

1ST BIENNIAL
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF THE SOCIETY OF
IRANIAN ARCHAEOLOGY:
"CULTURAL INTERACTIONS,
CONTINUITY AND DISRUPTION"

EDITED BY:
SEYED MEHDI MOUSAVI
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MAJID MONTAZER ZOHORI
MORTEZA KHANIPOUR



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Lost and Found: The Tiles of the Pir-i Bakran Mausoleum (1298-1313, Linjan, Isfahan)

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Germany

Abstract

The mausoleum of Pir-i Bakran (Linjan, Isfahan, 1298-1313) is an exceptional Ilkhanid monument which exemplifies different types of architectural decoration. These rich and exuberant revetments have been subject to extensive research by Godard, Grube, Pope, Paone, Hardy, Majeed, Aslani and Hamzavi, Rajaei, Isfahani *et al*, and Grbanovic. Scholarly concern with the mausoleum has mainly focused on the distinctions between the monument's numerous constructive and decorative phases and its stucco, wall painting, and applied stucco decoration. However, the mausoleum was originally also decorated with tiles in lustre, moulded and glazed, and glazed media, which were removed from the mausoleum at an early stage. This paper therefore dedicates its attention to this less well-studied aspect of the monument: art history research and work executed in museum collections support the suggestion that some tile revetments in lustre, moulded and glazed, and glazed media currently located in museum collections (Chicago, Berlin, New York, Athens, with further examples which have been lost), may originate from the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum. Some of these tiles comprise animate elements (notably

birds such as cranes and phoenixes), which require an explanation of their meaning within the religious and funerary structure contexts. Furthermore, they demonstrate artistic exchange with the city of Kashan, the main Ilkhanid tile revetment production center. The Pir-i Bakran mausoleum thus appears to be one of the most southerly located, though not the most remote, monuments with revetments containing animate imagery and lustre tile decoration. The research consequently provides a new insight into the circulation of ideas and artistic exchange within the Iranian plateau during the period of Ilkhanid reign.

Keywords: Ilkhanid architecture, Pir Bakran, lustre, Lajvardina, phoenix, crane, animate imagery.

Introduction

The mausoleum of Pir-i Bakran (Img. 1) in the Linjan region, near Isfahan, is an exceptional Ilkhanid monument, which comprises different types of architectural revetments (Imgs. 2-9, 16).¹ They range from wall paintings, applied moulded stuccos, and carved stuccos, to lustre tiles, glazed tiles, and moulded and glazed tiles. These lavish revetments were applied to the architectural surfaces of the mausoleum in several stages, which were executed in parallel to the construction and subsequent modification of the mausoleum's architectural structure, spanning from at least 1298-99 to 1312-13.² The significance of the mausoleum was recognised at an early stage by Ernst Herzfeld,³ André Godard,⁴ and Arthur Upham Pope.⁵ Numerous restoration interventions, especially those effectuated by Godard in the

¹ For studies of the mausoleum, see: Godard 1937, 29-35; Grube 1981; Herzfeld 1935, 106-7; Wilber 1955, 123-24; Hunarfar 1966, 253-66; Pope and Ackerman 1964-76, vol 3, 1078-79; Paone 1980; Paone 1981; Hardy-Guilbert 1992; Paone 1995; Qassemi 1996, vol 11, 200-6; O'Kane 1999; Oman 1999; Knobloch 2000; Majeed 2008; Rajaei and Halimi 2009; Majeed 2010; Aslani and Hamzavi 2012; Rajaei 2013; Grbanovic 2017. See also: Isfahani *et al* 2016-17.

² For the most detailed and up to date discussion of mausoleum's constructive and decorative stages, see: Grbanovic 2017.

³ Herzfeld 1935, 106-7.

⁴ Godard 1936, 29-35.

⁵ Pope and Ackerman, 1964-76a, vol 3, 1078-79.

1930s,¹ the Italian mission in Iran in the 1970s², and the Iranian restorations in the 2000's,³ ensured the mausoleum's preservation to the present day, although they also caused some alterations to its decorative repertoire.⁴ The first detailed study of the mausoleum was presented by Claire Hardy.⁵ The mausoleum and its revetments have also been the subject of extensive research by Iranian scholars, especially Hesham Aslani and Yaser Hamzavi.⁶ Further, more general, studies of Ilkhanid stucco revetments and artistic techniques are provided by Atefe Shekofte and Ahmad Salehi Khakhi.⁷ Amir Rajaei Baghsorkhi's contributions concern stucco designs and studies of the mihrab of the mausoleum.⁸ A recent publication by Ana Marija Grbanovic provides discussion of the mausoleum's constructive and decorative stages, and the aesthetics of its architectural decoration.⁹ Research by Shadi Naghib Isfahani *et al* contributes a comparative discussion of the ornamentation of stucco decorations in the Isfahan region, which includes the stuccos of the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum.¹⁰ The majority of these scholars show preoccupation with the question of constructive and decorative interventions in the mausoleum, the sequence in which they were completed, and the reasons behind them. Moreover, they focus on discussions of the rich decorative repertoire of the mausoleum left *in situ*; the wall paintings (Img. 3),¹¹ applied moulded stuccos (Img. 3), and carved stuccos (Img. 2). For the most part, they ignore the fact that the mausoleum was originally also richly decorated with different types of tile revetments. These have been partially discussed by Pickett, who documented the remaining tile

¹ Reports concerning these interventions were supplied to me by Rosario Paone. The restorations focused on the consolidation of mausoleum's architectural structure and its architectural revetments.

² See: Paone 1995.

³ See: Aslani and Hamzavi 2012.

⁴ Some alterations of 1930s interventions are noted by Paone in: Paone 1995, 271-76.

⁵ Hardy 1992.

⁶ Aslani and Hamzavi, 2012.

⁷ Shekofte and Khakhi 2014.

⁸ Rajaei and Halimi 2009; Rajaei 2013.

⁹ Grbanovic 2017.

¹⁰ Isfahani *et al* 2016-17.

¹¹ See also: O'Kane 1999.

revetments *in situ*, in particular the glazed cross and star tiles, and the small, fragmented tile mosaic mihrab in the southern lunette of the mausoleum's *iwān*.¹ The original repertoire of tile revetments of Pir-i Bakran, however, comprised a much wider spectrum of artistic techniques, among which; lustre, moulded and glazed, and glazed tiles (Imgs. 7, 10, 12-15, 17-21). These revetments were removed from the mausoleum at a very early stage and only their fragments and a small number of intact tiles are left *in situ* (Imgs. 5-9, 11, 16). Except for Paone's publication, there appears to have been little effort to try to identify the tiles belonging to the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum in collections of Islamic Art.²

This paper proposes information regarding the nature, whereabouts, original function and meaning, and aesthetics of the tile revetments of the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum. The research approach comprises studies of the mausoleum and the remaining tile adhesion mortar (Imgs. 8-9, 11, 16), which provides the approximative dimensions of the missing tiles. This evidence, together with comparisons of the remaining tiles found at Pir-i Bakran with tiles stored in museum collections, leads to a proposition for the identification of tiles (Imgs. 10, 12-15, 17-21) which are currently stored in museum collections (Chicago, Berlin, New York, Athens), or which have been lost over time, as belonging to the mausoleum in Linjan. The research illustrates that a majority of the tiles entered museum collections at an early stage via different collectors, but rarely through acquisition from art markets. Several tiles which this research identifies as originating from the mausoleum comprise animate imagery of phoenixes and crane birds, which links Pir-i Bakran to other monuments where animate tile imagery is documented, such as the Imamzada Ja'far in Qum (1301-1339), the shrine of 'Abd al-Samad in Natanz (-1307-08), the Imamzada Yahya in Varamin (1260s), the Shamsiyya madrasa (1329-30) in Yazd, and the Imamzada on the island of Kharg (1337).³ The animate tiles of Pir-i Bakran (Imgs. 17-21), like the other cited monuments, bore a specific meaning in their original

¹ See: Pickett 1980, 124-30.

² Paone 1980.

³ Watson 1985, 187.

architectural context. They appear to have had an apotropaic function within the mausoleum, but do not seem to indicate the mausoleum's Shi'ite traits which were only emphasised during the third decorative stage when explicitly Shi'ite inscriptions (in Square Kufic script and carved stucco medium; *Img. 4*) were applied to the mausoleum's architectural surfaces. The presence of these tiles at Pir-i Bakran links the monument to the lustre tile and ceramic production centre of Kashan, which contrasts with the largely local provenance of its stuccos (most likely produced by Isfahani stucco craftsmen workshops) and the applied moulded stuccos (*Img. 3*), an architectural revetment medium more typical of the Na'in-Yazd-Abarquh area, which was executed at Pir-i Bakran by recently-arrived artisans from these neighbouring regions. With the exceptions of the Shamsiyya madrasa in Yazd and the Kharg Imamzada, the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum represents one of the most southerly located monuments with animate tile decoration and is definitely one of very few monuments in the Isfahan area to be decorated with moulded and glazed, and lustre tile revetments. The overall study of the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum's architectural revetments links this historic monument to settlements such as Kashan, Isfahan, Na'in, Yazd, and Abarquh and points towards multiple centres of provenance of the artisans who embellished its architectural surfaces in a sequence of at least three decorative interventions.

Architectural Context

The question of constructive and decorative undertakings at the mausoleum has been discussed at length by Hardy,¹ Paone,² Aslani and Hamzavi,³ and Grbanovic.⁴ The oldest part of the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum is the earlier pre-Ilkhanid domed structure of unknown foundation date, which was incorporated into and redecorated (*Img. 3*) during the mausoleum's construction in the Ilkhanid time. This

¹ Hardy 1992.

² Paone 1980; Paone 1981; see especially Paone 1995.

³ Aslani and Hamzavi 2012.

⁴ For a detailed and concise discussion of chronology of mausoleum's decorative and constructive undertakings, and for the list of dated inscriptions in the mausoleum see: Grbanovic 2017.

structure is flanked on its southern side by the monumental *iwan*, which comprises the burial chamber with the tomb of the Shaykh; this architectural structure was completed before 1303-04, according to historic inscriptions (Img. 5) located in the chamber. The *iwan* was subsequently closed off on its southern side by the stucco mihrab (Img. 6) and the interior was transformed into a mausoleum with a designated prayer space to cater to pilgrims journeying to the complex. This functional transformation of the architectural structure of the mausoleum is significant; it radically changed the mausoleum from a simple funerary structure into an actual pilgrimage complex or a *mazar*. Closing off the *iwan* in 1303-04 required the construction of a small entrance portal on its south-eastern side, which was supposedly enlarged and lengthened by 1312-13. From the historical inscriptions of the mausoleum, two crucial dates in its constructive history emerge: the second phase of mausoleum's construction and decoration concluded by 1303-04, and the third decorative undertaking resulting in the last substantive modifications to the mausoleum which took place before 1312-13. The date for the establishment and first decorative phase of the mausoleum was approximated thanks to a lustre tile found at the site dated 1298-99.¹ These dated inscriptions provide a chronological framework for understanding the mausoleum's decorative phases in stucco, wall painting, applied moulded stucco, and tiles of different media.

Constructive and Decorative Phases

The current architectural revetment repertoire of the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum was formed throughout the three aforementioned constructive and decorative stages. The original decorative repertoire of the mausoleum is largely concealed by the revetments of the second and especially third decorative stages. Each redecoration intervention was an action of selective application of an architectural revetment which was integrated into the existing architectural space and earlier decorative repertoires. Accordingly, only a small portion of the architectural revetments from the first and second decorative phases can be seen, because they were covered by subsequently executed

¹ See: Bahrami 1938.

stuccos and wall paintings, and the application of tiles. Observations of joints between parts of the structure and the revetments allow for an understanding of the revetments associated with each stage.

Little is left of the first decorative stage. The mausoleum appears to have initially been decorated with lustre tile revetments (img. 7), *khatt-i banna'i* inscriptions on the supporting walls and ceilings of the *iwān* and the funerary chamber, and rows of rectangular tile friezes (inferred from the remains of adhesion mortar in relevant places). The essential evidence for the existence of the first decorative stage is provided by the dated stucco lunette in the tomb chamber of the mausoleum (Img. 5). This stucco lunette contains a historic inscription dated 1303-04. The Italian team,¹ and later Aslani and Hamzavi too,² discovered remains of earlier decoration in stucco and a cut tile inscription (of indecipherable content) behind this dated panel, suggesting that the burial chamber and the *iwān* already existed prior to the death of the Shaykh (1303). The first decorative stage can therefore tentatively be dated to around 1298-99, drawing from the inscribed tile found on the site.³ Accordingly, the lustre tile revetments of the mausoleum must also be assigned to the first decorative stage and its corresponding date.

The second decorative stage comprised the installation of the stucco mihrab (Img. 6) in the *iwān's* opening on the southern side and the construction of the first part of the mausoleum's corridor. The dated inscriptions of the funerary chamber (the stucco lunette panel, the cenotaph of the Shaykh, and the entrance corridor inscription) unequivocally provide the date for this second decorative stage; 1303-04 (Img. 5). This decorative intervention comprised the first application of carved stuccos on the surfaces of mausoleum's interior. These stuccos were later concealed by carved stuccos of the third decorative stage. The Italian team discovered remains of stucco dado under the current stucco and tile dado area in the interior of the mausoleum's *iwān*. Moreover, perforated stucco grills of the third decorative stage, located in the niches of the supporting walls of the *iwān*, have been

¹ Rosario Paone, e-mail to the author, August 28, 2014.

² Aslani and Hamzavi 2012, 246-47.

³ Bahrami 1938.

damaged and reveal earlier stuccos belonging to the second decorative stage beneath them (Img. 2). A strong shift in types of stucco decoration (artistic techniques, approach to carving, relief production and aesthetics) is observed between the stuccos of the second and third decorative stages (compare Imgs. 2-6, 8-9, 16). The second decorative intervention also included the installation of separation grills covered with octagonal moulded perforated turquoise tiles, and four-pointed star moulded cobalt tiles (Imgs. 6, 8, 11). These grills were installed in the space between the mihrab and the supporting walls of the *iwan* of the mausoleum to create a separation between the burial chamber of the Shaykh and the *iwan*, which was transformed into a prayer space. Assuming that the grills and their tiles are contemporary to the mihrab installation in the second decorative phase, and based on the three aforementioned historic inscriptions on monument's architectural surfaces, the grills can then similarly be dated to 1303-04.

The third decorative intervention comprised the application of a majority of the revetments, which are still visible on the internal and external surfaces of mausoleum, and the extension of its corridor. The revetments of the third decorative stage include the application of wall paintings and applied moulded stuccos in the pre-Ilkhanid domed structure (Img. 3). Decoration of the *iwan* with different types of stucco revetments (dado area, the supporting walls' niches, the Square Kufic inscription panels, modifications to the muqarnas dome area, application of star and cross tiles on the interior and exterior of the mausoleum, etc.) and the decoration of the extended corridor took place at this point (Imgs. 3-4, 8-9, 16). Pickett estimates that some 30,000 glazed star and cross tiles were needed to decorate the extensive external and internal architectural surfaces of the mausoleum (Imgs. 1, 5-7).¹ Some of these seem to be stored in the Art Institute of Chicago (Ident. Nrs. 1933.846.1-7). An exceptional type of revetment pertaining to these interventions is found on the surfaces of the corridor extension: two parts of it (the entrance portal and the interior architectural surface of the southern supporting wall) retain mouldings which hint at ceramic rosette tile decoration (Imgs. 9, 21), which will be discussed in more detail at a later point in this paper.

¹ Pickett 1980, 129.

With regard to the rosette ornamentation, it is not clear whether the tiles were re-used or custom made. The third decorative intervention of the mausoleum can confidently be dated to 1312-13, based on the historic inscription in one of the niches of the supporting walls of the *iwān*.

Tile Revetments

The earlier discussion of decorative and constructive phases provides information for the understanding and dating of different tile revetments of the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum. In sum, the tile revetments of the first decorative stage consisted in lustre tile decoration which can be dated to around 1298-99. These lustre tiles comprised non-figurative decoration in a tripartite form (Img. 7). Drawing on the dated half-star lustre tile, it appears that the mausoleum may also have been decorated with star and cross form lustre tiles with inscription bands. It is also logical to suggest that the friezes of rectangular tiles were produced at this point, but only the tiles' adhesion mortar remains *in situ* today (Img. 16). The second decorative intervention, dated 1303-04, also included applications of tile revetments. These revetments were used to create two architectural elements – the separation between the interior and exterior of the mausoleum at the mihrab space (erected using decorative grills), and the separation between the funerary chamber and the prayer hall of the *iwān* (Img. 8). The third decorative stage also included the installation of the most extensive tile repertoire of the mausoleum, which was executed by 1312-13. The exterior and selected interior surfaces of the mausoleum were decorated with star and cross tiles (Img. 1, 5-7). Additionally, the extended corridor of the mausoleum was decorated with panels of star and cross tiles, and at least two tile rosettes. Important information regarding the distribution of tiles and their original locations is contained in the restoration reports from the time of Godard's interventions.¹ Wilber's description of the mausoleum also provides information regarding the existence of tile revetments which are no

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to Rosario Paone for sharing copies of these documents with me.

longer *in situ*.¹ To compliment this information, Paone's contribution sheds light on the whereabouts of some of these tiles.²

Lustre tiles (Decorative Phase 1)

Lustre tile revetments were part of the first decorative intervention in the mausoleum, as suggested by the dated tile discovered by Bahrami.³ The current location of this tile is unfortunately unknown. A number of tiles in lustre medium are, however, still found *in situ* and are located in the intrados of the pointed arch flanking the muqarnas semi-dome of the mausoleum (Img. 7). Their current position does not match the surrounding revetments and the placement therefore likely results from restoration interventions. In a report on Godard's restorations of the mausoleum, it is indeed written that relief decoration tiles of lesser significance which were found *in situ* were reattached to the mausoleum's surfaces.⁴ It could be suggested that the lustre tiles were positioned in this elevated location to prevent them from being stolen. The first type of tiles in question here are tripartite lustre tiles which feature white floral decoration with touches of turquoise and dark blue on a lustre background with sgraffito pointed motive, and encircled by a dark blue coloured frame. These tiles are interspersed with separate dark blue relief moulded inserts. The few remaining tiles of this description represent a corpus which was originally much more extensive, but due to their removal and dislocation, only a handful of these tiles can still be identified. One such tile (Img. 10), with identical dimensions, floral decoration, ornamentation, and use of artistic technique, is now stored in the Berlin

¹ Wilber 1955, 121-24.

² Paone 1980.

³ Bahrami 1938, 257-60.

⁴ Translation of the section f.), regarding the restoration of tile revetments from the restoration report to the ICHHTO, dated January 31, 1938.

f.) Tile Revetments

- The tiles of scarce importance were left *in situ* and reattached to the (architectural) surfaces.

- Some pieces of tiles with (moulded) relief decoration, discovered during the restoration campaign, due to the danger of them being stolen, because the monument is located close to the Jewish cemetery, were transported, as ordered by Mr. Godard, to Isfahan, where they were stored in Chehel Sotoon.

Museum of Islamic Art (Star tile; 13th – 14th century, Provenance: Iran; Stone paste, moulded, white opaque glaze, painted with blue and turquoise, lustre tile, height: 13,2 cm, width: 13,6 cm, thickness: 1,3 cm; Sarre collection, purchased in Tabriz in 1897; Ident. Nr. I.3892).¹ The tile entered the museum's collection at an early stage and, based on the evidence cited above, it is plausible that it originates from the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum.

Perforated Grill (Second Decorative Phase)

The separation grills are formed from two types of tiles: octagonal moulded perforated turquoise tiles and four-pointed star shaped dark blue tiles (Imgs. 8, 11-15). The two shapes of tiles, with their respective abstract floral ornamentations, were each produced using a single mould, and the turquoise octagonal tiles were given a floral shaped perforation in their centres. Importantly, these two types of tile revetments are specific to the monument of Pir-i Bakran, and the tiles appear to represent a unique repertoire. The tiles could have been produced in the city of Kashan or perhaps locally in Isfahan. At the present time, only some fragments of these tiles remain *in situ* (Img. 11). The report of Godard's restoration interventions provides evidence that some fragmented finds of these tiles were transferred to the Cheheel Sotoon deposit in 1938 in order to prevent them from being looted from the mausoleum.² The deposited tiles were re-discovered by the Italian restoration team in the 1970s and classified by Paone (Img. 12).³ These tiles are, however, no longer located in the Cheheel Sotoon deposit and my research did not yield any information regarding their current location.⁴ Godard's orders to remove the tiles from Pir-i Bakran evidently prevented their looting, but their

¹<http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1524888&viewType=detailView> (Accessed July 24, 2019); Information from the archive of the Museum für Islamische Kunst - Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

² See note above, which contains the translation of the report. See also: Paone 1980, 66-73.

³ Paone 1980.

⁴ Tiles were searched for in 2016, in numerous deposits in the Isfahan province and the National Archaeological museum in Teheran, but no tiles were found.

preservation was ultimately unsuccessful as the current location of these tiles is unknown. Fortunately, the tiles were documented by the Italian research team and a photo from their records is featured in this article (Img. 12). Some tiles were, however, removed from the mausoleum prior to Godard's interventions (as described above). These tiles found their way into museums and private collections. Four examples of turquoise octagonal perforated tiles were sold via auction houses (Christie's and Skinner Auctioneers).¹ Of these, one tile found its way to the Dar al-Atthar al-Islamiyyah collection in Kuwait. In addition to these octagonal tiles, one four-pointed star tile (Ident. Nr. 745) was bequeathed to the Benaki Museum of Islamic Art in Athens (Img. 13) in 1936 by Maria Lapas Diomedes.² Four more tiles are stored in the Berlin Museum of Islamic Art (Imgs. 14-15); two perforated octagonal turquoise glazed and moulded tiles (Octagonal Tile; 14th – 15th century; provenance: Iran; stonepaste, moulded, perforated, opaque turquoise glaze; diameter: 29 cm; depth: 3 cm; gifts of Ernst Herzfeld in 1928;³ Ident. Nr. I. 5316 and I. 7615),⁴ and two four-pointed dark blue glazed and moulded star tiles (Star tile; 14th century; provenance: Iran; stonepaste, moulded, opaque cobalt blue glaze; height: 27,4 cm; width: 26,2 cm; depth: 2,6 cm; Ident. Nr. I. 5704; gift of Ernst Herzfeld in 1931; probably from Pir-i Bakran;⁵ and I. 5705).⁶ The

¹ Christie's 2004; Christie's 2006. Skinner Auctioneers, *Asian Works of Art, September 14, 2018*, lots 48 and 69: <https://www.skinnerinc.com/auctions/3134B/lots/48> (Accessed: July 24, 2019); <https://www.skinnerinc.com/auctions/3084B/lots/69> (Accessed: July 24, 2019).

² Information provided by the curator of the collection, Dr. Mina Moraitou, on the occasion of the research in the collection storage, on October 10, 2017.

³ Information from the archive of the Museum für Islamische Kunst - Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

⁴ <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1524582&viewType=detailView> (Accessed: July 24, 2019); <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1524584&viewType=detailView> (Accessed: July 24, 2019)

⁵ Information from the archive of the Museum für Islamische Kunst - Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

⁶ <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1524536&viewType=detailView> (Accessed: July 24, 2019); <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1524536&viewType=detailView>

dimensions of the tiles in the Benaki and Berlin museums' collections match the measurements of the residual adhesion mortar in the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum. Moreover, they also match photos of tiles from the Cheheel Sotoon storage inventory as well as resembling the remaining fragments of the tiles at Pir-i Bakran in shape, glaze colour, and moulding of ornamentation. The proposed association of the Benaki, Kuwait, and Berlin tiles to the site of the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum therefore suggests new evidence regarding their provenance and original function, and allows for a more precise dating of these tiles to 1303-04.

Moulded and Glazed Animate Tiles (Second Decorative Stage)

In his discussion of the Pir-i Bakran site after his visit in May 1939, Donald Wilber provides descriptions of tile revetments in the mausoleum and states that: "Rectangular tiles decorated with Chinese Phoenix in low relief are used as horizontal mouldings."¹ No such tiles exist in the mausoleum today, but the mortar used for the adhesion of these tiles is still present on its architectural surfaces (Img. 16). Given the exactness of Wilber's description of the monument, it is likely that his account is accurate. The quest to trace these tiles was launched in 1970s by Maria Vittoria Fontana and Rosario Paone, the same researchers who identified a tile in the Berlin Museum of Islamic Art (Img. 17) described in the catalogue as coming from Pir-i Bakran.² The measurements of this tile (Tile; 13th – 14th century; provenance: Iran; stonepaste, moulded, opaque blue glaze, Height: 41,8 cm; Width: 38,3 cm; Depth: 3,8 cm; purchased in 1909 by Friedrich Sarre from C. Filippo

digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1524537&viewType=detailView (Accessed: July 24, 2019)

¹ Wilber 1955, 121. The full description of the Pir-i Bakran tile revetments by Wilber is the following: "Glazed light blue and dark blue tiles are employed in different sizes and shapes and in many combinations. The star and cross tiles which normally covered only the dado area here scale the upper interior and exterior walls. Large octagonal tiles, each with a circular opening at the center, are laid up to form screen walls. Rectangular tiles decorated with a Chinese phoenix in low relief are used as horizontal mouldings." Wilber 1955, 121. This was first noted by Paone, in: Paone 1995, 278.

² Rosario Paone, e-mail message to the author, June 25, 2016; October 25, 2018; November 1, 2018.

in Paris, probably from Pir-i Bakran;¹ Ident. Nr. I.1278)² fit with the dimensions of the tile adhesion mortar at Pir-i Bakran. The upper register of the tile displays images of two flying phoenixes, which were produced using tile moulding techniques, and the lower register of the tile contains a fragment of a Qur'anic inscription (which reads: *في ضلال*; it occurs in 18 Qur'anic chapters and in 20 verses).³ This inscription was applied free hand to the already-moulded tile. Again, the Italian team's research allows for the provenance and a more precise dating of the tile to be suggested. Another such tile (Img. 18) is stored in the Metropolitan museum of New York (Tile from a Frieze; early 14th century; provenance: Iran; stonepaste, moulded, glazed, Height: 40 cm; Width: 36,8 cm; Inv. Nr. 40.181.3)⁴ and similarly entered this collection at the time of Wilber's description of the mausoleum. This tile also contains a fragment of Qur'anic inscription (*تهم فما استظا*) and was very plausibly part of the same frieze at Pir-i Bakran as the tile stored in Berlin. The fraction of Qur'anic text on the tile only features once in the Qur'an (*مكاتبهم استطاعوا فما*), in verse 67 of chapter 36 (Surat al-Yasin), the same chapter which contains the text on the Berlin tile (*في ضلال*) in the 47th verse. The likelihood that the two tiles belonged to the same tile frieze is therefore very high. The upper register of the Metropolitan museum tile is damaged, but it is possible to discern that it depicts two flying phoenixes. Its lower register, which contains the inscription, was produced in an identical manner to the Berlin tile. A third tile with a similar aesthetic (Tile; second half of 13th century; provenance: Iran, Kashan; stonepaste, moulded and painted in red with gold leaf over blue glaze, Lajvardina type; Height: 41,5 cm; Width 38,5 cm; Inv. Nr.

¹ Information from the archive of the Museum für Islamische Kunst - Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

² <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1524585&viewType=detailView> (Accessed: July 24, 2019)

³ This portion of Qur'anic inscription occurs in Qur'an: 21:54, 67:29, 50:27, 19:38, 43:40, 31:11, 46:50, 40:50, 13:14, 54:47, 39:22, 7:60, 6:74, 14:3, 28:85, 34:24, 40:25, 67:9, 12:30, 36:47.

⁴ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/450360?&searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=tile+iran&offset=120&rpp=20&pos=134> (Accessed: July 24, 2019)

12/1962)¹ is stored in the David Collection in Copenhagen.² This tile was evidently not part of the Pir-i Bakran inscription frieze because its content does not fit (it contains part 48:11 of the Qur'an; *و اهلونا فاستغفر*).

The tile is, nevertheless, particularly interesting because it appears to have been produced with the same mould and therefore most likely in the same ceramic revetment workshop as the Berlin and New York tiles (the tile comprises two phoenix images in its top register and the hand designed inscription in the lower). Moreover, the tile shows extensive traces of red outline for gilding and portions of gilded surfaces. These are remains of the Lajvardina³ artistic technique, which was employed by artisans to highlight the visual features of monochrome tiles; gilding was employed to highlight the phoenix images, the register divisions of the tile, and the Qur'anic inscription which were set against the tile's dark blue background. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the Berlin and New York tiles, supposedly belonging to the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum, could also originally have been produced as Lajvardina tiles. If so, this would be in line with tile revetment inscription friezes from the Imamzada Ja'far in Qum and tile revetments thought to be from Varamin, which are now stored in the Quds museum in Qum. The application of gold leaf on these dark blue tiles would be a logical step in their decoration because it would allow for the inscriptions and phoenix images to stand out from the monochrome background. The identification of the two tiles from Berlin and New York (Imgs. 17-18) as belonging to the decorative repertoire of the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum is significant because it shows that this monument was also decorated with tiles containing a combination of animate imagery and Qur'anic quotations. The installation of these tiles in the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum appears to have been an intervention from either the first or second decorative repertoire of the mausoleum. The tiles can therefore be dated to around 1300 and perhaps more likely to 1303-04. The mausoleum appears to have been a Sunni oriented building at this point (because Shi'ite

¹ <https://www.davidmus.dk/en/collections/islamic/dynasties/il-khanids/art/12-1962> (Accessed: July 24, 2019)

² See: Kadoi 2009, 52, 54.

³ For discussion of the Lajvardina artistic technique, see: Morgan 2004, 644-70.

inscriptions do not appear until the third decorative phase in 1312-13; *Img 4*), but it was, nevertheless, decorated with animate imagery in conjunction with Qur'anic quotations. The presence of animate imagery in religious structures should therefore not be seen as characteristic of Shi'ite religious structures alone. Rather, this imagery requires a different interpretation. In the case of phoenix imagery, for example, it appears that the images of phoenixes could have had an apotropaic function and meaning, or could be explained through Sufi interpretation.

Rosettes with Animate Imagery (Third Decorative Stage)

The interior surface of the southern supporting wall of the mausoleum's corridor and the exterior surface above the current entrance into the access corridor (the entrance portal) retain traces of tile adhesion mortar, which reveals that there had previously been tile decoration arranged to form rosette-like ornamentation (*Img. 9*) on these surfaces. The locations of these two rosettes in the area of the corridor extension, which is thought to have been built after 1303-04 and likely during the 1312-13 intervention, suggests their dating to sometime between 1303-04 and 1312-13. However, it remains unclear whether older tiles were reused for the rosette decorations.¹ The adhesion mortar for the tile rosettes (*Img. 9*) has an interesting shape: in its center, the rosette consisted of a twelve-pointed star tile surrounded by inserts of kite-like shapes which delineated spaces for larger polygonal tiles, and the exterior circular form of rosette was subsequently achieved through the addition of small triangular inserts, which still remain in place on the rosette of the entrance portal. These small dark blue glazed triangular inserts were also moulded and it appears that they were produced using the same technique as the 1303-04 perforated octagonal and four-pointed glazed and moulded tiles of the mausoleum's separation grills. Five polygonal tiles (*Img. 19*) in the Berlin Museum of Islamic Art (*Polygonal Tiles; 13th – 14th century; provenance: Iran; stonepaste, moulded, opaque turquoise*

¹ Cases of tile reuse in a short time span have been recorded in the Ilkhanid period. Shortly after production in 1300 and 1307, the tiles of the 'Ali mosque at Quhrud were reused for new architectural revetments of the mosque, dated 1317. Watson 1975. 63-64.

glaze; Height: 18 cm; Width: 13,2 cm; Depth: 3cm; purchased in 1909 by Friedrich Sarre from C. Filippo in Paris, probably from Pir-i Bakran;¹ Ident. Nr. I. 1279-83)² have their provenance stated as the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum. These polygonal tiles were placed to form the exterior ring of the rosette and were both moulded and glazed turquoise. Some tiles feature simple symmetrical compositions of vegetal ornamentation, but two tiles also contain images of crane birds. Each of these tiles feature two flying birds set against a background filled with Chinese cloud elements.³ The turquoise colour of these tiles provides a direct contrast to the dark blue colour of the small triangular glazed inserts. It is therefore likely that the smaller kite-like inserts were also dark blue in order to create a similar contrast, and that the central twelve-pointed star tile was accordingly turquoise in colour. Twelve-point star tiles with the right dimensions to fit into the rosette are rare objects in museum collections and a search to find tiles of this size and shape yielded two possibilities. One such star tile (Img. 20) is kept in the Berlin Museum of Islamic Art (Start tile; 14th century; provenance: Iran; stonepaste, moulded, opaque turquoise glaze, diameter: 20,3 cm; dept: 2,4 cm; Ident. Nr. I. 3908)⁴ and another is found at the Doris Duke Foundation in Honolulu (Star Tile with Phoenix Motif; 13th – 14th century; provenance: Iran; stonepaste, glazed and

¹ Information from the archive of the Museum für Islamische Kunst - Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

² <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1525302&viewType=detailView> (Accessed: July 25, 2019); <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1529614&viewType=detailView> (Accessed: July 25, 2019); <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1529615&viewType=detailView> (Accessed: July 25, 2019); <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1529616&viewType=detailView> (Accessed: July 25, 2019); <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1529617&viewType=detailView> (Accessed: July 25, 2019)

³ It is also possible to interpret these tiles as images showing the small bird attaches the larger crane bird.

⁴ <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1524581&viewType=detailView> (Accessed: July 25, 2019)

moulded motive; diameter: 20,6 cm; Sarre Collection, purchased in 1897 in Istanbul;¹ Inv. Nr. 48.110).² The dimensions of both tiles correspond to the spaces laid out in the rosettes' mortar. Of the two, the Berlin star tile is more likely to originate from the mausoleum simply because other revetments belonging to the same monument have been identified in the collection. Moreover, the Berlin tile contains an image of two juxtaposed flying cranes set against a symmetrical floral composition background. The tile was produced with a mould and glazed with turquoise glaze in a manner akin to the aforementioned polygonal tiles in the Berlin collection, which supposedly originate from the mausoleum. On the other hand, the Honolulu tile presents an image of a phoenix (which can be related to the rectangular phoenix tiles), was also produced with a mould, and is covered with a turquoise glaze. These tiles can certainly give us an idea of what the rosette tiles originally looked like, and the Berlin tile is very likely to belong to the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum. This information about the rosette tiles allows for a hypothetical reconstruction of their original appearance (Img. 21). The rosette thus consisted of moulded ceramic elements glazed with either turquoise or dark blue colour. The center of the rosettes featured a twelve-pointed star tile, likely adorned with a crane or phoenix image, which was surrounded by kite-like dark blue inserts and framed externally by polygonal turquoise elements with floral imagery and flying cranes. Triangular dark blue inserts between these polygonal elements determined the circular form of the rosettes. The precise shapes of the individual elements suggest that they were produced specifically for the rosettes according to a detailed pre-arranged plan for the production of ceramic elements. This also provides an argument against the hypothesis that the tiles in the rosettes could have been reused, but the rosettes themselves may have been moved from other surfaces of the mausoleum to their current positions because their placement on these architectural

¹ Information from the archive of the Museum für Islamische Kunst - Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

² <https://www.shangriolahawaii.org/Islamic-Art-Collection/Search-The-Collection/?id=4175> (Accessed: July 25, 2019)

surfaces is not entirely logical.¹ The rosette on the supporting wall is juxtaposed to the stucco and tile niche, but it is not placed so as to relate to it symmetrically. The rosette on the entrance portal is too large for the space it occupies which suggests that it could have been placed there as a result of restorations on the mausoleum's revetments, executed either in the centuries following the Ilkhanid period or during more modern restoration interventions.

Animate Imagery at Pir-i Bakran

The proposed identification of tiles with animate imagery (phoenixes and cranes; Imgs. 17-21) and their links to the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum suggests that this religious monument, like many others from the Ilkhanid period, was originally decorated with tiles containing animate imagery. This relates the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum to the other Ilkhanid era monuments where tiles adorned with animal or human images have been identified: the summer palace of Takht-i Suleyman (c. 1270), the Imamzada Ja'far and Muhammad at Damghan (tiles dated 1266-67), the 'Ali mosque at Quhrud (tiles dated 1300 and 1307),² the Khanqah of Pir Husayn near Baku (tiles dated 1282-86 and 1300-01), the Imamzada Yahya in Varamin (tiles dated 1263-1265), the Imamzada 'Ali Ibn Ja'far at Qum (1301-1339), the Tomb of Habib Ibn Musa (tiles from late 13th century) in Kashan, the Shrine of Muhammad al-Hanafiyya (1337) at Kharg, and the 'Abd al-Samad shrine (tiles dated 1307-08) at Natanz. The presence of tiles with animate figures in religious structures of a funerary nature requires some explanation of the function and meaning of these motives on tiles. Oliver Watson and Bernard O'Kane propose some interpretations. Although Watson suggests that lustre tile revetments with animate imagery were employed in the decoration of monuments of the Shi'ite creed,³ it seems that the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum was a Sunni oriented building at the time of the installation of rectangular tiles with Qur'anic inscriptions and phoenix imagery. The crane tiles also resemble tiles from earlier phases of decoration at Pir-i Bakran, but were applied on

¹ This would be in line with the aforementioned case of tile reuse at the Quhrud mosque.

² Watson 1975, 63-64.

³ Watson 1985, 154-55.

architectural surfaces which were constructed when the mausoleum was also decorated with Shi'ite inscriptions in the stucco medium. Watson also suggests that the secular, human, and animal figure imagery presented on the tiles of funerary structures could have been given meaning through a Sufi interpretation and therefore fit with the spiritual aspects of these monuments and popular practices of religion.¹ In his research on the occurrence of Persian language and poetry on Ilkhanid lustre tiles, O'Kane also suggests links between Sufi interpretations of love poetry and the *Shahnama*, and therefore argues for a similar Sufi interpretation of lustre tile epigraphic content as Watson does for the animate imagery.² The animate imagery of the tiles attributed to Pir-i Bakran consists in phoenixes and cranes. There are no human figures and no quotations of secular texts. The phoenix and especially the crane imagery entered the vocabulary of Ilkhanid tile ornamentation from China, where it bore its own significance, but arrived in Ilkhanid Iran as a form of royal imagery.³ The appearance of phoenix images on the tiles of the Takht-i Suleyman palace is commonly understood in connection to royal symbolism. The crane is also an iconographic element frequently featured on Ilkhanid tiles. Given that the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum is a religious funerary structure with a function as a pilgrimage complex, it is not possible to employ the "royal interpretation" for these images. Two hypotheses for the use of this imagery can, however, be put forward. Firstly, the phoenix and crane images can be interpreted as apotropaic elements, based on their original symbolism. The apotropaic role of the images might have determined their location on the surfaces of the entrance corridor to the mausoleum; their presence protected the sanctuary and those who entered it. The phoenix, or simurgh, held the status of *the king of birds* as it was seen to be the most intelligent bird as well as the symbol of royalty. The crane was the second most desirable avian symbol (after the phoenix) for its associations with longevity and peace, and was also used as a marker for royal officials. Secondly, these images can be interpreted within the context of Sufi mysticism. The phoenix, or

¹ Watson 1985, 155-56.

² O'Kane 2013, 352-54.

³ For discussion of phoenix and crane imagery and their connection between China and Iran, see: Kadoi 2009, 50-58 and see also Kadoi 2009, 28-29, 31, 50-54, 80, 82-84, 138.

simurgh, can function as a metaphor for God in Sufi mysticism,¹ which would be appropriate in the given circumstances where the phoenix images hover over the Qur'anic quotations of the inscription frieze. Accordingly, the images of cranes in the rosettes, which might have been combined with phoenix images, could also be understood as allusions to the divine. Perhaps the meaning of the animate imagery tiles of Pir-i Bakran is two-fold: they could have been apotropaic symbols based on the Sufi mystic interpretation of their divine associations.

Conclusion

The research presented in this article illustrates discoveries regarding the dispersal of tile revetments belonging to the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum. Tiles which belong to different decorative phases of the mausoleum have been identified in a number of museum collections worldwide (Imgs. 10, 12-15, 17-21). One lustre tile (Img. 10) belonging to the first decorative repertoire of the mausoleum was discovered in the Berlin Museum of Islamic Art. It has been shown that the turquoise octagonal perforated moulded tiles and the dark blue four-pointed star moulded tiles from the separation grills, which were installed in mausoleum during the second decorative intervention, are now dispersed across different museum collections (Imgs. 12-15). Four of these tiles were sold via auction houses to private collections, a further four are stored in the Berlin Museum of Islamic Art, and one more tile is stored in the Benaki Museum of Islamic Art. Although the majority of these tiles were removed from the mausoleum upon Godard's request, in order to be saved from looting, it appears that these tiles which were once in storage in Cheheel Sotoon are now lost, or in a currently unknown location. It has been proposed that two tiles (Imgs. 17-18) with Qur'anic quotations and upper registers containing phoenix imagery now stored respectively at the Metropolitan Museum of New York and the Berlin Museum of Islamic Art, used to decorate the friezes in the interior of the *iwān* of the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum. Further tiles with crane and phoenix imagery (Imgs. 19-21) have been

¹ For example in Atthar's Conference of Birds.

discovered which may have originally formed ceramic rosettes on the surfaces of the mausoleum's entrance corridor.

The proposed identification of Pir-i Bakran tiles sheds light on little addressed aspects of the monument and the research contributes new information to the understanding of Ilkhanid tile revetments. The identification of the tiles described above signals that tile revetments of the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum also contained animal imagery, as is the case for several other Ilkhanid monuments. It appears that the earliest such tiles were applied on the surfaces of the mausoleum when it was a Sunni monument. This suggests that animate imagery on Ilkhanid tiles should not necessarily be associated with the Shi'ite creed. The significance of these phoenix and crane images appears to connect to the apotropaic nature of their symbolic meaning, with its origins in Chinese territory, and, at the same time, these creatures could also be interpreted within the framework of Sufi mysticism as metaphors and allusions to the divine. The research therefore also presents some new pieces of information to contribute to the current understanding of Ilkhanid tile revetments.

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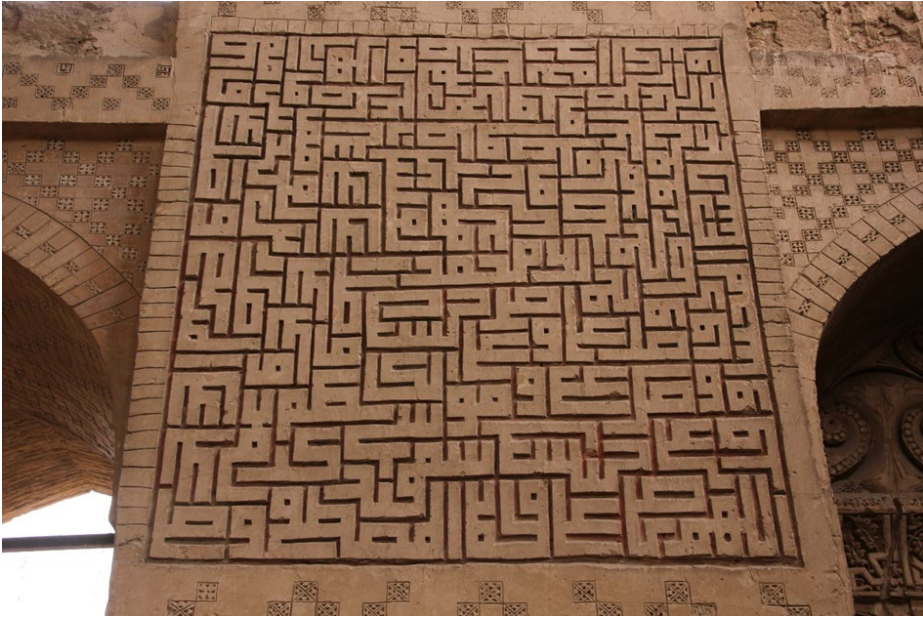
Img.1: Architectural structure of the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum. (Grbanovic 2014)



Img. 2: Example of stucco revetments in the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum: south-eastern supporting wall reveals two layers of stuccos from the second and third decorative interventions. (Grbanovic 2018)



Img. 3: Wall painting and applied moulded stucco revetments at the pre-Ilkhanid domed structure of the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum are likely work of the third decorative stage. (Grbanovic 2018)



Img. 4: Square Kufic stucco panel from the third decorative stage of the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum: the inscription contains Blessings to the Fourteen Infallibles. (Grbanovic 2018)



Img. 5: Pir-i Bakran mausoleum burial chamber; ceiling – the *khatt-i banna'i* (first stage); stucco inscription dated 1303-04 (second stage), which conceals earlier revetments in stucco and cut ceramic inscription (first stage); moulds of tile frieze from the first decorative stage; star and cross tiles (third stage). (Grbanovic 2018)



Img. 6: Stucco mihrab at the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum (second stage; 1303-04). The left and right sides of the mihrab reveal remains of separation grills which carried the perforated octagonal and four pointed tiles. (Grbanovic 2016)



Img. 7: Luster tiles of the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum (first decorative stage) were likely reapplied on its architectural surfaces during restoration interventions. The tiles are currently located in the intrados of the *iwān*'s ceiling. (Grbanovic 2014)



Img. 8: Grill separating the burial chamber of the Shaykh and the interior space of the *iwan*. The grill retains mortar for the adhesion of tile revetments. (Grbanovic 2018)



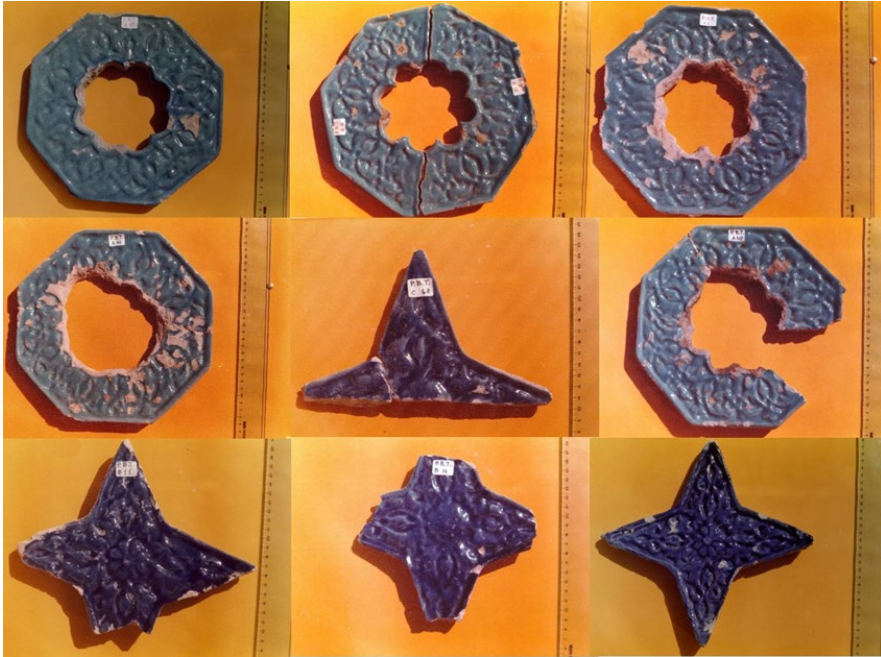
Img. 9: Remains of adhesion mortar for the tile rosettes on the entrance portal of Pir-i Bakran mausoleum's entrance corridor. The mortar retains small triangular glazed and moulded tile inserts. (Grbanovic 2018)



Img. 10: Lustre tile in the Islamic Art Museum, Berlin, with suggested provenance from the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum. Ident. Nr. 3892. (Copyright: Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; photographer: Johannes Kramer)



Img. 11: Detail of the grill separating the burial chamber of the Shaykh from the main space of the *iwan* of the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum: tile shapes and dimensions are visible on the adhesion mortar, which contains some tile fragments. (Grbanovic 2018)



Img. 12: Selected images of Pir-i Bakran separation grills tiles discovered in the Chehel Sotoon deposit in 1978. (Curtesy and Copyright of Prof. Rosario Paone)



Img. 13: Four pointed star tile from the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum at the Benaki Museum of Islamic Arts, Athens. Inv. Nr. 745. (Curtesy and Copyright: the Benaki Museum of Islamic Art, Athens)



Img. 14: Four pointed moulded and glazed star tile in the Islamic Art Museum, Berlin, with suggested provenance from the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum. Ident. Nr. 5704. (Copyright: Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; photographer: Johannes Kramer)



Img. 15: Octagonal perforated moulded and glazed tile in the Islamic Art Museum, Berlin, with suggested provenance from the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum. Ident. Nr. 5316. (Copyright: Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; photographer: Christian Krug)



Img. 16: Adhesion mortar, which corresponds in dimensions to the New York and Berlin tiles with phoenix images and Qur'anic quotations and suggests their original location in the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum. (Grbanovic 2018)



Img. 17: Rectangular moulded and glazed tile with phoenix images and Qur'anic quotations in Islamic Art Museum, Berlin, with suggested provenance from the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum. Ident. Nr. 1278. (Copyright: Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; photographer: Christian Krug)



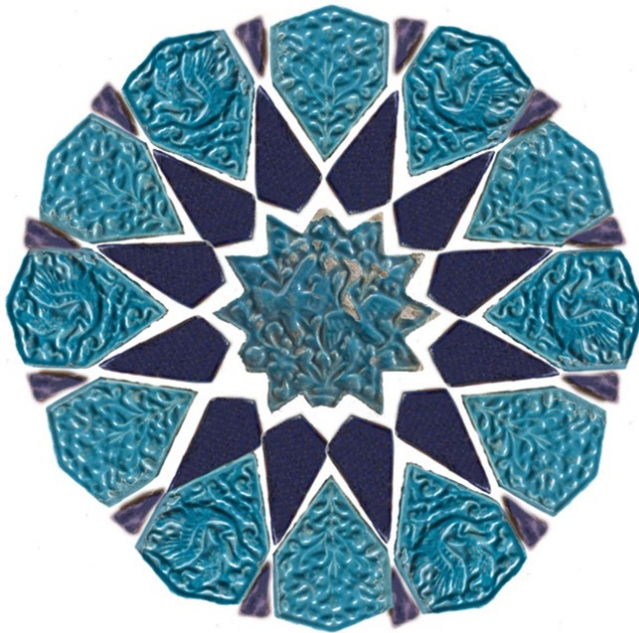
Img. 18: Rectangular moulded and glazed tile with phoenix images and Qur'anic quotations in Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, with suggested provenance from the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum. Ident. Nr. 40.181.3. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art New York)



Img. 19: Five polygonal glazed and moulded tiles with abstract floral ornamentation and bird images in the Islamic Art Museum, Berlin. The description of the tiles state that their provenance is the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum. Ident. Nr. I. 1279-83 (Reproduced with the permission of the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; photographer: Ana Marija Grbanovic)



Img. 20: Twelve pointed moulded and glazed star tile with bird images in Islamic Art Museum, Berlin, with suggested provenance from the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum. Ident. Nr. 3908. (Copyright: Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; photographer: Johannes Kramer)



Img. 21: Hypothetical reconstruction of the appearance of ceramic rosettes on architectural surfaces of the Pir-i Bakran mausoleum. Images 19 and 20 were employed for the proposed reconstruction. (Grbanovic 2019)

انتشارات آریارنا

انتشارات آریارنا بر آن است تا کتاب‌های ارزندهٔ تألیفی و ترجمه‌ای پژوهشگران ایرانی یا نیرانی را در زمینه‌های گوناگون ایران‌شناسی همچون باستان‌شناسی، تاریخ، فرهنگ و زبان‌های باستانی منتشر کند، کتاب‌هایی که برای شناخت تاریخ و فرهنگ گرانسنگ و ورجاوند ایران بسیار ارزشمند باشند. با توجه به پیوندها و ریشه‌های ژرف و عمیق فرهنگی میان ایران و جهان بشکوه ایرانی که از سده‌ها بلکه هزاره‌های دور و دراز برجا بوده است و در دهه‌های اخیر تلاش دشمنان بر آن بوده تا این پیوندهای ژرف را بگسلند و ریشه‌های عمیق را با تیشه برکنند، ایران فرهنگی که دل و دین به آن سپرده‌ایم از چشم دست‌اندرکاران انتشارات آریارنا دور نمانده و چاپ کتاب‌های پژوهشی و ترجمه‌ای ارزنده دربارهٔ جهان ایرانی یا ایران فرهنگی از اولویت‌های انتشارات آریارنا است؛ باشد که از این راه پیوندهایمان پیوسته‌تر و ریشه‌هایمان ژرف‌تر شود. کتاب‌های انتشارات آریارنا پیشکشی ناچیز است به ایرانیان، ایرانی‌تباران، ایران‌دوستان و همهٔ مردمان جهان ایرانی که ایران و جهان ایرانی را از جان دوست‌تر می‌دارند.



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و ذخیره روی سی‌دی و چیزهایی از این دست بدون موافقت کتبی و قبلی انتشارات آریارمنا ممنوع است و
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دکتر مجید منتظر ظهوری و دکتر مرتضی خانی‌پور
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نخستین

همایش دوسالانه بین‌المللی
انجمن علمی باستان‌شناسی ایران:

”برهمکنش‌های فرهنگی، پیوست و گسست“

به کوشش

سیدمهدی موسوی، شاهین آریامنش
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