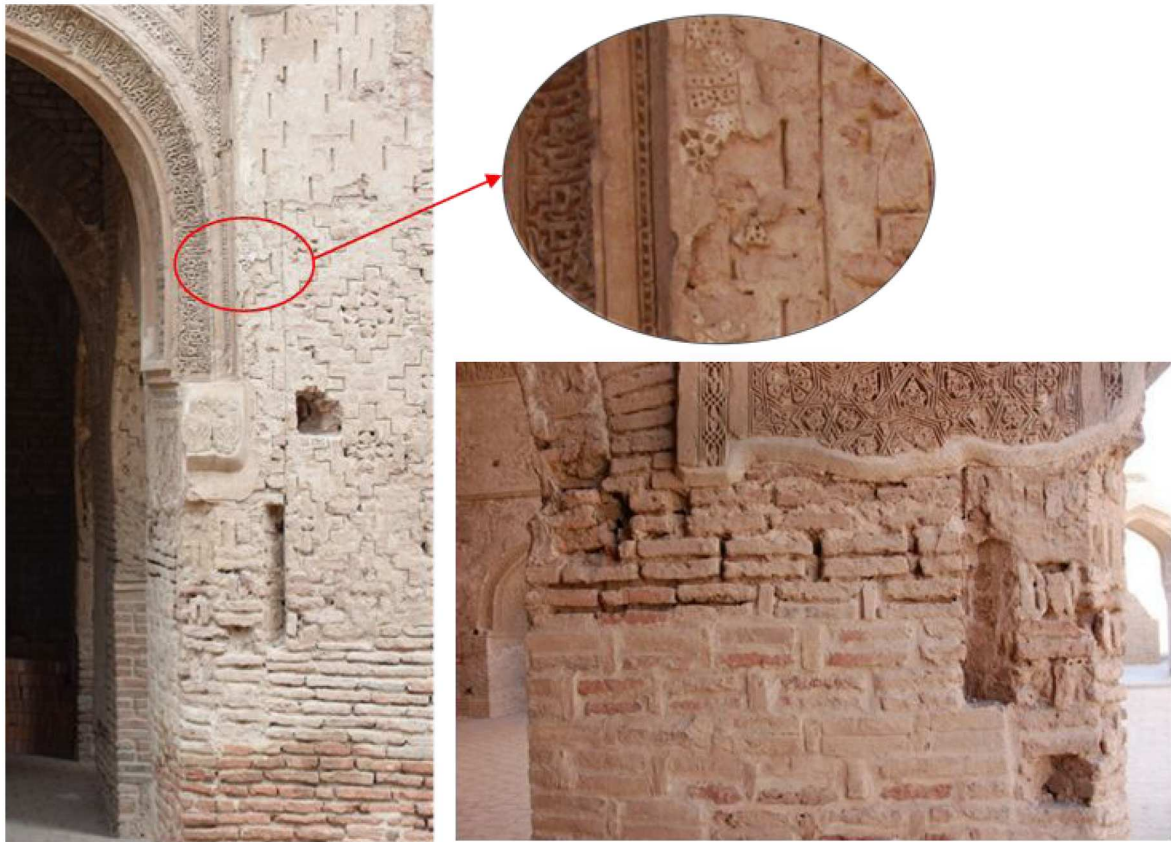
⁵²Blair, *Monumental Inscriptions*, 54–7, 123–5, figs. 26–27, 71.

⁵³Ḥusaynī, "Bāzshināsī-yi masjid-i jāmi'-i Faryūmad," 58.



1.

2.



3.

Figure 13. South *ayvān* 1. Distinct crack on the southern part of the south *ayvān*'s east wall. 2. Inscr. no. 33. 3. Eastern pillar of the south *ayvān* in the court facade, left: north wall, right: east wall (Aghajani 2020).

The simple rectilinear geometric pattern from the first phase also appears on the soffit of the northern arch in the east wall of the south *ayvān*, where the small mihrab is located. However, in addition to the zig-zag pattern on this soffit, a series of simple joint plugs (incised plaster plugs) is noticeable (Figure 14/2).⁵⁴

The next construction feature from the first phase is the engaged octagonal column on the eastern wall of the court facade in the south wing, next to the above-mentioned brickwork (Figure 13/3). The same style of brickwork can be seen in both the Sharaf and Māhī caravanserais, Tepe Madrasa in Nīshāpūr, and the mausoleum of Bābā Ḥātam, where the columns are also of the same construction.⁵⁵

The above-mentioned construction elements from the first phase and their comparative examples suggest an attribution between the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth century. It may be assumed that this mosque was built when Faryūmad had a governor as well as a Friday mosque and, according to Bayhaqī's historical report, was considered a major city in the Bayhaq region.⁵⁶ This mosque was probably destroyed by the Ghuzz invasion of Khurasan in the middle of the twelfth century.⁵⁷ It is possible that some earthquakes in this region were another cause of this destruction.⁵⁸

It is important to mention a water canal (*qanāt*) which most likely belonged to the first building activity together with the east wall of the south *ayvān*. The *pāyāb* (outlet) of this *qanāt* called Bāzār, was under the dome chamber in the north-east corner of the mosque. According to Maulavī, this *qanāt* was dried out and destroyed.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the entrance to the *pāyāb* is identifiable through a historical picture (Figure 14/3). The trace of different bricklaying in the shape of an arch above this canal on the west wall of the dome chamber proved that this *qanāt* already existed before the construction of the two-*ayvān* mosque (see Figure 5/ 4). Furthermore, the shape of the bricklaying

on the arch in the west wall of the destroyed dome chamber – the (set vertically in a soldier course) – closely resemble the above-mentioned bricklaying of two pointed arches on the east wall of the south *ayvān* (see Figure 5/4; Figure 8/3,5). It suggests that the west wall of the destroyed dome chamber could be part of the structure from the first phase (Figure A7).

More precisely, there should have been a structure at this point of the small dome chamber (see Figure 1/ 1). It is difficult to establish whether this chamber belongs to the modern era, as Godard assumed.⁶⁰ According to Wilber, the small size of the courtyard in comparison to the height of the *ayvāns* could be evidence of an existing building nearby.⁶¹ According to this argument, the *pāyāb* of the Bāzār *qanāt* could be one of the earliest buildings, before the construction of the two-*ayvān* mosque. To investigate the details of the remains of this chamber, more research and excavations are needed. A poem by Ibn Yamīn Faryūmadī about the Faryūmad mosque indicates the presence of this *qanāt* inside the mosque, which he portrayed as a sacred river reminiscent of paradise.

این منزل خجسته که بس روح پرور است / از فرخی و خوش نفسی خلد
دیگرست

سوزد چو آتشی غم دلها هوای او / گویی که خاکش از ارم و آیش ز
کوثرست⁶²

in manzil-i khujasta ka bas ruḥ parvar ast / az farukhiy-
u khvash nafasī khuld-i digarast

suzad chu ātashī gham-i dilhā havāy-i ū / gūyī ka kha-
kash az iram u ābash z-i kawtharast

“This is a blessed ground, which is very ethereal and spiritual. In terms of auspiciousness and goodness of spirit, it is another paradise. The sorrow of hearts burns like a fire in the longing for it. As if its soil is from *Iram* (a legendary paradise city or garden) and its water is from *Kawthar* (a river in paradise).”⁶³

⁵⁴The varieties of diaper pattern were used on stucco and brick as a simple technique to adorn the walls in the medieval Islamic era in Khurasan and central Iran. One of the early examples is on the Buyid portal of the Jurjir mosque in Isfahan, late fourth/tenth century. (Hutt and Harrow, *Islamic Architecture*, 60.) The best comparable examples with this pattern in the Faryūmad mosque are found in the following structures: Ribāt-i Sharaf (Dānīshdūst, “Ribāt-i Sharaf,” fig. 3); Shīr Kabīr Mausoleum in Dihistān (Pugachenkova, *Puti razvitiya*, 174); Bābā Ḥātam (Valence, *La Restauration*, pl. 14) and the brickwork on the minarets in Semnan and Dāmghān regions, which is dated to the second quarter of the fifth/eleventh century (for minarets in the Semnan and Dāmghān regions see Blair, *The Monumental Inscriptions*, 96–7, 99–100).

⁵⁵For Ribāt-i Sharaf see Dānīshdūst, “Ribāt-i Sharaf,” fig. 5–6; for Ribāt-i Māhī see Hutt and Harrow, *Islamic Architecture*, 118, and Korn, “Ribāt-i Mahi,” figs. 8–9; for Tepe Madarasa see Wilkinson, *Nishapur*, figs. 1.71–1.72; for Bābā Ḥātam see Valence, *La Restauration*, pls. 4/13, 7/19–21.

⁵⁶Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq*, 170, 277.

⁵⁷See n. 35.

⁵⁸Maulavī, *Āthār-i Bāstānī*, 514; for the history of earthquakes in this region, see Melville, “Earthquakes in the History,” 103–20.

⁵⁹Maulavī, *Āthār-i Bāstānī*, 491.

⁶⁰Godard, “Khorāsān,” 88.

⁶¹Wilber, *The Architecture*, 156.

⁶²Faryūmadī, *Divān*, 23.

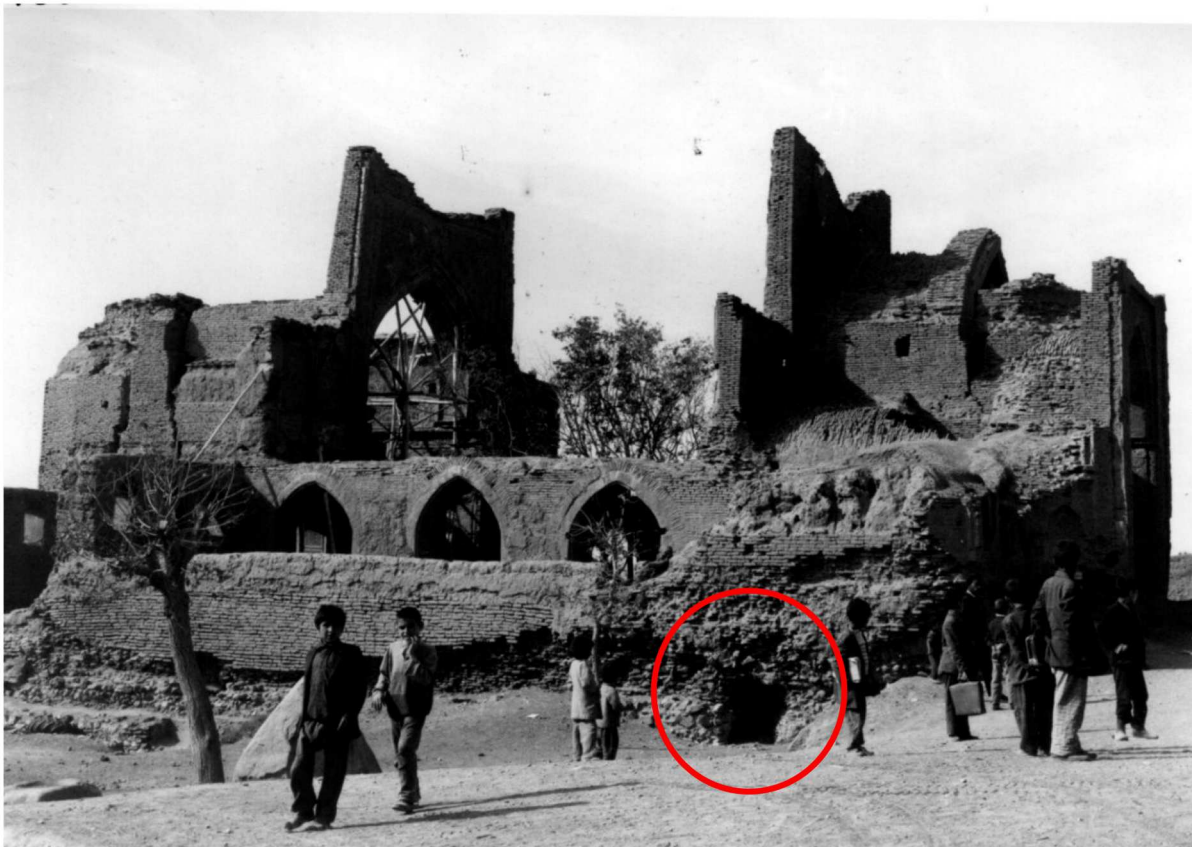
⁶³There is nothing unusual about the existence of a *qanāt* in a mosque's structure; there are well-known examples from Nāyīn, Naṭanz, Yazd, Qāyīn, Gunābād, and Qazvīn.



1.



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3.



4.



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Figure 14. 1. Diaper pattern on the dado of the south archway of the east *riwāq* (Aghajani 2020). 2. Soffit of the northern arch in the east wall of the south *ayvān* (Aghajani 2020). 3. Entrance to the *pāyāb* in the north-east corner of the Faryūmad mosque (B. Finster, 1970s, University of Bamberg, Bildarchiv der Islamischen Welt). 4. Style A. 5. Style B.

6.2. Dating of the Second Phase

Compared to the previous phase, dating of the second phase is not complicated because of the inscriptions. Inscription no. 32 includes the name of the Grand Vizier ʿIzz al-Dīn Ṭāhir Faryūmadī. Unfortunately, the final part of this inscription, where the date is usually written, was destroyed. Despite this missing part, the dating of the second phase can be determined by referring to primary sources on Ṭāhir Faryūmadī.

According to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (1244–1323), ʿIzz al-Dīn Ṭāhir was a descendant of the Tahirid Dynasty (r. 821–73). He mentions Ṭāhir as the Vizier of Arghūn Āqā and states that Ṭāhir died in 676/1277–78.⁶⁴ While investigating Ṭāhir Faryūmadī, we cannot ignore Amīr Arghūn Āqā (or Arghūn Āqā), who is the last of the four Mongol governors in pre-Ilkhanid Iran.⁶⁵ He was appointed between 641/1243 and 654/1256 with responsibility for the territories of eastern and central Iran as well as western regions by the great Mongol Khans.⁶⁶ In the early Ilkhanid period Amīr Arghūn served Hülegü (r. 1256–65) and Abāqā Khan (r. 1265–82) as tax-farmer general, general, and director of military operations, and was deputy governor of Khurasan until his death in 673/1275 in Rādkān.⁶⁷

According to ʿAṭā Malik Juvaynī (1226–83), Ṭāhir served Amīr Arghūn and was in command as his deputy during Amīr's travels to Mongolia in 649/1251. Juvaynī reports that Amīr Arghūn, after his journey to Mongolia, ordered new tax policies for his commanders and ministers in Khurasan and Mazandaran to implement. In this report, Ṭāhir is introduced as *Nāyib Muṭlaq*: “*Ṣāhib ʿIzz al-Dīn Ṭāhir rā ka Nāyib-i Muṭlaq būd*”.⁶⁸ The title makes it clear that before this journey Ṭāhir was at that time Amīr Arghūn's deputy in all his affairs (*Nāyib Muṭlaq*). Following Amīr Arghūn's government, Ṭāhir accepted rather inferior positions during the reigns of Hülegü and Abāqā Khan. Juvaynī referred to the role of Ṭāhir as the deputy to Amīr Arghūn for the administrative and royal-farming affairs (*umūr-i dīvānī wa khvāṣ*) in 656/1258.⁶⁹ According to Hamadānī, Abāqā Khan appointed Ṭāhir as the vizier in the territory of Khurasan in 663/1265.⁷⁰ It is therefore possible to divide these accounts into two historical epochs. The first period

relates to the time when Ṭāhir was Amīr Arghūn's deputy in the territory of Iran, the second to the era when Ṭāhir had inferior positions during the reigns of Hülegü and Abāqā Khan.

On the surviving part of the building inscription, Ṭāhir is presented as the vizier of the west and east territories (*dastūr al-khafiqīn*) and the great vizier of the land and sea (*Sultan-i Wuzarāʾ al-Barr wa al-Bahr*). These titles fit the time, as Ṭāhir Faryūmadī was Amīr Arghūn's deputy throughout the territories of Iran in the years 649–54/1251–56.

There is another primary source associated with Ṭāhir which reinforces this claim, *Faraj baʿd az Shidat* by Ḥussayn bin Asʿad Dihistānī.⁷¹ Dihistānī was the personal assistant (private secretary) of ʿIzz al-Dīn Ṭāhir who dedicated this book to him. The beginning section of the book includes praises of ʿIzz al-Dīn Ṭāhir with his consecutive titles. First, Ṭāhir is introduced in this text as the *dastūr-i aʿzam*, Grand Vizier. Second, the name of Ṭāhir appears with a rhetorical stylistic device, namely “ʿIzz al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn”, just as on the building inscription in the Faryūmad mosque (inscr. no. 32). Finally, his complete name appears, *Ṭāhir bin Zangī al-Faryūmadī*. However, Ṭāhir's titles in this manuscript are not highlighted as they were in the building inscription. As previously mentioned, Ṭāhir is referred to as the Grand Vizier *dastūr-i aʿzam* in this manuscript. It can therefore be assumed that this book was commissioned in the early Ilkhanid period, when Ṭāhir was the vizier of Khurasan.

Additionally, it can be claimed that the construction of the Faryūmad mosque in the two-*ayvān* type was commissioned by ʿIzz al-Dīn Ṭāhir Faryūmadī in the middle of the thirteenth century, in 649–654/1251–1256, just before the onset of the Ilkhanid era. This provides unique evidence of building activity following the Mongol conquest and during the period of Mongol khans in Iran.

Both styles of inscription were attributed to this phase. One of the eye-catching elements in these styles is the punched holes and the smile lines on the terminals of the letters (Figure 14/4–5). There are numerous examples of this element in the epigraphic bands in eastern Iran in the medieval Islamic period, especially on Ghurid monuments⁷² such as Shāh-i Mashhad madrasa in Gharjstān and the mausoleum of Ghīyāth al-Dīn in

⁶⁴Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-Ādāb*, 201.

⁶⁵See Lane, “Arghun Aqa,” 459–82; Jackson, “ARĠŪN ĀQĀ,” 401–2.

⁶⁶Juvaynī, *Tārikh-i Jahāngushā*, 243; Vaṣaf Shirāzi, *Tahrir-i Tārikh-i Vaṣaf*, 176, 310; Mustaufī, *Tārikh-i Guzida*, 584; Mirkhvānd, *Rawzat al-Safā*, 173, 182; Hamadānī, *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh*, 808, 843, 855–6.

⁶⁷Mirkhvānd, *Rawzat al-Safā*, 276, 300; Hamadānī, *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh*, 938, 1061, 1072; Jackson, “ARĠŪN ĀQĀ,” 401–2.

⁶⁸Juvaynī, *Tārikh-i Jahāngushā*, 256.

⁶⁹Juvaynī, *Tārikh-i Jahāngushā*, 260.

⁷⁰Hamadānī, *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh*, 1061.

⁷¹Dihistānī, *Tarjumay-i Faraj*, 8–12.

⁷²See Casimir and Glatzer, “Shāh-i Mashhad,” figs 33–35; Najimi, “The Ghurid Madrasa,” fig. 18; Hillenbrand, “The architecture,” pl. 27; Hillenbrand, “The Ghurid tomb,” pl. 12.20; Hansen et al., *The Ghurid Portal*, figs. 7.21; Hackin et al., *Diverses recherches*, figs. 114–115.

Herat.⁷³ The use of hadith inscriptions is another specific feature in this building; the same trend can be seen in Ghurid monuments such as the Shāh-i Mashhad madrasa. If inscription no. 46 is in Persian, the Faryūmad mosque could be one of the few surviving monuments in this region that makes use of Persian inscriptions.⁷⁴

The epigraphic programme next to the style of the stucco decorations help us to get a better understanding of the building development in this phase. The following structures and decorations belong to the second phase:

Entrance portal and external facade: except for the terracotta revetments, these structures with their decorations belong to the second phase (Figure A7/2).

South and north ayvāns: apart from its east wall and some decorative elements of it, which belong to the first building phase, the south *ayvān* and its interior decoration must be attributed to the second phase. The northern pointed archway on the east wall of the south *ayvān* was filled in during the second phase and the east wall was expanded in the direction of the qibla wall. The southern pointed archway of the east wall was redecorated in this phase with a new inscription band. This band, together with the opposite archway's inscription band, features verses of Sura 93. Another significant structure of this phase is the mihrab niche with its rich stucco decoration and the half *muqarnas* vaulting, which accentuate the qibla wall. The inscriptions running around the top of the walls of the south and north *ayvān* are verses of Sura 67. The north *ayvān* was constructed during the second phase. The rest of the inner north *ayvān* on the transverse arches and the zones in between characterise the stucco ornaments from this phase (Figure A7/3–4).

South and north wings: the flanking two-storey walls of the south wing were constructed and decorated during the second phase. The stucco ornaments on these facades, as well as on the archway's soffit and dado zone, and especially the remains of stucco decorations with *giriḥ* patterns in blind niches on the second floor, confirm this claim.

Inscriptions no. 27 and 28 exemplify an epigraphic programme in the south *ayvān* and play an important role in tracking the building's development in these

constructions. The content of these inscriptions suggests that the three verses of Sūra 7 (nos. 33, 34, and 35), should be located in the lateral archways of the north *ayvān*, where the amount of space taken by the two arches fits precisely with the words of these three verses, signifying that the north wing was built during the same construction programme as the south wing. Today, apart from the decorations of the soffit and dados in the two archways and two inscriptions around the *ayvān* niche, nothing has been preserved of the decorations of the second construction phase on the north wing's facade (Figure A7).

The east and west riwāqs: they were built in the second construction phase. The inscriptions follow the same epigraphic programme, including the small inscription fields at the foot of the soffit bearing a hadith text, and the inscriptions on the archivolt verses of Qur'an 75. 1–40.

6.3. Dating of the Third Phase

The use of terracotta and small pieces of tile are the main characteristic of the third phase of construction. During this phase, most parts of the facades of the north and south wings and the entrance portal were redecorated with terracotta and occasionally inset with glazed ceramics. These terracotta friezes were adorned with geometric patterns in *giriḥ* form with stamped vegetal ornaments and a terracotta band of ornamental mimic inscription.⁷⁵

This phase may have been commissioned by Vizier 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Faryūmadī (grandchild of Ṭāhir),⁷⁶ who was referred to as the builder of the Shahrestān fortifications next to Faryūmad and the Farivandī madrasa in the Turbat-i Shaykh-i Jām complex.⁷⁷ Adle argued that this person was the commissioner of the whole building in the Ilkhanid period. As a comparative example for the terracotta ornaments, he mentioned the revetment of the portal in *ayvān va dālān-i Ōljaitū* (713/1313) in the architectural complex of Bāyazīd Bastāmi.⁷⁸ This follows Wilber's assumption that the second phase of construction might have taken place around 1320.⁷⁹ This dating was adopted by other scholars as the dating for the development of the Faryūmad mosque in the Ilkhanid period.⁸⁰

⁷³Sayyadshahri, "Historical and technological studies," 30.

⁷⁴For the use of Persian epigraphy in eastern Iran, see O'Kane, *The Appearance of Persian*; and Blair, *The Monumental Inscriptions*.

⁷⁵For more details about the terracotta decorations in the Faryūmad mosque, see Sayyadshahri, "Historical and technological studies".

⁷⁶See n. 36.

⁷⁷See n. 25.

⁷⁸Adle, "Faryūmad," 385.

⁷⁹Wilber, *The Architecture*, 156.

⁸⁰Manšūrī et al., "Siyar-i Taḥavul-i Masjid," 188; Blair, *The Ilkhanid Shrine*, 9.

6.4. The Renovation Phases of the Faryūmad Mosque

When this mosque was registered on the Iran National Heritage List in 1942, it was severely damaged. The vaults of both *ayvāns* had collapsed. Apart from the archways, the structures of the *riwāqs* and corner rooms were ruined, as can be seen in Godard's ground plan. Since 1973, several renovations have taken place.⁸¹ The structures were rebuilt as part of these renovation campaigns, as evidenced from Ḥusaynī's ground plan (see Figure 1/2).⁸²

7. Conclusion

The Friday mosque of Faryūmad has been highly admired for its Khurasanī style with two *ayvāns* and its rich architectural decorations. For a long time, it was assumed there was no monumental dating inscription in the Faryūmad mosque. Accordingly, all the earlier estimated dating of this building was carried out through art historical analysis, except for a study by S. Ḥusaynī.⁸³

Despite the numerous inscriptions preserved in this mosque, only a few of them have been read so far. This is the first complete documentation of the epigraphic programme of the Faryūmad mosque. There are about 50 inscriptions including quranic, hadith, and religious formulae as well as a number of secular inscriptions in the form of signatures and foundation inscriptions.

Reading the inscriptions of this building revealed some other peculiarities including the use of Persian and the prominent role of hadith. These features as well as some striking decorative elements in this building, such as a stucco *muqarnas* vault, punched holes, a smile line on the terminals of letters, and the use of poly-lobed arches, are the key Khurasanī features in the pre-Ilkhanid period. All of these elements are related to the second building phase in the Faryūmad mosque, whose main feature is stucco decoration.

In this phase, the mosque was rebuilt as a two-*ayvān* type. Based on the remains of the first phase, the likelihood of recognising the form of this mosque in this initial phase without an archaeological investigation is currently unrealistic. The preserved parts of the first phase are the east wall of the south *ayvān* at a height of c. 4 m and the west wall of the dome chamber

(Figure A7). Furthermore, the *pāyāb* of the Bāzār *qanāt*, which was under the dome chamber in the north-east corner of the mosque, was identified as one of the earliest buildings prior to the construction of the two-*ayvān* mosque. The existence of this structure was considered as a limitation in the construction of a larger mosque in the second building activity of the Faryūmad mosque, which might be the reason for the small size of the courtyard in comparison to the height of the *ayvāns*.

The construction and decoration elements from the first phase are the inscriptions in simple foliated Kufic, the typical Khurasanī brickwork style in paired stretchers with wide vertical joint plugs, diaper patterns on the brickwork, an engaged octagonal column, and the double lateral bricks on the arch. The first phase is closely related to a wide range of structures in Greater Khurasan, especially to Ribāṭ-i Sharaf and Ribāṭ-i Māhī. It consequently suggests an attribution between the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth century. The Ghuzz invasion of Khurasan in the middle of the twelfth century and some earthquakes in this region have been discussed as the cause for the destruction of the Faryūmad mosque after the first phase.⁸⁴ The second phase holds significant importance, with the foundation inscription offering rare evidence of construction activity in the period between the Mongol invasion and the formation of the Ilkhanid empire. The second phase was commissioned by 'Izz al-Dīn Ṭāhir Faryūmadī in the middle of the thirteenth century. Ṭāhir ordered a reconstruction of this mosque in his home town when he obtained his highest position as the deputy in all Arghūn Āqā's affairs as Governor in the territory of Iran. This claim was proved through the titles, which introduced Ṭāhir with this inscription. The builders of this phase are 'Alī and his son Muḥammad, members of the Shahrīstānī family. There are three signatures, which introduced 'Alī as the builder of the Faryūmad mosque. Moreover, there is an inscription in tiny format, which states Muḥammad ibn 'Alī as the builder. The strange format of the small signature could be interpreted as a secret signature or even possibly mischief on the part of the architect's son.

The last phase of the historical building activity in Faryūmad mosque was a redecoration phase, in which some parts of the facades of the north and south wings, as well as the entrance portal, were redecorated with terracotta and occasionally inset with glazed ceramics. This phase might have been commissioned by

⁸¹Adle, "Faryūmad," 385; Ḥusaynī, "Bāzshīnāsī-yi masjid-i jāmi'-i Faryūmad," 41; Mansūri et al., "Siyr-i taḥavul-i masjid," 187.

⁸²Ḥusaynī, "Bāzshīnāsī-yi masjid-i jāmi'-i Faryūmad," 60.

⁸³She identified for the first time the surviving function of the foundation inscription of the Faryūmad mosque. However, an incomplete reading led her to make an incorrect claim.

⁸⁴See nn. 35, 58.

Vizier 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Faryūmadī in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

By observing the remains of the mortar on the east wall's court facade of the south *ayvān*, three phases of decoration of this mosque can be distinguished. The first is the brick patterns in geometric compositions. From the second phase, only a tiny part of the stucco grid pattern has been preserved. Finally, the facade was covered with terracotta, which is still preserved today (Figures 13/3 left; A7/4).

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Appendix. List of inscriptions

In the following, the contents of the mosque inscriptions are listed, together with some decorative peculiarities. In order to facilitate the description, it may be useful to briefly characterise the two styles of epigraphic bands that can be found:

Style A: the inscription bands written in a cursive script. The upper ends (*hastae*) of the long letters are decorated with a drilled hole and a curved line.⁸⁵ The floral motifs, such as tendrils of two parallel lines and undulating scrolls with a variety of blossoms and leaves, fill the space between the letters and their upper zone (Figure 14/4).

Style B: characterised by interlaced and foliated Kufic inscriptions. The drilled holes at the end of the letters occur here too and some letters have bifurcating tips. The letters *hi*, *khi*, and *jīm* rise in the shape of a swan's neck and other upstrokes are in the shape of curly brackets, for example the letter *k*. The interlacing elements grow out of the body of the letters. The floral background of this style resembles the background of style A, with the use of the identical ornamental devices, such as two parallel undulating scrolls and various floral patterns. However, style B offers less space to be filled with floral motifs due to the use of the elaborated interlacing elements (Figure 14/5).

Inscription no. 1. Below the cornice separating the wall from the vault, an epigraphic band runs around the portal niche using style A. Most of this inscription has been

⁸⁵Bernard O'Kane has described this design as "smiling faces" (O'Kane, "Rock faces," 220).

destroyed. Based on the remnants on the west wall, it was part of the Sura Jum'a.⁸⁶ This inscription confirms that this mosque served as a Friday mosque (Figures 5/1; 1).

Qur'an 62. 9–10.⁸⁷

Inscription no. 2. Above the inscription band no. 1, in the central cell of the lowest *muqarnas* tier, the remains of an inscription can still be seen. It can be read as a signature (Figure A1/2). The text is fragmentary:

عمل [على] بن محمد بن محمود ... محمد الجا[مع] ...

'amal [ʿAlī] ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ... Muḥammad al-Jā[mī] ...

"The work of [ʿAlī] bin Muḥammad bin Maḥmūd ... Muḥammad al-Jā[mī] ..."

Inscription no. 3. Two horizontal stucco bands in rectangular panels are placed at the base of the soffit of the entrance portal filled with cursive inscriptions in style A. Today only the western panel is still extant. It contains the first half of the *shahāda*. The eastern one has been destroyed (Figure A1/3).

لا اله الا الله

lā ilāha illa Llāh

"There is no deity but God"

Inscription no. 4. On the archivolt of the portal, stucco inscription in style B. This inscription is damaged. It can be inferred from the preserved parts that the band contains the first verses of the Qur'an (Figures 5/3; A1/4).

Qur'an 1. 1–5

Inscription no. 5. In the rectangular panel crowning the lower fifth blind niche to the right of the entrance portal, stucco inscription in style A, hadith text (Figures 4/3; A1/5).⁸⁸

مَنْ بَنَى لِلَّهِ مَسْجِدًا بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ بَيْتًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ⁸⁹

Man banā li-Llāh masjid^{an} banā Llāh lahu bayt^{an} fi l-janna

"Whoever builds a mosque for the sake of God, God will build a house for him in Paradise"

Inscription no. 6. In the rectangular field over the lower fourth blind niche to the right of the entrance portal, style A, hadith text (Figure A1/6).⁹⁰

إِنَّ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى إِنِّي لَهُمْ بِأَهْلِ الْأَرْضِ

Inna Llāh ta'ālā innī la-ahimmu bi-ahl al-arḏ

Inscription no. 7. In the rectangular panel crowning the lower third blind niche to the right of the entrance portal, style A, hadith text (Figure A1/7).⁹¹

The text of this band continues from inscription no. 6.

عَذَابًا، فَإِذَا نَظَرْتُ إِلَى عَمَارٍ يُبْؤِتِي صَرَفْتُ الْعَذَابِي

'azāb^{an}, fa-izā nazartu ilā 'ummar buyuti šaraftu l-'azāb'

Translation of inscr. nos. 6 and 7: "Indeed, Allah the Exalted says: 'I intend to punish the inhabitants of the earth, but when I look at those who maintain My houses [i.e. mosques], I turn away My punishment.'"

Inscription no. 8. In the rectangular panel crowning the lower second blind niche to the right of the entrance portal, style A, hadith text (Figure A1/8).⁹²

عَجَلُوا بِالصَّلَاةِ قَبْلَ الْمَوْتِ ، وَعَجَلُوا بِالتَّوْبَةِ قَبْلَ الْمَوْتِ

'ajjilū bi-al-ṣalāt qabl al-fawt wa-'ajjilū bi-al-tawba qabla l-mawt

"Hurry up to pray before it's too late, and hurry to repent before death"

Inscription no. 9. In the rectangular panel crowning the lower first blind niche to the left of the entrance portal, style A, hadith text (Figures 4/4; A1/9).

قال النبي عليه ...

qāla al-nabī 'alayhi [al-salām] ...

"The Prophet (peace be upon Him), said: ..."

Inscription no. 10. East *riwāq*, on the archivolt of the southern arch, style B. The inscription has almost vanished. Concluding from the other inscriptions in the *riwāq*, it should bear the first verses of Sura 75 "al-Qiyāma" (Figure 3/1).

Qur'an 75. 1–8 [?]

Inscription no. 11. East *riwāq*, on the archivolt of the middle arch, style B. Only some words are legible (Figure A1/10).

Qur'an 75. 9–12

Inscription no. 12. East *riwāq*, on the archivolt of the northern arch, style B (Figure A1/11).

Qur'an 75. 15–20

Inscription no. 13. West *riwāq*, on the archivolt of the northern arch, style B (Figures 3/2; A1/12).

Qur'an 75. 21–28

Inscription no. 14. West *riwāq*, on the archivolt of the middle arch, style B. Verse no. 35 has been left out in error, probably because verses 34 and 35 end on the same word (Figure A1/13).

⁸⁶This inscription was first read by Maulavi, *Āthār-i Bāstāni*, 510.

⁸⁷Due to lack of space, only the number of Sura and its verses of the quranic inscriptions have been listed. Should there be any deviations, this will be noted accordingly, e.g. inscription no. 14.

⁸⁸Sunan Ibn Majah 736.

⁸⁹Ḥusaynī reads the last word as "al-Jahannam". Ḥusaynī, "Bāzshināsi-yi masjid-i jāmi'i Faryūmad," 61.

⁹⁰Ibn-Katheer 9/18.

⁹¹Ibn-Katheer 9/18.

⁹²al-Saghānī 37.

Qur'an 75. 29–36

Inscription no. 15. West *riwāq*, on the archivolt of the southern arch, style B. After the last verse of Sura al-Qīyāma, the inscription continues but the text is not readable (Figure A1/14).

Qur'an 75. 40

Inscription no. 16. East *riwāq*, southern arch, rectangular panel at the base of the soffit, style A, religious formula (Figure A1/15–16).

16a. South side

من الجنة

min al-janna

“from paradise”

16b. North side

لا اله الا الله

lā ilāha illā Llāh

“There is no deity but God”

Inscription no. 17. East *riwāq*, middle arch, rectangular panel at the base of the soffit, style A, religious formula (Figure A2/1–2).

17a. South side.

لا اله الا الله

lā ilāha illā Llāh

“There is no deity but God”

17b. North side

افضل ذكر

Afzal zikr

“The best remembrance (*zikr*)”

Inscription no. 18. East *riwāq*, northern arch, rectangular panel at the base of the soffit, style A, hadith text (Figure A2/3–4).⁹³

18a. South side

من كان الله

man kāna allāh

18b. North side

كان الله له

kāna Llāh lahu

“Whoever does his deeds for God, God will have mercy on him.”

Inscription no. 19. West *riwāq*, northern arch, rectangular panel at the base of the soffit, style A, hadith text (Figure A2/5).⁹⁴

19a. North wall.

خير الناس من نفع الناس

khayr al-nās man nafa'a al-nās

“The best person is the one who benefits all human beings.”

”

The inscription on the south side is destroyed.

Inscription no. 20. West *riwāq*, middle arch, rectangular panel at the base of the soffit, style A, hadith text (Figures 6/1; A2/6).⁹⁵

20a. North side

الدنيا مزرعة الاخرة

al-dunyā mazra'at al-ākhirā

“This world is a plantation for the hereafter.”

The inscription on the south side is in poor condition and illegible.

Inscription no. 21. West *riwāq*, southern arch, rectangular panel at the base of the soffit, style A, hadith text (Figure A2/7).⁹⁶

21a. North side.

الجنة دار الأسخياء

al-janna dār al-askhīyā

“Heaven is the abode of generous people.”

Similar to the other arcades of the west *riwāq*, the inscription on the south side is also destroyed. The possible cause of this damage is rainfall.

Inscription no. 22. An epigraphic frieze runs around the plinth zone of the north wall in the middle archway of the east and west *riwāqs*. This inscription is in foliated Kufic repeating one of the so-called beautiful names of God: *al-Malik*. One of the striking elements here is a tulip motif growing out of the letter *mīm* (Figure A2/8).

The same epigraphic programme has been used for the lateral archways next to the two large *ayvāns*. Religious quotes adorn the bases of all soffits in these archways.

Inscription no. 23. South wing, eastern arch, rectangular panel at the base of the soffit, “Style A”, hadith text (Figure A2/9–10).⁹⁷

23a. West side.

المنافق في المسجد

al-munāfiq fī al-masjid

⁹³İsfahānī 336.

⁹⁴Ḥusaynī claims that this hadith belongs to ‘Alī ibn abī Ṭālib, the first Imam of the Shia (Ḥusaynī, “Bāzshināsī-yi masjid-i jāmi‘-i Faryūmad,” 61). However, this hadith can also be found in the Sunni hadith books (Bayhaqī, *Shu‘ab al-Imān*, 419).

⁹⁵al-Saghānī 64.

⁹⁶al-Ḥawīnī 164.

⁹⁷al-Ghazzī 92.

23b. East side

كالتير في الققص

ka-al-ṭayir fī al-qafaṣ

“The hypocrite in the mosque is like a bird in a cage.”

Inscription no. 24. South wing, western arch, rectangular panel at the base of the soffit, style A, religious formula (Figure A2/11–12).

24a. West side.

لا اله الا الله

lā ilāha illā Llāh

“There is no deity but God”

24b. East side

وحده لا شريك له

Waḥdahu lā sharīk lahu

“There is no deity except God, He is alone and He has no partner.”

Inscription no. 25. North wing, western arch, rectangular panel at the base of the soffit, style A, hadith text (Figure A2/13–14).⁹⁸

25a. West side

المؤمن في المسجد

al-muʾmin fī al-masjid

25b. East side.

كالتسمك في الماء

ka-al-samak fī al-māʾ

“A believer in the mosque is like a fish in the water.”

Inscription no. 26. North wing, eastern arch, rectangular panel at the base of the soffit. The inscription on the east side has been destroyed (Figure A3/1).

26a. West side

لا اله الا الله

lā ilāha illā Llāh

“There is no deity but God”

Inscription no. 27. South wing, on the archivolt of the eastern arch, style B (Figures 6/2 l; A3/2).

Qurʾan 7. 32⁹⁹

Inscription no. 28. South wing, on the western arch, style B (Figures 6/2r; A3/3).

Qurʾan 7. 36–37

Inscription no. 29. On the archivolt of the lateral eastern and western pointed archways of the north *ayvān*, as well as the horizontal friezes over the spandrels of the archways, terracotta inscription band in knotted Kufic.

الملك لله

al-mulk li-Llāh

“The authority belongs to God” (Figures 7/1; A3/4).

Inscription no. 30. Stucco inscription running around the spandrel of the north *ayvān* in style A. It begins above the east engaged column and ends at the same level on the opposite side. This band is badly damaged and only part of it is preserved (Figures 2/1; A3/5).

Qurʾan 48. 16–25

Inscription no. 31. On the archivolt of the north *ayvān*, style B (Figures 2/1; A3/6).

Qurʾan 87. 1–15

Inscription no. 32. On the archivolt of the south *ayvān*, style A. Only a small part of the inscription is preserved. Foundation inscription (Figures 7/2; A4/1).

[ع]ا[لم] ايام؟/نظام الملك؟ دستور الخافقين سلطان وزراء البر و البحر عز الدنيا و الدين طاهر الفريومدي اعزه الله

[ʿā]lam ayyām [ʔ] niẓām al-mulk [ʔ] dastūr al-khāfiqīn sulṭān wuzarāʾ al-barr wa al-baḥr ʿizz al-dunyā wa-al-dīn Ṭāhir al-Faryūmadī aʿazzahu l-Llāh ...

“... vizier of the east and west, the sultan among the viziers of land and sea, glory of the world and religion, Ṭāhir al-Faryūmadī may God glorify him ...”¹⁰⁰

Inscription no. 33. The underlying inscription on the archivolt of the south pointed archway of the east band. Simple foliated Kufic in stucco (Figures 8/3; 13/2).

Qurʾan 10. 58–59

Inscription no. 34. This stucco inscription covered the inscription mentioned above. Over time, its beginning and end were destroyed and one can only read its middle part. Foliated Kufic (Figure 8/3).

Qurʾan 93. 1–6

Inscription no. 35. This stucco inscription is located on the archivolt of the archway of the west wall of the south *ayvān*. It has the same style as inscription no. 34, whose text is the continuation of the same inscription (Figures 8/2; A3/7).

Qurʾan 93. 7–11

A quranic quotation fills the space left in the band.

يغفر الله لنا و لك

*yaghfira Llāh lanā wa laka*⁹⁸al-Ghazzī 92.⁹⁹Akbarī mentioned this inscription as Qurʾan 7. 31 (Akbarī, “Masjid jāmiʿ Farūmad,” 162).¹⁰⁰Husaynī is the first scholar to identify this epigraphic band as a foundation inscription. She only reads the following words, “Malik Dastūr al-Khāfiqīn al-Sulṭān”, and interprets this title as “the ruler of rulers from the western and eastern territory”. In the following, Husaynī claims that in the Ilkhanid period this title referred only to one ruler, namely Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudā-Banda (Öljaitü). Accordingly, she dates this building to the time of Öljaitü (Husaynī, “Bāzshināsī-yi masjid-i jāmiʿ-i Faryūmad,” 63).

“God forgive us and you”

Inscription no. 36. Stucco inscription on the archivolt of the northern pointed archway in the east wall of the south *ayvān*, Kufic script in the same style as inscription no. 33. Only a few words are recognisable (Figure 8/5).

Qur’an 48. 16

Inscription no. 37. On the archivolt of the small mihrab. Kufic inscription with the same style as inscriptions nos. 33 and 36 (Figure 8/4).

Qur’an 112. 1–4¹⁰¹

Two words can also be seen on the spandrel of the inner niche of the small mihrab: “Allāh” on the right side and “Akbar” on the left.

Inscription no. 38. Quranic inscription in cursive script with floral decoration similar to style A placed above the interior dado zone of the mihrab niche (Figures 9; A4/2).

Qur’an 19. 11–13

Maulavī was the first to read this inscription.¹⁰² Later scholars were unable to find it and wrongly identified a different epigraphic band around the mihrab.¹⁰³

Inscription no. 39. On the archivolt of the grand mihrab. Floriated interlaced Kufic inscription in style B. However, elaborated interlaced elements are dominant in this band, which made the reading difficult (Figures 10/1–2; A4/3).

Qur’an 22. 77

Inscription no. 40. Small medallion on the apex of the mihrab niche’s archivolt. From historical photographs, it can be seen that this medallion was filled with the cursive inscription. Maulavī only noted this inscription and read two words “Muḥammad” and “Jāmi” on this medallion.¹⁰⁴ Consequently, some researchers assumed that these two words are the only readable ones on the Kufic inscription of the mihrab’s archivolt.¹⁰⁵ Next to these words, remnants of a name, which is supposed to be Maḥmūd, are visible. Although this inscription is now lost, it was surely one of the builder’s signatures (Figure 10/1–2; detail of Figure A4/3).

... محمد محمود ... الجامع ...

... *Muḥammad Maḥmūd* ... *al-Jāmi* ...

Inscription no. 41. Stucco medallions on the right-hand spandrel of the grand mihrab. These stucco medallions consist of a circle surrounded by eight lines forming an octagon on a blue background. These lines present a Kufic inscription, whose text repeats a quranic quotation four times. Two lines are provided for each inscription. The east medallion is in poor condition and most of its characters are destroyed. Part of verse 33 of Sūra 20 (Figures 9; A5/1).

نُسَبِّحُكَ كَثِيرًا

nusabbiḥaka kathīran
“we praise You greatly”

Inscription no. 42. This cursive inscription frames the mihrab niche. Both sides of the band on the dado zone have been destroyed. Even the remains of this inscription are in poor condition. However, by identifying a few words the content can be determined (Figures 9; A5/2).

Qur’an 2. 255

Inscription no. 43. Stucco epigraphic panel on the west side of the crowning zone of the grand mihrab. Cursive inscription in style A. It contains the first half of the *shahāda* (Figures 9; A5/3).

لا اله الا الله

lā ilāha illā Llāh

“There is no deity but God”

The panel on the east side is damaged and no longer legible.

Inscription no. 44. Stucco medallions on the right crowning zone of the grand mihrab. A hexagon formed by the inscription in a faintly discernible hexagram pattern surrounds a small inner circle on a blue background. The text is a Kufic inscription, repeating a quranic quotation three times. The quotation uses two lines. The left-side medallion is in poor condition. It contains a part of verse 137 of the Sūra 2¹⁰⁶ (Figures 9; A5/4).

فَسَيَكْفِيكَهُمُ (الله)

Fasayakfikahum (allāh)

“(Allāh) will be sufficient for you against them”

The word “Allāh” would normally be in the middle circle.

Inscription no. 45. Cursive inscription on the lowest tier of the *muqarnas* vault in the middle of the back wall of the south *ayvān*. The different readings of this signature inscription are mentioned above (Figure 11/1–3). According to the historical photographs and other signatures in this building, the following interpretation is likely:

عمل على ابن محمد محمود الجامع الشهرستاني

‘amal ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Jāmi’ al-Shahristānī ...

“The work of ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Jāmi’ al-Shahristānī ...”

It is worth mentioning that between the first and second line of the inscription, two small words in the middle are no longer legible.

Inscription no. 46. Stucco inscription in a wide band on the west base of the barrel vault between the transverse arches of

¹⁰¹Akbarī, “Masjid jāmi’ Farūmad,” 162.

¹⁰²Maulavī, *Āthār-i Bāstānī*, 502.

¹⁰³Sajjādī, *Siyr-i taḥavul-i mihrab*, 125; Zārī, “Faryūmad,” 119.

¹⁰⁴Maulavī, *Āthār-i Bāstānī*, 502.

¹⁰⁵see n. 103.

¹⁰⁶I am grateful to Prof. Lorenz Korn and Ana Marija Grbanovic of the University of Bamberg for their assistance in the reading of this inscription.

the south *ayvān*. The inscription is in Kufic with interlaced tails. A couple of words can be identified in the middle of this inscription, although these words together in one sentence make no sense. The following words can be assumed in this inscription: *kunīd, Pīrūz, fām, Mulksitān*. The probable reading of this inscription makes it a Persian text. The use of Persian for monumental inscriptions in the eastern part of greater Iran is well documented.¹⁰⁷ In addition, the suggested word *Mulksitān* (transl. conqueror of kingdoms) was also often used in Persian medieval poems.¹⁰⁸ Consequently, the inscriptions on both walls may be Persian foundation inscriptions (Figures 11/4; A5/5).

Inscription no. 47. Running around the top of the walls of the south *ayvān*, a cursive¹⁰⁹ inscription in stucco with a background of tendrils and leaves with grid patterns similar to style A (Figures 11/1; A6/1).

Qur'an 67. 1–5 (west wall); 6–9 (south wall); 10–16 (east wall)

As for inscription no. 14, there is also a verse missing (no. 11) in this inscription. The reason is possibly the existence of the same word at the end of verses 10 and 11, which probably confused the builder.

Inscription no. 48. North *ayvān*, running around the top of the walls. Same style as no. 47 with the continuation of the verses of Sūra 67.¹¹⁰ The beginning of this inscription can be identified by the tails (terminals) of the letters. This inscription completes inscription no. 47 (Figures 12/1; A6/2).

Qur'an 67. 17–20 (east wall); 21–23 (north wall); 24–28 (west wall)

Sūra al-Mulk has 30 verses, but only 28 verses are recorded. The remaining space is not sufficient for the rest of the verses, and it is not known how the artist dealt with it.

Inscription no. 49. At the base of the western soffit's frame of the north *ayvān*'s arch is a tiny inscription. This cursive inscription is difficult to find because of its tiny letters and the adjacent tendrils. It is clearly another artisan's signature (Figures 12/2; A6/3).

عمل محمد ابن علي محمود الجامع ...

‘amal Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Jāmi‘

“The work of Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Jāmi‘”

Inscription no. 50. North *ayvān*, west wall, the frame band of the rectangular plaque at the bases of the transition zone of the barrel vault between the transverse arches. Knotted foliated Kufic inscription in style B (Figures 12/2; A6/4).

Qur'an 97. 1–5

An interesting feature can be seen at the end of the inscription, where due to lack of space the last word of the verse (*al-fajr*) was set in tiny format in a different script (cursive).

Inscription no. 51. North *ayvān*, east wall, the frame band of the rectangular plaque at the bases of the transition zone of the barrel vault between the transverse arches. Knotted foliated Kufic inscription in style B (Figure A6/5).

Qur'an 110. 1–3¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷Blair, *The Monumental Inscriptions*, 10.

¹⁰⁸Dihkhudā, *Lughat Nāma*, 18983.

¹⁰⁹See n. 45.

¹¹⁰Maulavī also identified this quranic text (Maulavī, *Āthār-i Bāstānī*, 504.)

¹¹¹Akbarī also read this inscription (Akbarī, “Masjid jāmi‘-i Farūmad,” 162).



Figure A1. Inscriptions 1. Inscr. no. 1. 2. Inscr. no. 2. 3. Inscr. no. 3. 4. Inscr. no. 4. 5. Inscr. no. 5. 6. Inscr. no. 6. 7. Inscr. no. 7. 8. Inscr. no. 8. 9. Inscr. no. 9. 10. Inscr. no. 11. 11. Inscr. no. 12. 12. Inscr. no. 13. 13. Inscr. no. 14. 14. Inscr. no. 15. 15. Inscr. no. 16a. 16. Inscr. no. 16b (Aghajani 2020).



Figure A2. Inscriptions 1. Inscr. no. 17a. 2. Inscr. no. 17b. 3. Inscr. no. 18a. 4. Inscr. no. 18b. 5. Inscr. no. 19a. 6. Inscr. no. 20a. 7. Inscr. no. 21a. 8. Inscr. no. 22. 9. Inscr. no. 23a. 10. Inscr. no. 23b. 11. Inscr. no. 24a. 12. Inscr. no. 24b. 13. Inscr. no. 25a. 14. Inscr. no. 25b (Aghajani 2020).



1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



6.



7.

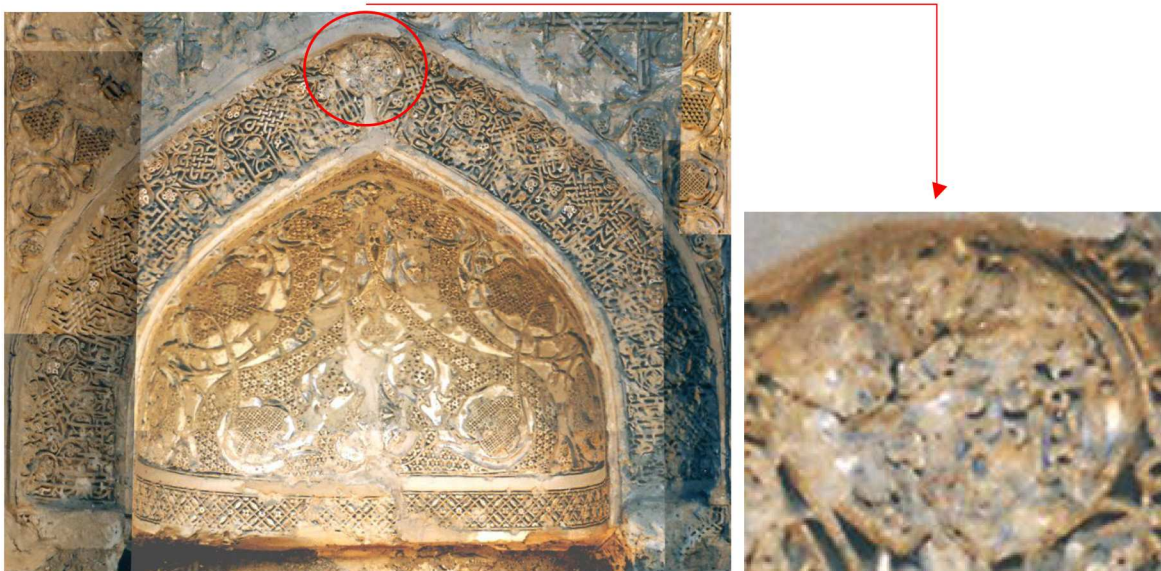
Figure A3. Inscriptions 1. Inscr. no. 26a. 2. Inscr. no. 27. 3. Inscr. no. 28. 4. Inscr. no. 29. 5. Inscr. no. 30. 6. Inscr. no. 31. 7. Inscr. no. 35 (Aghajani 2020).



1.



2.



3.

Figure A4. Inscriptions 1. Inscr. no. 32 (Aghajani 2020). 2. Inscr. no. 38 (Aghajani 2020). 3. Inscr. no. 39, 40 (ICHTO 2003).



1.



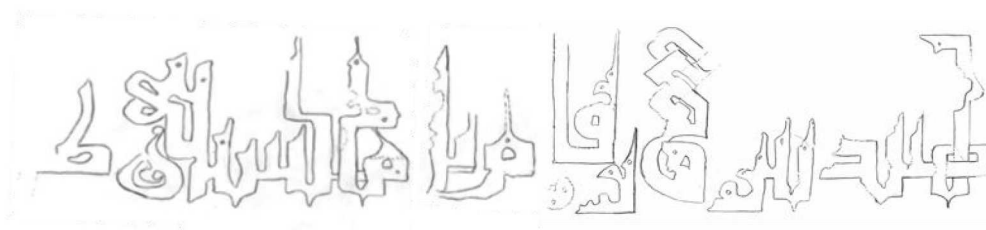
2.



c.



4.



5.

Figure A5. Inscriptions 1. Inscr. no. 41. 2. Inscr. no. 42. 3. Inscr. no. 43. 4. Inscr. no. 44. 5. Inscr. no. 46 (Aghajani 2020).



1.

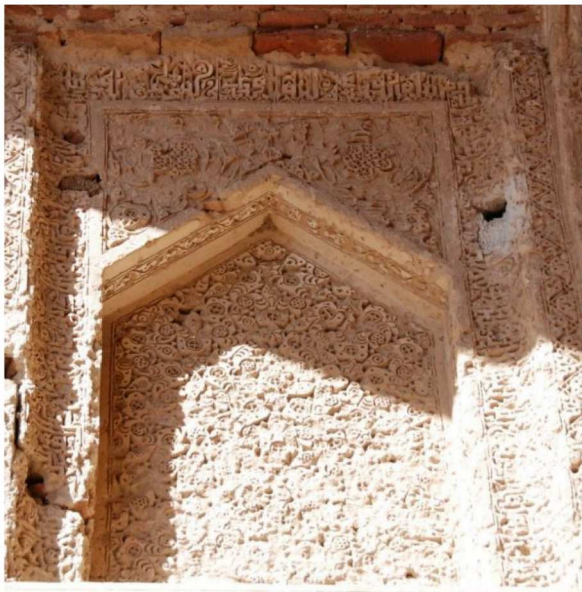


2.



هو تبارك على محمد وآله

3.

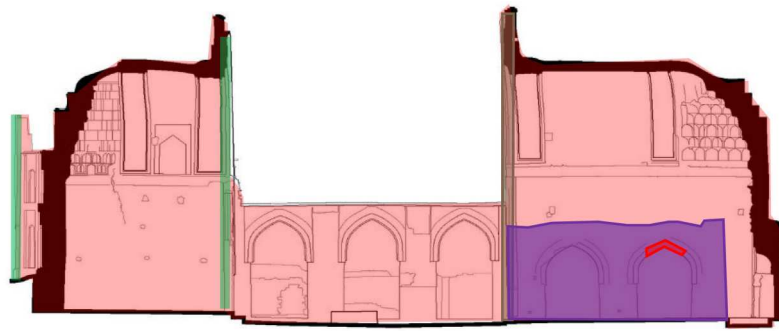


4.



5.

Figure A6. Inscriptions 1. Inscr. no. 47. 2. Inscr. no. 48. 3. Inscr. no. 49. 4. Inscr. no. 50. 5. Inscr. no. 51 (Aghajani 2020).



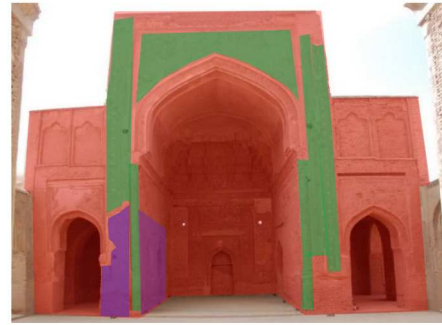
1.



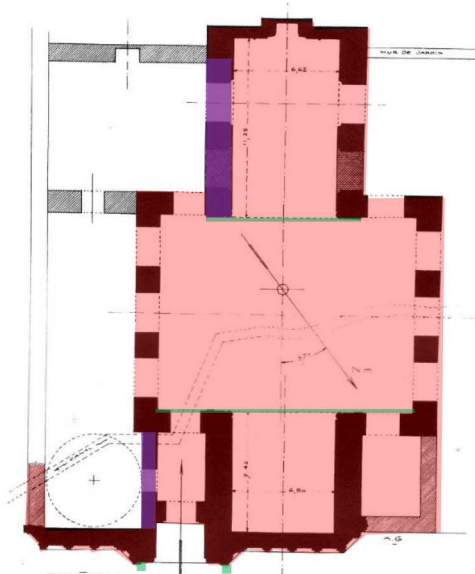
2.



3.



4.



5.

- 1. First building phase (end of 11th to beginning of 12th century)
- 2. Major building phase (1250 – 1256)
- 3. Re-decoration (early 14th century)

Figure A7. 1. Section, east *riwāq* (drawing by S. Hosseini, with modifications by Aghajani). 2. Portal niche and its facades. 3. North wing. 4. South wing. 5. Ground plan (drawing by A. Godard, with modifications by Aghajani): 1. First building phase (late eleventh to early twelfth century); 2. Major building phase (1251–56); 3. Redecoration (early fourteenth century).