CHAPTER 6

The Minarets of Hurmuzgan

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Although it is much easier to comment on the dearth of studies about the architectural monuments of the Persian Gulf than to analyse the actual monuments in a comprehensive way, it might still be useful to start challenging this deficiency by pointing out the reasons behind it.[1] The region is difficult to outline, surviving material is scant and poorly documented, and the architectural features give the impression of being too generic to lend themselves to categorisation. Yet, much of what appears to be research obstacles may, in fact, turn out to be essential characteristics of the region in question and the variabilities may hide the very elements that have shaped its material culture, including its art and architecture. In the same way, what may seem untypical from the convenient vantage points of 'Persian', 'Arab' or 'South Asian' art studies, can gain coherence once these stereotypes are set aside and the area is observed, despite its elusive nature, on its own terms. This study aims to put local architecture into a new perspective by discussing selected examples from the north (that is, Iranian) coast.

One perennial feature of regional urban centres has been the heightened geographical and social mobility of their residents whose intra-Gulf presence constituted a multicultural setting.[2] Multiculturalism remains dominant until today, although in this regard the mid twentieth century marks a clear departure from earlier traditions: on the one hand, diversity has increased dramatically in parallel with the growth of the ports of the south coast into global cities, but, on the other hand, it was counterbalanced by the establishment of nation states along both coasts.

Before the oil era local mobility and pluralism operated on a communal basis, out of direct imperial control, and this freedom from higher authorities added greatly to the region's appeal, also attracting newcomers from further afield. At that time the demographic makeup of each city was composed largely of settlers from neighbouring towns and their hinterland which were in a constant flux. As a result, one could find Dashti, Khunji, Bastaki, Galadari, Garashi, Bahraini, and so on, districts, consisting of closed, mostly endogamous, communities in many coastal settlements which were offering trajectories for free movement within diasporic groups. Thus, a Khunji or Bastaki in Linga, for instance, may not neces-

sarily have been from Khunj or Bastak, respectively; he could also have come from Bahrain or elsewhere, yet he still adhered to his ancestral identity. For instance, the most impressive mosque/madrasa of Linga, discussed below, was founded by a Muscati; the patron of a similarly elaborate edifice in Bandar ʿAbbas was a Galadari, while the man behind Manama's once largest Shiʿi mosque was from Linga, of Khunji descent.[3] In some cases – such as that of Bastak – this adherence, or at least nostalgia, was translated into artistic or architectural terms.[4] It seems, however, that such practice was uncommon and no recognisable 'Dashti', 'Galadari', and so on, visual language did exist inside the respective sociocultural enclaves across the Persian Gulf, apart from the possible exception of clothing, although the loss of documentary evidence predating the twentieth century is too heavy to enable us to draw valid conclusions about local fashion trends.

Intercommunal rivalries were also rarely manifested in architecture. Rich merchants, who dominated the societies of southern Iran and the Arabian coast, built ostentatious mansions: but again, these palaces, and local architecture in general, reflected the overall characteristics of the Persian Gulf, with few specifics that would distinguish between, say, Bushehri and Bahraini 'styles'. Political identity in this region was formulated on the basis of sectarian, rather than tribal, or ethnic, identities.

Styles apart, we do not find here equivalents of the neighbourhood minarets of Saljuq Isfahan or the Armenian churches of the same city from the Safavid period, let alone the madrasas of Mamluk Cairo, which displayed the prosperity of the founders and provoked a response from rivals.[5] This is not because of the lack of funds but rather because local architecture had smaller pretensions. Building material in the region was scarce and buildings did not last long. There are very few monuments that can be dated before the nineteenth century and those which were built or still standing at that time were described disparagingly by European and Indian observers.[6] The absence of monumental congregational mosques built prior to recent times and still in use is another sign of both the lack of a central politico-religious authority and sustainable constructions. Typically, the remains of such mosques from the early Muslim period are visible in entirely abandoned or recently repopulated sites such as at Siraf (in Iran)[7] and Jumaira (in the United Arab Emirates).[8] More recent examples of large-scale congregational mosques are offered by Qalhat (Oman)[9] and a smaller – and even more recent – one by Zubara (Qatar).[10] A common element that seems to differentiate these mosques around the Persian Gulf from those further inland is the terraced platform on which they are often built.[11] It is noteworthy that the long stretch of coastline between Siraf and Banbhore would never see again mosques on such a grand scale and highly standardised nature as it did during the early centuries of Islam. Mosques of this kind presuppose not only the existence of a lively community which assembled in them but also the availability of substantial manpower, possibly forced labour, which could erect these buildings, as well as the presence of a central government which could organise the construction works. In Siraf this may have been carried

out by the local ʿAbbasid governors, while in Qalhat it was the king of Hurmuz who had the means to build the mosque for the diverse people under his rule. Later periods would rarely see such concentration of power.

One further, often lacking, requirement for large-scale communal projects was a sense of stability and permanence. The general attitude was quite the opposite: most residents were almost constantly on the move and, compared to the settlements in the hinterland, the communities were well adapted to situations whereby not only an individual would have to leave but entire neighbourhoods be evacuated at short notice. The case of the Kingdom of Hurmuz, which under the threat of a Mongol attack decided to relocate from mainland Hurmuzgan to the island thereafter known as Hurmuz (and thence gravitating further south towards Oman), is far from extraordinary: the foundational myth of Bastak is likewise based on stories of escape and resettlement, and state formation in Zubara and Bahrain is also preceded by the arrival of new groups of settlers.[12] These were hardly ideal conditions for locally developed monumental architecture, considering in particular the individualist nature of local society. Islands, such as Bahrain, Qish and Hurmuz, became the natural focal points of these liminal communities, while overland connections to landlocked urban centres were of far less importance, sometimes having kept impassable at will.[13]

Looking from the metropolitan centres of the great land empires, these maritime settlements were thus hard to reach, elusive, but sought after at the same time. In general, they were never fully integrated into any of these empires. When successful attempts were made, the merchant elite would simply move to somewhere else, undermining the rationale of the occupation. In one way or another the neighbouring land empire still needed the global outreach of the coastal merchants, and it strove to satisfy this need either by signing mutual agreements with members of the merchant dynasties, or by entrusting important government positions on them. In either way the business elite remained in a better bargaining position, and remained local, instead of becoming the direct representative of a sovereign.

As a consequence, there is no 'Ilkhanid', 'Timurid' or 'Safavid' architecture in the region in the same way as there are no clearly identifiable local stylistic tendencies, as discussed above. Little is known about southern Iranian architecture from the Ilkhanid (1256–1335) and immediate post-Ilkhanid periods (Injus: *c.*1325–53, Muzaffarids: *c.*1335–93), and there is thus hardly any monument to bear the dynastic imprint. This is partly explained by the lack of direct Mongol control over the region throughout their reign. While elements of the Chinese-inspired decorative patterns were, for instance, freely intermingled with the local vocabulary in the Ilkhanid heartlands of north-west Iran, the creators of fourteenth-century monuments in Isfahan and Yazd gradually, if somewhat cautiously, incorporated some of such elements; Fars, Kirman and the coastal regions showed more resistance to such influences.[14] It seems plausible that the Inju governors of Shiraz, despite themselves being of Mongol stock, had been committed to perpetuate the power-

ful local heritage of Fars from the outset.[15] Injuid painting and metalwork does reflect Mongol elements in clothing and in some other aspects, but local features continued to dominate in architecture.[16] Kirman during the Qutlugh Khanids (1220–1300), although scarcely known, may have shared this conservativism.[17] Interestingly, it is only with the non-Mongol Muzaffarid conquest of Kirman and Fars that 'Mongol' tastes appear to have become more visible; at least there seem to be signs that 'metropolitan' motifs which first entered the early Muzaffarid capital of Yazd, had spread thence to Fars as well.[18]

On the other hand, further to the south, the coastal areas of Iran had been exposed to East Asian material cultures since many centuries before the Mongol conquest, and remained subject to them throughout the Ilkhanid period and afterwards. In other words, while the Mongols had little impact on this part of Iran, it had a ready access to Chinese commodities, particularly ceramics.[19] It remains a matter of conjecture whether we are dealing with two completely independent orientalising tendencies or the two currents of East Asian taste represent an artistic continuum. The mixed presence of northern Persian and Chinese ceramics, sometimes in a single architectural context, between southern Iran and Oman, is pointing to the latter.

In the early modern era the Safavids made an attempt for the first time to integrate the Persian Gulf closely into their essentially inland empire. In the upcountry of Hurmuzgan this expansion is witnessed by the development of Lar, following the metropolitan model of Isfahan and such regional examples as Kirman and Shiraz; while in the coastland the founding of Bandar ʿAbbas best represented the Safavid administrative enterprise. Unfortunately, neither Lar, nor Bandar ʿAbbas have preserved extensive vestiges, for example mosques, from this period. Much of Lar was destroyed by earthquakes (the last major one hit the town in 1960) but the surviving covered bazaar intersection, directly modelled on the Qaysaria Bazaar of Isfahan, shows how successful the incorporation of Laristan was into the artistic landscape of Safavid Iran.[20] The few fortunate remnants from the pre-Safavid period, such as a stone mihrab (now in Shiraz and obviously prefabricated in and imported from Gujarat), show that mediaeval Lar belonged to a different geography with loose ties to the north but close association to the maritime enterprises of Indian seafarers.[21] Indian merchants and craftsmen in Lar reportedly maintained their important position until the early Safavid period.[22]

Apart from the completely rebuilt, but still standing, former Dutch factory (or Kulah-i Farangi) building,[23] the architecture of Safavid Bandar ʿAbbas can be examined on paintings, engravings and descriptions only. Although these are inadequate, they attest to a simple yet compact urban outlook which proved relatively sustainable in the wake of the rapid deterioration brought by the collapse of the Safavid dynasty.[24] They also show that here – unlike in Lar – the Safavid breakthrough did not extend to the implementation of typically Safavid town planning. Government-appointed officials, such as the customs administrator (*shah-bandar*), did not launch urban projects comparable, for instance, to the redevelopment of

Figure 6.1 *Jan Baptist Weenix:* The Dutch Ambassador on His Way to Isfahan. *Detail. Oil on canvas, Netherlands, 1653–9, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Photograph © Rijksmuseum.*

Kirman under the Safavid governor, Ganj-ʿAli Khan (r. 1596–1624/5). Architecture remained nativistic, and, in response to the extremely inhospitable climatic conditions, it remained utilitarian. According to seventeenth-century European depictions of Bandar ʿAbbas, the most striking structure may have been a tower in the vicinity of the Dutch factory building: it bears closer similarities to Safavid *kabutar khana*s (pigeon towers) than to the minarets of Isfahan (Figure 6.1).[25] The tower rose above a forest of smaller turrets which spread across the town; the latter were ventilation towers (*badgir*s) and some of them may have doubled as minarets.

For over a century after the Safavids, the entire region was embroiled in conflicts and saw little construction. Neither local rulers nor Qawasim and Muscati overlords seem to have been interested in a large-scale urban development of the region, apart from the building of private residences. It was during the later Qajar period that such activities again became discernible, not unconnected with Tehran's growing ambitions to gain control over the ports. Since even the few older religious buildings have been built over, their pre-Qajar outlook is conjectural, but some examples clearly show a vernacular tradition. These include a group in and around Bastak which is distinguished by a tradition of carved and painted plasterwork.[26] Elsewhere in Hurmuzgan we find mosques of the utmost simplicity

Figure 6.2 *General view of the Friday Mosque of Bardistan, Bushehr province, Iran. Photograph © Iván Szántó.*

and functionalism. For example, the mosque of Bardistan utilises the commonest elements and building techniques of southern Iranian residential architecture and, not counting a dome, only its scale suggests its heightened importance. Built of adobe, it is a modest structure consisting of a cross-shaped hypostyle hall set against a wide, square-shaped courtyard which does not form a spatial unity with the mosque. Stretching between the main entrance and a protruding mihrab extension, the longitudinal axis features a small dome and, immediately behind the latter, a massive *badgir* (wind tower) in the crossing (Figures 6.2 and 6.3). The *badgir* is an essential component of buildings across the *garmsir* (hot-climate) regions of Iran and the entire Persian Gulf but here its additional function as a minaret provides a rare surviving example of an almost forgotten practice. Judging by depictions, seventeenth-century Bandar ʿAbbas seems not to have possessed a single mosque, were it not for the fact that the many dozens of *badgir*s are undistinguishable from minarets.[27] Although the current building in Bardistan is a product of early modern vernacular architecture, the presence of much earlier epigraphy in the mosque, including an inscription dating back to 852 (1448) (on a wood carving, already commemorating a reconstruction), suggests that an edifice of unknown proportions stood here at one time.[28]

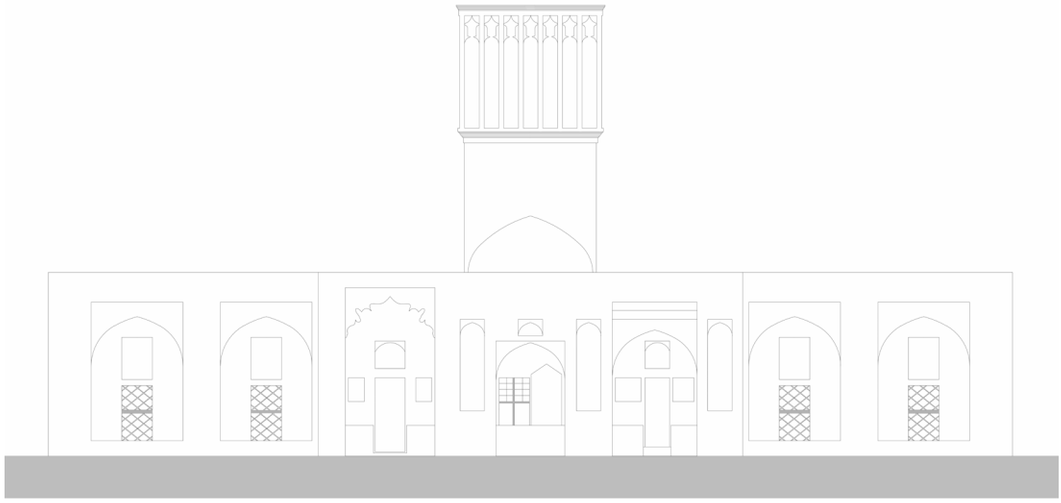
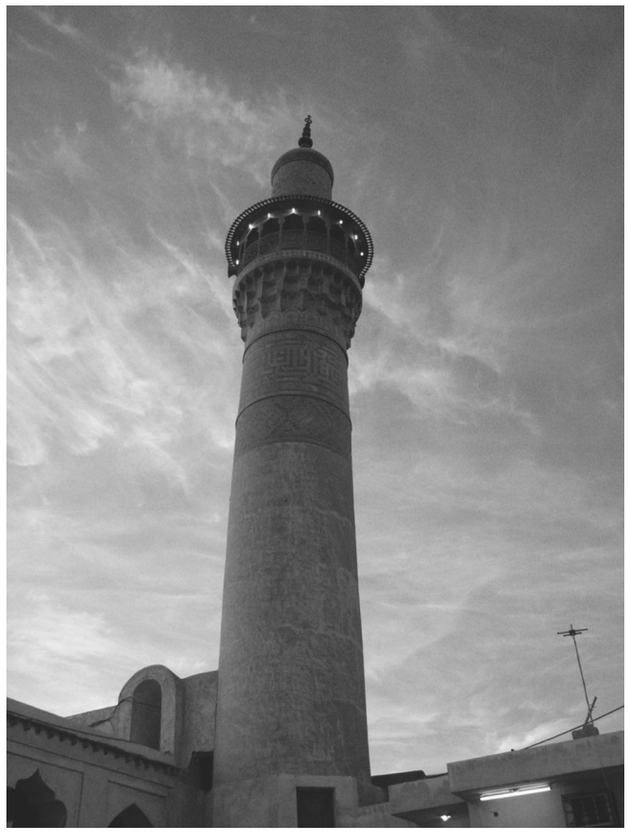


Figure 6.3 *Friday Mosque of Bardistan, elevation of façade. Image courtesy of the Iran Cultural Heritage, Handcrafts, and Tourism Organisation. Drawing © Izolda Font.*

While the *badgir*–minaret could be ubiquitous before the twentieth century, modern mosques replace it with more obviously 'Islamic' landmarks and the type has all but disappeared. Nineteenth-century population growth and sectarianism necessitated larger mosques, with 'proper' minarets and other distinctive features. Minarets often highlight the religious specifics and carry most of the ideological surplus of a sanctuary, even when the spaces below, including the prayer halls, are in a standard style. In the closing part of this article, a particularly remarkable example of this tendency will be dealt with.

A Bastaki dependency between the late eighteenth and late nineteenth century, Bandar Linga had Bastaki, Galadari, Ivazi and Bahraini neighbourhoods. Its most impressive building, the Malik b. ʿAbbas Mosque (founded in 1280 [1863]), is also known as the Masjid-i ʿAli, on account of having been the first major Shiʿi place of prayer in the city.[29] Its minaret, which according to some accounts may be earlier than the current mosque,[30] has been mentioned, although briefly, by a number of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century travellers: given that it is almost the only monument along the coast they considered worthy of note, the builders clearly achieved their goal of creating a landmark (Figures 6.4 and 6.5).[31] With a height of 22m, this minaret was perhaps the single most striking structure of the entire Persian Gulf before the start of the modern construction boom – the first timid attempt at building a high-rise.



Figu re 6.4 *Minaret of the Malik b. ʿAbbas Mosque, Bandar Linga, Hurmuzgan province, Iran. Photograph © Iván Szántó.*

The mosque may have been built on the site of a previous edifice of some significance about which nothing is known. The founder of the current mosque, Haji Muhammad b. ʿAbbas of the Bani Qaʿb tribe of Muhammara (Khurramshahr), was born in Muscat and emerged to prominence during the Muscati rulership (*c.*1805–78) of the northern coast around Bandar ʿAbbas, as a typical representative of the transnational Shiʿi mercantile elite.[32] His cosmopolitanism did not prevent him from maintaining good relations with the Tehran government which saw him as a mediator in achieving its goals. His good offices earned his son, Nasr b. ʿAbbas, the newly-coined title of Malik al-Tujjar (chief merchant) of Linga.[33] According to local tradition, he summoned Ustad Haj Muhammad, a restorer of the Shrine of Imam ʿAli in Najaf, to build the complex.[34] Surviving sections of the prayer area, with richly articulated curtain arches resting on stone column bases and covered by stucco, are the culmination of Hurmuzgan mosque architecture, alongside the prayer hall of the Galadari Mosque in Bandar ʿAbbas (restored by Haj Shaykh Ahmad Galadari in 1332 [1913]).[35] Iqtidari considers the bulbous curtain arches to be purely Indian in inspiration.[36] The motif, however, is hardly unprecedented

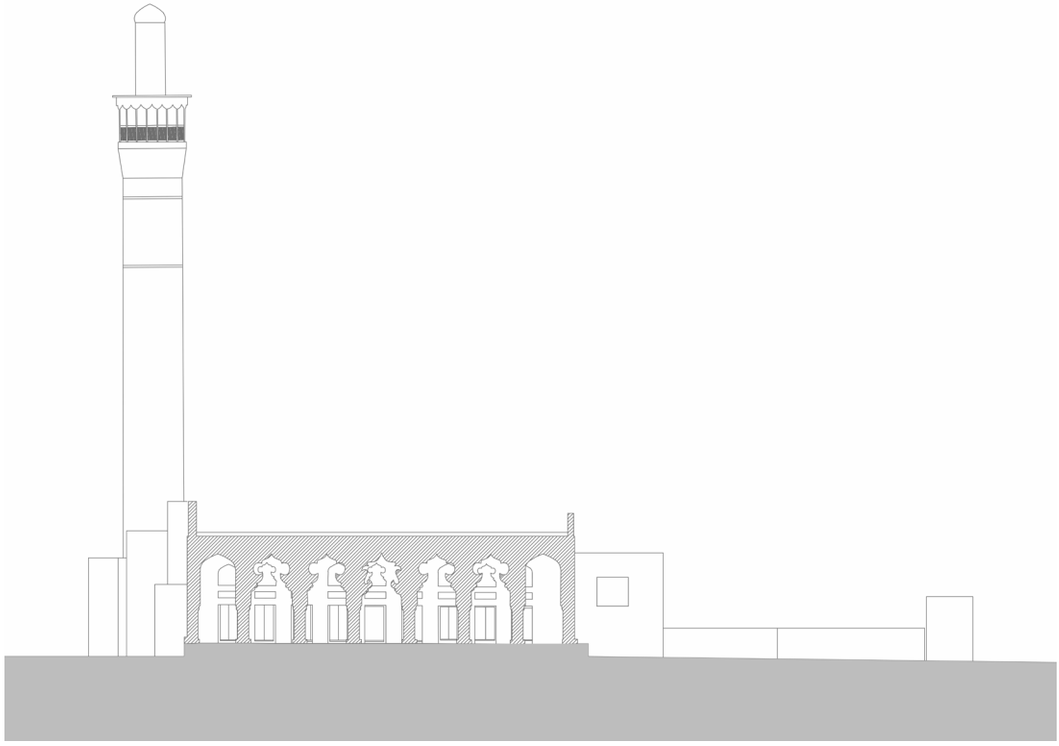


Figure 6.5 *Malik b. ʿAbbas Mosque, section. Image courtesy of the Iran Cultural Heritage, Handcrafts, and Tourism Organisation. Drawing © Izolda Font.*

even in mainland Iranian architecture (for example in Bistam).[37] Even if one would be inclined to accept such Indian connections based on the fact that certain south Iranian sites, like Lar, show the receptivity of the region to Indian elements, one must add that in the nineteenth century these elements could have entered Iran from Iraq as well, since by this time the shrine cities of Najaf and Karbala had become host of a large Indian Shiʿi population.[38] South Iranian mosques which have been linked to Indian prototypes, for instance in Darab, can also be compared with the large pilgrimage centre of Kazimayn, near Baghdad.[39]

Returning to the complex in Linga, Haji Muhammad b. ʿAbbas or his son also founded a madrasa there (in 1880), to counterweigh local Sunni centres of learning.[40] The school was led by the Shiʿi cleric Sayyid Muhammad ʿAlim Bahraini[41] and was not only the premier centre of Shiʿi learning in coastal Iran but its location outside the Ottoman Empire made it attractive also for Shiʿi students from the Arabian coast, that is, Qatif, Muscat and Dubai as well. Haji Muhammad's son, Nasr b. ʿAbbas Malik al-Tujjar, renovated the mosque in 1314 (1896), as recorded on the minaret.[42] Although the heterogeneous nature of this complex – with a founder from Muscat, builder from Najaf, and staff from Bahrain – is undeniable, its most conspicuous feature, the minaret, clearly and exclusively represents the

Shiʿi world of Iran and Iraq. Richly decorated with glazed blue tiles,[43] the obliquely placed *banna'i*-style inscriptional panels evoke the fragmentary Manar-i Daniyal at Khunj (783–9 [1381–7]), built by the kings of Hurmuz five centuries earlier but in a relatively close location.[44] The architectural layout is different: at Khunj, the cylindrical shaft rises from an octagonal platform, while the Linga minaret has a fully circular plan. It culminates in a multi-tiered *muqarnas* ring which supports a wooden parapet around the cornice, with a simplified version of the curtain arches downstairs, a sunburst-shaped canopy, and an ovoid finial; this upper storey is not available for comparison in Khunj where the ambulatory level does not survive. Notwithstanding Iqtidari's opinion that certain motifs recall Indian art, the silhouette of the Linga minaret conforms to classical Persian standards which developed in the Timurid period and adopted by the Safavids and their Iraqi Shiʿi protégés as well.[45]

The alleged Najaf connection shows that, despite his services on behalf of the Persian court, Haji Muhammad b. ʿAbbas circumvented direct Iranian participation in the project in favour of Shiʿi internationalism and that the enterprise can also be understood as an achievement of the powerful and versatile Omani Shiʿi community.[46] Indeed, Muscat and Matrah were ideal havens and stopovers towards India for members of the religious opposition of the Qajar government during the late nineteenth century that counted amongst its ranks such illustrious personalities as Sayyid Jalal al-Din Mu'ayyad al-Islam Kashani (1863–1930; in Muscat between 1887 and 1890), the future editor of the newspaper *Habl al-Matin*.[47] But even if the edifice may have been an Omani, or transnational, Shiʿi, initiative, it conceptualised an essentially Iranian idiom. In the late nineteenth century the appearance of Shiʿi architectural propaganda on the coast could hardly represent anything but Persian expansionism. Coincidentally, Tehran assumed full authority over Linga in the 1880s. The minaret can be regarded as the only large-scale surviving example of Central Persian-inspired religious architecture on the coast that precedes the Pahlavi period and it can be understood as a signpost for overseas visitors guiding them to the gateway of the foremost Shiʿi realm. By deviating from the local style of the praying hall below, the minaret commands attention and subtly asserts this pronounced Iranian orientation in a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional city where Shiʿism, though progressively gained more significance, could never form a majority.[48] In the complicated Lingawi struggle for power where even alleged Safavid descendants were still among the players as late as the 1900s,[49] this domineering landmark can be assigned to the credit of the Qajar state, although the latter relied on local supporters for the achievement. In many respects the victory which the monument foretold was pyrrhic: the state gained direct access to the ocean and levied tax on the traders, but it put an end to their prosperity. A massive emigration started to the south coast which forever altered the once closely knitted fabric of the Persian Gulf. As the ports of the north became languid outposts of a land empire during the twentieth century, their southern counterparts turned into flourishing havens for traders and investors. On

a different note, however, both types of development took their toll on vernacular architecture, be it the north or the south coast. While the Malik b. ʿAbbas minaret can justly be considered as a precedent of the Persian revivalism which characterised the Pahlavi and post-revolutionary periods and obliterated the traditional south Persian building types, a similar transformation took place on the Arabian coast, triggered by global capitalism and Arab nationalism.

Notes

1. Pohanka 1986; Iqtidari, 1348 (1970). In this chapter, Iranian dates are provided according to the Persian solar calendar, while Arabic dates are provided in the Islamic lunar calendar, both followed by their Gregorian equivalent.
2. Fuccaro 2009; Floor 2006; Onley 2005; Fattah 1997; Wells McIntire 1982.
3. For Linga, see below; for Bandar ʿAbbas, see Iqtidari 1348 (1970), 535–70; for Manama, see Fuccaro 2009, 90.
4. Szántó 2012.
5. Landau and Maarten van Lint 2015; Behrens-Abouseif 1998.
6. Impressions of Bandar ʿAbbas are summarised in Floor 2011, 2–12; for Linga, see Floor 2010, 2–8; for Manama, see Fuccaro 2009, 104.
7. Three main construction periods between the ninth and twelfth centuries, with the first one broadly conforming to ʿAbbasid characteristics, see Whitehouse 1980, 24–9.
8. Qandil 2003.
9. Rougeulle et al. 2012; al-Salimi et al. 2008, 83.
10. Walmsley et al. 2010.
11. al-Salimi et al. 2008, 69.
12. Morgan 1991; Bani ʿAbbasi Bastaki 1339/1961, 14–29; Fuccaro 2009, 51–72.
13. Aubin 1969.
14. For Isfahan, see Paone 1981, 1–30; Hunarfar 1350 (1977), 115–20; for Yazd, see Kadoi 2005; for Fars, see Galdieri 1982, 297–309. For the dominance of Chinese themes in Ilkhanid art and architecture in north-west Iran, see Kadoi 2009.
15. Melikian-Chirvani 1971, 1–41.
16. For Injuid painting, see Wright 2013; for metalwork, see Szántó 2010.
17. Wilber 1955, 182–3.
18. As shown, for instance by the decoration of the mosque of Suryan: see Mirza-Abu'l-Qasimi 1387 (2009), 150–2; Sarikhani 1384 (2006), 60–3.
19. Morgan 1991, 67-84.
20. Gaube 1979, 33–47.
21. Lambourn 2010; Howard 1976, 24; Aubin 1955.
22. Membré 1999, 47–8.
23. Floor 2011, 9–12.
24. de Groot 2009.
25. For *kabutar khana*s, see Beazley 1966.
26. Szántó 2012.
27. For one type of local rooftop minarets, which did not require much height, see Whitehouse 1972; for similar examples in Oman, see al-Salimi et al. 2008, 71, 74 and 77; this was a cost-effective compromise, but it was applied mostly for smaller neighbourhood mosques.
28. Iqtidari 1348 (1970), 276–89.
29. Floor 2010, 4; al-Qasimi 1414 (1993), I, 177–80, II, 597–9 (from an Arab point of view); Nurbakhsh 1358 (1980), 172–80 (from a Persian point of view); Iqtidari 1348 (1970), 488–500.
30. Nurbakhsh 1358 (1979), 177–8.
31. For a summary of early eyewitness reports of the blue-tiled minaret and a discussion of the antiquity of Linga's mosques and buildings, see Floor 2010, 5, n. 20; Iqtidari 1348 (1970), 485–90.
32. For some biographic notes, see Nurbakhsh 1358 (1979), 73.

33. On the title, see Floor 2009, 28–31.
34. For the sociocultural connections of Najaf, see Litvak 1991, 36–51.
35. Sadid al-Saltana Kubabi 1342 (1963), 603.
36. Iqtidari 1348 (1970), 488.
37. Wilber 1955, fig. 38.
38. Litvak 1991, 40–2.
39. For Darab, see Mostafawi 1978, 332–4; Pohanka 1984, for Indian elements in south Iranian architecture, see Szántó 2013.
40. Floor 2010, 24; al-Qasimi 1414 (1993), II, 597–9.
41. His domed burial chamber is part of the complex.
42. Iqtidari 1348 (1970), 491; the caption in al-Khunji al-ʿAbbasi 1405 (1985), 145 gives the date as 1304 (1886).
43. The glazed tilework is reportedly locally made at Bandar Kung: Nurbakhsh 1358 (1979), 176.
44. Mirza-Abu'l-Qasimi 1387 (2009), 153-9.
45. See Kleiss 2002.
46. Litvak 1991, 131–4. Persian involvement in Shiʿi affairs outside its political boundaries often took the outward form of architectural patronage. In Najaf itself, which in the 1820s was almost independent from Ottoman Baghdad, this practice goes back at least until Fath ʿAli Shah (r. 1797–1834) who endowed lavish donations to the shrines to strengthen the relations between them and Iran. The man behind this project was Haji Muhammad Husayni Isfahani (Nizam al-Dawla), the ambitious restorer of Isfahan and Najaf and later *sadr azam* (1819–23) of Fath ʿAli Shah. For his biography and building activity in Isfahan, see Walcher 2001. For the activities of Omani Shiʿites, see Louër 2008, 146–9, referring to an unpublished research article by Marc Valéri.
47. Sadr-Hashimi 1363 (1985), I, 206.
48. Iqtidari mentions without further elaboration another, perhaps related, minaret near the old cemetery which had vanished by the mid twentieth century (Iqtidari 1348 [1970], 488).
49. Floor 2010, 53–8.

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