

**The *Arg* (Castle) in Persian Art and Architecture.
(*Arg-e Bam* case study)**

By

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Abstract

Persian culture's vast body of both architecture and literature have lent a creative energy to each other throughout the history; the architectural imagination has been a powerful device in literature since the beginning of Persian literary tradition, while the literary tradition has enriched the cultural role of its architecture.

The *Arg* as an architectural condition is an instrument of study it is a figurative opening onto culture which provides an opportunity to examine the relationship between architecture and literature within Persian culture. This research explores a critical reading of the concept of *Arg* based on the Persian literary tradition and its architectural evidences as a catalyst for imagination as well as a vessel for meaning.

The research first examines the concept of *Arg* as a temple in Persian mythology, then explores the architectural role of the *Arg-e Bam* in the ancient city of Bam as a case study. Finally it examines the image of the *Arg* in Persian literature, specifically the epic stories of Ferdowsi, and Nizami. We will then consider Anthony C. Antoniade's ideas about "Epic Space" as a model for the relationship between literature and architecture to examine the findings of our study.

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Introduction

The *Arg* (Castle)¹ has been a prominent space in traditional Persian cities² since their origin on the Iranian plateau. It has also taken on a metaphorical image in Persian art and literature as a continuous and generative theme through Persian history. The objective of this study is to explore the formation and development of the concept of *Arg* in both literature and architecture. This study will explore and argue the simultaneous and integrated role of literature and architecture as a vessel to preserve and rejuvenate Persian culture.

Based on literary and architectural evidence the *Arg* was built first as a religious centre. This center gradually expanded and grew as we see in the city of Bam, Kerman, Yazd and Nishapur.³ In order to explore the significance of *Arg* as a permanent space in the Persian city, we have to address the fact of the long continued existence of this building type: why has this space resisted the forces of elimination through the strong influences and changing periods of history? In search of possible answers, chapter 1 of this research will trace examine pre-Islamic Persian cosmology; specifically the myth of the Goddess Anahita who is called Ardvī (the high) Sûra (powerful and immaculate)

¹ *Arg* is one of the words in the Persian language used for Castle. In the broader sense *Arg* means Citadel a place where the king resides. Other Persian words for Castle are *Diz*, *Qalaeh*, *Hasin*, *kalat*, *Quhandez*, *Koshk*, and *Qaser*. Note that the Castle (*Arg*) in Persian art and architecture does not mean just a fortified enclosure as we understand in English. The fortified castle is one section of the *Arg* in Persian architecture.

² The term "Traditional Persian or Iranian cities" here refers to pre-modern or pre-industrialized Iranian culture, which began after World War II. The traditional cities are a part of contemporary Iranian cities. The *Arg* is located in the traditional cities.

³ All these cities have an *Arg* or a specific area which is related to the *Arg* in form, for example the *Arg* of Atabak in the city of Tabriz, or in the city of Kerman, one of the main gates opens to the *Arg* area which contained all governmental offices. *Arg-e Karimkhani* in the city of Shiraz was the seat of *Karimkhan-e Zand* king of Iran in the late 17th century. The architectural remains of these places are preserved today.

Anahid⁴ in *Avesta*.⁵ It will also be necessary to consider Anahita's myth in Pre-Islamic cultures of Persia. Anahita, who was the Goddess of Water in the early Persian mythology, was widely worshipped by the Medes⁶ and Persians before they adopted Zoroastrianism. Her cult was well known at the court, both in late Achaemenian⁷ and Sassanian⁸ periods. Ardvi Sûra Anahid was worshiped at many natural sanctuaries throughout the Iranian Plateau; she was worshiped in the presence of her natural icon, water. The *Arg* was always laid inside the city wall and built on the highest part of the city. It has been suggested that the word *Arg* was derived from the name of Ardivisur Anahid.

After the Muslim conquest, all of these temples were no longer dedicated to Anahita because of the religious transformation. However, they became associated with Dukhtar (the Maiden) as an implicit reference to Anahita. During the Islamic era, the temples were transformed to the seat of government, and became known as *Arg* (citadel).

The conceptual understanding of *Arg* as it was reflected in Persian myths and literature will be explored through the physical reality of the ancient city of Bam as a case study. The old city of Bam is no longer inhabited, but is preserved to such an extent that it can facilitate our attempt to understand the original functions and features of the spaces, specifically in relation to the concept of *Arg*. *Arg-e Bam* is a mirror of two thousand continuous years of city planning and cultural activity in the Iranian plateau,

⁴ The name of Anahid appeared in different periods of the Persian language. For instances in Old Persian Anahid, in Middle Persian Anahita, and in New Persian Nahid. It also appeared in other cultures such as in Armenian Anahit, and in Greek Anahitis.

⁵ *Avesta* is the Holy book of Zoroastrian faith.

⁶ Mede was a local culture in western part of ancient Persia before the Achaemenian empire.

⁷ Achaemenid was first Persian Empire from 426B.C to 331B.C.

⁸ Sassanid was the Persian Empire from 234 A.D. to 637A.D.

from its foundation during the Parthian period (330 BC- 224 AD) until 1924. From 1924 till 1932, it was used by the Iranian army and gradually turned to ruins. It is worth mentioning here that *Arg-e Bam* is a unique cultural heritage and architectural construction, registered by UNESCO as cultural remains. The Cultural Heritage Organization of Iran has taken the responsibility of maintaining and repairing *Arg-e Bam* since 1993. Chapter 2 will consider the formation of the city of Bam through a few points: First we will explore the early ideas about the formation of cities in Persia, which is linked to the myth of *Gyomarth* who received an order from *Ahura Mazda* (Zoroastrian Ultimate God of Wisdom) to build a circular *Vera* (City) in three sections, each section related to one class of society. This will give us the opportunity to closely examine the implications of this myth in relationship to the formation of the city of Bam. Secondly, from a legendary and historical point of view, we will examine the story of *Haftvad*, which is directly related to the city of Bam, from two sources: the *Karnamak-e Ardashir e-Papakan* (The Book of *Ardashir*) and the *Shahnameh* (Book of Kings) by Ferdowsi. Research on pre-Islamic architecture of Persia is not only necessary for a better understanding of the art and culture of this era; it also provides us with knowledge about the Islamic architecture of Iran. Without a comprehensive knowledge of Pre-Islamic heritage, it would be impossible to study the formation and evolution of the *Arg* in Persian architecture. Finally, chapter 2 will explore the relationship of the morphological aspects of the city with regard to the *Arg* as a focal point of the city.

In chapter 3, we will examine the reflection of the *Arg* in Persian literature in the 10th and 12th centuries. In the 10th Century there was a tendency for a rebirth of Pre-

Islamic Persian culture. The bloom of this rebirth gave a mature fruit in epic Poetry. We will approach epic poetry as continuation of myth in Persian culture. The 12th century was another important phase of Persian literature; it was a period of integration of Pre-Islamic thought with the Islamic tradition. This intermingling occurred in epic romances of Persian literature.

Among the vast body of Persian literature we will focus on the work of two poets, Ferdowsi (10th century) and Nizami (12th century). Ferdowsi compiled the great epic stories of ancient Persian cultures until the Islamic times in his monumental book *Shahnameh* (Book of Kings). In *Shahnameh*, Ferdowsi idealized Iranian heroes, glorified their ways of life, and defended their traditions with enough zeal and conviction to revitalize the perished Sassanian Empire. He revived all aspects of ancient Persian culture such as religion, ceremonies, physical environments, and architecture in a poetic form. In addition, the architectural information revealed in *Shahnameh* about space utilization and its meaning will become vital to our study. *Shahnameh* also comprises specific and direct information about the evolution of *Args* (citadels), towers, fortresses, and urban spaces such as squares, gates and residential areas.

From Nizami, we will adopt an analytical approach to the story of *Haft Paykar* (Seven Beauties) in relation to the concept of *Arg*, which is represented as a metaphor. In *Haft Paykar*, Nizami created an esoteric story which is intertwined with Sufi symbolism in the Islamic era, although the context of the story goes back to Pre-Islamic time. Nizami was associated with a *Futuwwat* brotherhood known as the *Javanmardi*, who

drew their members from the artisan classes, and who had to receive their education at the hands of one of their masters.⁹

Lastly, we will give a synthesis and summary of this study as a conclusion. The major intention throughout this study is to show why the *Arg* survived as a type in Persian art and architecture. Many factors have been involved in the formation and development of the *Arg* in traditional Iranian cities.

⁹ This notion was widely shared in Sufi movements in the tenth century such as Ismailies and Ikhawn Al-Safa (Brethren of Purity), especially in Ikhawn al-Safa's *Rasail* (Epistles) with which Nizami was surly aware of. For details see Seyyed Hossein Nasr. *An introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines*. Boulder: Shambhala Publications, Inc, 1964.

Chapter One

In the fire temple of the Magi
Why do they honour us?
The fire that never dies
Burns in our heart.

Hafiz (14th century) ¹⁰

1.1. Introduction

The *Arg* as a building type emerged from a long standing Persian tradition. In attempt to discover its roots, we will discuss briefly some aspects of the Zoroastrian thought and philosophy. In Zoroastrian cosmology, Anahita, the goddess of water, is the representative of the light of *Ahura Mazda* in *Getik* (the terrestrial world). She received an order from *Ahura Mazda* to build a temple on top of Hurikaa Mountains to worship the holy fire. ¹¹ Therefore, the first Zoroastrian temples were dedicated to Anahita and housed an internal flame, the symbol of Divine wisdom. Accordingly, the temple was the sacred space where a person could receive the ultimate divine light. Anahita then became associated with the concept of light.

1.2. The Zoroastrian philosophy: Background

The Zoroastrian religion underwent a number of transformations over the centuries. Essentially, it evolved under its famous prophet Zarathustra, also known by the Greek name Zoroaster. He achieved a philosophical sophistication well in advance of his time and became extremely influential. Zoroaster was a mysterious figure reputed to have

¹⁰ Hafiz. *Diwan*, ed. By M. Qazwini and Ghani. Tehran: Intashart Dowran, 1378/1999, p.19. Author's translation.

¹¹ Hurikaa Mountain is a mythical mountain in *Avesta*.

lived sometime between the 10th and 6th century B.C. in northeastern Iran.¹² He incorporated elements of the polytheistic faith of the early Persians into a religious system based on two opposing cosmic forces: *Ahura Mazda* representing light and truth, and *Ahriman* representing darkness and demonic falsehood.¹³ While this doctrine formed a primary and fundamental aspect of Zoroastrian religion, a secondary aspect of Zoroastrian cosmology was the role of the seven Archangels. The seven beings or powers are *Spenta Mainu* (the Holy Immortals), *Vohu Manah* (excellent thought) protects animals, *Arta Vahishta* (perfect existence) protects fires, *Xshathra Vairya* (desirable reign) protects metals, *Spenta Armaiti* (image of wisdom) protects the earth, *Haaravatat* (integrity) protects waters, and *Ametrat* (immortality) protect the plants. These seven powers are designated as the *Amahraspand* (the Holy Immortals). Their holiness was understood not as a canonical attribute, but as a transitive, active activating energy that communicates being. According to the *Yasht XC* of the *Avesta*:

“...all seven of whom have the same thought, the same word, the same action...they see each others souls engaged in meditating thoughts, actions, and words of righteousness, in meditating the Abode of Hymns, and they have paths of light by which to travel to the liturgies... who created and govern the creatures of Ahura Mazda , who formed them and direct them, who are their protector and their liberator...”¹⁴

¹² William Jackson. *Zoroaster, The Prophet of Ancient Iran*. New York: the Macmillan Co, 1899, P.150

¹³ For example, Choice, the central ethical concept of Zoroastrian and its heresy Mazdaian in Sassanian time , is a choice between two: Good and Evil. In the concept of Time there is two, transcendent Time is called “Boundless Time” (*zaman-e akanark*) and “Time of the Long Dominion” (*zaman-e derangkhvatati*). In terms of world there are two worlds; terrestrial world (*getik*) and celestial world (*menok*.) Each part either belongs to the world of Ahura or Ahriman.

¹⁴ PAhlavi Texts. *Yasht XC*. Translated by . E. West. Delhi: Mtilal Baarsidass, 1965, p.255-258.

Based on these seven powers, Earth was divided into seven *Keshvars* (climates), six surrounding a center (Fig. 1). This division of Earth led to a mythical geography in Persian cosmology.¹⁵ The most central *Keshvar* is known as *Eran-Vēj*,¹⁶ a sacred center (*imago mundi*), which is surrounded by *Xvaniratha* (luminous wheel).¹⁷ *Xvaniratha* is derived from the word *Xvarenah*, which is also related to *Xvar* (sun) in ancient Persian.¹⁸ The *Xvarenah* is an emanation of the sun, the heavenly fire, and the luminous life force, which is communicated to humanity. *Ahura Mazda* is pre-eminently the possessor of *Xvarenah*, but this divine “flame” also springs from the forehead of Anahita, which, like a solar light, emanates from the heads of monarchs. Moreover, Fire is identified with the Holy Spirit (*Spenta Maiyunu*); together with the *Xvar* (sun), reflect the light of *Ahura Mazda*. According to the *Avesta*, the state of *Magi* is obtained primarily by the *Haoma* (sacred fluid) sacrifice in the temple of Anahita. As the Achaemenid relief indicates, a Persian king would receive the holy *Haoma* from the hand of Anahita (Fig.2). In the *Avesta* the “blazing fire” is said to be created from or put in water. The water is concentrated in a sea called *Vourukasha*, the source of light; two rivers meet in this sea, thus quartering the world (*Chahar Taq*) (Fig. 3).¹⁹ This pattern is the earliest in Persian architecture, which is the division of space into four parts where dome stands on four pillars that covers the fire-altar in the Zoroastrian temple. Later this pattern became the

¹⁵ For more details about Zoroastrian cosmology and imaginal geography refer to Henry Corbin. *Spiritual Body and celestial earth from Mazdean Iran to Shi'ite Iran*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977, p.3-36.

¹⁶ This is an Earth perceived in *Eran-Vej* as the original Iranian Earth.

¹⁷ The word *Xvanirathor*, the land of sun comes from the Word *Xvar* means the sun.

¹⁸ *Yasna-1.11;3. 13;7. the sun will be called the eye of Ahura Mazda*, which may related to the early roots of Indo-Iranian idea, for the sun is already the eye of *Varuna* in *Rig Veda* 1. 50. 6.

¹⁹ *Chahar Taq* means four vaults or four rooms, this pattern has existed in the Iranian plateau since mythical times. It is also seen in Assyrian and Babylonian traditions. the most probably Persians adapted from them.

fundamental form in Persian architecture and applied to the majority of sacred places, houses, and gardens. (Fig. 4, 5)

The Achaemenian kings made images celebrating their receiving the Light represented in half-length issuing from a winged disk in the presence of *Ahura Mazda* (Fig. 6). Darius often appeared with *Ahura Mazda*, who was represented above the king and fire altars. From the time of Artaxerxes II, the official gods increased in number and new names emerged in the texts; notably Mithra and Anahita. Both of these newcomers were related to the metaphor of light and divine knowledge. For example we read in a Manichean text: "I am from the Light and from the Anahita, but I have become an exile turned aside from him... I am a god, born of Anahita, brilliant, flashing, and bright."²⁰

1.3. Myth of Goddess Anahita in Zoroastrian religious texts and its reflection in the Physical world of architecture.

Anahita in early Persian myth was widely worshipped by the Medes and Persians before they adopted Zoroastrianism. Her cult was well known at the courts of the late Achaemenian and Sassanian periods. She is celebrated in *Aban Yasht*²¹ with the name of Ardvi Sura Anahita:

“*Ahura Mazda* spoke unto Spitama Zorostra, saying: Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zorostra! Unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anahita who makes the seed of all males Pure, who makes the womb of all females pure for bringing forth, who makes all females bring forth in safety, who puts milk into the breasts of all females in right measure and the right quality. The large river, known afar, that is as large as the whole waters that run along the earth; that runs powerfully from the height Hukairya down to the sea Vourukasha All the shores of the sea Vourukasha are boiling over, all the middle

²⁰ Zandhear, R. C. *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*. London: Routledge, 1961, p.79.

²¹ *Aban Yasht* is one of the longest and best preserved of *Avesta* hymns.

of it is boiling over, when she runs down there, when she streams down there, she, Ardevi Sûra Anahita, who has a thousand cells and a thousand channels: the extent of each of those cells, of each of those channels is as much as a man can ride in forty days, riding on a good horse. From this river of mine alone flow all the waters that spread all over the seven *Kashvares*...I, *Ahura Mazda*, brought it down with mighty vigour, for the increase of the house, of the borough, of the town, of the country, to keep them, to maintain them, to look over them, to keep and maintain them close.”²²

Sura and Anahita are common adjectives, meaning respectively “strong and mighty” and “undefiled, immaculate.” Only Ardevi is special to this divinity, on etymological grounds it has also been interpreted as a feminine adjective, meaning “moist, humid”²³. The proper name of the divinity in Indo-Iranian times was “Sarasvati;” she who possesses waters. She was still worshiped in Vedic India by this name, which was also given there to a small but very holy river in Madhyadesa,²⁴ Harahvati is Iranian for Saravati. Originally Harahvati seems to have been the personification of a great mythical river, which plunges down from the Mount of Hara into the sea Vourukasha. According to the Zoroastrian texts, her proper name fell into disuse in favour of her more common names Ardevi and Sura. Eventually these names were combined to give her middle Persian name of Ardvisur. In her hymn the river-goddess is described as a beautiful, strong maiden, clad in beaver-skins who drove a chariot drawn by four horses: wind, rain, clouds, and sleet. As the water-goddess, she was worshipped to bestow fertility, purify the seed of all males, the wombs of females, and make milk flow to nourish the young.²⁵ Like the Indian Sarasvati, she nurtures crops and herds; and she is hailed both as a divinity and as the mythical river, “as great in bigness as all these waters,

²² *The Zend-Avesta, Aban Yasht*, translated by Darmesteter James, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965, p. 54-5.

²³ Boyce Mary. *A History of Zoroastrianism*. In 2 vols. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975, p.71.

²⁴ Hommel, H. “Anahita-Sarasvati,” *Asiatica*, Festschrift F. Weller. Leipzig, 1954, p. 405-13

²⁵ *Aban Yasht*, IV, p. 57.

which flow forth upon the earth.”²⁶ There is a semantic link in many ancient cultures between water and wisdom, and priest and their pupils pray to Ardevi Sura for knowledge²⁷. Ardevi Sura’s striking growth in popularity seems to have begun in Achaemenid times, through her identification with the western Iranian divinity, Anahiti, known from Greek sources as Aaitis. The Achaemenid devotion to this goddess evidently survived their conversion to Zoroastrianism and they appear to have used royal influence to have her adopted into the Zoroastrian pantheon. The problem of how to offer veneration to a divinity unknown to the *Avesta* was solved by assimilating Anahiti to Harahvati Aredvi Sura Anahita whose third nickname was very close to the western divinity’s proper name, and indeed may already in late Old Persian have become identical with it, through the dropping of the final vowel in ordinary speech. In a Middle Persian part of the Zoroastrian liturgy, the goddess Ardevi Sura is termed ‘the Lady’ and in Zoroastrian documents of Islamic times there are references both to ‘Anahid the Lady’ and to ‘Ardavisur Lady’ or ‘Ardvisur the Lady of waters.’²⁸

The first Achaemenid king Artaxerxes II (404-359B.C) publicly acknowledged Ardevi Sura Anahita in his inscriptions and invoked her after *Ahura Mazda* and Mithra. He also set up cult-statues in her honour and it was presumably after this that verses were composed and incorporated in *Aban Yasht*, which apparently described a temple statue.²⁹ In these Ardevi Sura Anahita is invoked, as personification of a arrayed in high-girt robe and jewel-encrusted mantle, with golden shoes and earrings, necklace, and crown (Fig. 7).

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 58.

²⁷ Boyce Mary. “Bibi Sharbanu and the Lady of Pars”, *Bulletin of the school of Oriental and African Studies*, XXX, 1967, P. 30-40.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.36.

The temples dedicated to Anahita founded by Artaxerxes II probably survived until Alexander's conquest under Seleucid domination, they were demolished or looted. Isidore of Charax wrote of sacrifices being continually offered in his day. He visited the temple at Kangawar (Fig. 8) which was devoted to Anahid, and said that the temple was dedicated to Artemis, one of the Greek incarnations of Anahid. It was most likely in the Parthian period, and even earlier, that Ardivi Sura Anahid was also worshiped at many natural sanctuaries in the landscape that featured a mountain with a spring.³⁰ One of these was near to the city of Ray. This shrine seems to have been devoted to Anahid as "the Lady of the Land" (*Shahrabanu*). After the Arab conquest, it was rededicated to "Bibi Shahrbanu" who was the daughter of the last Sassanian king. People's prayers and sacrifices are being offered there to this day.³¹

At the beginning of the 3rd century C.E., the Persian Sassanians were hereditary guardians of a temple dedicated to Anahid at Istakhar.³² Tabari describes this building as "the temple of the fire of Anahid."³³ Two generations later, under Bahram II, the high priest Kirdar was honoured with the responsibility for two sacred fires at Istakhar, one called "the fire of Anahid lady", the other "the fire of the Anahid-Ardashir." It has been suggested that a sunken temple made by Shapur I beside his Palace at Bishapur, whose stone-paved sanctuary flowed with water, was also a temple to Anahid (Fig. 9, 10).

One of the most beloved mountain shrines of the Zoroastrian was located in the city of Yazd. It is set beside a living spring and a great flowing stream of water which is devoted to *Banu-e Pars*, "The Lady of Persia." (Fig.12, 13) This sanctuary appears to

³⁰ *Ibid*, p.30

³¹ *Ibid*, p.32.

³² Istakhar is a Sassanied town near the city of Shiraz.

³³ Al-Tabari. *The history of Prophets and Kings*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1966, Vol.II, p. 45.

have been dedicated originally to Anahid “the Lady,” being rededicated in Islamic times, like the shrine of *Bibi Shahrbanu* near Ray, to a legendary Sassanian princess. This and other new dedications appear to have led to the partial eclipse of Anahid herself in living Zoroastrianism, although the admiration of the waters continues as an important part of the cult. It could be argued that most of the many places in Iran, in mountains and by springs, that are named for “*Dukhtar*” (the Maiden) or “*Bibi*” (the Lady) were once sacred to Anahita.³⁴

A Persian scholar, Bastani Parizi, studied some of the many hills, forts, castles and bridges in Persia which are associated with *Dukhtar* ‘the Maiden’. He suggested that in many cases they had an old association with the only major goddess in the Zoroastrian pantheon, Ardivisur Anahita.³⁵ For example, *Qalaeh Dukhtar* (castle of Maiden) in the city of Kerman which is built beside *Qalaeh-e Ardashir* (castle of Ardashir) (Fig. 11). Parizi found based on similar characteristics that there is a connection between this goddess and these places all over the Iranian land.

The representation of Anahita survived in Sassanian art (Figs. 14, 15, 16). For example, in an investiture scene carved at Naqush-e Rostam, the Persian King is receiving the diadem of kingship from the hand of a female divinity recognised as Anahid. In the relief of Taq-e Bostan, the Persian king Khosrow Parviz showed his fidelity to the family tradition by having Anahita present to support him. Here the divinity holds in one hand a tilted jug, from which water flows.

³⁴ Boyce Mary. “Bibi Shahrbanu”, p. 36.

³⁵ Bastani Parizi. *Khaton-e Haft Qaleh (The Lady of Seven Castles)*. Tehran: Nasher-e Roozbehan, 1373/1984, p.163.

As we have seen, the Anahita is the only goddess in the Zoroastrian Pantheon to whom the fire temple was dedicated and this became the first recognized sacred place through the Achaemenian and Sassanian periods. Here, we can safely conjecture that the Anahita temple became the center (*imago mundi*) and then the city progressively was established.

After the Sassanian period when Persians converted to Islam, the image of Anahita did not disappear from the arts. The image of Anahita was reflected in Persian art and architecture in the form of *Args* (Castles) as city centers, however not as a place of worship, rather a space where King and his representatives resided. The *Arg* contained all the architectural and conceptual elements of the Anahita temple such as: a spring or well of water, adoption of *Chahar Taq* plan, the association of its name to females, and the seat of the King who represented the divine light analogous to the fire and water that had reflected the light of *Ahura Mazda*. Thus, this image has preserved its space in the reality and the psychic realm of Persian culture and thought throughout history, regardless of various transformations such as religious, political and economic change. Especially after the collapse of the Sassanian, and during the Islamic era the image of Anahita penetrated other Persian cultural productions in an implicit and a metaphorical sense.

In order to ground our claim regarding the roots of the *Arg*, we will consider a case study. It is a unique opportunity because of the preserved state of a few historical and traditional cities. The ancient city of Bam is by far the most preserved in that sense.³⁶ The city of Bam embodies two thousand years of historical development. However the fundamental aspects of the city planning have been maintained through the years, especially the central *Arg-e-Bam* (Fig. 17). Some architectural evidence has survived

³⁶ This thesis was written before the tragic earthquake that devastated the city on Dec. 26, 2003.

indicating that Arg-e-Bam, before it was transformed to the seat of governor, functioned as a fire temple dedicated to Anahita. In the next chapter we will examine some of these elements and follow their transformation and development to the current state.

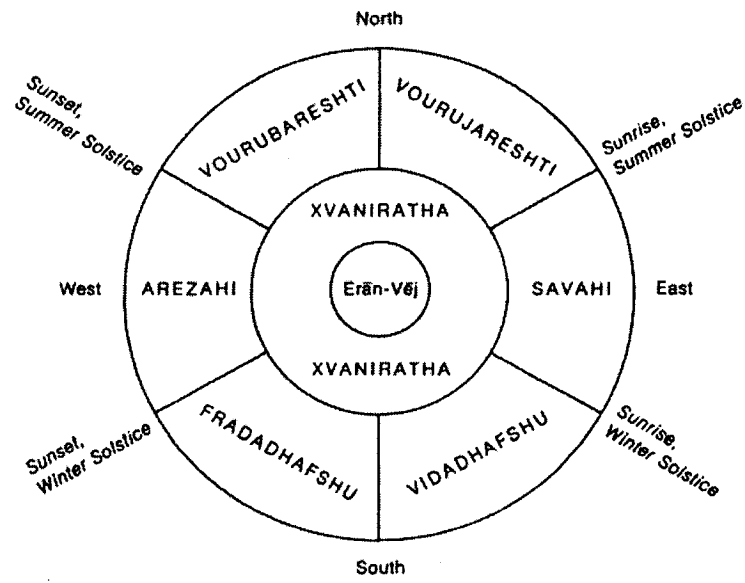


Fig. 1 Division of Seven mythic *Keshvars*. (after Henry Corbin)



Fig. 2. A Persian King receiving Hoama from Anahita Taq-e Bostan, 5th century. (Image after khansari)

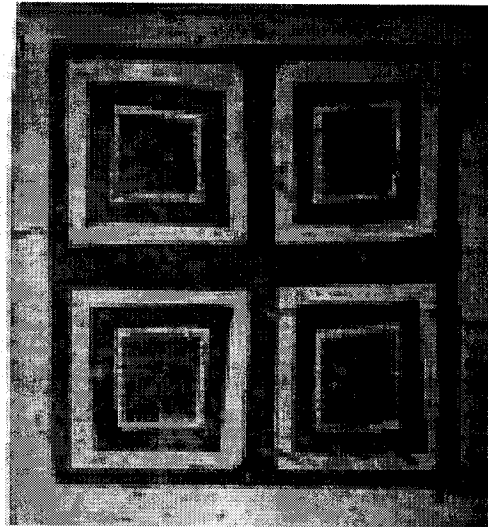
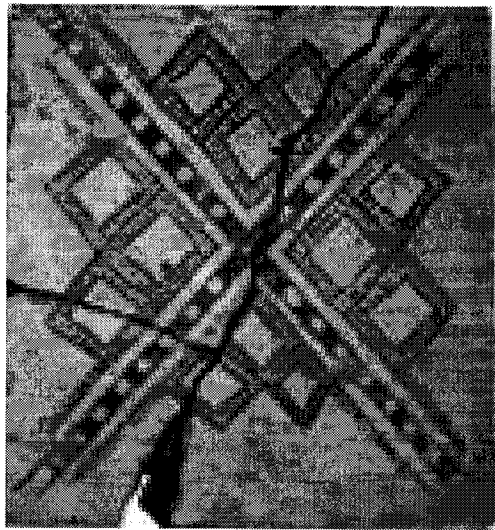


Fig.3. *Chahar Taq*. Tiles from the Bibi Jan site, 8th century B.C., Iran

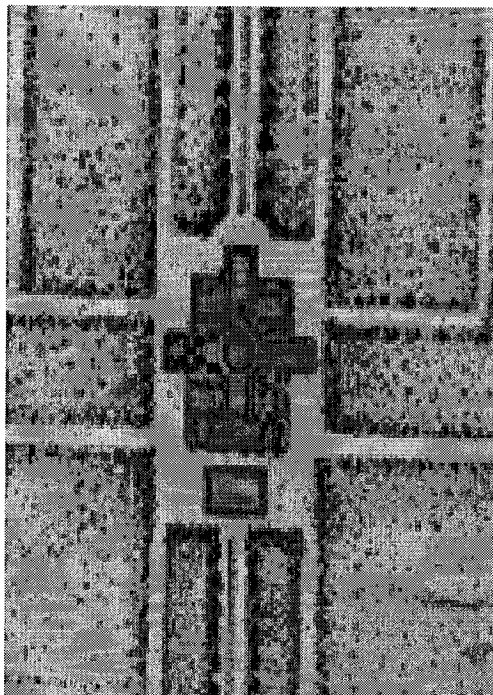


Fig.4. Plan of Dolgosha Garden 19th century Shiraz, Iran (after Khansari).

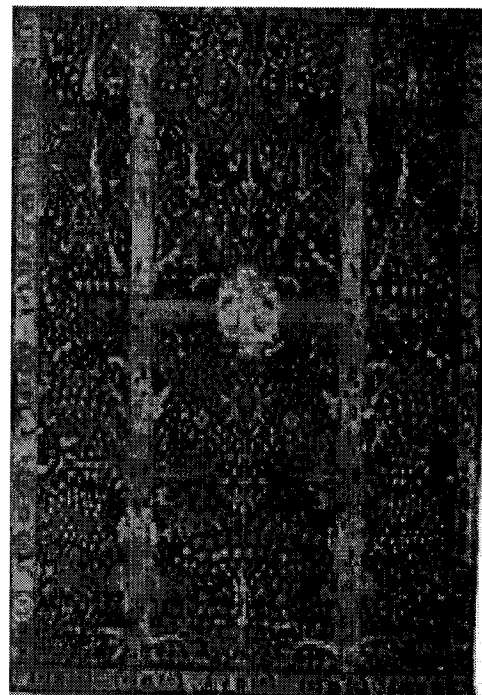


Fig. 5. A Persian carpet in form of *Chahar Taq*, 17th century, Kerman, Iran.

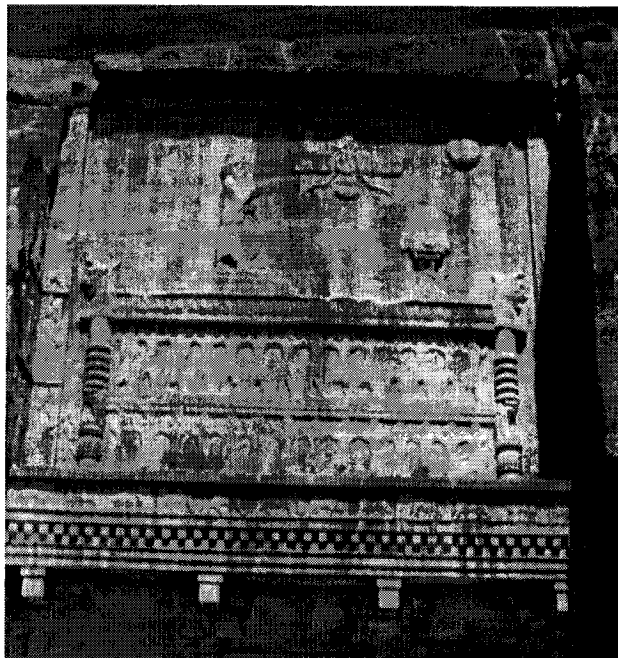


Fig. 6. Ahura Mazda represented above fire altar and King, relief, Persepolis, 5th century B.C.



Fig. 7. Statue of Anahita, 3rd century B.C. Iran

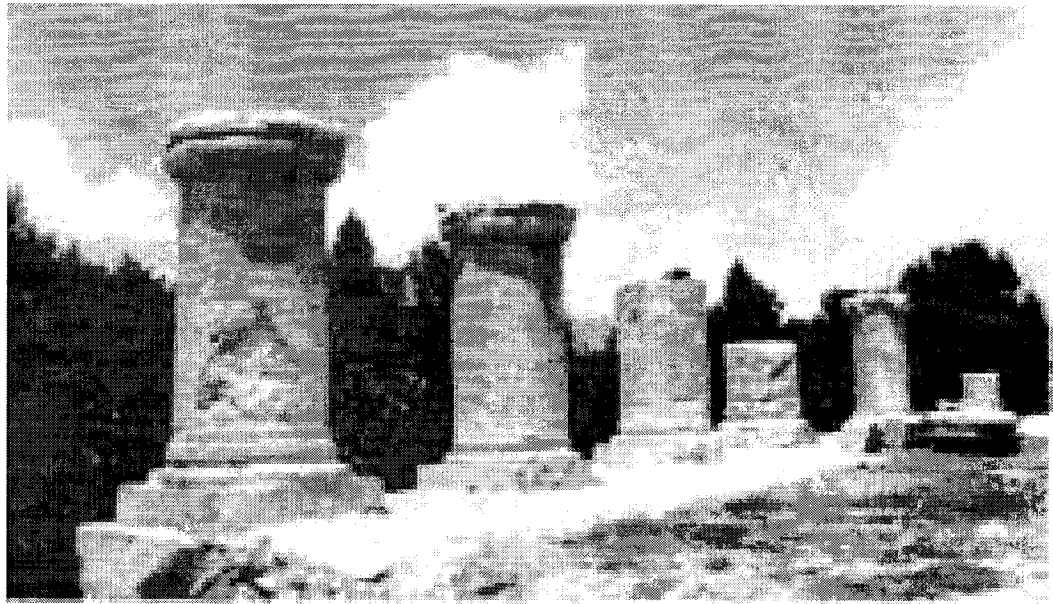


Fig. 8. Temple of Anahita at Kangawar, 2 century B.C.

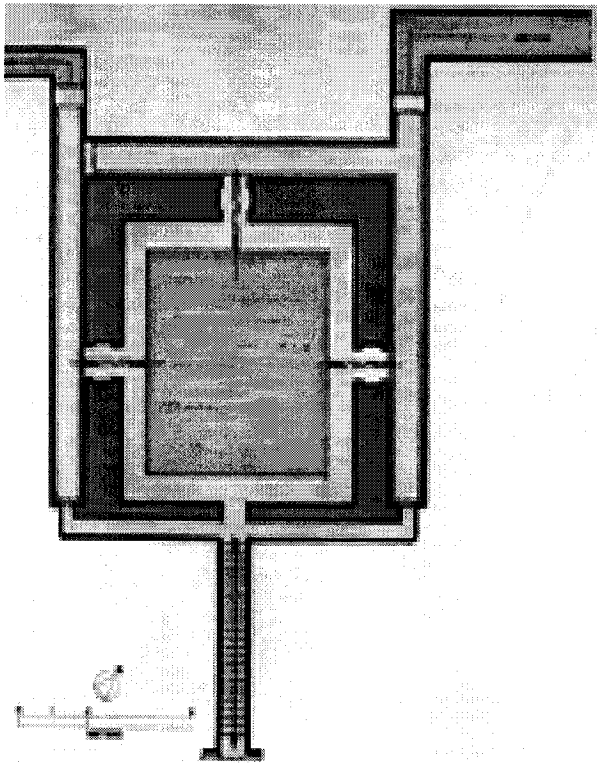


Fig. 9. Plan of Anahita temple at Bishapur 3rd century A.D. the interior of the temple was surrounded by water. (Image after Khansari.)

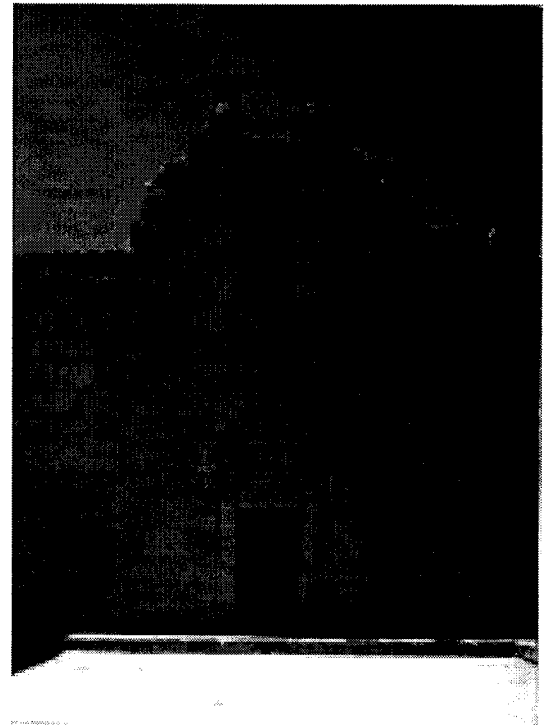


Fig.10. South wall of Anahita Temple at Bishapur. (Photoafter Khansari)



Fig. 11. Qalae-e Dukhtar (Maidean Castle) and Qalae Ardashir (Castle of Ardashir), 3rd Century A.D. Kerman. (Photo after Ezad Panaeh)



Fig. 12. Shrine of *Banu-e Pars* (The Lady of Pars) in Yazd, Iran (Photo after Kasraian)



Fig. 13. Shrine of *Banu-e Pars* (The Lady of Pars) in Yazd, Iran (Photo after Kasraian)



Fig. 14. Anahita at Taq Bostan
5th century, Iran. (Photo after Khansari)



Fig. 15. Anahita at palace of Shapur
mosaic, 3rd century, Iran.



Fig. 16. Anahita on silver
vase 6th century, Iran.

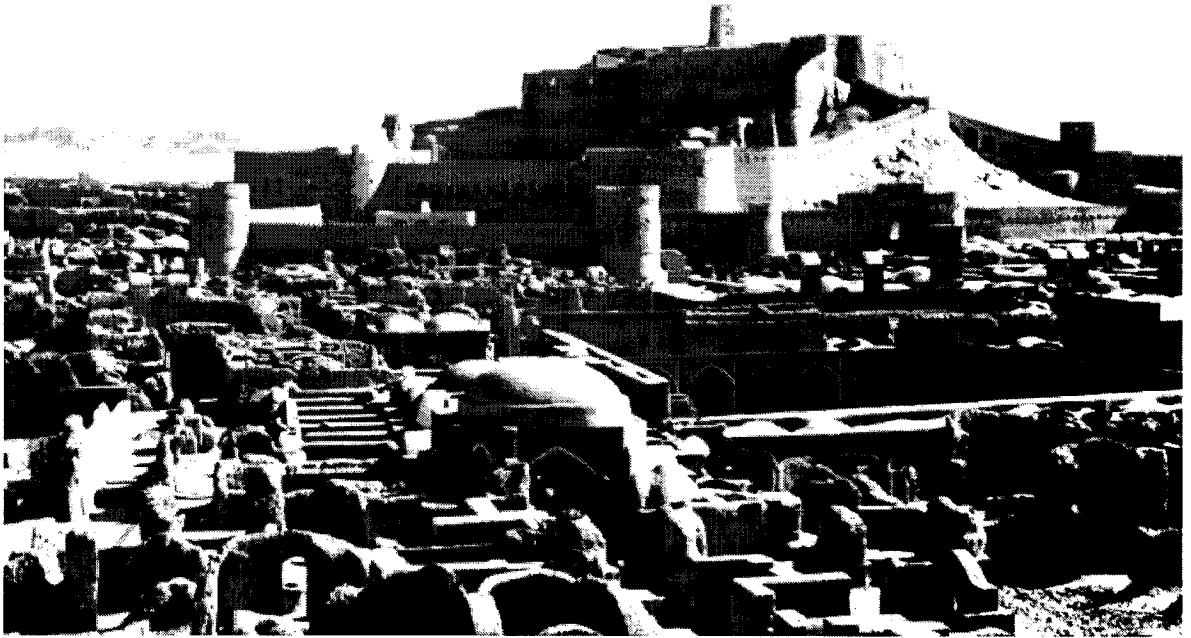


Fig. 17. *Arg-e-Bam*, kerman, Iran. (photograph by the author)

Chapter Two

That Castle once, claimed to rival
The whirling Heavens.
How many kings have fallen Prostrate
At its doors and on its ramparts?
Now a ring dove sits
And mourns.

Omar Khayyam (12th century)³⁷

2.1. Introduction.

The city of Bam is one of the best examples of a traditional Iranian city and clearly manifests the role of *Arg*. In fact, the entire city shows all aspects of a traditional Iranian city. We see the original functions and feature of each architectural space, specifically the role of the *Arg* within the city. The focus of this chapter will be on the *Arg* complex that is located in the highest natural elevation of the city.

The process of formation and growth of cities generally is based upon the interrelation of cultural and physical environments. The genesis of the city on the Iranian plateau is influenced by various factors such as religion, economics, military, sociopolitical and physical environments. In some cases, the existence of a fortress could be enough reason for formation of a city where people could find protection. Sometimes the existence of natural resources like lakes, rivers and springs had been the cause for establishment of a city, such as the cities of Kashan, Orumieh, and Tabriz. In other circumstances, we find the commercial routes such as the Silk Road initiating the emergence of great cities, such as the cities of Bam, Nishabur and Ray. Also, religious activities had been a motivating factor in the formation of cities such as Balkh, Bami, and

³⁷ Quoted from. Beny Roloff. *Persia Bridge of Turquoise*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1977, p. 228.

Mashhad. In other cases, sociopolitical factors were the seed for the birth of new cities such as Passargad, Persepolis, and Isfahan.

2.2. Typology of Castle in Iranian plateau

With the growth of population and culture on the Iranian plateau, architecture was manifested as an art in the form of temples and other religious buildings. These became the center and origin for town and city planning. Evidently, castles all around Persia protected these centers of worship. According to architectural evidence, castles were built in various forms over the Iranian plateau. The castles on top of hills have *hisar* (wall), and *Bourj* (tower) which were used for military purposes³⁸ (Fig. 18). Some Median relief (Figs. 19, 20, 21, 22) depict the castle and reveal precise details about the walls, gate, and towers. The construction of these castles was based on the available materials in each region. For example, in the arid part of the plateau they were built out of mud bricks. In the northern part, they were built in stone and baked bricks. The castles in the desert and plain areas have high walls with deep moats around them. Sometimes, castles were built inside the main walled city and each had its own specific function and each was walled separately such as the castle of Tabriz. According to a Sargin tablet in 714 B.C. the castle of TauriTaramix was built from a few interior castles. However, all these castles have similar features, such as tower, wall, moat, mobile bridge, and a recognisable architectural layout.³⁹

³⁸ On military castle see Pazouki Naser. "Defense Building In Iran". Tehran: National Heritage Magazine, No.13, Winter 1995, p.32-38.

³⁹ According to some Iranian city planners like Manochar Satoodeh castles in the Iranian plateau are divided into two categories: mountain castles and plain castles. The first types were built for military purposes and the second types built for residential, then he divided each type into subdivisions based on

2.3. The Etymological Meanings of Castle in the Persian Languages:

One of the common terms for castle in the Persian language is *Qalaeh*. However *Arg* refers to a broader sense of the citadel. The word *Arg* appeared in new Persian around 10th century. The word *Qalaeh* in Arabic means castle and is derived from the Persian word *Kalat*. According to a 14th century Persian encyclopedia, “*Borhan-e Qata*”, *kalat* is a big town which is built on the hill top. The *kalat* also denotes “town” in the new Persian language, for example, Daqiqi says: “Don’t go through any *Kalat* if it dispels the knowledge.”⁴⁰ In the Armenian language, the word *Kahalakh* is the ancient form of *Kaghat*, and means “city”. However, the same word *Kala* or *kola* has been used as a suffix for the proper name in northern part of Iran around the Caspian sea to identify the name of city, such as Hasan kala (the city of Hasan) and Firouz kala . In the Azari language, the word *Qalaeh* is pronounced *Qaala*. For example, in the Azari language, those smaller castles within complex castles were called *Narian Qalaeh*.⁴¹ In modern Persian, other words for castle such as *Daj*, *Daz*, *Doz*, *Dez*, *Dis* are used as a suffix for some Iranian town and cities. For example, Shahin Daj, Qahan Daz, Sol Doz, dizak, Sanan Daj and so on. In some pre-Islamic texts, the names of some castles were mentioned for example: *Khshathro-saoka*⁴² (castle of Syavoosh), *Kang Daz* (castle of Kang). According to the legends, the *Kang Daz* was a celestial city which was carried on the head of demons in the heavens and was brought down to earth by King Kaykhosrow. *Kang Daz* contained seven walls from seven materials: stone, iron, glass, silver, gold,

architectural features. Satodeh M. ‘Qalae’ *Shahrhai-e Iran (Iranian Cities)* edited by Yosf Kyani mohammad, . Tehran” Jahad-e Daneshgahi, 1366/1985, p. 91-100.

⁴⁰ Safa Z. *Tarikh-e Adabyat Farsi (History of Persian literature)*. Tehran: Amirkabir, 1358/1980, p.226. Translated by author.

⁴¹ The word *Narain* means tiny and small. It is also the word of *nar* and *Azar* means the fire which is related to the people who worshipping the fire.

⁴² *Khshathro-saoka* is a mere description of *dvarem*, ‘the castle of kingly welfare’.

pearl, and ruby. Its towers were silver with golden notch (*Kongara*). There were four mountains, seven rivers and seven birds inside the city. The birds were provided the security for the city.⁴³ Herodotus wrote about the city of Acbatana:

“...(the king) required them to build a single great city now called Agbatana, the walls of which are of great size and strength, rising in circles one within the other. The plan of the place is that each wall should out-top one beyond it by battlements. The nature of the ground, which is a gentle hill, favours this arrangement in some degree, but it was mainly affected by art. The number of the circles is seven, the royal palace and the treasuries standing within the last...”⁴⁴

Here we see a number of walls rising one above the other and may assume the highest wall to be the wall of the palace. This location at the highest point of the settlement seems to have been one of the characteristics of early Persian cities.⁴⁵ However, later in new Persian language, the term “kang Diz” changed to “Kohan Daz”⁴⁶ and was applied to the largest complex of castles in the traditional Persian cities; it contained a few smaller castles and different residential areas. It became the residential place for kings, nobles and governors; it comprised palaces, government buildings, temples, a treasury, a military compound and barracks. The first reference could be the Biston’s tablet, in paragraph it says “*Ya owva daia, arakad ris nama kauf, hacha, aodush, vi yashkhan hai mah*” which literary translates to “After that a man was called Gaomat, he came from *Ya owva daia*. “There was a mountain, which is called *Arakad*. When he left there it was passed 14 days from the month of cold”.⁴⁷ According to Bartalemh the first word of this phrase “*arakadris nama kauf*” is the same as *Arg*. It has

⁴³ *Bundhash*, ChapterXX, p.67.

⁴⁴ Quoted from *Iranian City* by Gaube Heinz. p.22.

⁴⁵ *Ibid* p. 23.

⁴⁶ *Kohan* means ancient and *Daz* means fortress.

⁴⁷ Author’s translation.

been suggested that the word *Arg* is derived from the name of Ardisur Anahid.⁴⁸ It seems that the word *Arg* is the same part of *Ard* (the high) in which the latter 'd' was changed to 'g' or 'k' in the Middle Persian language, though its etymology is obscure. This term appears in the Middle Persian language only in the compound "*Argbed*," which is a military rank and evidently it was used during the 3rd/9th century. However it did not occur frequently in the New Persian language before the early 11th century. For example, the poet Farokhi says: "I have a conqueror King who occupied numerous *Arg*(s) A king who had numerous wars like the Khan's war."⁴⁹

2.4. The Legend and Literary sources about the city of Bam.

It is difficult to say the precise date of formation of the city of Bam. The early sources about the city of Bam and its foundation are legendary stories and ancient texts. The oldest legend dates to Bahaman, son of Isfandiyar, a Achaemenid king (464-424 B.C.) who is said to have founded the city. Many places were attributed to Bahaman such as the river of Gaz Bahaman near Bam. According to some historians, when Bahaman succeeded his father Goshtasb, he marched towards Zablostan and controlled the region. Some other historians believe Bahaman was Ardashir, the founder of the Sassanian Empire; this story was mentioned vaguely by Ferdowsi in *Shahnameh*.

The oldest and clearest source on the city of Bam comes from *Karnamak-e Ardashir Papakan* (The book of Ardashir) Ardashir was the founder of the Sassanian Empire. This text reveals that Haptanbad was a rebel and fought against Ardashir in the

⁴⁸ Yahya Zaka. *Tarikh-e Maamari va shar sasi:-e Iran* (The History of Architecture and City Planning of Iran). Tehran: Publisher Sazaman-e Miras-e farhangi Kashvar, 1374/1995, p. 209-224.

⁴⁹ Safa Z. *Tarikh-e Adabyat Farsi (History of Persian literature)*. Tehran: Amirkabir, 1358/1980, p.372. Author's translation.

area of Gozaran. Ardashir marched his troops to the Gozaran. After a few bloody battles around the city walls, he could not capture the castle of Haptanbad. Then Ardashir used a trick to get into the castle. He disguised himself as a merchant from Khorasan. After a few days he was able to kill the magical worm who protected the city and the Haptanbad.⁵⁰ Ardashir's troops then stormed through the castle and destroyed it. As the text reveals:

“...Ardashir commanded that the fortress should be razed to the ground and demolished, while on its site he ordered the city which they call ‘Guzaran’ to be erected. In that quarter he caused the Atash-I Vahram (the fire temple of Bahram) to be enthroned...”⁵¹

The next reference to the city of Bam comes from Ferdowsi in *Shahnameh*, in the story of Haftvad. Most probably the *Karnamk-I Ardashir Papakan* is the main source for Ferdowsi. In *Shahnameh*, Haftvad is a poor man who lives with his seven sons and one daughter in the fortress of Kojaran. The only source of income for the families in this town comes from women who were weavers outside of the city wall. The daughter of Haftvad worked similarly as the other women outside of the city (Fig. 23). One day she found a worm in an apple and began to care for it. From that moment, she was able to weave more and make more money because of the presence of the magical worm. As a result, Haftvad's family became rich and powerful. Haftvad and his sons overthrew the chieftain of the castle and became the rulers of the city. In gratitude, they built a house for the worm. The rest of story is very much similar to the *Kanamak-I Ardashir Papakan*. The differences are the role of women and the presence of the supernatural element (the magical worm) in this story.

⁵⁰ According to the legend there was a Worm as big as a dragon which was the protector of the city. In the *Arg* section of the Bam there is a room called Kot-e Kerm means the house of Worm

⁵¹ *Karnamik e-Ardashir Papakun*. The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East. New York: Parke, Austin, & Lipscomb, 1917, Vol. VII; Ancient Persia, p. 225-253.

2.5. Historical review of the city of Bam.

The references to the history of Bam are more accurate after the defeat of the Sassanian Empire by the Muslim army. From the tenth century onward, the existing documents reveal a precise account of the role of Bam in the provinces of Kerman. The earliest documents date back to the Arab geographers, travelers and local historians from the tenth to the fifteenth century and after the visitation of Western travelers to the region. According to Muqaddasi, an Arab geographer who visited the city of Bam in the tenth century,

“Bam is an important provincial capital, pleasant and large. Its inhabitants are endowed with skill and dexterity. It is a marketplace attracting visitors from far away. Cloth produced here is known in many countries. The city is famous all over the Islamic world and a source of pride for its country. Most of its habitants are weavers.”⁵²

Through Muqaddasi's reports we can see the prosperity of Bam at that time. Another geographer, Yaquti, in 978, says that the products of Bam were exported to Khurasan, Iraq, and Egypt. In the early fourteenth century a local historian, Rashid-al-Din, wrote about the social problems of Bam “the poverty-stricken conditions of peasants of the province of Bam, ruined and in flight because of the extortion and violence practiced by the military.”⁵³ In the late seventeenth century, Bam suffered from the invasion of Afghans who ended the Safavid dynasty in 1737.

However, Bam recovered itself slightly in the late eighteenth century; during this time many western travelers visited the city of Bam. In the second half of the nineteenth century the construction of the new city started outside of the city wall and gradually the people moved out to the new areas of Bam. By 1924, the ancient city was evacuated and

⁵² Collins Basil Anthony. *Al-Muqaddasi: the man and his work*. Michigan: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1974, P.34.

⁵³ Musawfi Hamdallah, Muhammad b. Nasr. *Nuzht al-qulub*. ed by Debirisiyaqi. Tehran: Amirkabir, 1366/1988, p.171.

became a military camp. Then, slowly it turned to the ruins which we know today as the old city of Bam.

2.6. Geographical Location of the city of Bam.

Bam is located 190 kilometers to the southeast of Kerman province (Fig. 24). There are four large towns; Mahan, Abrik, Rayan, and Darzin between Kerman and Bam. All these cities are located in the midst of two vast deserts; *Kavir-e Lut* and *Kavir-e Namak*. The first one, Mahan, is a pilgrimage city because of a shrine of a 14th century Sufi master, Shah Namatallah vali. Abrik and Darzin are in the southeast, about 30 kilometers from Bam. To the southeast, Bam shares its border with the land of Jiroft up to the Persian Gulf. From the West through the desert it reaches the city of Zahadan, capital of Sistan- Baluchistan province.

2.7. Structure of the Old city of Bam.

The old city of Bam is a walled city in a rectangular shape (fig. 25, 26). It is divided into three parts. The first part is the main castle or the *Arg*, the seat of government. The second part is a military compound (*Qurkhaneh*). The third section, which is the largest part, is called *Sharistan* (residential area). In this section we can clearly see changes at different periods of history based on architectural monuments. For instance, the *Atsh-kadeh* (fire temple) and *Zur-khaneh* (The house of strength) belong to the Pre-Islamic period. The Mosque, the vaulted Bazaar, and Caravanserai were established during the Islamic time. All of these places are enclosed by their own walls.

This division of the city probably dates back to the structure of city planning at the time of Parthian and Sassanian rule and is based on different classes within society. These three classes were: the royal family and clergy, the military, and the common people.⁵⁴ However, there is another assumption about the formation of ancient Iranian tripartite cities which refers to the myth of Jamshid.

Jamshid is a mythical king who received an order from *Ahura Mazda* to come to earth and build a city for humankind. As we read in *Vandidad*:

“... therefore make thee a *Vara* in three parts long as a riding-ground on every side of the square.⁵⁵ In the largest part of the place thou shalt make nine streets, six in the middle part, and three in the smallest. To the streets of the largest part thou shalt bring a thousand seeds of men and women; to the streets of the middle part, six hundred; to the streets of smallest part, three hundred. That *Vara* thou shalt seal up with the golden ring, and thou shalt make a door and a window self-shining within”.⁵⁶

The tripartite planning of Bam can also be seen in the other ancient Iranian city of Firozabad, built by Ardashir near the city of Shiraz. In Firozabad, as in Bam, in order to reach the *Arg*, one has to pass through the *Sharistan* and *Qurkhaneh*. Before we begin the analysis of *Arg-e-Bam*, it is necessary to look at some physical spaces in the *Sharistan* and *Qurkhaneh* sections for a better understanding of the role of the *Arg*.

⁵⁴ These three classes mentioned in *Pahlave Text, Dina-I Mainog-I Khirad*. Part III, chapter XXXI, p. 67-68. The three classes which are often mentioned in the *Avesta* as constituting the Mazda-worshipping community.

⁵⁵ *Vara* means an enclosure space, this *vara* is known in later mythology as *Va-Gam-Kard*, the *vara* made by Yim.

⁵⁶ *Vandidad*. Chapter XXX, p. 87.

2.8. Some Important physical Spaces in *Sharistan* Section.

The *Sharistan* section opens by a main gate that is located in the southern part of the city (Figs. 27, 28). This gate is the only entrance to the city that is surrounded by main walls 6-7 meters high with 38 watchtowers and a ditch around it (Figs. 29, 30). Originally, in the front of this gate there was a mobile bridge on the ditch for defence purposes. Today, a ramp leads to the first gate, behind which is an octagonal space with rooms around it for the guards (Fig. 31, 32). By passing this space and going to the roof of the gate we have a panoramic view of the whole city. The *Arg* tower is located at the north. The second and third inner walls are visible. On the west side, we find the *Sharistan* (residential area). The north-south axis leads us from the gate to the *Arg* (Fig. 33, 34)

As was mentioned previously, the most dramatic changes took place in the residential area where the inhabitants lived for over two thousand years. As we continue towards the north and after passing the gate there is the main bazaar. From a planning point of view, the bazaar has been the spine of Iranian cities since the Islamic era, and was fully developed during the Safavid period (1501-1738) (Fig. 35, 36). In the city of Bam, the bazaar has all the characteristics of the Safavid period; vaulted roofs, shops on both sides, and caravanserai along the bazaar which connects to the Friday Mosque. If we walk about 100 meters towards the north, we find on the left side an open square space, which is called *Takyah* or *maydan* (Fig. 25 T). This space functioned as a gathering place for Shi'ite Muslims for ritual ceremonies. This space is also similar to a caravansari but there is no evidence to determine what the original function of the space was. In comparison with other Iranian Bazaars, there is no such space along side the main bazaar.

In some cases this type of space provided closure to the sub-branches of the bazaar.

Continuing along the lane after *Takayh* from east to west, we will finally reach the Friday Mosque (Fig. 25 M).

Generally speaking, mosques were established in Iranian cities by the seventh century. They became the main spaces for communal worship and accordingly the symbol of the Islamic faith in traditional Iranian cities. After the fall of Iranian cities to Muslims, the cities went through structural changes in order to meet the needs of Muslim communities. In many cases, the Zoroastrian fire temples were transformed into mosques or were demolished if people resisted (Figs. 37, 38, 39).⁵⁷

Based on the historical evidence, the city of Bam fell into the hand of the Muslim army in the late seventh century by Abdoleh ibn-Omar who built the first mosque called Masjid e- Rasul (The Mosque of Prophet), outside of the city wall.⁵⁸ But the Friday mosque inside the city was built much later when the majority of people converted to Islam. According to Pope Arthur, the Friday Mosque of Bam was built during the Saffari Period (9th Century). In the Mihrab section there is an inscription date 879 (Figs. 40, 41, 42).⁵⁹ In a traditional Iranian city, the Friday Mosque is often considered one of the main elements of the bazaar complex. In the case of Bam, the location of the Friday Mosque in this part of city is debatable because all the Friday Mosques were usually built at the east end of main bazaar.

If we take the lane from the Friday Mosque toward the north, there is another public place called *Zur-khaneh* (literally meaning the house of strength). *Zur-khaneh* is a

⁵⁷ kheirabadi Masoud. *Iranian cities*. Texas: Syracuse University Press, 2000, p. 64.

⁵⁸ Vaziri Kermani Ahmad Ali Khan. *Tarikh-e Kerman* (History of Kerman). Tehran, 1340\1961 .p. 19.

⁵⁹ For more details about the Bam's Mosqus refer to Pope. *A survey of Persian art*, vol. III, p. 128.

traditional gymnasium and it originated in pre-Islamic times. It is a place for bodybuilding and the establishment of fraternities for the improvement of moral virtues; peculiar to Iranian culture that is not found in other Muslim cities. Admission to the *Zur-khaneh* requires a good social as well as religious reputation as a selected member of the community.⁶⁰ Later, in well developed cities during the Islamic era, *Zur-khaneh* was built close to *Khaneqah* or the Sufi school along the bazaar. The traditional *Zur-khaneh* is a dome-shaped structure (Fig. 44, 45). The essential part of *Zur-khaneh* is the gaud or pit in either a hexagonal or an octagonal form under the dome. Athletics were performed in this section. The *Zur-khaneh* in the city of Bam has all the structural characteristics of the traditional type.

If we get back to the bazaar and go north in the west part of the residential era there is a Caravanserai (Fig. 35 C). Caravanserais are sometimes found in Seljuk period and well developed during the Safavid time. They are located along trade roads as well as inside the cities beside the bazaar to provide lodging and commercial exchange facilities for people of the caravan. In the city of Bam, the caravansari was built close to the bazaar at the foot of *Arg*. Its location is very important, as Heinz Gaube assumed in that it served as a customs office where all goods entering the city were cleared. The open spaces north and west of the building most probably served for keeping pack animals.⁶¹

As mentioned previously, the whole city was divided into three sections based on the social order of the society. Based on the architectural evidences in the *Sharistan* district, we are able to identify the houses of the different social groups. For example, in the east part of *Sharistan* there are houses with two courtyards, one for summer and the

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p.78.

⁶¹ Gaube Heinz. *Iranian Cities*. New York: New York University Press, 1979, p.113.

other for winter with servants' sections. In some houses there are two or three kitchens with guest sections. This type of house could have belonged to lords. In some other sections, we have houses with one courtyard but with good facilities such as *badgeir* (wind Catcher) and rooms built around the courtyard. This type of house could have belonged to merchants and bazaarians. There are smaller houses as well in the north-western quarter. This area is separated by a wall from the rest of *Sharistan* (Fig. 25 N). Comprised of small houses and narrow streets that reach an open space in the centre, all of the houses are planned with single rooms and attached to a courtyard from one or two sides. According to some researchers, this part of city was added after the seventeenth century to extend the city. This is doubtful because the homogeneity of houses. This type of house is not a typical Iranian house, even in the seventeenth century.⁶² There is another theory that this area belongs either to peasants or to a religious sect, which is more acceptable. However, whatever the situation, the houses of this section obviously belonged to the lower rank of society and were separated from the rest of *Sharistan*.⁶³

2.9. The Second Section of the Old City of Bam: *Qurkhaneh* (Military section)

After passing the *Sharistan* section through the bazaar we face the main gate of *Arg* or the second inner gate (Fig. 46). At both sides of this gate, there are two large towers from the east side that are attached to the main city wall and with a few rooms built for guards. When we pass the gate, to the west, there is a generous square of open space with stables for animals. In the centre of this space there is a pool of water. In the east and south of this space, covered stables were built for winter (Fig.47). In the north

⁶² NoorBakhsh Hamid. *Arg-e Bam*. Kerman: Markaz-e Kerman Shanasi, 1356/1978, p.127.

⁶³ Gaube Heinz. *Iranian Cities*. p.119.

side of the stables the complex of *Qurkhaneh* (Military section) is located (Figs. 48, 49).

The *Qurkhaneh* is a two storey building. As Sykes, who visited the *Arg* in 1895, writes regarding this section:

“... We passed through a strong gateway and a 40-foot wall, which is built of sun-dried bricks, as indeed is the whole fortress. We then found ourselves facing a second and equally high wall, some 20 yards up the hillside, and, turning sharply to the left, approached the second gateway, a square surrounded by stables being below us as we moved along. A second equally steep incline, leading up to the similar gateway brought us to the Artillery park where we saw some muzzle-loading field-guns mounted on unserviceable carriage.”⁶⁴

In the southeast of *Qurkhaneh* there is a house that was built for the commander of the military personnel (Figs. 50, 51.). From the east side of this house, a third wall begins which takes us to the third section of the city, the main inner castle, or the seat of government (*Arg*).

2.10. The Third Section of the Old City of Bam: the *Arg*.

This section is located on the highest natural elevation of a rocky hill, which is the most secure place of Bam. From this place we can see the most spectacular view of the city of Bam. Muqaddasi who visited Bam in the tenth century reports that “the city of Bam has a strong *Qal’a*.” Another geographer, Istakhri writes that Bam has a strong and defensible *hisn* (fortress).⁶⁵ Both words in Persian refer to the *Arg* or citadel section. Moreover, this section consisted of three parts: the house of the governor *chahar fasel* (four seasons), a water well, and a watch-tower (Fig. 52).

⁶⁴ Sykes P. *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*. London: Kegan Paul. 1902, p. 218.

⁶⁵ Gaube H. *Iranian Cities*. p. 126.

2.10.1. The House of the Governor (*Arg*).

The house of the governor was built with three floors. The first floor contained a few dark and small rooms (fig.53). Originally these rooms were used as storage rooms, but later on, based on some historical records from the seventeenth century, they were used as a jail for political figures and rebels against the state.⁶⁶ The second floor was used for the kitchen and servants (fig. 54). The third floor was the residential quarters of the governor, or *Chahar-Fasl* where the guests and visitors were received. Pottinger visited the governor's house in 1810 and wrote:

“...The room we entered was a very handsome square one, with a recess and bow window on each side, the floor was covered with rich Persian carpets, and around the walls Numuds, or felts, for sitting upon. It was painted a pure white with gilt mouldings, and had all together a very magnificent but not gaudy, effect.”⁶⁷

The *Chahar-Fasl* is one of the most common architectural types since the beginning of city planning began on the Iranian plateau. In Plan, it is a square with four corner rooms; these rooms are connected to each other by vaults. The centre is spanned by a dome and opened to the four sides (figs. 55, 56). The origin of this architectural type dates back to the neighbouring civilizations of ancient Iran (i.e. Babylon and Assyria). Initially, Iranians took this plan for their temples and later applied it to the house and garden. This type of building was common into the first half of the twentieth century.

Other elements of *Chahar-Fasel* prove that it was originally built as a temple. For example, the watchtower was a *Monar* or Fire Altar where the holy fire burned. The structure of the tower also shows the original function of the Fire Altar. It was built on

⁶⁶ For this matter refer to *The History of Kerman* by Vaziri, chapter 3, and Noorbakhash; *Arg-e Bam*. p.114-132.

⁶⁷ Pottinger H. *Travels in Beloochistan and Sind*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1816, p.196.

the top of a room. According to the Zoroastrian rituals, this room was used during fire ceremonies. Access to this ceremonial room was limited to one man- the Mobbed (priest) (figs. 57, 58). Stairs were added when the structure was converted to a watchtower. This is evident because the stairs covered some of the windows (Figs. 59, 60).⁶⁸

Another element which reinforces the assumption that this place was a temple is the well on the north side. All Anahita temples on the Iranian plateau had this element and it was one of the permanent aspects of the temples. Water was an essential element of Anahita temple as she was the goddess of waters. For example, in Kangawar, the Anahita temple was built on the top of a rocky hill and the water well was dug into the rock in the same manner as we find in *Arg-e-Bam*.⁶⁹ According to the Zoroastrian belief, the Goddess Anahita came out from a well on top of the Hera Mountains to protect the light of *Ahura Mazda*. In the city of Bam, there are three ancient water wells. Each of them corresponded with one of three fires sacred to *Ahura Mazda*. The well in the governor's part related to the *Mubeddan* (Priests), the second located in the *Qurkhaneh* section would have represented the *Azar Gushnasp* (military people), and the third, situated in the Friday Mosque in the *Sharistan* section, related to the *Burzen Mihr*. All three wells are located on the same north south axis.

Moreover, we are compelled to ask: how and when did the Anahita temple and the palace become one single compound and moved inside the Iranian city? Based on the archaeological evidence the seat of the king and the temple as one compound could be

⁶⁸ Noorbakhash. *Arg-Bam*. p.32-33.

⁶⁹ Bastani Parizi. *Khaton-e Haft Qaleh (The Lady of Seven Castles)*, p. 200-203

seen outside of the city walls during the Parthian periods. The cities of Nisa⁷⁰ and Jay⁷¹ serve as examples. In the South east of Nisa, there is a fortified castle outside of the walls of the city called *Mehrdad Kart* (The Castle of Mehrdad). Apparently Mehrdad was a Parthian king.⁷² The castle was his residential palace as well as a temple. In Jay, another Parthian city the walled city was divided into three parts with a castle outside. Presumably this type of castle outside of the city wall was common to the Parthians as a administrative and religious centre. As mentioned, the city of Bam which was founded during Parthian time had the same characteristics. There are remains of a castle outside of the wall called *Qaleh Dukhtar* (Median Castle), about one and a half kilometres north of Bam.

It has been conjectured that after the defeat of the Parthians in Iran by the Sassanians, the temple and the castle were moved into the city due to political motivations. This is evident in Sassanian cities; the temple and residence of the governor are integrated within the city as a centre of power and worship. This structure can be seen in other Sassanian cities such as the cities of Firozabad, and Kerman (Fig.61, 62). From the Sassanian period to the Islamic era, this section functioned as the centre of the city as a center of spirituality and power. After the beginning of the Islamic era, the temple was no longer required, and the Arg as the seat of government was used to convey the archetype of Persian cosmos on the Earth (Fig. 63).

⁷⁰ Nisa is a town near to the capital city of Ishaq abad in the Republic of Turkmenistan.

⁷¹ Jay is a Parthian city near to the city of Isfahan.

⁷² Noorbakhash. *Arg e Bam*. Capter three, p.127-130.

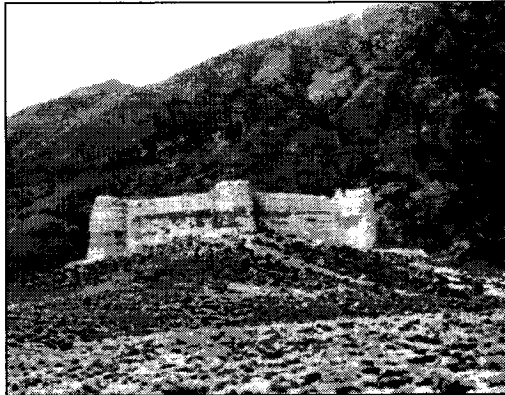


Fig. 18 A fortified castle on the mountain near the city of Kerman, 17th century, (photograph by the author)

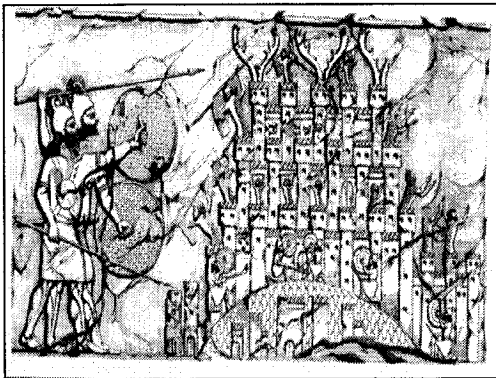


Fig. 19. A Median castle relief, 5th - 6th century B.C.



Fig. 20. Median tower relief, 5th - 6th century B.C.

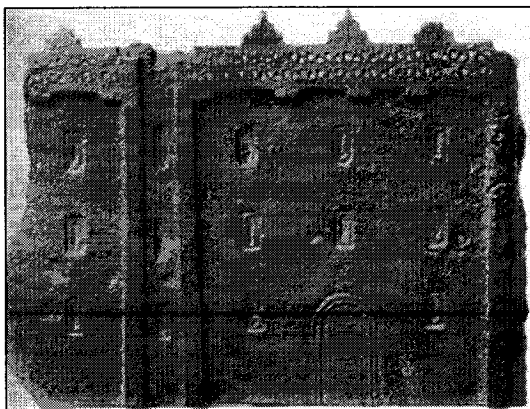


Fig. 21. City wall, relief, 3rd - 4th century B.C.

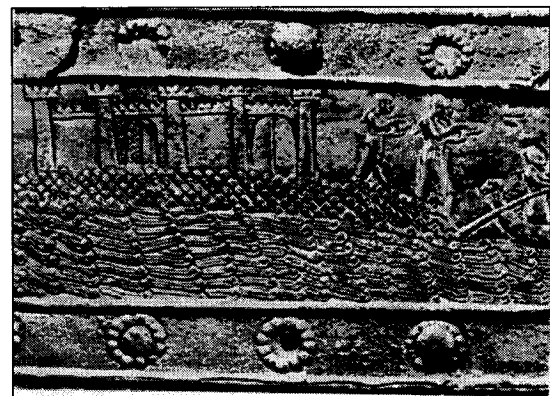


Fig. 22. The Wall of the city of Tyre, relief, 6th century B.C.



Fig.23. Story of Haftvad, miniature from Shah Tahmasb's *Shahnameh*, 17th century.

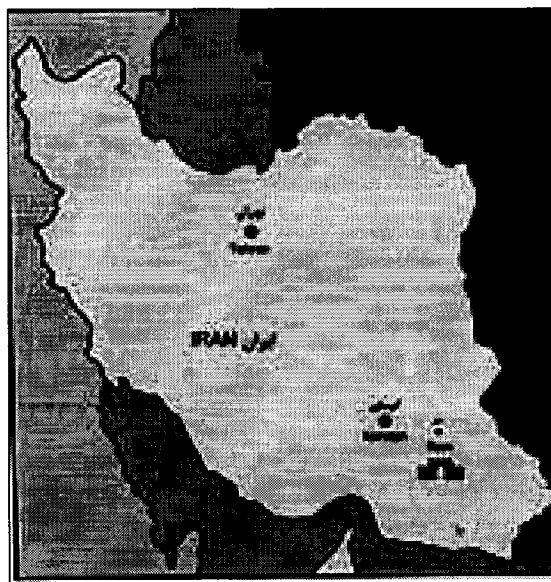


Fig. 24. Map of Iran showing the location of the city of Bam as the castle icon to the southeast.

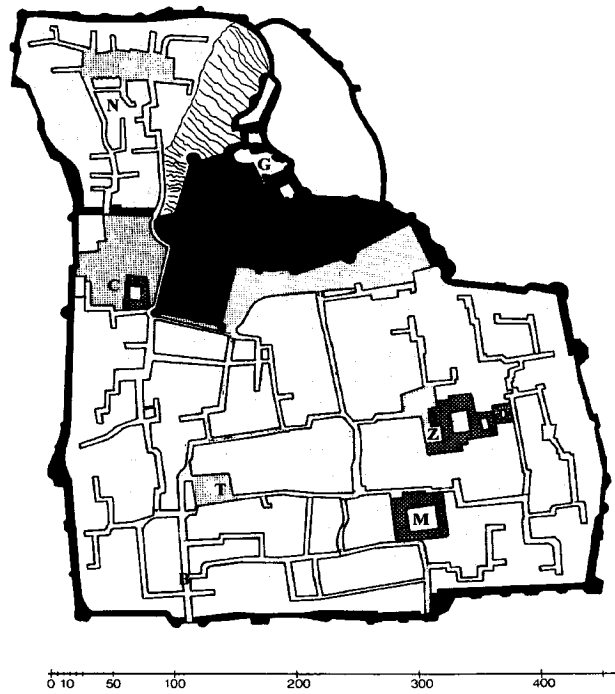


Fig.25. plan of the city of Bam.

Three Parts:

1. Red is residential aera(sharistan). B. Bazaar, M. Friday mosque., T. Tekeh, Z. Zur-Khaneh, C. Caravansary, N. Northwestern quarter.
2. Green is military section. S stables. Q. Artillary(Qurkhaneh)
3. Yellow. House of Governor (Arg)



Fig.26. Aerial view of Arg-e Bam

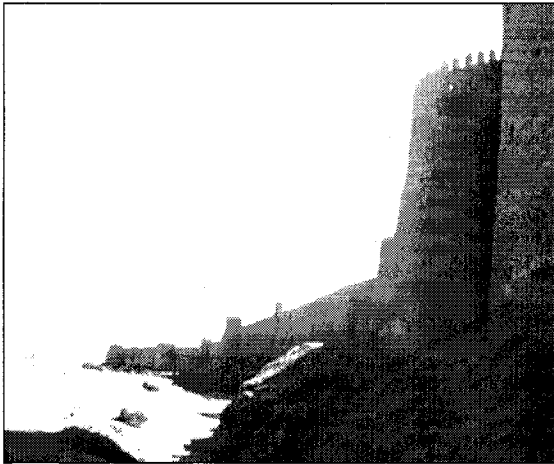


Fig. 27. The Southern wall. (Photograph by the author)

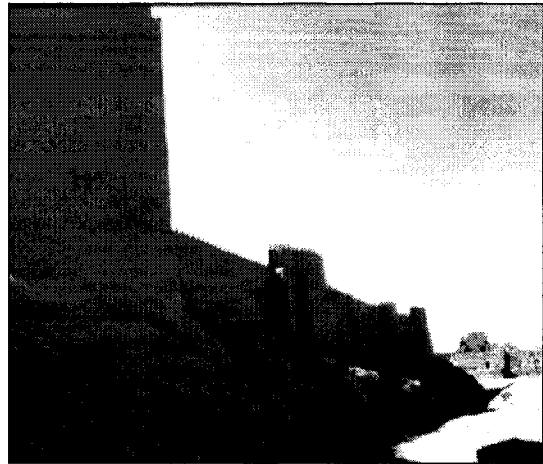


Fig. 28. The Eastern wall. (Photograph by the author)

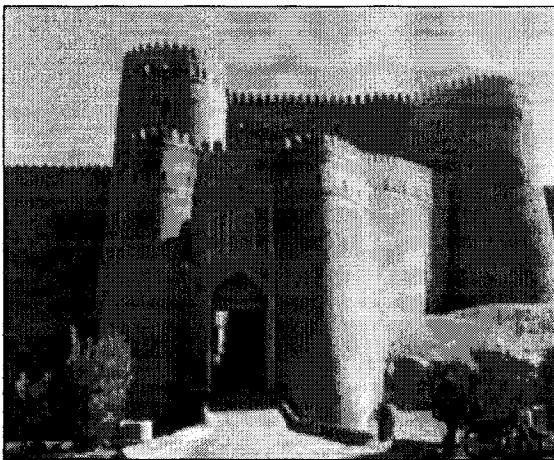


Fig. 29. Main Gateway (Photograph by the author)

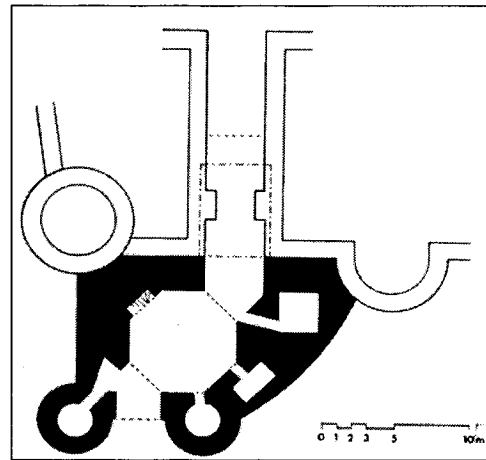


Fig. 30. plan of the Gate (after Hutt Antony)

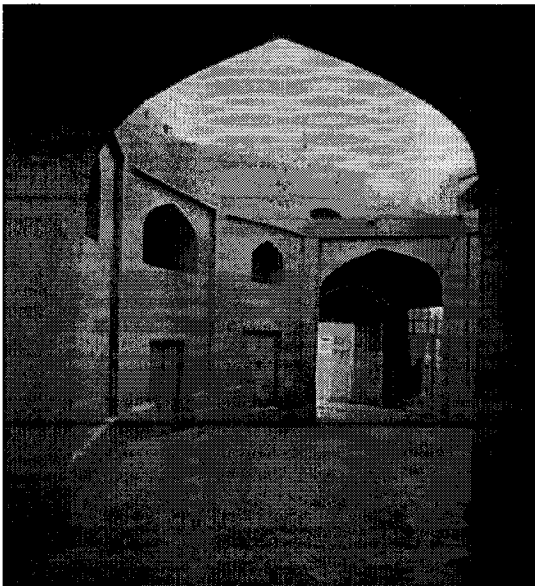


Fig. 31. Interior of main Gateway
(Photograph by the author)

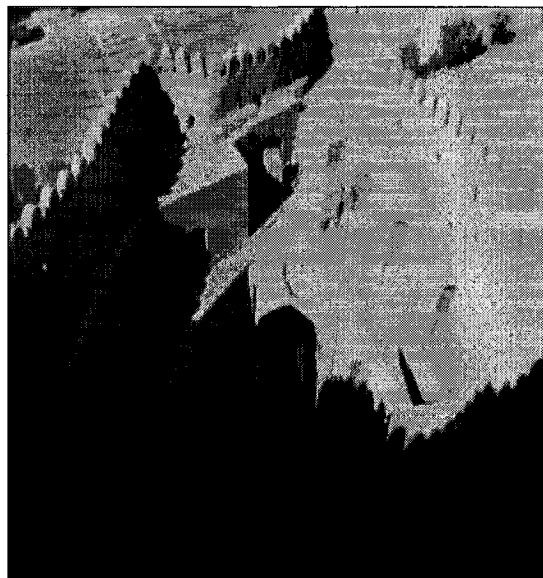


Fig. 32 The Octagonal space of the gate from the roof.. (Photograph by the author)

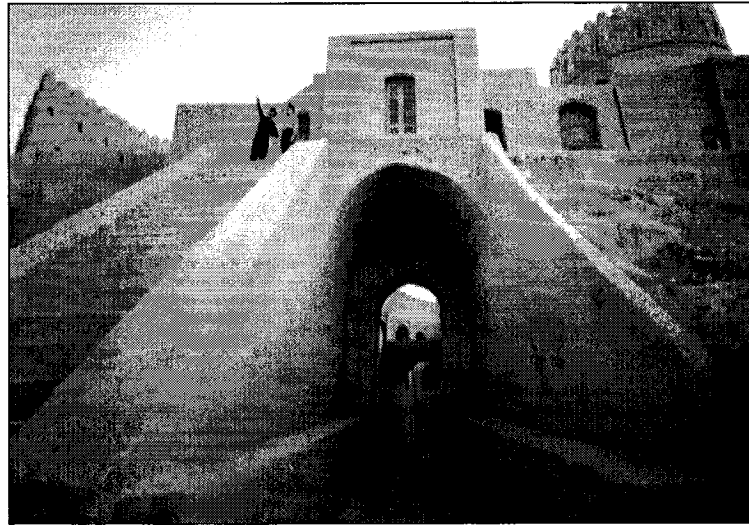


Fig. 33. The Main Gate from the inside. (photograph by Behzadi)

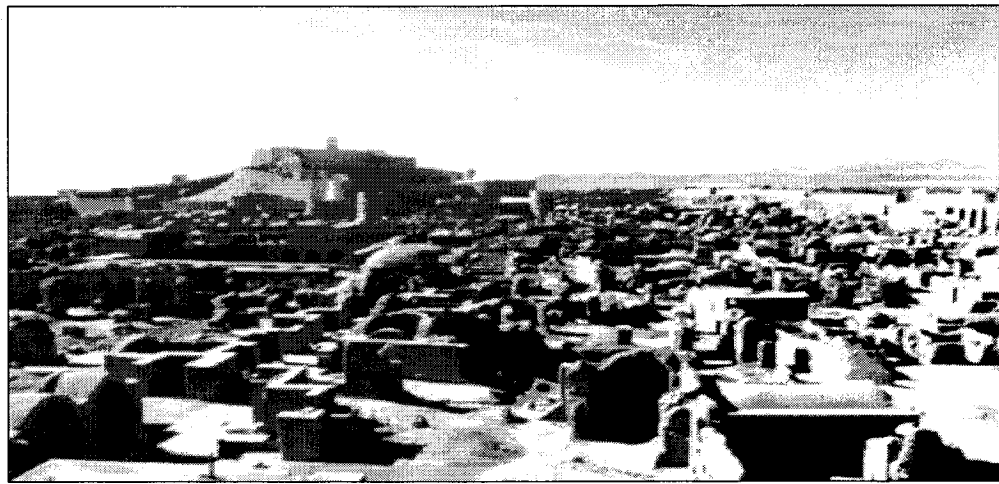


Fig.34. A view of the city from the roof of the Main Gate. (photograph by the author)



Fig. 35. A view of the Bazaar (marketplace).
(photograph by the author)



Fig.36. *Chahar Suq* of the Bazaar.
(photograph by the author)

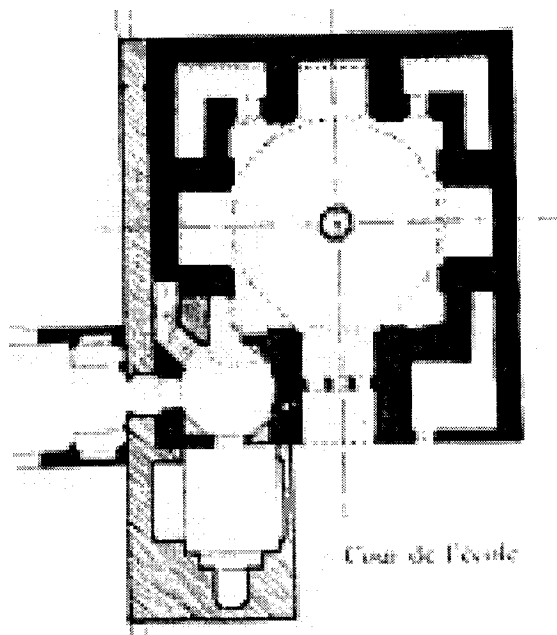


Fig. 37. Zoroastrian fire temple in Sharif-abad, Yazd. (After Khansari)

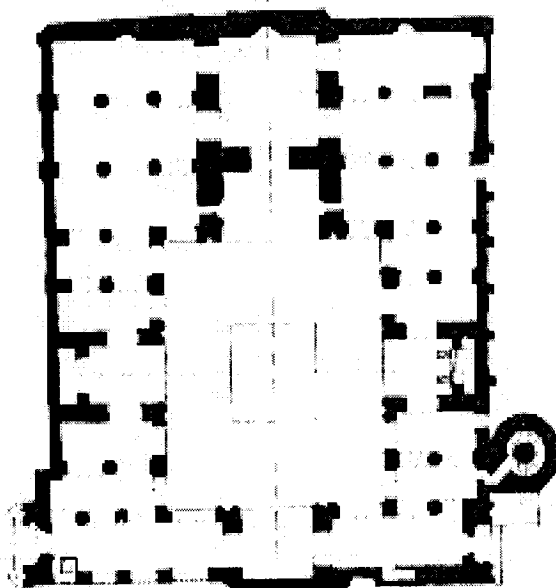


Fig.38. Mosque in Zaware.
(rebuilt on a Zoroastrian temple) (after Khansari)

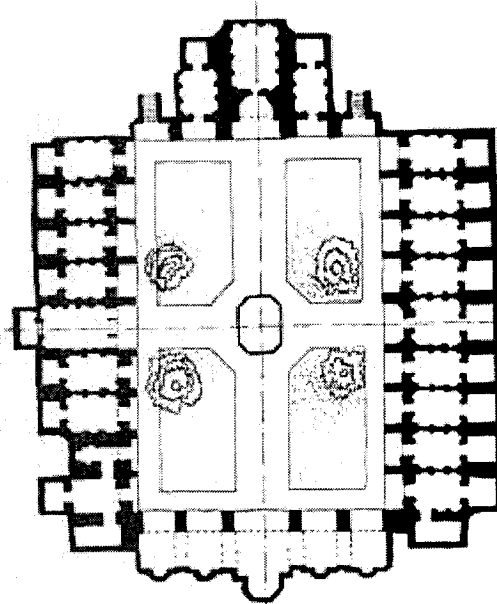


Fig. 39. Mussala (The Chartak) in Yazd.
(rebuilt on a Zoroastrian temple)
(After Khansari)

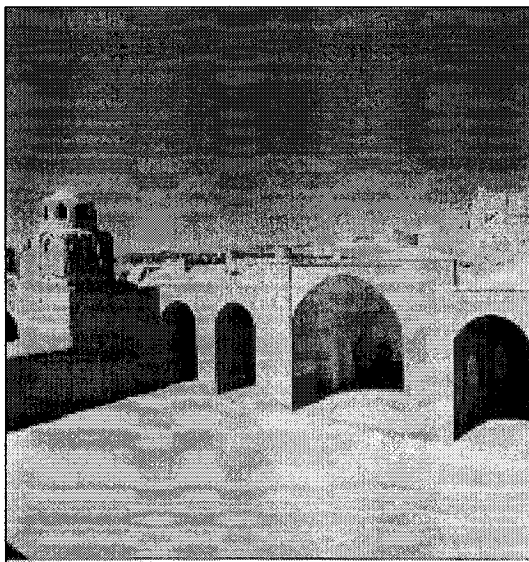


Fig.40. *iwan*(courtyard) of the Friday Mosque.
(photograph by the author)



Fig.41. Interior of the Mosque toward the mihrab
(photograph by the author)



Fig. 42. Elevation of the *iwan* and minaret (adapted from *Noorbakhash*)

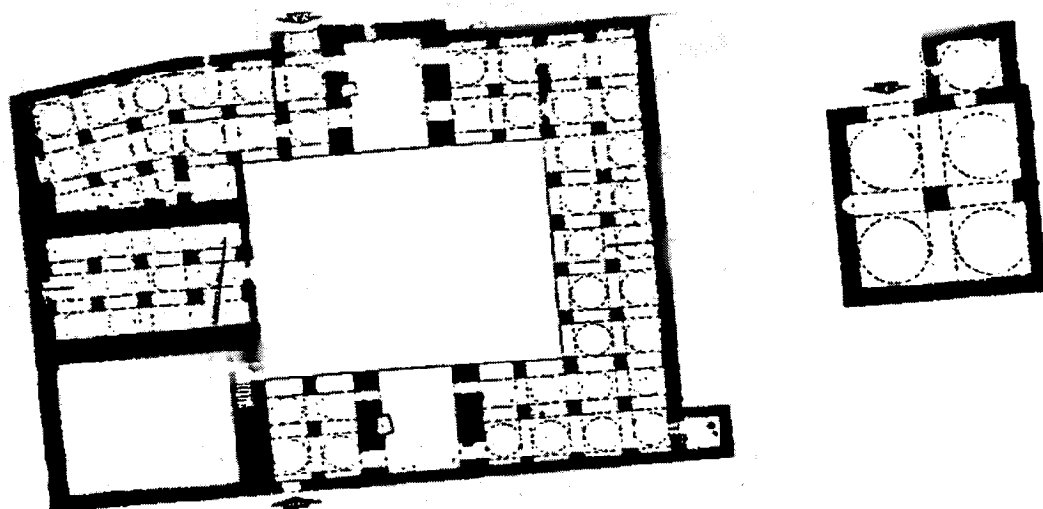


Fig. 43. plan , Friday Mosque of the city of Bam (adapted from *Noorbakhash*)

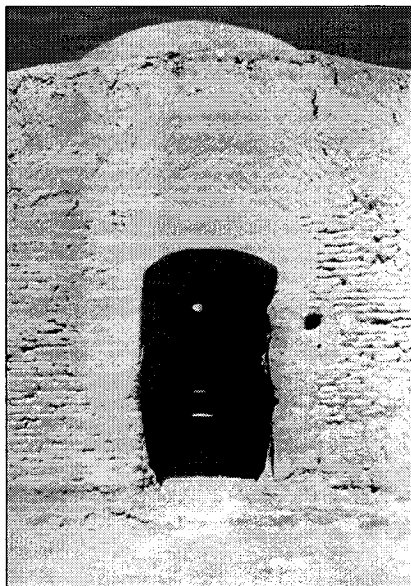


Fig.44 South view of Zur-khaneh
(Photograph by the author)

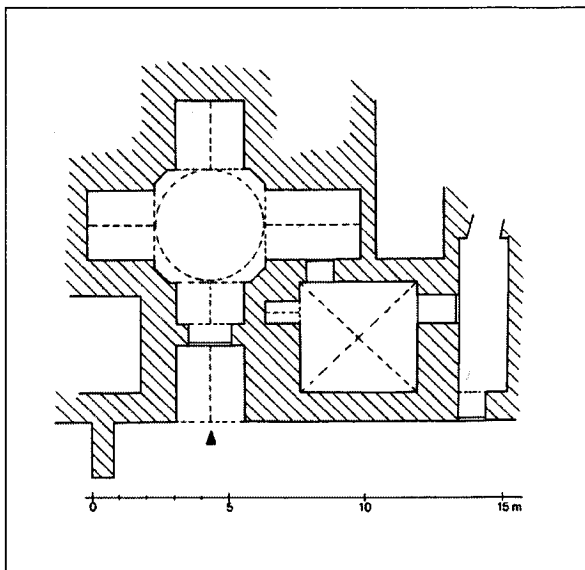


Fig. 45. Plan, Zur-khaneh (After Heinz)

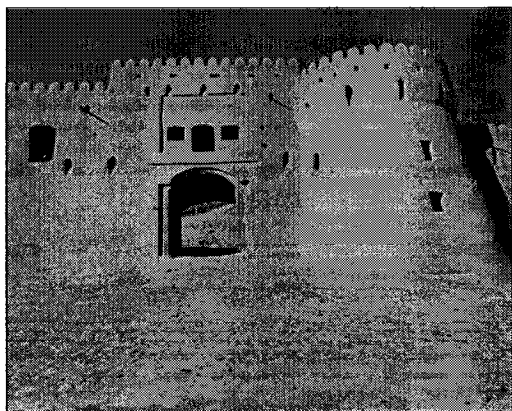


Fig.46. The second Inner gate.
(photograph by the author)

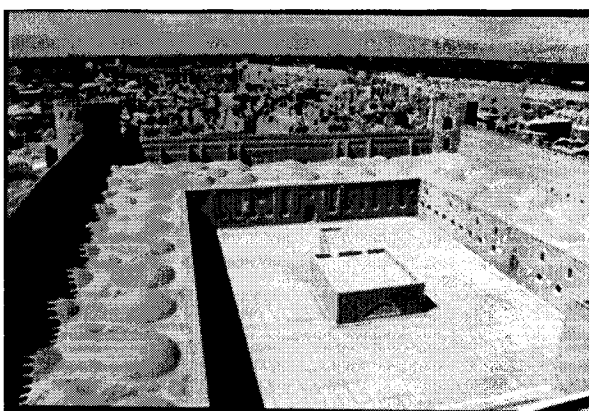


Fig.47. The stables section.
(photograph by the author)

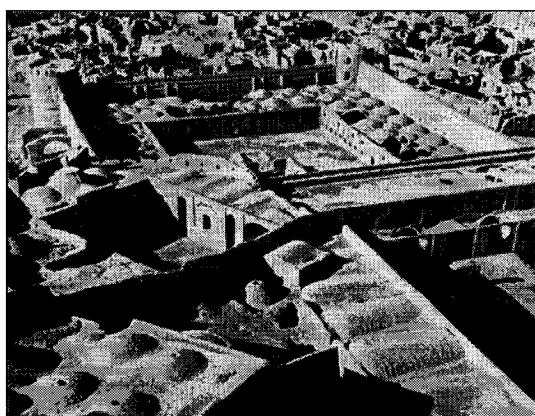


Fig.48. the Qur khaneh (military part).
(photograph after Hutt)



Fig. 49. Artillery section of *Qur khaneh*
(photograph by the author)

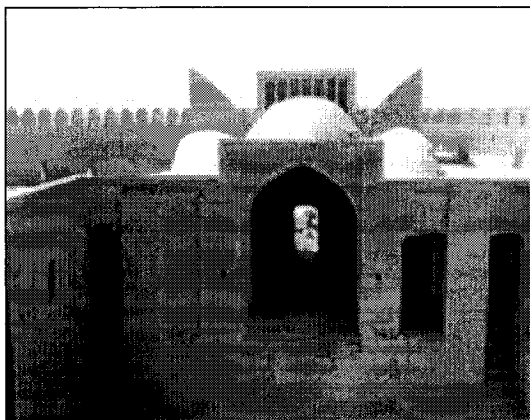


Fig.50. The House of military head of the Qur Khaneh. (photograph by the author)

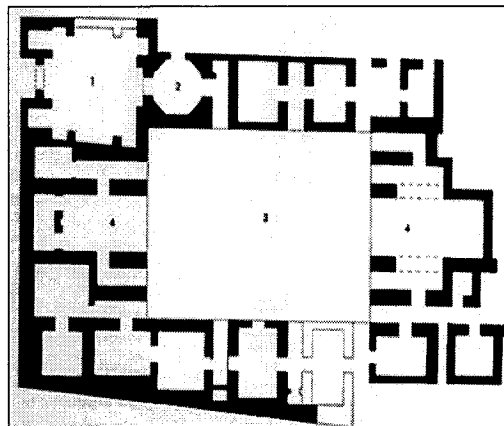


Fig.51. Plan of the House (after Hutt).

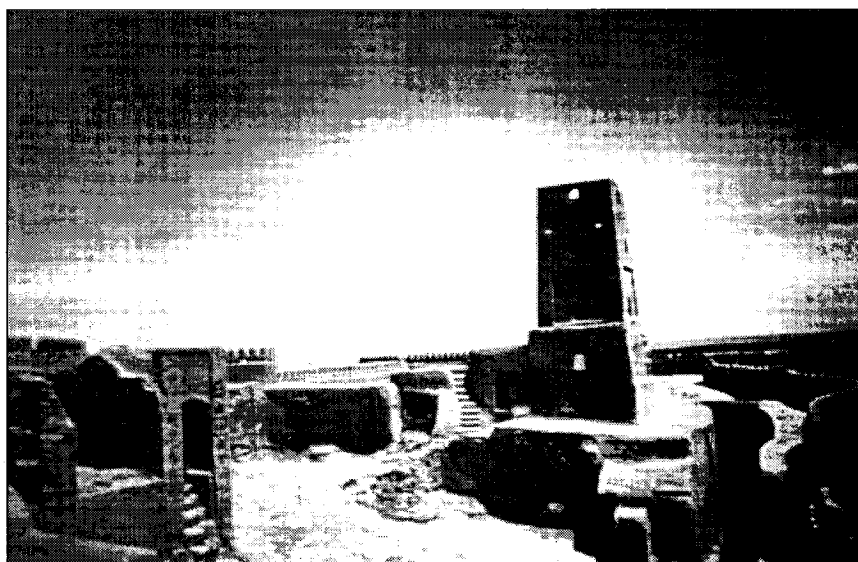


Fig.52. The house of Governor and watchtower. (photograph after Gaube Heinz)



Fig. 53. The residential house of the governor (Chahar-Fasal), third floor. (photograph by the author)

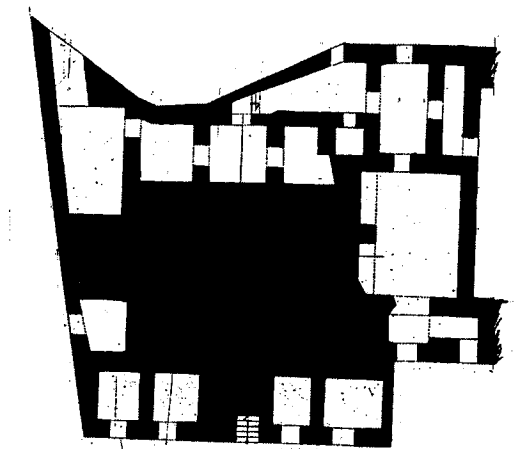


Fig. 54. Plan of the House of the Governor, first floor.

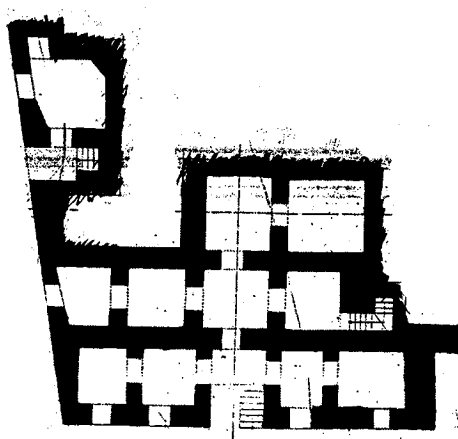


Fig.55. Plan of the second floor. (after Noor bakhsh)

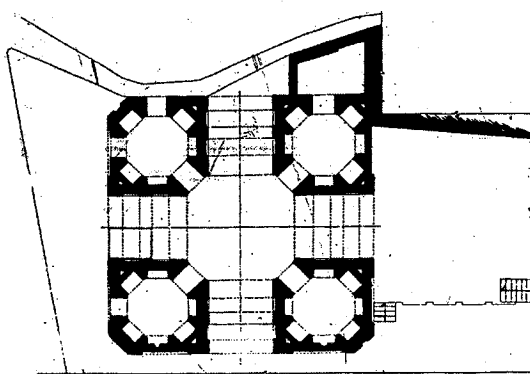


Fig. 56. Plan of the third floor (after Noor bakhsh)

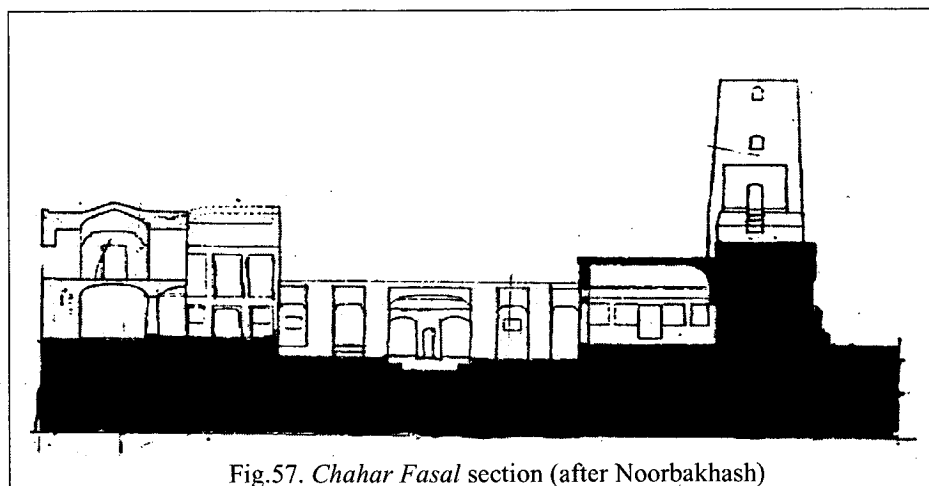


Fig.57. *Chahar Fasal* section (after Noorbakhash)

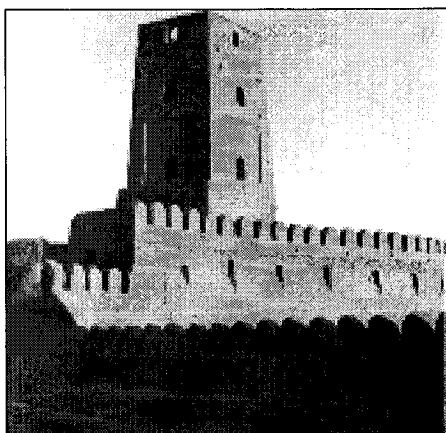


Fig.58. The Watch tower from south side. (photograph by the author)

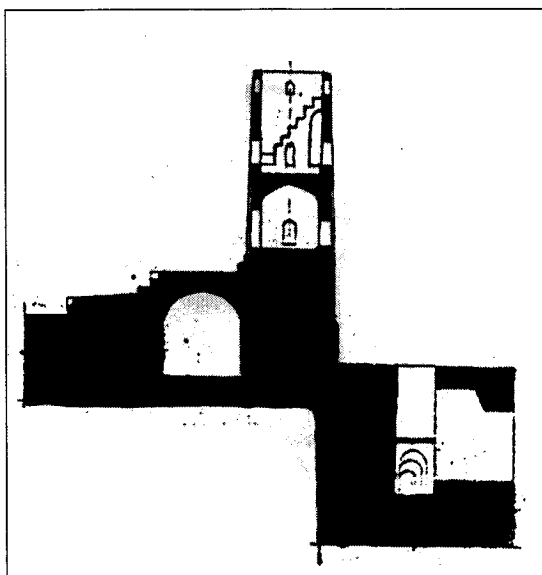


Fig.59. A Cross section of the Watch tower.
(after Noorbakhash)



Fig. 60. The tower from inside.
(photograph by the author)



Fig. 61. Aerial Map of Kerman City.

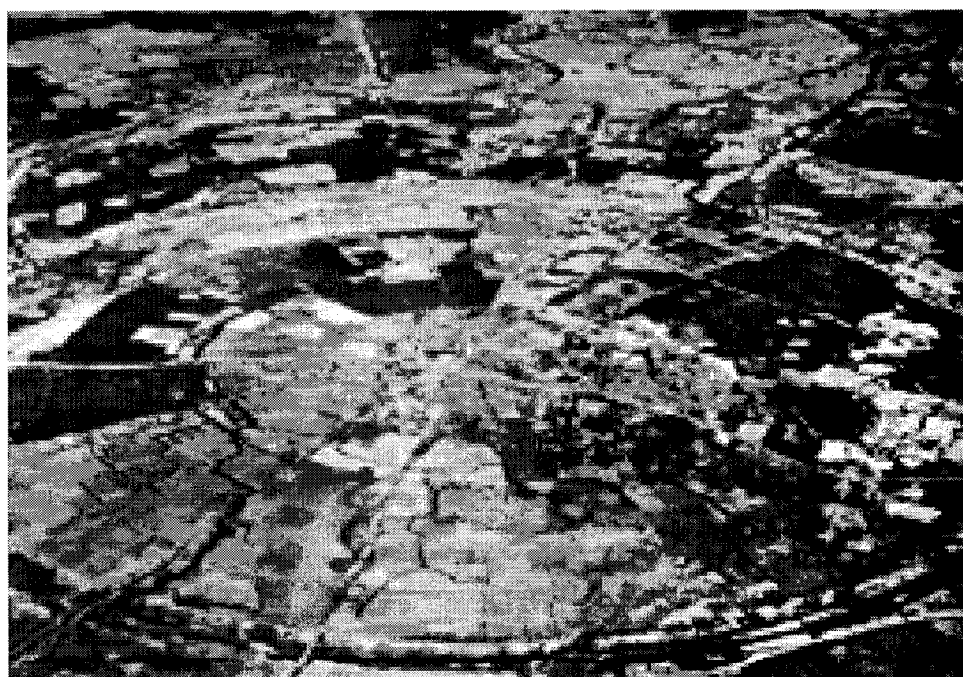


Fig. 62. Aerial Map of Firozabad City.

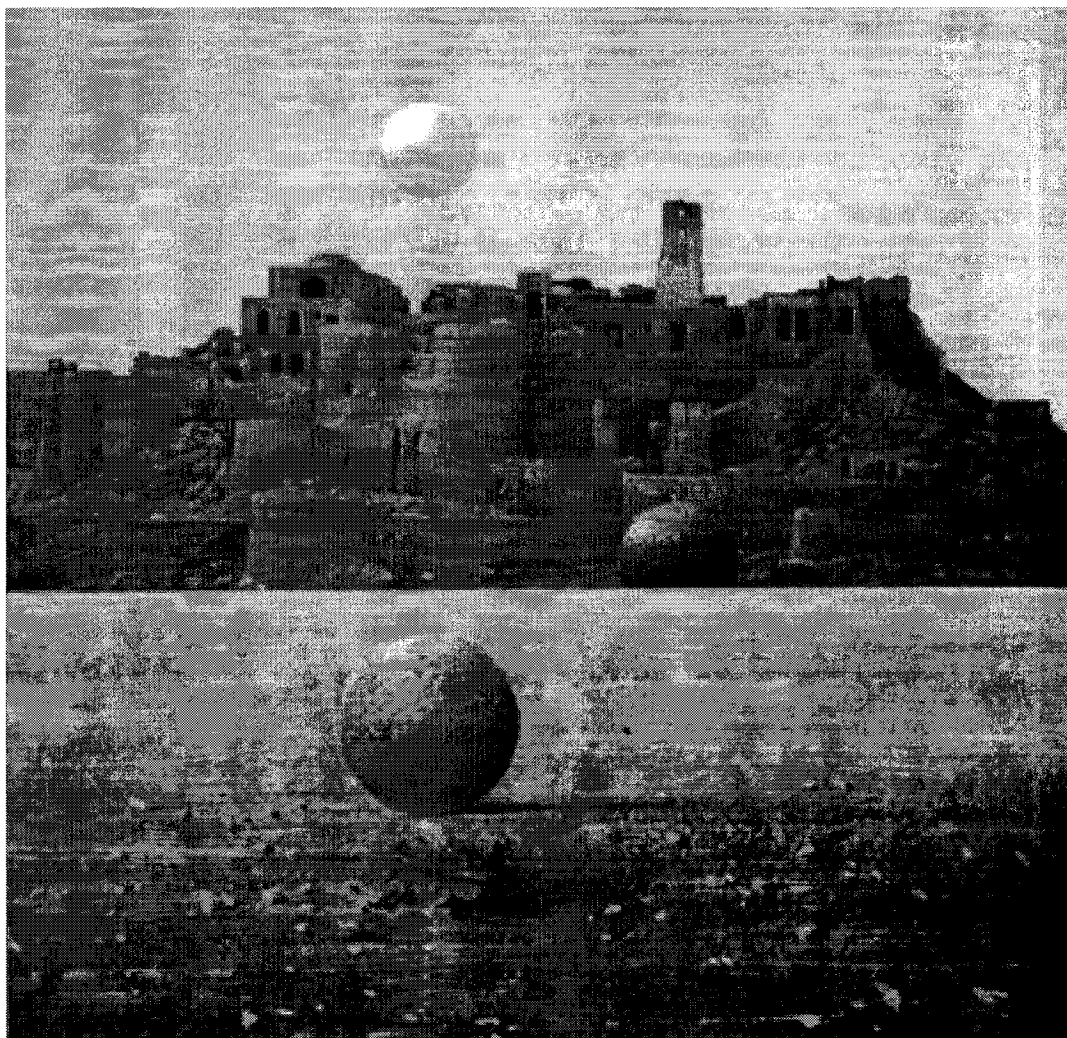


Fig.63. *Arg-e Bam*. Painting by Makroulakis.

Chapter Three

3.1. Introduction.

This chapter is going to explore different meanings of castle (*Arg*) in Persian literature. Generally, one can argue that architecture and poetry are two achievements of the same gesture of the human spirit, both of which deal with actual spatial extension of imagination, one through the conceptual world of thought, and the other through the physically constructed world. Both aspire to embody and manifest meaning in the physical world; and both try to express their existence through structure. Thus, the study of the tangible world via the intangible world is a key to begin to understand the inspiration for architecture; specifically for this study, are the roots of the concept of castle (*Arg*) in Persian architecture. From this point of view, physical architecture and literary architecture can reveal a spatial experience, above and beyond the mere physical existence. In order to examine this premise, the work of two poets will be considered; the first is the epic work of Ferdowsi: *Shahnameh* (the book of Kings), which covers Persian history from the beginning until the conquest of Persia by the Muslim army. The second is the *Haft Paykar* of Nizami, which is a synthesis of both of the traditions of the pre-Islamic and Islamic eras in Persian Culture. The approach of each poet is related to their belief system, Ferdowsi covers the Zoroastrian faith, and Nizami reflects the Spiritual dimension of the Islamic tradition (Sufism). Thus, the meaning of castle in each work is different but both poets share many similar cultural references in regard to the concept of castle.

Shahnameh as a heroic epical work and *Haft Paykar* as a romance epical story can be used as the main sources to explore the various meanings of castle in Persian literature in the 10th and 12th century. After the 12th century and until the 20th Century the image of castle followed both Ferdowsi and Nizami's ideas⁷³. The studies of these epics give us the opportunity to find the roots and different meanings of the castle in Iranian cities.

According to Anthony C. Antoniade, "Epic space" is the space developed through the collective psyche of people, long before each epic was written down. Each epic represents a crystallized statement of the culture and civilization that generated it, either via the lens of the poet or through the "editing" process of tradition.⁷⁴ Epics, as the "continuation of earlier mythological narratives⁷⁵", were the means through which the various cultures attempted to provide logical explanations for their myths, while in the process recording their history and the opinions that prevailed as part of the critical evaluation of the past, either via the collective mechanisms of unknown poets, or through identifiable historical personalities. Myth has repeatedly been proposed as the basic source for any people's primordial and cultural traits and as a source of creativity. Epics and myths are not mutually exclusive as a source of inspiration and search for the archetype; but epics, having developed out of myth, are more "inclusive." They contain many layers of interpretive and expressive material, some tangible, and some intangible, and are therefore more appropriate as source.⁷⁶ Epics contain the meanings of things assigned by people, including architectural space. And if our fundamental assumption of

⁷³ For example, Jami 16th century poet applied representation of the castle in his romance story (*Yusaf o Zolikhha*) almost the same as Nizami with emphasise on Islamic morality.

⁷⁴ Anthony C. Antoniade *The Epic Space toward the Roots of Western Architecture*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1992, xi.

⁷⁵ Eliad Mircea. *Myth and reality*. New York: Harper & Row, 1975, p. 190.

the epic as distillation of a culture is correct, then the epic space can tell us a great deal about the architectural roots of the of a people.⁷⁷

3.2. *Shahnameh* of Ferdowsi; Background.

Ferdowsi lived in the Khorasan region during the Samanid period (874 - 999). It was the time of the rebirth of ancient Persian culture during which the Persian people became more independent of the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad⁷⁸. The language of the court and the court's poetry became Persian instead of Arabic. Samanid rulers prided themselves in their Persian identity and encouraged local and national antiquarianism that emphasized the legend and uniqueness of pre-Islamic Persian culture.⁷⁹ In this cultural milieu Ferdowsi set out to compose a Persian epic.⁸⁰ He completed *Shahnameh* in the second half of 10th century. Its traditional sixty thousand couplets outline exploits of Persian heroes, legendary as well as historical, before the Islamic conquest.

Shahnameh is a history of Iranian culture that begins with Gayomarth, the first mythical king reigning over earthly paradise and goes through a chronological series of mythic kings. It goes on to relate the adventures of great heroes like Sam, Zal, Rostam, Syavoosh, Isfandiyar, and moves through history to Darius, the last of Achaemenids, and Alexander the Great. Finally, it addresses the Sassanians in the *Sahanameh*. The *Arg* is a sign and symbol; it appeared whenever Ferdowsi dealt with the origin of Persian space

⁷⁷ Anthony C. Antoniade *The Epic Space toward the Roots of Western Architecture*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1992, xiv.

⁷⁸ After the conquest of Persia by Muslim, Iran became part of Islamic world (Dar-al islam). First ruled by Umayyads (661-750) from Damascus than Umayyads collapsed by Abbasids with the help of Persians. During the Abbasid period some local independence Persian governments came to power and subsequently the Persian language and generally Persian culture took attentions of kings and princesses.

⁷⁹ Davis Dick. *Epic and Sedition, the case of Ferdowsi's Shanameh*. Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1992, p. xx.

⁸⁰ For the life and time of Ferdowsi see Shabazi A. Shapur. *Ferdowsi: A critical Biography*. Harvard University: Mazda Publishers, 1991.

and identity. It was also a symbol when he dealt with the Persian faith and represents virtue, prosperity, and stability.

The book concludes with the disappearance of the Sassanians after a bloody confrontation in Khorasan with the Muslim army.⁸¹ The words of Ferdowsi explain the end of the epic sweep:

“...the era of Omar (the second Muslim caliph) had arrived; it brought a new religion and replaced the throne with the pulpit.”⁸²

In the heroic time of *Shahnameh* there are were different approaches toward the meaning of castle. These three approaches can be categorized into three levels. The first level by heroes like Rostam and Sohrab, the second level by Kings and princes like Kaykhosrow and Isfandiyar and the third level by Princess-heroes like Syavoosh.

Throughout *Shahnameh*’ the castle is associated with the struggle between good and evil, where the good must eventually gain the upper hand. Many castles in different periods of time were described in the poem. We can bring forward unique typological examples and unique attitudes toward space, about the role of castle and overall attitudes toward Persian architecture. If we follow the line of *Shahnameh*, it becomes more evident that the castle as a central space is a fundamental concept in Persian identity.

⁸¹ According to some Persian scholars *Shahnameh* divided into three and two stages . As Bertls did it in the three stages as mentioned above. Dick Davis treated into two sections mythological and legenday in his work *Epic and Sediton*,. Some Persian scholars like Mehrdad Bahar saw *Shahnameh* as a whole epic.

⁸² *The Shahnameh of Firdusi*. Trans. Arthur George Warner and Edmond Warner. London, 1924. Vol..X, p. 313.

3.3. a. The Representation of the Castle in Epical Stories of Heroes Rostam and Sohrab.

Here, from the heroes' category we are going to examine two White Castles, one by Rostam and the other by Sohrab.⁸³ Each hero has a different approach toward *Arg*, and the position of each castle is different within its cultural context.

The Castle of White (Daz-e Sapid) in Rostam's epic appears as a sign of inhabitation and possession by demons in the land of Sistan.⁸⁴ The white castle was constructed by demons to project the sense that it represented the light of *Ahura Mazda*. The poet describes the castle as "white and lofty, its towers invade the clouds and nobody could open its gates."⁸⁵ Ferdowsi portrays the White Castle as a trap, impenetrable, a defensive castle with all the external signs of beauty and attractiveness. It is a space for all of the demons in Sistan. Therefore, its destruction has to be by the hands of great heroes. Many attempted before Rostam, but all of them failed. The first attempt at destruction took place by Sam, the grandfather of Rostam. Rostam finally proposed a plan to the King with the counsel of Zal, his father. The plan to destroy the White Castle involved deception: Rostam had to go to the castle as a salt salesman.⁸⁶ Young Rostam was still unknown to the people of the castle. He went at night with a few warriors in a caravan trading salt. With this trick, Rostam convinced the people of the castle to open the gate. When they entered, they attacked the main castle (*Arg*) and killed the governor

⁸³ See Appendix, 1.

⁸⁴ According to *Shahnameh* the Persian Empire was divided into a few independent territories, each of them had its own king, and all of them were controlled by the great king who was called King of Kings, so Sistan was one of those territories and Neriman's family governed Sistan territory, and Rostam was grandson of Nireman.

⁸⁵ See Appendix, 1.

⁸⁶ The sacredness of salt was a secret. Zal could get this secret from Simorgh the mythical bird who helps Zal and his family during the crucial times. In this case, in order for Rostam to prove himself as the greatest hero of Iran, he had to be victorious.

and finally destroyed the castle. This plan could not have been conceived without the help of Zal. He was in touch with the *Simorgh* (mythical bird) who knows the weaknesses of the enemy. In this case, it was the salt trading, as salt is sacred to the people of white castle.

The white castle can be interpreted as a lesson in the deception of appearance; whatever shines is not necessarily diamond. What looks strong and sturdy is not necessarily durable because demons are able to steal the expertise and knowledge.

According to *Shahnameh*, demons have the ability to play with a sacred object to deceive people; however, only heroes are capable of recognizing their trick and put an end to it. This was evident in the architecture of Sistan. Here, the castle is a sign of identity and trust for the people of *Iranvich*.

Another white castle appears later in *Shahnameh* when Sohrab, the son of Rostam, stormed to the Iranian border to find his father Rostam.⁸⁷ The white castle on the Iranian border blocked Sohrab. This castle is the castle of the good in the land of the righteous. If we look at the structure of this story, we will see its differences from the previous white castle which was destroyed by Rostam. Sohrab, with the cooperation of Gordafaried, was able to get into the castle. Gordafaried is an Iranian female warrior. After a short confrontation with Sohrab; she ended up falling in love with Sohrab and opened the gate of the castle to him. Here, we see that the central core of architectural space is the castle again; it is white with the high and sturdy walls and towers, which represents the virtue and the light of *Ahura Mazda* on one hand, and on the other, it represents the power and stability of the state. This differs from the castle captured by Rostam which was a place of deception by demons. Sohrab did not destroy the castle as

⁸⁷ See appendix, 2.

Rostam destroyed *Daz-e Sapied*, *Sohrab* belonged to the righteous world; he ended up defending the land of Ahura rather than destroying it. In addition to this, the role of Gordafarid was essential. Here I believe she represented the image of Anahita who is the defender of *Ahura Mazda* 's light in the land of *Iranvich*. In both cases, the colour of the castles was white. According to the Mazdaian cosmology, the colour of white symbolises the pole star and represents the light of Ahura. Both Rostam and Sohrab are trying to prove themselves and both must challenge the physical world of architecture in order to do so. Rostam destroyed the castle by consul of Zal and Sohrab passed the gate with the magic of Gordafarid's love. In both cases architecture is a metaphor; a vessel of meaning and transformation.

3.3 b. The Representation of Castle in Epical Stories of Princes Kaykhosrow and Isfandiyar.

This category refers to Kings and Princes in the heroic time. Here we are going to examine two stories, one about Kaykhosrow and the other about Isfandiyar. The significance of these two princes is their different attitudes toward the castle. According to *Shahnameh*, the Persian kings and princes had a responsibility to build a castle and protect the light of *Ahura Mazda* on Earth. Other kings and princes, like Isfandiyar, who is from Turan and adopts a different faith is indifferent to the castle. As Kaykhosrow arrived at the courts of the Kay Kavoos Shah (Kaykhosrow's grandfather) to become the heir of the throne, a dispute emerged among the court as to

who was entitled to the throne, Kaykhosrow or Fariborz (Kaykhosrow 's uncle).⁸⁸

Kaykavoos, in resolving this problem, for they are both dear to him, said:

"I will bethink me of a means to quiet this dissension. Let Kaykhosrow and Fariborz go forth unto Bahman Daz, the fortress that is upon my borders which no man hath conquered, for it is an abode of Demons. And let them take with them an army, and I will bestow my crown and my treasures upon him at whose hands the castle shall be subdued."⁸⁹

Fariborz and Kaykhosrow set forth. Kaykhosrow allowed his elder uncle to take the lead. In vain did Fariborz strive against the Demons that were hidden behind the walls of Bahaman Diz (castle of Bahman) and after seven days of battle he was defeated. Kaykhosrow then set forth, he wrote a letter in the name of *Ahura Mazda*, scented with amber-perfumed. He affixed the letter to the point of his lance, and when he had set fire to it and flung it beyond the castle walls (Fig. 64). A great noise spread through the air like thunder and the world darkened. When the light returned to the sky, the gate of the castle had vanished and Kaykhosrow entered to the city.

Ferdowsi explains how the castle is grand; it is like a city with beautiful gardens, which are reminiscences of paradise found in Persian gardens, with colourful houses and streets. Finally, Kaykhosrow won the throne from Kaykavoos. He then built an *Atash kadeh* (Fire Temple) and lit the fire of *Azar Goshasb* in the city.⁹⁰ From then on, the people lived in peace and security.

⁸⁸ See the Appendix, 3.

⁸⁹ Warner, p. 404.

⁹⁰ *Azar Gushasb* is one of the three sacred fires in ancient Persia which is attributed to the Royal family.

In this epic story, capturing the castle is a condition for the prince to prove his right to become the king. Here, Kaykhosrow with divine help could pass through the gate and was given the Royal Fortune (*farr*).⁹¹ In this epic, the attitude of Kaykhosrow is different than other heroes towards the castle. Instead of destroying the castle, he transformed the castle into a fire temple. According to early Persian mythology, the kings, by order of *Ahura Mazda*, are responsible for building the city for people and governing according to divine order. An example here would be King-hero Jamshid, who built cities and sacred places for the people of *Iranvich*.⁹²

In contrast to Kaykhosrow's attitude, we have Isfandiyar who captured Rueen Diz castle (Fig. 65).⁹³ Rueen Diz was a place where Arjasp⁹⁴ took refuge, bringing with him two of Isfandiyar's sisters. To rescue them, Isfandiyar embarked upon a dangerous campaign and met and overcame seven great obstacles in "seven labours" similar to those of Rostam on his way to Mazandaran.⁹⁵

When he reached the castle, he hid his troops nearby. Then after he learned about its defence, he devised a plan similar to that known in the west as the Trick of Ulysses. Isfandiyar transported 80 pairs of the warriors into the castle by hiding them in chests borne by beasts of burden and led by himself in the dress of a rich merchant loaded with gifts for Arjasp. Upon a pre-arranged moment he started attacking the defenders while

⁹¹ For more information about this concept (*farr*) refer to Davidson Olga M. "The Poetic Heritage of Farr in the Shahnam," *Acta Iranica* 10, 1994, p.21-40.

⁹² Jamshid is the most Iranian Hero-king in the *Shahnameh* who ruled for seven hundred years and achieved numerous tasks such as, building city, palaces, discovering iron and taught a few useful of crafts, the established of social classes, and founded the No Ruz, the first day of the first month of Iranian New year.

⁹³ Isfandiyar is son of Afrasyab King of Turan.

⁹⁴ Arjasp is a King in the land of Turan.

⁹⁵ Rostam went to Mazandarn for librating KayKavoos where he was imprisoned by his father in-law.

his brother, Pashton, posing as Isfandiyar, led the Turanian army against the castle from outside. Finally, the castle was captured and Arjasp was killed and Isfandiyar released his sisters.

In this legend, there are common themes that characterize the attitude of Isfandiyar and Rostam in their attempts to capture the castle. For example, both sought advice from a wise source. Both use trickery to get inside the castle. There are also some differences. Isfandiyar, like Kaykhusrow, was promised by his father (Afrasyab) that if he captured the Ruen Daz, he would be awarded the crown. As we have seen, in the case of Kaykhusrow, when he captured the Bahaman Diz he did not destroy the castle, rather he erected a fire temple. Isfandiyar completely destroyed the Ruen Diz. From Ferdowsi's point of view, Isfandiyar belongs to the world of demons. Only demons and Iranian enemies can destroy the castle, even if the conqueror is a prince or king.

3.3 c. The Representation of the Castle in the Epical Story of Prince-Hero:

Syavoosh.

The third category in *Shahnameh* emerges in the epic of Syavoosh.⁹⁶ Syavoosh, who was a gallant warrior and possessed the noblest character, was KayKavos's son. His step-mother, Sudabeh, fell in love with him. Having failed to seduce Syavoosh, Sudabeh accused him of having abused her. Syavoosh accepted the divine law to walk through the fire. He passed through it unharmed and proved his innocence. Syavoosh was then sent to the front lines of war in a military campaign against Turan. Afrasyab defeated Syavoosh and forced him to make an accord to recognize the Oxus River as the boundary between the two empires. His father, KayKavos, did not approve the

⁹⁶ See the Appendix, 4.

agreement and forced him to continue the war. Syavoosh, in order to break his treaty with the Turanian, left Iran and took refuge with Afrasyab. Afrasyab welcomed him, and after a series of examinations in the court of Afrasyab, Afrasyab trusted him and gave him a land to establish his life in the country of Turan close to the Iranian border. When Syavoosh was sure that this site was safe and at same time a blissful environment, he built an *Arg*. It was a time for dwelling after all the suffering in the past. As Ferdowsi describes:

“...They found one day a cultivated tract / It was a goodly and well favoured site,
On one side mountains, on another sea. / Upon a third side was a hunting-ground,
Secluded, full of trees and rivulets - / A place to make the old heart young again.
Then to Piran⁹⁷ spake Syavoosh and said: - / "See what a noble site these fields afford
Here will I fashion me a goodly seat / To be my heart's delight, a spacious city
Containing palace, hall, and pleasure-grounds / I will exalt the buildings to the moon,
And make them worthy of the crown and throne..."⁹⁸.

It came about after many years that Gersiwaz⁹⁹ was jealous of the love which Afrasyab his brother felt for Syavoosh, and he pondered in his heart how he might destroy him. He came before Afrasyab, and asked the King if he would offer him to go forth and visit the city that Syavoosh had built. Afrasyab granted his request, and Gersiwaz went to the city of Gang Diz (castle of Gang). Syavoosh received him kindly, and he feasted him many days within his Palace. He showed him all that was done in the city of Gang Diz. When Gersiwaz returned to Afrasyab, the King questioned him about Syavoosh, Gersiwaz said to his brother:

⁹⁷ Piran is a Turanian noble and counsellor of Afrasyab.

⁹⁸ Warner, Vol. III, p. 278-79

⁹⁹ Gersiwaz is brother of Afrasyab

"Syavoosh, O king / Hath wholly changed, the envoys of Kavoos
Come often secretly, he correspondent / With Rum and Chin, and drinketh to his father.
Moreover he hath gathered many troops,/ And soon will vex the king's soul..."¹⁰⁰

When Afrasyab heard these words he would not let them take root in his spirit, yet he could not refuse countenance to the testimony of his brother. Finally, Afrasyab ordered Syavoosh to be killed and this is the end of Syavoosh's life. What we learn from the epic of Syavoosh was a sense of dwelling and establishment of city. As the poems indicate, the epic of Syavoosh, oscillating from peace to extreme tragedy, show there is no stability in Syavoosh's life until he started to build his own city and *Arg*.

Architecture brings peace and identity. His exile can be interpreted in two layers. One layer can be read metaphorically as the exile of man to earth from the primordial abode and how he tries to recapture it on earth by building the *Arg*. The other interpretation relates to how the spatial and architectonic experiences of Syavoosh were shaped. He tried to reconstruct that image of his collective consciousness throughout the architecture in the land of exile. Syavoosh is a prince-architect rather than just a hero like Rostam or Isfandiyar. It is impossible to ignore the beauty of the narrative, the feeling and sentiment of the characters, the tragic sequence of events, or the sense that its main thrust is architecture and environment. Yet this strength points at one of the most important aspects of architecture: it has to be built for people, for the human condition. We would argue, therefore, that the spiritual strength of the Syavoosh and the overall concern of the poet for his characters, the values and the origins of his people, represent the best epic work this far through which we can learn what architecture really means and that buildings are essential containers of cultural life and identity of that culture.

¹⁰⁰ Warner, Vol. III, p. 297.

We can also see many traditional forms in Persian architecture in the epic of Syavoosh that shaped the morphological aspects of the Persian city. For example, the Takht (elevated terrace) represents the idea of a revered and elevated temporal place that, in its architectonic sense, represents the “mountain.”¹⁰¹ Also the *Darwazeh* (gateway); the traditional expression for it is “*bab*” or “*dar*,” which when utilized in either architecture or literature, indicates a movement through a defined space that occurs over a certain interval of time. A gateway of a city and chapter of a book are both known as “*bab*,” being either the beginning or the end of a journey (Figs. 66, 67).¹⁰²

Overall, the epic stories of *Shahnameh* reveal the concept of castle as a sign of cultural identity and stability of the state and also symbol of piety.

We can now move forward in time to explore a new approach toward the concept of *Arg*. In the 12th century, a new form emerged in the romantic epics. The most prominent example is *Haft Paykar* by Nizami.

3.4. Romantic Epics in Persian literature: Background

Persian lyrical prose and romantic poetry first appeared in the twelfth century, evidently in work such as the poem *Vis u Ramin* by Asaadi Gurgani. Its roots are found, as a number of scholars have demonstrated, in the practices of the princely courts. Islamic thought and pre-Islamic literature of Persia played a role in the creation of some of the poetic genres. The mystical thought of Sufism (the spiritual tradition in Islam) found in poetry an admirable vehicle for the expression of its complexities. The Persian poets from the 10th to the 14th century were concerned more with the subjective interpretation of

¹⁰¹ Ardalan & Bakhtiar. *The Sense of unity*. Chicago: The University of Chicago press, 1973. p. 68.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, p.71.

reality than the external manifestation of reality. One of the originalities of Persian poetry is that it adopted some of the great stories of epic literature and gave them a new character by changing the mood and proposing a more complex teleology of feelings and sentiments for the heroic tales. The appropriation began in the twelfth century with the great poems of Attar (a prominent 12th century poet and Sufi master), the first of which was the *Khosronameh* (The Tale of Khosrow). The culmination of this lyric poetry presented itself with Nizami who used a poetic language that was extremely rich in visual images and symbolism.

Nizami lived during the Seljuk period in Ganja (1140-1203). During his life many Sufi movements reached their zenith, such as Ikhwan-al safa, Ismaili, and Jawanmardi. In the case of Nizami, the most influential trend of Sufism among intellectuals, artists, and artisan at that time was the *Jawanmardi* movement.

3.5. Sufism and the *Jawanmardi* Movement in Persia During the Twelve Century:

Sufism emerged in the early period of the Islamic era, around the eighth century, and flourished in Persia from the tenth century onward. "The perfume of Sufism can be sensed in almost every manifestation of Persian culture, whether it be poetry or music, calligraphy or landscape design, philosophy or science."¹⁰³ By the tenth century, Sufism was well-established with different schools and in a large body of literature. The handbooks and biographical treatises produced at this time linked Sufism with noted ascetics from the earliest periods of Islam, such that the public presentation of Sufism emphasized it as a rigorous form of practical discipline and knowledge comparable to the

¹⁰³ S.H.Nasr. "Sufism and Spirituality in Persia" in *Islamic Spirituality II: Manifestations*. New York: Crossroad, 1991, p.206-223.

principal Islamic religious sciences. The underlying philosophy of Sufism sought reality through divine love which cannot be acquired by logical or rational faculties alone.

Among the Sufi schools, the most influential in Persian culture and architectural manifestation was the Sufi institution of *Jawanmardi* (Spiritual Chivalry), a movement which developed in Khorasan in northeastern Persia. *Jawanmardi* dealt at once with knightly chivalry as well as with the economic and social life of society. The social bonds created through the institutions of *Jawanmardi* and the guilds of artisans whom were affiliated with these chivalric orders exercised a profound influence over Persian society at that time. This movement not only integrated itself with society through economic activities but also through art. The activities of the artisans were integrated into religious life and the outward activity of the craftsmen became the support for the inner spiritual struggle, much like the practices of medieval western architects and craftsman.¹⁰⁴ There are a number of treatises in Persian language that show the role of the *Jawanmardi* movement in achieving the spiritual integration of traditional activities in the realm of arts and crafts.¹⁰⁵

Another aspect of Sufism in Persian literature is the adoption of intense metaphorical, symbolical, and allegorical language, which was metamorphosed into the transcendental. For instance, wine connotes ecstasy, the dark lock: everything that conceals the reality of God; the eyebrows indicate the attributes of God, in as far as they veil the true Being of God; an idol represents the manifestation of God's beauty. This symbolic language was applied also to architectural elements; door and gate symbolize

¹⁰⁴ See more detailed study about the history and conceptual aspects of this movement , S.H.Nasr. "Spiritual Chivalry" in *Islamic Spirituality II: Manifestations*. New York: Crossroad, 1991,p. 305-316.

¹⁰⁵ Some of the most important essays and treatises on this subject have been collected into Persian by Ehasan Naraq. *Aein -i Jawanmardi*. Tehran: Chapkhaneh yi Katibh, 1363/1984.

the Gates of Heaven; garden symbolizes Paradise; porch is viewed as the locus of soul moving between the garden and the court; a room indicates the privacy of man and in many cases it symbolizes the heart. The increasing power of Sufism and the all devoting metaphorical or allegorical stories bring a new abstraction to Persian lyric poetry. This found responses in the essentially poetic nature of the Persian imagination. An accompanying phenomenon is that of generalization; both in lyric and in epic poetry.¹⁰⁶ However, the esoteric teaching of the *Jawanmardi* led to a complex symbolism expressive of the correspondences between the created and transcendental worlds, between macrocosms and microcosm. As Alessandro Bausani discusses in his book "*Ismaili and Sufism*," the influence of *Jawanmardi* and Ismaili esotericism were diffused through the channels of art and poetry in a complex system of symbolism.¹⁰⁷ This new phase of Persian literature represented the architecture and the *Arg* at a profound imaginative and metaphorical level. In order to explore this new trend of Persian thought and the continuation of castle space in literature we are going to examine Nizami's *Haft Paykar* (The Seven Beauties).

3.6. Nizami and *Haft Paykar*:

In *Haft Paykar*, Nizami draws on this esoteric symbolism in a manner that speaks to different movements and is subject to different interpretations. Before we discuss the symbolic interpretation of *Haft Paykar* in relation to the *Arg*, we shall look first at a story by Nizami where architecture is the core.

¹⁰⁶ Rypka Jan. *History of Iranian Literature*. Dordrecht- Holland:D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1968, p. 82-86.

¹⁰⁷ Alessandro Bausani. *Ismaili and Sufism*

When Bahram, the son of Yazdigired (Sassanid King), was born, his horoscope predicted that he would be the ruler of the world, but that he had to grow up outside Persia. Yazdigired sent him to the court of Nu'man in Yaman where Nu'man built a magnificent castle (Khawarnaq) for him. The mystery of *Haft Paykar* started with the building of Khavarnaq castle for Bahram in the land of Yemen by the order of Numan (Fig.68).¹⁰⁸ A secret room was built in the Khawarnaq castle one day Bahram discovered this mysterious room. When he entered, he found images of the princesses of the Seven *Kishvar* arranged in a circle (Fig. 69).¹⁰⁹

When Bahram became the king, he sent his delegates to the Seven Kishvars asking for the princesses as his brides. He then built seven domes for the princesses in seven colours, each dedicated to one day of the week and governed by one of the planets. Then Bahram visited each dome in turn and listened to each princess tell her tale.

Here, we are interested in some aspects of Braham's story in relation to the concept of *Arg*. We shall interpret some of the symbolic aspects of the story such as number, geometry, colour, and imaginary geography based on Zoroastrian cosmology and Sufi doctrine in Islamic tradition. In *Haft Paykar* the castle is a metaphor of light. The *Arg* as a temple represents the eternal light of the divine, and as the seat of government, it reflects the power of King. The King in turn reveals the power of divine knowledge. Here, we seek to understand how the Pre-Islamic and Islamic tradition reached a form of reconciliation through the function of *Arg* both physically and metaphysically.

¹⁰⁸ Numan was ruler of Yemen.

¹⁰⁹ According to Zoroastrian Cosmology; the surface of the earth or terrestrial world was divided into the Seven *Kishvar* (Climates), *Eran,vij* the land of Zoroaster was at the center and the other six: India, china Khwarazm(Tukestan) siqlab(Slavonia), Maghreb(North Africa), and Rum(Byzantium) were around it.

3.6.a. The Khawarnaq Castle and The Seven Domes in *Haft Paykar*.

The Khawarnaq castle is a whole: an exterior world, a building shell, and interior. Everybody and everything adorn the beauty of Khawarnaq as Nizami's poetry indicates:

"Its tower rising to the moon / The cynosure of everyone.
A palace richly decked with gold, / Flame-hued, as only he could build;
A palace with a heavenly dome / Round which the heaven's nine spheres turned;
...
Its sight was rest to weary hearts, / Its image water to the parched.
When the sun on it cast its rays, / The houris hid their dazzled gaze.
Within, a paradise of ease; / Without, embellished like the skies.
Its roof, polished with milk and glaze / Reflected like a mirror's face..."¹¹⁰

On one hand, Khawarnaq for Nu'man is the desire for recognition of his power, and on the other, it reflects for Bahram the image of the homeland where he was born and where he would return to be crowned as the king. Nu'man puts all his effort into building an *Arg* for Bahram to protect him from the harsh weather of Yemen and prove his authority. As he says:

"A lion in boldness. King Numan / said to his son, My mind's in pain.
Our air is dry, our land is hot; / this princeling is of tender stock;
he needs a lofty nurturing place / whose head from earth to sky is raised."¹¹¹

The story of Khawarnaq castle highlights the important role of the architect who was delighted by the commission. It was Sim'nar who had a great reputation in the land

¹¹⁰ *Haft Paykar*. Trans. By Misamai, p.41.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, p.36.

of Rum for his works. The awarding of a commission has always been an extraordinary event for architects; the joy in this instance was such that the architect immediately offered his client through words the first recorded “metaphor” of architectural design, as counsellors told Nu'man about Sim'nar who would design the castle for Bahram:

“The Greeks bow to his skill; in Chin/ From his pick artists chips do glean.
Although a builder, clearly he/ A myriad artists holds in sway.
And, of sound judgment, he can tell/ The secrets of the stars as well.
His gaze draws o'er the sphere a web,/ Like the spider of the astrolabe.
Like Apollonius wise, he can/ Devise and loose all talismans.
He knows the veil ones of the sky,/ The moon's raids, the sun's hosile eye;
He'll solve this problem; only he/ Can such a precious fabric weave.
He'll raise a vault from earth so high/ That it will plunder from the sky .”¹¹²

When Sim'nar received the commission, he immediately started to work. And then prepared what he required:

“All that that building might demand,/ material, tools, were readied. Then,
The master's hands all measured well./Five years he laboured on, until
he with his golden hands had made,/ a silvery palace of stone and clay.
Its splendour overwhelmed the sky;/ its brilliance gave the sun its light
Numan gave him the news of such a great reward, the half of which,
he had not hoped for: purest gold,/ rare gems and musk, by camel-load,
Beyond all reckoning, that he might once again of service be”.¹¹³

Furthermore, it becomes evident to us that the primary space of Khawarnaq castle was the room of seven portraits, which was a secret place in the castle. This secret room could be interpreted as a hidden chamber of love which had to open by the hands of a lover who seeks knowledge and wisdom. The discovery of this room by Bahram is an invitation for

¹¹² *Ibid*.p.37.

¹¹³ *Ibid*, p.38.

him to go on the mystical path of the quest for divine love. Some years later, when Bahram took power, he tried to fulfill his desire. He brought the seven princesses to his court and he ordered the architect Shida to design seven *gounbads* (domes or pavilions) in seven colors for them. As poetry narrates:

There was with them a man of worth,/ freeborn, upright, of noble birth,
Named Shida, brilliant as the sun,/ who all things, black or white, adorned.
A master of design was he, / surveyor famed. Geometry,
Physics, astronomy:all these / were like wax in his hands. And he
A master-builder was as well/ and painted images with skill;
His brush and chisel, used with art,/ stole Mani's¹¹⁴ soul and Farhad's¹¹⁵ heart...¹¹⁶

As Simnar was master mentor and teacher of Shida, Shida took the Khawarnaq as his model for the seven dome saying:

“...For I can weigh the sky, and know/ the stars; my wit their work does show.
In painting, building, you would say/ God's art inspires me. I will make
A likeness of the heavenly sphere, that it not bring him harm; and nor,
While he dwells in earth's picture-house, / need he have fear of Heaven's stars.
He'll dwell protected him, / like seven strong forts, seven fair domes,
Each of a different hue, and all / then hundred fanes more beautiful.
The king has seven idols fair; / each one a country's banner bears.
Each clime is firmly governed by/ its sister planet. Every day
Within the week, as all know well, / is by one planet clearly ruled..”¹¹⁷

There are some similarities between Khawarnaq and the seven domes: both are created in seven colours and each colour attributed to each princess. The Khawarnaq here

¹¹⁴ Mani was an ancient Persian painter and prophet.

¹¹⁵ Farhad was a lover in romance of *Khosrow v shirin* by Nizami

¹¹⁶ *Haft Paykar*, Misami, p. 101.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 102.

could symbolize the microcosm. It was built in the foreign land, which, in that sense, becomes a reminder of Gang Diz of Syavoosh.

Nizami's *Haft Paykar* attempted to synthesize the Pre-Islamic and the Islamic traditions and continuation of Epic space in Persian literature. Nizami, in the prologue of *Haft Paykar*, mentioned his search for sources and he embraced Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh* as a major source for the composition of *Haft Paykar*.

3.7. The Relationship of the Seven Pavilions of *Shahnameh* with the Seven Domes of *Haft Paykar*.

Sohrab's story illustrates the connection between *Shahnameh* and *Haft Paykar*. Sohrab, in search of his father Rostam started a war against Iran. When Sohrab captured the White Castle on the Iranian border, he tried to identify the Iranian camps with the help of a captive (Hajir) in order to find his father. The Iranian army was camped near the White castle to defend the country. Sohrab asked Hajir about the seven tents which were surrounded by Iranian troops (Fig. 70).¹¹⁸

3.7.a Main characteristics of *Shahnameh* Pavilions

The seven Pavilions in *Shahnameh* are identified by their colours, heraldic features, and their owner (Table 1).

Colours	Multicolour	Black	Red	Green	Gold	White	Red
Banners	Sun	Elephant	Lion	Dragon	Wolf	Moon	Boar
Names	Kavoos	Tus	Gudarz	Rostam	Giv	Fariborz	Goraze

Table 1: Arrangement of Colours, banners, and Names of Seven pavilions in *Shahnameh*

¹¹⁸ See the Appendix, 2.

From an architectural point of view, one of the outstanding features of this scene is the arrangement of space through the positioning of each Pavilion. They could be illustrated in two ways: linear and circular:

In a linear representation it would be in the form of a cross; Kavvoos Shah in the centre, to the west are Giv and Guarz, to the east are Tus and Fariborz, to the north is Goraze, and to the south is Rostam. (Diagram 1).

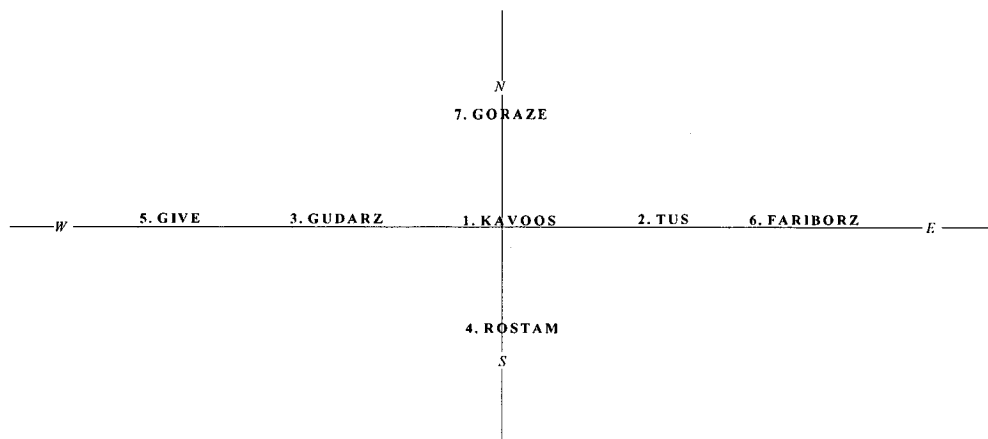


Diagram 1. The linear arrangement of Seven pavilion in *Shahnameh*.

(Analysis diagram by the author)

In a circular arrangement, Kavvoos would be in the centre, to the NW & SW Gudarz and Giv, to the NE & SE Tus and Fariborz, and to the North and South are Goraze and Rostam (Diagram 2).

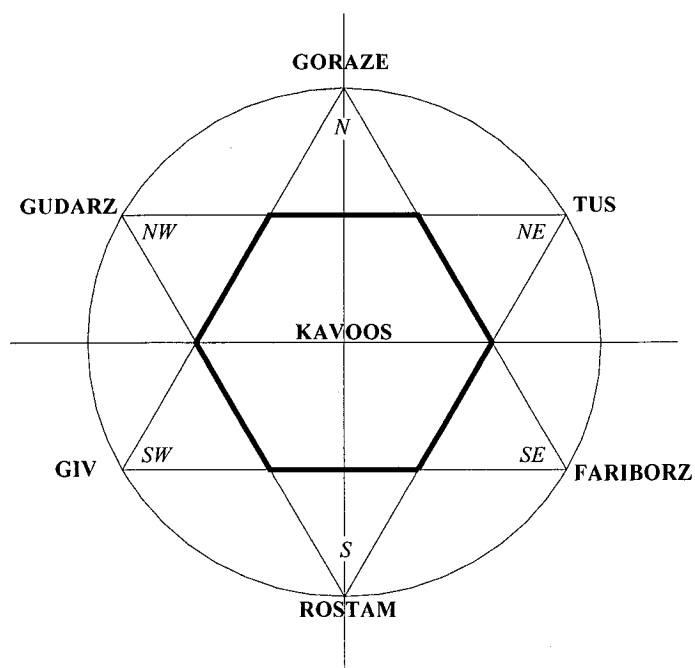


Diagram 2 . Circular arrangement of the seven pavilions in *shahnameh*.

(Analysis diagram by the author)

According to Windfohr, there is a diagonal relationship between the west: Giv clan, which is represented by Gudarz and Goraze, and the east pavilions represented by Tus, Fariborz, and Rostam; all three of whom were loyal to the king. In this arrangement the six heroes protect the King in the centre.¹¹⁹ This arrangement created a hexagon within a circle, which is defined by two intersecting triangles around the centre. Ferdowsi also mentioned the idea of seven pavilions in seven colours in the story of Kaykavoos. When King Kavoos returned victoriously from the Mazandarn campaign, he ordered Seven Pavilions in the mountain of *Alborz* in seven colours in seven materials to be built.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Windfohr Gernot. "Ferdowsi's Haft Paykar". Presented at the Second conference of Ferdowsi. Center for

the Great Islamic Encyclopedia. <http://lilexfoundation.org/confer/>. p.14.

¹²⁰ *Shahnameh*, of Moscow. vol. II, p.150-52.

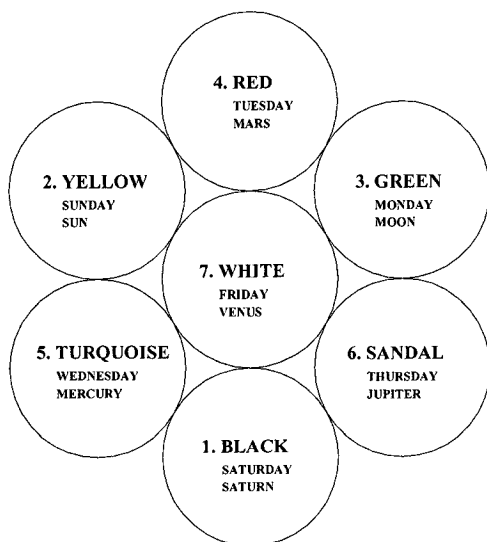


Diagram. 3.

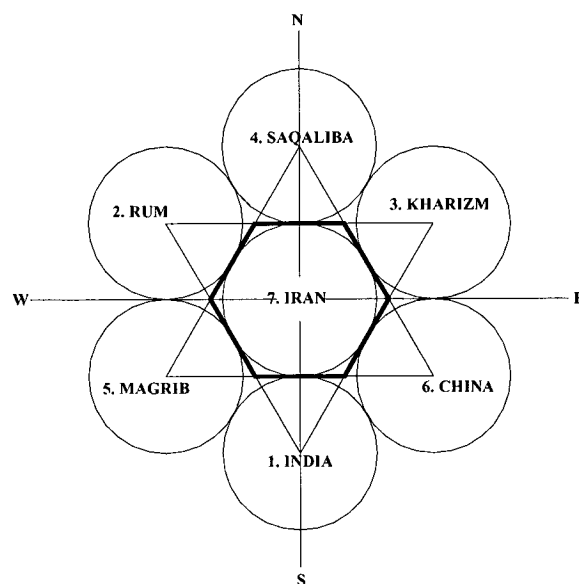


Diagram. 4.

Diagrams 3 and 4 show the order of colors, Planets, weeks, and the position of countries, based on *Haft Paykar* of Nizami.

As previously discussed, the central section of *Haft Paykar*, consists of seven romantic stories which were narrated by seven princesses to the King Bahram, for whom Bahram had built a palace containing seven domes, each dedicated to one day of the week, and governed by that day's planet and carrying its symbolic colour as shown in diagrams 3, and 4.

3.8. Symbolic Aspects of The Seven Domes in *Haft Paykar*.

The pre-Islamic Persians, especially of the Sassanid period, were interested in scientific studies. The Sassanians established an academy in Jundishapur which was heir to the centres of the Graeco-Alexandrian world of Alexandria, Antioch, Edessa and to

those of the Indian sciences.¹²¹ There was already a meeting of the scientific traditions of the Graeco-Alexandrian world, India, and Persia in a cosmopolitan atmosphere, which gave a fertile ground for the advancement of the Islamic science. The influence of the scientific tradition in Persia, which as a form of traditional science was based on cosmology or knowledge of the total cosmic order, was applied symbolically in various forms in Persian art from the minor arts to architecture. During the Islamic period a new understanding of symbolism emerged in Persian art which was integrated with Islamic-Persian Sufism. From the Sufi point of view, symbols mediate ultimate reality through things or action. By virtue of this mediating function, symbolism adds a new value to these things or actions without affecting their own proper and immediate value. This mediating function prepares, as it were, these things and actions to receive the quality of the higher reality.¹²² The result of this tradition can be observed in the symbolic aspect of the seven domes of *Haft Paykar* in terms of number, geometry, and colours.

3.8.a. Symbolism of Numbers in the Seven Domes of *Haft Paykar*.

Numbers play a crucial role in arrangement of Seven Domes in *Haft Paykar*. The essential numbers in both *Shahnameh* and *Haft Paykar* are 7, 6, 4, 3, and 1, as a compound of 3+4, and 1+ 6 which sum up to 7.

¹²¹ Jundishapur was a Sassanian city in Khuzistan region and now it is called Ahwaz.

¹²² For details on Sufi symbolism see Akkach Samer. *The Sacred Patten of Traditional Islamic Arcitecture According to Sufi Doctrine*. PHD Thesis, Department of Architecture: Unversity of Sydney, 1990, p. 225-267.

Pahlavi' name	Persian name	Protector	Flower	Colour
Ohramazd	Auhra Mazda	Man	Myrtle	Green
Three Masculine Archangels:				
Vohu Manha	Bahman	Animal	Jasmine	White
Arta Vahishta	Urdibihisht	Fire	Marjoram	Brown
Xshathra Vairya	Shahrivar	Metal	Basil	Blue
Three Feminine Archangels:				
Spenta Armaiti	Isfandarmuz	Earth	Musk	Black
Haarvatat	Khurdad	Water	Lily and Iris	Red
Amertat	Murdad	Plant	Champak	Yellow

Table 2: The Seven Zoroastrian Archangels.

According to the Zoroastrian cosmology, the number seven relates to the division of the world, the Seven *Kashvars*, Iran in the center with six surrounding it. It is also related to the seven angles, the *Amesha Spentas*. This spiritual sextet is completed by *Ahura Mazda*, the god of wisdom, who is the seventh, and simultaneously, the all-embracing supreme spiritual being. The six supreme beings are divided in to two groups: 3 feminine and 3 masculine and each of them is identified with a colour and a flower (Table 2).

Based on the Sufi tradition, numbers are the principle of being and the root of all sciences, the first effusion of Spirit upon soul.¹²³ As indicted in Ikhawn al Safa's treatises: "Numbers are the spiritual image resulting in the human soul from the

¹²³ The concept of number in Sufi tradition is very alike to the Pythagorean system with numbers, being qualitative as well as quantative entities.. for more detail see Schimmel Annemarie. *The mystery of Numbers*. Oxford:Oxford University Press, 1993.

repetition of Unity in both worlds, the macrocosm and the microcosm.”¹²⁴ For example, the number 1 symbolizes the Creator; 2 represents the two worlds, the macrocosm and the microcosm, it also symbolizes intellect into two parts: innate and acquired, and division of body in two parts left and right; 3 stands for the Soul and three kingdoms of creation: mineral, plant, and animal; 4 symbolizes the Matter and the four humours; 5 signifies Nature and the five senses; 6 represents the Body and six powers of motion in six directions, and since there are six periods of creation, Zoroastrianism has also six great feasts. The connection of the number six with the creation is known in the Islamic tradition as well. God created the world in six days, and then ascended the Throne on the seventh day. Also, Sufi mystics and poets experience this world as a cubic cage in which they are imprisoned. The number 7 represents the universe with seven visible planets and seven days of week, and also represents seven active powers.¹²⁵ The relation of these numbers with the *Haft Paykar* of Nizami indicates that Nizami was involved, or we might even say strongly influenced, by the Sufi movements of his time. For instance, the journey of Bahram begins from the material world to the spiritual, from ignorance to wisdom. The literary structure of the story is divided into three parts: narrative, tales, and narrative. The Khawarnaq castle reveals the image of the seven parts of the world, one in the centre and six around it, which reflects the design of cosmos. Sufi Simnani (14th century) developed his own philosophy based on seven worlds (Alam) which manifests the unity of being, and each number associated with one world.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Ikhwan al-Safa, *Resal il*, I,25, trans.Nasr, *cosmological Doctrines*..p.49

¹²⁵ According to Ikhwan al safa the seven active powers are: Attraction, Sustenance, Digestion, repulsion, Nutrition, growth, and Formation..

¹²⁶ According to Semnani's doctrine the seven worlds are: the world of nature (*alam tabiat*), the world of forms (*alam surat*), the world of spiritual meaning (*alam mana*), the world of imagination (*alam malakut*), the world of beyond form (*alam jabarut*), the world of divine nature (*alam lahut*), and the world of divine essence (*alam hahut*).

3.8.b. Symbolism of Geometry in Seven Domes of *Haft Paykar*.

According to Islamic science, geometry reveals another level of being which leads man to move from the outer world (*Al-Zahir*) to the inner world (*al-Batin*).¹²⁷ In Sufism, like the Pythagorean system, number was identified with certain shapes in the sensible world. For example, the number one generates the point; two, the line; three the triangle; Four, the square etc. "Geometry as the expression of the 'personality' of numbers permits traditional man a further exploration into the processes of nature."¹²⁸ On a metaphysical level, Ikhwan al-Safa discussed that the study of sensible geometry leads to skill in all the practical arts, while the study of intelligible geometry leads to skill in the intellectual arts. This science is one of the gates through which we move to the knowledge of the essence of the soul, the root of all knowledge, the element of wisdom, and the principle of all practical and intellectual arts.¹²⁹ Furthermore, if we take a look at the structural pattern of the seven pavilions in *Haft Paykar*, we can see that it is based on point, line, and circle, which resonates with the design of the cosmos (Fig.71).

Nizami, in the prologue of *Haft Paykar* writes about the design of *Haft paykar*:

"This written temple I've adorned, /with seven brides, like Magian Zand¹³⁰,
So that, should the sky-brides decide / to turn their gaze upon my brides,
Through like affaires and ornaments / each of them aid to mine might lend.
For when the seven lines converge, / one point at centre shall emerge.
The painter, ten designs in hand, / of one main thread yet grasps the end;
If that threat from the line should stray, /the others would be set awry."¹³¹

¹²⁷ *Al-Zahir* and *Al Batin* are two of the Names of Archetypes of the Divine by which he mentions himself in the Quran. The name *al-zahir* indicates that He is identical with all existing objects; the name *al-Batin* that He is non-existence externally.

¹²⁸ Ardalan & Bakhtir. *The sense of unity*. p. 27.

¹²⁹ Ikhwan al-Safa, in Nasr, *science and Civilization in Islam*, p.157.

¹³⁰ The word stands for priests who interpret the religious texts of Zoroastrian.

The design is a persistent motif throughout the *Haft Paykar* and it is repeated in the references to architecture (of the castle of Khawarnaq and of the Seven Domes that typify building for this martial world and the building to the next spiritual world) and to astrology and astronomy, and is expressed in terms of number and geometry.¹³² In the plan arrangement of the seven domes, certain geometrical shapes such as the triangle, the square, the hexagon, and circle occurred frequently, and each of them imply a symbolic meaning. Through the use of numbers and geometry, as a mathematical expression, the creation of shapes recalls the Archetypes in the '*alam-i-mithal* (Imaginal World). For example, the triangle is the first form to enclose space in the generation of points or lines (1), it represents the action of intellect (2) on the soul (3) and thereby brings about the movement of the intellect in descending, horizontal, or ascending motions (Fig. 72).¹³³ According to Najm al-din Kubra (1145-1220), the triangle represented the trilogy of the ego, intellect and heart as three centers.

In Ferdowsi, the upward triangle represents three heroes of the Iranian camp: Goraze, Fariborz, and Giv; the downward triangle represents Gudarz, Tus, and Rostam (diagram 2). In Nizami, the upward triangle represents three princesses of Saqalibs, China, and Magrib as well as three planets of Mars, Mercury, and Jupiter; the downward triangle represents Rum, Kharazm, and Indian princesses (diagram 3 & 4). The results of these two intersecting triangles create a hexagon in the center. The upward triangle represents the transcendental world and fire, the downward triangle corresponds to the terrestrial world and water, which represents the six heroes of the Iranian army in *Shahnameh* and six princesses of the world in *Haft Paykar*. Interestingly, in Persian miniature painting

¹³¹ *Haft Paykar*. Mesiami p.11-12.

¹³² *Ibid*, xxv.

¹³³ Ardalan & Bakhtiar. *The sense of unity*. p.27.

the throne of kings and Castles are also represented in the form of a hexagon (figs.73, 74, 75).

3.8. c. The Symbolism of Colours in the Seven domes of Haft Paykar.

All the geometrical shapes and numbers are expressed through the colours in both *Shahnameh* and *Haft Paykar*. We can therefore see colour as another aspect of these symbolic and cosmological understandings, which were applied in *Haft Paykar* as well as in decorating the surfaces in Persian architecture. In the Persian tradition, the concept of *Haft rang* (the seven colours) dominates the understanding of colour.¹³⁴ These seven colours are divided in two groups; three and four:

The Group of three Colours:

The first group consists of white, black, and sandalwood. According to Islamic cosmology, three as number, and as triangle in geometry, reflects the fundamental conception of spirit, soul, and body, which makes up all of creation. It is also revealed in the three motions of the spirit; the three coordinates (x, y & z) which echoes the acts of descending, ascending, and horizontal expansion. Three also appears in the description of human qualities as passive, active, and neutral.¹³⁵ In figure 72, the colour white (on the right hand side of the triangle) represents the pure light, which comes from the sun and symbolizes Unity. Black colour on the opposite side represents the hidden light. The sandalwood symbolizes the colour of earth; it is a neutral base for the two other colours black and white. Symbolically sandalwood also represents man in the micro scale, and

¹³⁴ In Persian *haft* means seven and *rang* means color.

¹³⁵ Ardalan & Bakhtiar. *The sense of unity*. p.48.

earth in the macro scale, jism (body) to artisan, the neutral plane to the geometrician, and floor to the architect.¹³⁶

The Group of Four Colours:

The second group of colours are red, yellow, green, and blue. Four as number, and as the square in geometry, reflects the four active qualities of nature (hot, cold, wet, dry), and four passives qualities of matter (fire, water, air, and earth). These four colors plus the other three complete seven colours.¹³⁷

Najam al-Din Kubra was the first Sufi master to focus his attention on the phenomenon of colour. According to him, colours or experiences of light that the mystic can perceive in the course of his spiritual path start from the darkness of the martial world and move up to the pure light of white. He presented the cosmos in seven states, each state relates to one colour.¹³⁸ The seven colours in Kubra's philosophy symbolize the mystical experience of man from the world of ignorance to the world of Divine light. In *Haft Paykar*, each of the seven colours is dedicated to one dome and planet. (Fig. 76)

The arrangement of the domes as colours is different than Ferdowsi, Kubra, Biruni.¹³⁹ The conceptual movement of Braham's journey through the domes is similar to the spiritual movement of Najm al-Din Kubra, from darkness to light. Bahram started his visit to the princesses on Saturday with the planet of Saturn which is black, and ended on Friday with planet of Venus in the white pavilion (Table 2). The relationship of the

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 49.

¹³⁷ For details about symbolism of Colors in *Haft Paykar* see Krotkoff Georg. "Colour and Number In *Haft Paykar*". Logos Islamikos, Studia Islamica in Honorem gerorgii Michaelis Wiknes, edited by Savory, Roger M. & Agius, Dionisus A. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984, p. 97-118.

¹³⁸ According to Kubra's doctrine the color of Seven states of universe are: black for the material Body, dark green for Imaginal world, grey for the Matter, red for the Nature, green for the Soul, yellow for the Spirit, and white for the world of Intelligence.

¹³⁹ Biruni was a scientist, astronomer, and philosopher in 10th century.

heavenly bodies and the colour of each dome could be understood by looking at the Sufi approach: “the esoteric dimensions of the Heavens” (*batin al-falak*). The journey starts from the well of darkness or the black dome reaching to a higher level of self-consciousness; the colour black transforms to a brighter colour until it reaches the pure colour of white. The prototype of this journey in Persian tradition relates to the ascent of the mountain of *Qaf* by “*Simorgh*” (the mythical bird) to reach the original abode. In the Islamic tradition, when the Prophet Muhammad ascends through the heavens, he passes through the seven heavenly bodies: the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn in their normal cosmological order, and presents upon their symbolic colours; green for the moon, blue for Mercury, white for Venus, yellow for the sun, red for Mars, sandalwood for Jupiter, and black for Saturn which are repeated in the Seven domes, but with different order (Table 3).

Planet	Ferdowsi	Nizami	Ikhawn –al Safa	Biruni	Kubra
Saturn	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black
Sun	Gold	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Dark green
Moon	Green	Green	White	Blue, White	Grey
Mars	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red
Mercury	Multi-color	Turquoise	Multi-color	Azure	Green
Jupiter	Red	Sandal	Green	Brown	yellow
Venus	White	White	Blue	White	White

Table 3: The Colors of seven planets according to Ferdowsi, Nizami, Ikhawn-al Safa, Biruni, and Kubra.

In *Haft Paykar*, the architecture in the form of dome or castle became a vessel of meaning which goes through the same journey. In comparison with *Shahnameh* where the castle was a sign of power and stability, while in *Haft Paykar*, it became a beginning of a new vision. The *Arg* was presented as a metaphor and an archetype of macrocosms on the earth. The Journey of Bahram was presented in two forms: time and space. Through time, a spiritual quest from ignorance to wisdom, and through space, architecture contains this journey from one dome to another. Bahram's final destination is the white dome, which is located in the centre, a place in which Bahram will reside in to rule the country. This parallels the idea in Zoroastrianism where the Prophet Zoroaster descended from the heavens to guide the *Iranvich* people in a victory of light over darkness. In *Haft Paykar*, the White dome with the presence of the king accompanied by the Persian Princess reflects the divine light. Here the idea of centre as an illuminated space and the princess' guidance to Bahram mirrors the myth of Anahita, where her temple was a place of worshipping and guidance, and burning the flame of fire was a symbol of *Ahura Mazda* on the earth. The concept of Anahita was reflected in the face of the princesses as a Witness to guide Bahram to move to a higher level of reality. At this time, the idea of witness is intertwined with Sufism, particularly in Kubra's doctrine: "It may happen that this person (the witness) appears to you at the beginning of the mystical journey; but then you only see a black color, a black figure. Then it disappears. But the other (that is, the person of the Witness revealed to the person of light) will no longer leave you; more accurately, you are that person, for it enters into you; it is conjoined to you. If, at the beginning, it appeared to you as black in colour, it was because the veil of your own dark existence was hiding it. But when you make this dark existence disappear from before it, and when the flame of the

dhikr and ardent desire have consumed this barrier with fire, then the pure jewel is freed from its ore. Then it becomes a person wholly of light.”¹⁴⁰

Here, if we compare this passage to the movement of *Haft Paykar*, the journey of Bahram begins from the world of darkness with everything revealed in black colour. The first dome is black, Princess and Bahram were clothed in black, the story of princess to Bahram is about the people of a city who dressed in black, the colour of Saturday and planet Saturn is black. The same pattern repeats in each dome in terms of colour. This repetition created a triangle: the Princess, Bahram and the pavilion; the horizontal line is architecture, the ascension line is the princess as a witness, and the descending line is Bahram who passes one state to another until he reaches the Divine light in order to become the “man of light,” analogous to the triangle of the body, spirit and soul.

Retuning to Ferdowsi, women and kings represented the idea of witness in *Shahnameh* in relation to the *Arg*. For instance; Gordafarid in the story of Sohrab and the two sisters of Isfandiyar in the story of Ruen Castle are witnesses in hero's type. In the story of Kaykhosrow and Syavoosh their divine fortunes are witnesses. In both cases the idea of witness is a reference point to Anahita.

Hence we see the presence of *Arg* in Persian literature as a central focus in the world of imagination and an origin of Persian space. In *Shahnameh*, the castle is a powerful sign of cultural identity and a symbol of goodness. In *Haft Paykar*, this reference sign is intertwined with the Islamic spirituality and created a metaphorical representation of castle as an instrument and a path to transcendence is created.

The notion of center and origin is manifested in the sense that everything begins again, unceasingly, only to return to itself, and that fullness is like a modular which

¹⁴⁰ Najm al- Din Kubra , quoted from. Corbin Henery. *The Man of the Light in the Iranian Sufism*. p. 90.

reveals itself at all spatial levels, at all planes of construction: dome, vault, alcove, it also extends on the horizontal plane of urban structure. From this point of view it allows us to interpret the seven Pavilions of *Shahnameh* in the same respect. The Kavoos Shah in the centre and the six heroes around him, or in the structure of seven Domes of *Haft Paykar* the centre is white Dome where the King Bahram received the Divine light. The same idea of centre is observed in seven angels, as *Ahura Mazda* , the source of light is in the centre and six others around him. And later, the castles preserved this image as a referential sign to the original center, and accordingly the complete image of this centre reflected itself with the presence of *Arg* in the Persian city.

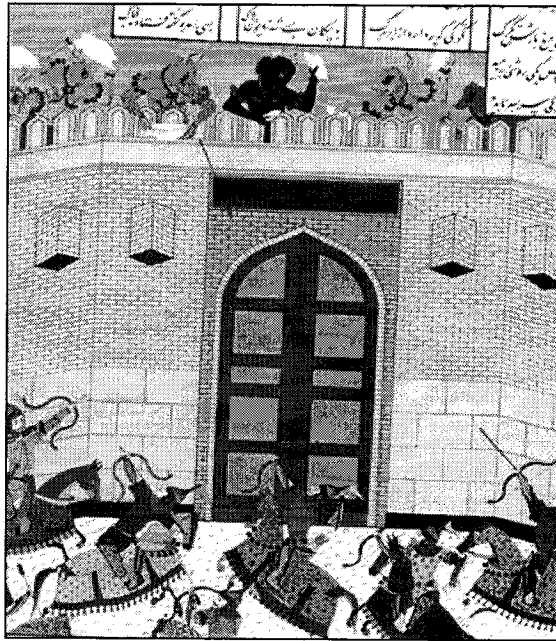


Fig. 64. capturing the Castle of Bahaman by Kaykhosrow, miniature from *Shahnameh* of Bisoghor, 15th century.

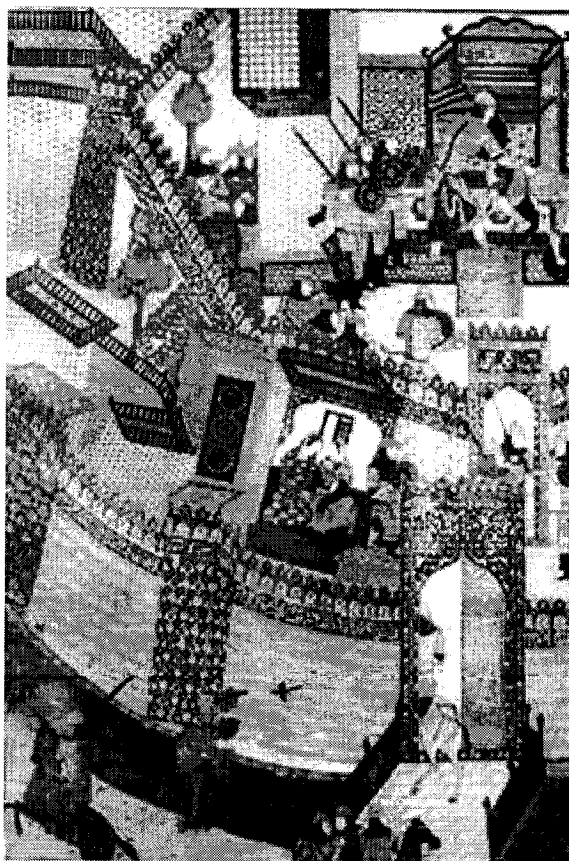


Fig. 65. Isfandiyar Capturing Rucen Diz, Miniature, 16th century.

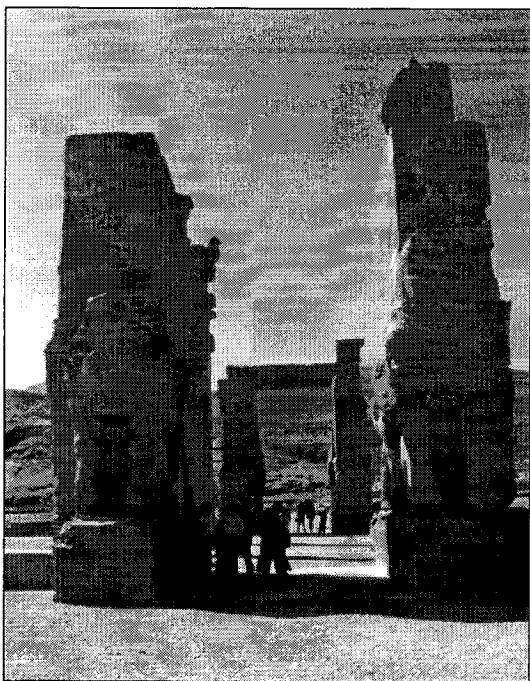


Fig.66. The Gate of Nations at Persepolis, 5th century B.C (Photograph by the author)



Fig. 67. The Gate of the old city of Yazd 16th century. (Photograph by the author)



Fig. 68.construction of the castle of Khawarnaq, Bihzad, 1494.



Fig. 69. Bahram visiting the room of the seven Images, Miniature, Shiraz, 14 Century.



Fig. 70 Sohrab identifies the Iranian Pavilions with help of Hajir From the white Castle.

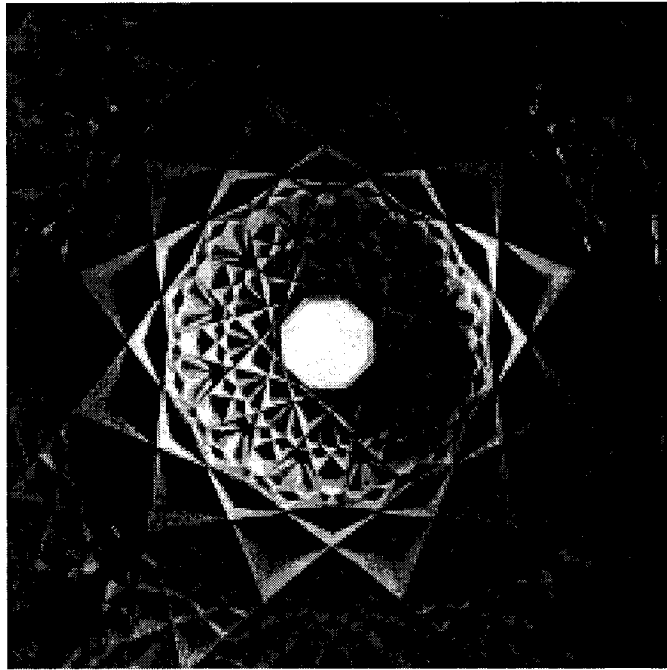


Fig.71. Ceiling of Shah Ni'matullah wali's shrine,
geometric designs in plaster, Mahan, 15th century.
(After Ardalan & Bakhtiar)

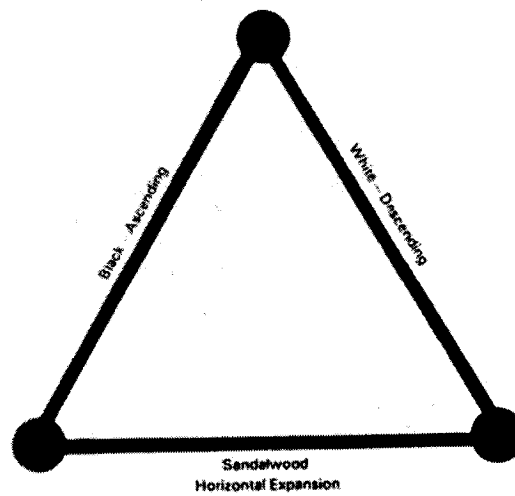


Fig.72. The triangle of three colors
(after Ardalan & Bakhtiar)

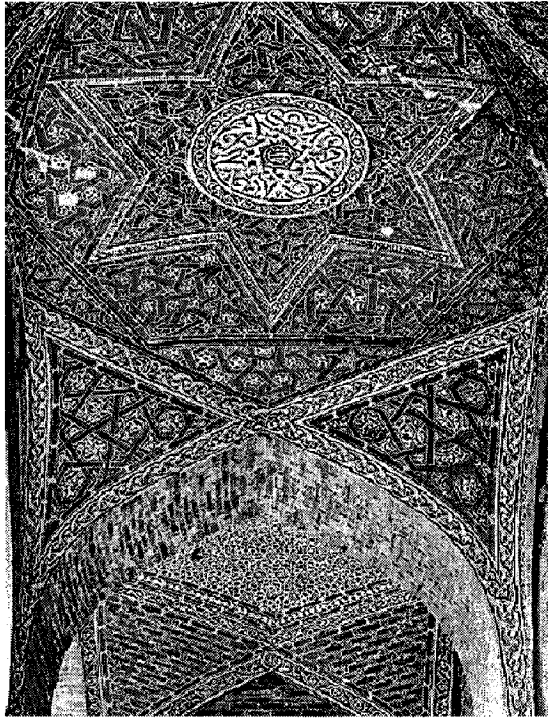


Fig.73. The ceiling of Mauoleum of Uljaitu, Sultaniya 14th century. (Photo after Pope)

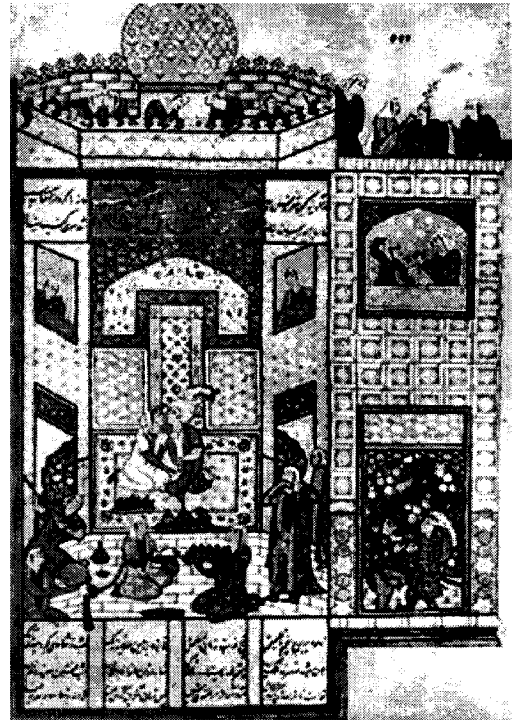


Fig. 74. Bahram Visiting the Persian Princess at the White Dome, miniature from 16th century.



Fig.75.Bahram fighting with lions for the Throne, Miniature, 15th century.

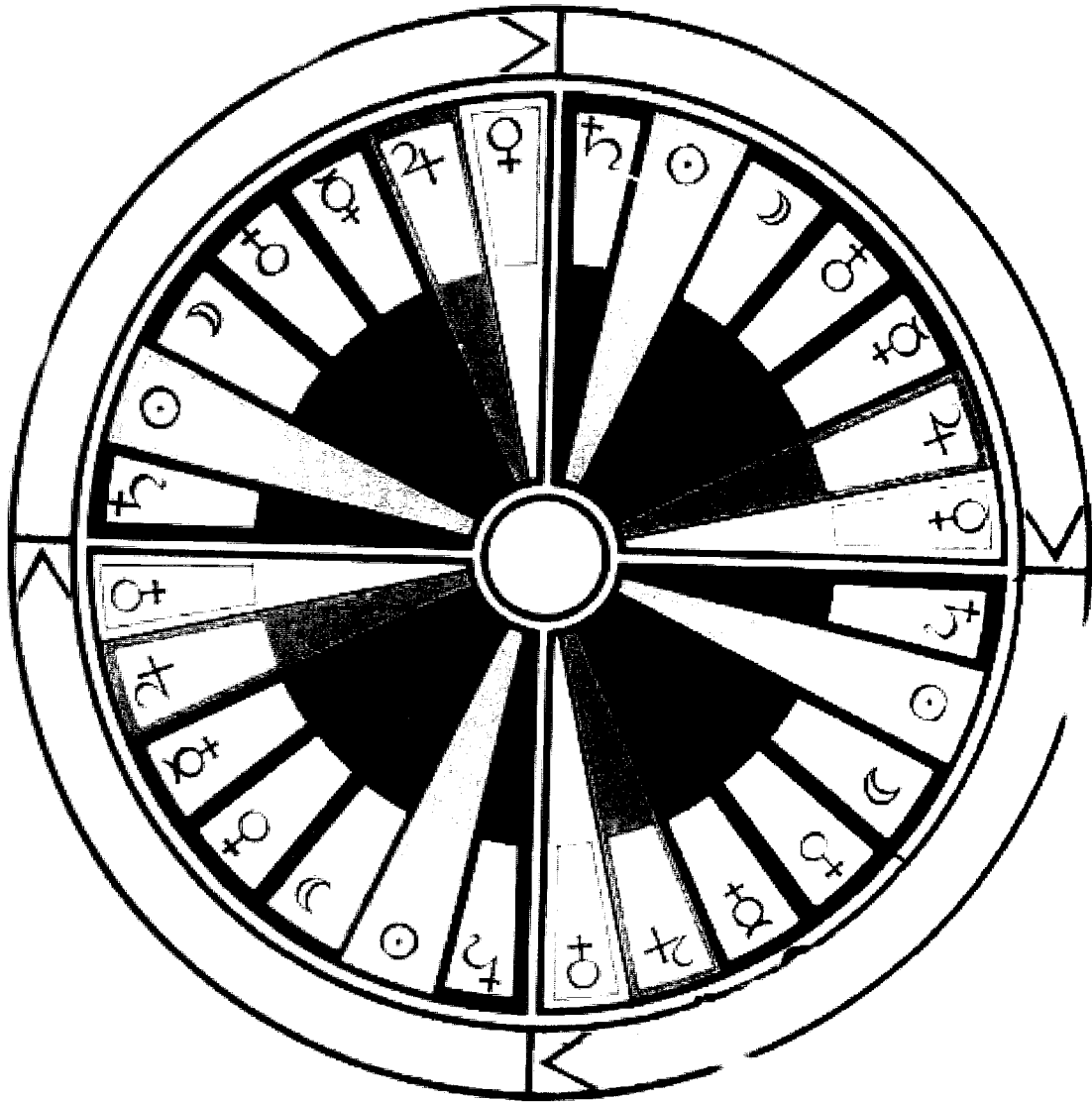


Fig. 76. The Circle of Color. (after Ardalan & Bakhtiar)
 The days of the week, their planetary correspondences
 and colors according to Nizami, Haft Paykar.

Discussion and Conclusion.

As we have through this research, the *Arg* was a generative architectural typology in the Iranian cities. Until the time of Islam, this space was directly associated with the concept of Anahita. Afterward, if we look at the topology of castles in Iran we will see this association did not disappear from Persian architecture. All castles were built on hill tops and mountains. If their names were associated with female names, they were connected indirectly with Anahita. Obviously, there was no possibility for the Anahita temple to keep its original function in the city after the religious transformation. One can conjecture that the presence of *Qaleh Dukhtars* (maidens castle) located outside of the cities in isolation, are a sort of alternative or resistance to the new faith and an attempt by Persians to keep their tradition alive. It may also be a form of nostalgia. We can trace the growth of Persian nostalgia in all aspects of life beginning two hundred years after the start of the Islamic rule.

In literature, with the national epics of Daqiqi and Ferdowsi, this literary movement reached its peak with the integration of Islamic tradition. In political terms of nationalistic local governments took power in different parts of Iran like Saffarian in the central part and in the south, Tahrrian in the north, and Samnied in the east. In terms of philosophical thought, philosophers like Sohrawardi brought pre-Islamic tradition and introduced a new flavour, to Islamic thought. Later in the 16th century the Safavid Kings tried to revive the Achaemind architecture for their own court at *Chahal Suton* (palace of forty columns) in Isfahan, which followed the same layout of *Tallar-e sad Suton* (palace of one hundred columns) from the complex of Persepolis.

If we return to the concept of *Arg* as the conceptual and archetypal origin of Persian space, we can see why this space has survived in Iranian cities through history. That can be understood as a process of transformation. Firstly the *Arg* was a place of worship for the Goddess *Anahita*, until the Islamic era. That was as a process of steady growth rather than dramatic change. Parallel to the architecture, in the literary works of that time, the place of Anahita in Persian cosmology stayed safe and worked as an essential element in Persian culture, a source of inspiration and spirituality.

The second stage took place in the time of the Parthians when the Achaemenid Empire was defeated by Alexander the Great (331 B.C.). The victory of Alexander over the Achaemenids diffused Greek ideas into Persian art and architecture. He established many circular cities in Iran, which followed the Hippodamean plan. The Persian Parthians, who preferred to build round cities, followed the Successors of Alexander. The Seleucids for instance, built Darabgard as a perfect circular mud wall, which encircles two large rock formations. On one of these are the ruins of a castle, most likely the temple of Anahita.¹⁴¹ The Greek influence could be seen clearly in Persia during the Parthian period. The most impressive example of this impact in reference to temples of Anahita can be seen in Kangawar. Here, the arrangement of Ionic columns in front of the temple and the Statue of Anahita inside did not follow prototype of Iranian temples like in Susa and Persepolis; this was an application of a Greek idea. Isidore of Charax visited this temple under the Parthians, he reported that Ecbatana¹⁴² was the greatest metropolis of Media¹⁴³ with a temple of Anahita where sacrifices were regularly offered. At Concohar (Kangawar) in lower Media, a temple of “Artemis” was built about 200

¹⁴¹ Gabe heniz *The Iranian Cities*. p. 25.

¹⁴² The ancient name of Hamadan, a city in north west of Iran

¹⁴³ Median were a local culture in this area at that time

B.C.¹⁴⁴ The Parthians had developed a unique architecture by combining both Greek and Persian elements. Parthian architecture made singular contributions to the development of architectural form in Persia. The achievement of a dome on squinches and the development of the vaulted *iwan* structure were some of these contributions. These major contributions to the development of architectural forms were indigenously Persian, but the Parthian decoration and façade treatment were closely related to Greek themes. The best example of these developments can be seen in the Palace of Harta in Iraq, and Nisa Palace in Turkmenistan.¹⁴⁵

The most significant impact of the Parthians on the tradition of the temple of Anahita was the integration of the ruler residence into the temple compound as a religious and political centre outside of the city walls in the form of *Arg*. This was a new relationship between politics and religion in Persian culture.

The third stage can be seen in the Sassanian period when the temple and the ruler's residence moved into Iranian cities as the center of both religious and political power. This change was due to the new political changes in Iranian society at that time. The Sassanians unified Persia under one strong political power and they re-established the Zoroastrian religion again under the name of Zervanism. Ardashir I, the founder of the Sassanian Empire, built a magnificent fortress- Palace, *Qaleh- Dukhtar* before he defeated the last Parthian king, Artabanus. The palace was built on the top of a hill overlooking the road which led from Shiraz to the Persian Gulf via Firozabad. Later on, the city of Firozabad was established around it as a circular city (Fig. 62). The *Qaleh Dukhtar* was built in three stories, with the entrance via a ramp on the lowest courtyard.

¹⁴⁴ *Mansiones Parthicae*. Section 6; Polybius *Histories* 1027.

¹⁴⁵ Pope Arthur Upham. *Introducing Persian Architecture*. London: Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 28.

A range of rooms serving as a barracks were located on the second floor and another courtyard on the highest terrace leading to the imposing palace that is very similar to city of Bam. The temple and the seat of ruler functioned together until the time of Islam.

When Muslims took power in Persia, all the Zoroastrian religious institutions transformed to Islamic institutions. Anahita's temple and the seat of the king could not continue its function; they gradually became just the seat of the government and the administrative centre in the new phase of Iranian cities. All the elements of the temple were transformed into new characters in Islamic understanding. The image of Anahita became a myth and was reflected in literature as a cultural reference.

Ferdowsi, in *Shahnameh*, revealed a different meaning of castle prior to the Islamic culture. In all levels of understanding Ferdowsi refers his reader to the origin of this space as a place of worship by cultural signs and references. In the White Castle, the colour of white is the colour of Anahita as it is reflected in the light of the pole star and in diamonds. In Sohrab's story and Ruen-Diz, women and *Arg* appeared together in one context and refer to Anahita. In the case of Princes Syavoosh and Kaykhosrow, they built fire temple as the defenders of faith and state. The relationship between the ruler and the erection of temple in the city clearly revealed the association between them in Persian thought. These two institutions became the centre of power and spirituality together in Persian cities whether they were built outside or inside of city walls.

This Persian epic could not re-establish the past and became a nostalgic mood in Persian literature. However, after a few centuries this view was integrated into Islamic thought and conserved another layer of meaning for *Arg* in Persian literature, specifically, in the epic romances around 12th century onward. They succeeded in

absorbing the deepest elements of the past into their Islamic culture rather than rejecting them. The Persian culture created a sense of continuity with the spiritual past through the integration of this legacy into the firmament of the Islamic universe; combinations of these can be clearly seen in both literature and architecture.

The most successful integration of Pre-Islamic thought with Islamic spirituality in the context of *Arg* was in Nizami's *Haft Paykar*. The content of *Haft Paykar* was associated with the journey of Sassanian King Bahram. The first image of castle emerged in *Haft Paykar* when Bahram was sent to the land of Yeman under supervision of King Nu'man. Nu'man built the Khawarnaq castle for Bahram. There arouses a question, why did Nu'man not keep Bahram in his own palace and build a separate *Arg* for Bahram? A new place for Bahram would give him the opportunity to reflect his spatial past and gave him a sense of autonomy in the foreign land. The *Arg* represented its self-autonomy and identified him from others as a Persian prince. Moreover, the most impressive discovery by Bahram in Khawarnaq castle was the room of seven portraits. This inner space of Khawarnaq opened a new dimension for Bahram to see another level of reality. As it was discussed, these seven portraits reflected the Pre-Islamic and Islamic cosmic order. The idea of this space in Khawarnaq perhaps was derived from the Sufi space in *Khanehqa* (Sufi school) called *Khalwat Khaneh* (similar in some way to the monastic cells). It is an isolated cell in the most private part of *Khanehqa* for the practice of the *Khalwat* (retreat). The retreat to an isolated cell in order to remember God is considered by many orders to be the most important of all Sufi practices. It is an aid in achieving a state of permanent inward retreat; observing the

traditions of the prophet Muhammad, who used to retreat to caves in the mountains.¹⁴⁶

The difference of *Khlawat Khaneh* from the room of seven portraits is their representations. The room of seven portraits is a metaphor of Love, which depicted the image of seven females. According to the Islamic tradition, worshipping an icon or any image is forbidden, but in this case the concept of beauty was considered. The beautiful face of a woman reflects the beauty of God. The Sufi cell is a real space in the physical world and there is no image in it, just its walls and ceiling covered with calligraphy where a Sufi isolated himself for forty days reciting the divine names in order to be closer to God. In *Haft Paykar*, the room of seven portraits functions as *Khalwat Khaneh* for Bahram to continue his journey to reach to the Divine light in order to one day be a just king. When Bahram became the king of Persia, he expanded the idea of seven portraits into *Haft Gonbad* (seven Dome or Pavilion) into another level of reality. The room of seven portraits and seven pavilions convey both traditions of the Persian cosmology.

If we look at the ancient city of Bam we are able to see the relationship between literature and architecture. The whole city as one entity reflects the archetype of the Persian city. The city is laid out in a rectangular shape within a circular wall (it was called the golden ring in the myth of Jamshid). The city is divided into three parts reflecting the significance of the number 3 as the three levels of the society, three sacred fires, and three water wells. Also, as has been discussed, the triangle is the symbol of the three aspects of soul in the Sufi tradition as well as the three feminine archangels in the Zoroastrians cosmology. The house of the governor was built on Chahar Taq plan with a dome which reflects the number 4 and the square. The dome, which is generated by the

¹⁴⁶ For more details about this concept refer to, Lings Martin. *A Sufi Saint of Twentieth Century*. London: Thames and Hudson 1971. And ,Bakhtiar Laleh. *Sufi Expressions of the Mystic Quest*. London. Thames and Hudson, 1976.

geometry of the circle, symbolizes the dome of the cosmos where a person receives the light of divine. The city has six gates referring to the number of 6 and the hexagon. The number 7 can be seen in the seven separate walls of the city. The *Khalwat Khaneh* can be related to the *Kot-e Kerm* (The house of Worm). This space in the city was a secret room or the treasury room, which only the governor had access to. As in *Haft paykar* the room of the seven portraits was opened by Bahram.

In this level, the concept of *Arg* is the only architectural space, which contains a multi layer of meanings in Persian literature. It also embodies the concept of light. At this point, the prototype of Persian tradition intermingled with the Islamic spirituality in relation to the concept of light and *Arg*, a place that reflects the Divine light. The *Arg*, understood from this point of view becomes the only space in Persian art and architecture from which a ruler can reach the Divine light and be protected and guided by it. The most powerful symbol of the supernatural world in Persian culture is light Zoroastrians celebrated it as a direct presence of *Ahura-Mazda* in the terrestrial order and it is described as the Divine Presence in the “Light Verse” in the *Quraán*.¹⁴⁷ “God is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth.” From this junction one can argue that this provided a strong connection for the concept of *Arg* to crossover and evolve during the Islamic era and retain its original function as a hidden sacred space. As we saw in the traditional cities of Iran, especially after the arrival of Islam, this space has been a prominent space as a seat of kings and governors. As it was called *Arg* later on during the Islamic era, there was no antagonism towards its name, although *Arg* is related to the name of Anahita. Anahita was protected and represented the Divine light parallel to the King and

¹⁴⁷ *Quraán* is the sacred scripture of the Islamic faith, its first verses were revealed to Prophet Muhammad while he was meditating in a cave on a mountain top.

ruler who in the Islamic understanding represents the divine light on the earth or “the Ruler is the Shadow of God.”¹⁴⁸ However, the common approach to the concept of light saved this space in Persian cities as well as in literature as a metaphor.

¹⁴⁸ This concept promoted in Pre-Islamic Cultures in Mesopotamia; the king is mediator between gods and people and in Islamic tradition the philosopher Imam Mohammad Ghazali Says; the King is the shadow of God.

Appendix :

1. Rostam And White castle.

...
Take vengeance for the blood of Nariman.
Speed forth to Mount Sipand where thou wilt see
A cloud-capt stronghold four leagues square, where over
The eagle hath not soared. 'Tis full of herbage
And water, gold and money, men and beasts.
Both trees and husbandmen abound there; none
Hath seen a place like that. The All-Provider
Hath furnished workmen of all sorts, and fruit-trees.
There is but one approach; 'tis through a gate
As high as heaven, and Nariman, who bore
The ball from all the chiefs, approached the stronghold
By order of Shah Faridun and held
The road. The siege went on both night and day
With stratagems and spells above a year,
Until the foe hurled down a rock and earth
Possessed the paladin no more. The host
Retreated to the Shah. When Sam was told:-
The valiant Lion hath had fight enough,'
He wailed with growing grief, and having mourned
A week in anguish called the host together.
He marched against that hold with troops that covered
The waste and desert, and for months and years
Beleaguered it in vain. None issued forth
And none went in, but though the gate was shut
So long the foe lacked not a stalk of hay,
And Sam forewent his vengeance in despair.
Now is the time, my son! for artifice.
Go with a caravan in merry pin,
So that the watchmen may not find thee out,
And when thou occupiest Mount Sipand
Destroy those evil-doers, root and stem.
Since thou art yet unknown thou may succeed."
Then Rustam answered? I will do thy bidding
And soon provide a physic for the ache."
Said Zal to him? My prudent son! give ear.
Don camel-drivers' clothes and from the plain
Fetch camels to make up a caravan.
Disguise thyself and carry naught but salt,
For that is precious there. The folk know nothing
Of greater value. Though the castle towered
Above its gate they have no salt to eat,
So all will run to greet thee when they see
Loads of it coming unexpectedly."

How Rostam went to Mount Sipand and destroyed the white Castle.

Then Rustam made him ready for the fray,
Concealed his mace within a load of salt

And took some wise and valiant men withal.
 He hid the arms within the camels' loads
 And merry at the artifice sped on
 To Mount Sipand. When he arrived the watchman
 Saw him and hastened to the castellan.
 "A caravan," he said, "with many drivers
 Hath come, and if my lord doth ask their business,
 To me it seemeth that they carry salt."
 The chief sent one in haste to learn their loading,
 Who went like dust to Rustam and inquired :-
 "O master of the caravan! inform me
 What merchandise is hidden in thy packs,
 That I may go and tell the castellan
 And take his orders."
 Rustam answered him:-
 Go Go to the noble castellan and say
 They carry salt."
 The messenger returned
 And said: "They carry salt alone, my lord!"
 The chief rose, glad and smiling, bade his men
 Unbar the gate and let the strangers in.
 So battle-loving Rustam with his folk
 Approached the gate whence people hurried out
 To welcome him. He kissed the ground before
 The chieftain, paid him many compliments,
 Gave him much salt and spake fair words all round.
 The chieftain said to Rustam: "Live for ever.
 Be as the sun and as the shining moon.
 I both accept and thank thee, worthy youth! "
 Young Rustam entered the bazar and took
 His caravan. The people flocked about him;
 One gave a robe, another gold and silver,
 And chaffered with him unsuspectingly.
 At night brave Rustam and his warriors,
 Armed for the fray, made for the castellan,
 Who strove against them, but the Matchless one
 Struck him a mace-blow on the head, and buried
 His head and crown in dust. The tidings spread,
 The people hastened to oppose the foe,
 Night gloomed, blades flashed, and earth was like the ruby.
 What with the mellay and the waves of blood
 One would have said: "A sunset sky hath fallen."
 The peerless Rustam with his lasso, mace,
 And sword destroyed the gallant foe; and when
 The sun unveiled itself, and held the world
 From earth to Pleiades, of all the garrison
 Not one remained alive that was not wounded.
 The brave Iranians entered every nook
 And slaughtered all they found. The matchless Rustam
 Saw in the citadel where room was scant
 A building of hard stone with iron doors,
 And having with his mace-blows shattered them
 He entered and beheld a lofty vault
 Full of dinas. Astonied at the sight
 He bit his lip; then to his chiefs he said:-
 "Who ever would have thought of such a thing?

Good sooth no gold remained in the mines,
Or any pearl or jewel in the sea;
They lie out-spread within this treasury."

Rustam wrote a Letter announcing his Victory to Zal

Then Rustam wrote his sire a full report
Of what had passed? First blessing be on Him,
Who is the Lord of serpent, ant, and sun,
Of Venus, Mars, and Sol, and heaven above.
May He bless Zal, the hero of Zabul,
The peerless paladin, the warriors' shelter,
The Iranians' stay, who set up on high

...

"I came to Mount Sipand
By thy behest, and what a mount was there!
'Twas like the sky. When I had reached its foot
There came a greeting from the castellan,
And though I did according to his bidding
All things turned out as I would have them be.
At night-time with my famous men of war
I gave scant respite to the garrison,
Who have been slain or maimed or have escaped
By throwing all their fighting-gear away.
There are in sooth five hundred thousand loads
Of silver ingots and of standard gold.
Of raiment, tapestries, and movables
No one could tell the total though he counted
For days and months. What would the paladin?
May his steps prosper, may his mind be bright."
The messenger came like a blast and gave
The letter to the paladin. That chieftain
Read and exclaimed? Praise to those noble ones."
Thou wouldst have said? The news will make him young."
He wrote a full reply, first praising God
And then proceeding thus? I have perused
That tale of triumph and poured out my soul
In joy. Such fights become thee well, my son!
Who though a boy hast played the man, illumed
The soul of Nariman and burned his foes.
To carry off the spoil I have sent camels
By thousands. Having read this mount with speed;
This absence grieved me. Pack all the best,
Then fire the hold in vengeance."

...

2. Story of Sohrab and Iranian Pavilions

...

Yon many-hued enclosure of brocade
Encircling tents of leopard-skin; before it
A hundred mighty elephants are tethered;
There is a turquoise throne blue as the Nile,
A flag charged with a yellow sun, the stall
Crowned with a golden moon, the case of purple.

Who is the man thus stationed in the centre? "

Hajir replied: "The Shah, and at his gate
Are elephants and lions."

"On the right,"

Suhrab said, " there are many cavaliers
With elephants and baggage. The enclosure
Is black, and round it troops are standing ranked
With tents past count, before it there are lions,
Behind it elephants, while in the front
There is a flag chArged with an elephant,
And cavaliers in golden boots stand by."

Hajir replied: " 'Tis Tus son of Naudar
His standard hath an elephant-device."

Suhrab went on: "That red enclosure there,
Where many cavaliers are standing round,
The standard purple, the device a lion,
And in the centre there are sparkling jewels.
Behind it is a multitude of troops,
Who all bear lances and are clad in mail.
Who is he? Let me know the chieftain's name,
And bring not ruin on thyself by guile."
He answered: "That belongeth to Gudarz -
The glory of the Free - son of Kishwad,

...

Suhrab went on: "As to yon green enclosure
In front whereof are stationed many troops,
While in the midst a splendid throne is set
With Kawa's flag before it. On the throne
A paladin is seated, one that hath
The Grace, the neck, and shoulders of a hero,
And seated thus is higher by a head
Than any of the people standing near.
Before him is a chArger just his match
In height; a lasso droopeth to its hoofs.
Whene'er the chArger snorteth thou wouldst say:-

'It is the raging sea! ' In front of him
Are many elephants in mail, and he
Is restless. I behold not in Iran
One of his height or such another chArger.
There is a dragon, look! upon his standard,
And on the staff-top is a golden lion."
Hajir thought: "If I tell this lion-man
The bearings of the elephantine hero,
Forthwith he will send up the dust from Rustam.
'Tis best to keep him dark and name him not."

He answered: "An ally of ours from Chin
Hath lately joined the Shah."

Suhrab inquired

His name. Hajir replied: "I know it not,
For I was in this castle at the time."

...

Suhrab next asked him: "Who among the chiefs
Pitched that enclosure which is most apart,
Where many cavaliers and elephants
Are standing and the clarions are sounding?
Above it is a flag chArged with a wolf;

The golden staff-head reacheth to the clouds;
Within there is a throne with slaves before it."
He answered: "That is Giv son of Gydarz,

...
Suhrab continued: "Where the shining sun
Is rising I perceive a white enclosure
All of brocade of Ruman make.

...
Hajir replied: "This youthful Fariburz,
Son of the Shah and crown of warriors."

...
He asked: "Whose is that yellow tent-enclosure
In front whereof a banner fluttereth
With others yellow, red, and violet round it?
The chArge upon the hindmost is a boar,
And on the lofty staff a silvern moon."
"His name," Hajir made answer, "is Guraza,
Who draweth not the rein in fights with lions -

3. Styory of Khosrow and Bahaman Diz.

...
Kavoos replied to him: "This is not well,
For both alike are dear; when I have chosen
One then the other will seek vengeance on me.
I will take means that this may not betide

Among our folk. Let both, each with a host,
Go to the entering in of Ardabil -
The march where is the castle of Bahman,
And Ahriman is ever making war
On those that worship fire. No archimages

Dare settle there. I will give up the throne
Of kings to him who captured that fortress."
Gudarz and Tus, contented with the plan
Of their clear-sighted chief, proposed no better,
But set their hearts on its accomplishment,
And from the monarch's presence forth they went.

How Tus and Fariborz went to the Castle of Bahman and came back foiled

Now when Sol rose in Leo, and the night
Was turned beneath, came Fariburz and Tus
In haste before the Shah, and Tus spake thus:-
"Now will I take the drums, host, elephants,
With Kawa's flag, and turn the ruddy cheeks
Of foemen pale. The Grace of Fariburz,
And royal might, shall gird me royally."
The Shah replied: "When men go forth to war
Their number more or less important not,

But by the purpose of the Lord of sun
 And moon they may have triumph and success
 So if it seemed good to Fariburz,
 Array thine army and be diligent."
 Tus with the golden boots upon his feet
 Went forth with Kawa's standard. Fariborz,
 Son of Kaus, was at the army's centre,
 While Tus went first with troops and elephants.
 When he drew near the castle of Bahman
 The ground seemed breathing fire, the lances' points
 Flamed in the heat, the men of war were scorched
 Beneath their mail. Thou hadst said: "Earth is burning,
 Air is a net of rebel Ahriman's!"
 The ramparts rose to heaven; none knew a way
 To battle there. Tus said to Fariborz :-
 "A man of mettle going into fight
 With lasso, falchion, and artillery,
 Will strive to wreck his foes, but to this castle
 Is no approach, at least we know it not.
 Our loins are scorching underneath our mail,
 The bodies of our beasts of burden burn.
 Have no anxiety within thy heart
 Thou hast not ta'en, and none can take, this hold."
 They went about the castle seven days,
 And found no entrance, then turned back again
 Despairing; their long journey proved in vain.

How Kai Khosrow went to the Castle of Bahman and took it

When tidings reached the chiefs and old Gudarz,
 The offspring of Kishwad : "Tus hath returned
 With Fariburz, prepare thyself to go,"
 He donned his mail, shouts rose, the world's new lord
 Khusrau came forth. They set a golden throne,
 Inlaid with emeralds, on an elephant;
 Around the prince were warlike cavaliers
 With flags of violet, with golden boots,
 With crowns of amber, and with torques of gold
 Adorned with divers gems. Gudarz thus spoke :-
 "This is the first of days, for Kai Khosrow,
 The atheling acceded to the throne."
 The atheling sat on the golden seat,
 Crowned and with mace in hand; he with Gudarz,
 Giv, and a numerous host went toward the castle.
 When near the hold he girded up his loins,
 Put on his mail, and, mounted on his charger,
 Dictated to a scribe in lofty terms
 A letter, which they wrote in royal style
 With ambergris, and in the olden tongue:-
 "This letter cometh from the Almighty's slave -
 From noble Kai Khosrow the atheling,
 Who, freed from wicked Ahriman's constraint,
 Hath cleansed his hands from ill by help of God,
 Who is eternally the Lord most high,

The Giver of our daily bread, our Guide,
The Lord of Mars, of Saturn, and the Sun,
The Lord of Grace, the Lord of puissance,
Who gave the throne and Grace of kings to me,
Fierce lion's claws and elephantine bulk.
The whole world is my kingdom; all is mine

From Pisces downward to the Bull's head. Now
If this hold be of Ahriman's domain,
The enemy of Him who made the world,

I by the Grace, and Holy God's command,
Wilt cast it headlong from the clouds to dust
And if it is a hold of sorcerers
I can dispose of them without a host,

For when I have looped up my leathern lasso'
I take the heads of sorcerers in the noose;
While if the blest Surush himself is there
The host is one at the command of God.
I am not of the seed of Ahriman;
My soul hath Grace, my body lofty stature;
By God's command I will reduce the castle,
Such are the orders of the king of kings."
Khosrow then took a lengthy lance and fixed
Thereto the haughty letter banner-wise;
He asked for naught on earth but royal Grace,
And ordered Giv to hasten with the spear
Up to the lofty ramparts, saying thus:-
"Take thou this letter of admonishment,
And bear it to yon lofty castle's wall;
Plant there the spear, call on the name of God,
Then quickly turn thy rein and hurry back."
That worshipper of God, that glorious chief,
Giv, took the spear in hand and went his way.
He set the letter by the wall, delivered
The message of Khosrow, pronounced the name
Of God who give good and fled like wind.
That noble letter vanished with a crash,
Dust flew, and by command of Holy God
The rampart of the stronghold split asunder;
Thou wouldst have said: "It thundered as in spring."
A shout went up from plain and mountain-top,
The earth became black as a negro's face,
Sun, Moon, and Pleiades were lost to sight,
And thou hadst said: "A murky cloud arises,
The air is like a mighty lion's maw."
Then Kai Khosrow urged on his sable steed,
And shouted to the captains of the host:-
"Make arrows rain in showers upon the hold,
And let your bows be like a cloud in spring."
Immediately a cloud rosy chArged with hail,

Hail chArged with death; full many a div was slain
And many venom-stricken fell to earth.
At length a brilliant light began to shine,

And all the heavy darkness cleared away;
A glorious breeze sprang up; the heaven above,
And all the face of earth, began to smile;
The world became as 'twere the shining moon

By God's name and the prince's Grace, the divs
Went at his bidding, and the gate was seen.
The monarch of the free made entry there
With old Gudarz, the offspring of Kishwad,
And saw a mighty city in the hold,

All gardens, spaces, halls, and palaces.
Upon the spot where darkness cleared and light
First shone Khosrow commanded to erect

A dome ascending to the darksome clouds.
It was ten lassos long and broad, its circuit
Was half a rapid Arab chArger's course,
And round it there were lofty cupolas.
He brought and stablished there AzArgashasp,
And round it settled the astrologers,
The archmages, and the men of lore. He tarried
Till that Fire-fane attained to good repute,
And, when a year had passed, led forth his force,

...

4. story of Syavoosh.

...Thus for a year in justice and in love
The circling heaven turned and brought no care;
Then from the presence of the monarch came
A friendly messenger to Syavoosh,
And said: "The king saith: 'O illustrious chieftain
I have bestowed upon thee all the realm
From here to Chin: go round and view the lands.
In any city where thou fondest ease,
Contentment, and no more to be desired,
Abide in gladness and prosperity;
Stint not thy soul one moment of delight.'"
Then Syavoosh, rejoicing at his words,
Struck up the pipes and drums, and packed the loads.
A host accompanied him on the way
With arms and treasure, signet-ring and crown.

...

They found one day a cultivated tract
It was a goodly and well favoured site,
On one side mountains, on another sea.
Upon a third side was a hunting-ground,
Secluded, full of trees and rivulets -
A place to make the old heart young again.
Then to Piran spake Syavoosh and said:-
"See what a noble site these fields afford
Here will I fashion me a goodly seat
To be my heart's delight, a spacious city
Containing palace, hall, and pleasure-grounds
I will exalt the buildings to the moon,

And make them worthy of the crown and throne."

With rose-beds, gardens, open space, and hall,
Stream, river, and hot baths, while minstrelsy,
Perfume, and brilliant hues pervade it all.
The hills are stocked with game, the plains with deer.
Once having seen it thou wilt tarry here,
And in thy rambles o'er the higher ground
Will pheasants, peacocks, partridges be found.
No winter's frosts to summer's heats succeed,
There is no lack of food, repose, or mirth,

Thou wilt not see a single invalid;
In short it is a paradise on earth.
The water here is wholesome, clear, and bright,
The whole champion in vernal garb is dight.
Its length and breadth have thirty leagues extent
According to the Persian measurement,
And one league and a half in altitude

'Would weary any one to scale the height,
And when the place is from the summit viewed

None ever saw a scene more exquisite.
When Syavoosh had visited the place
He chose it out of all Iran to bear
His name, and built of marble, stone, cement,
And some material to us unknown,

A wall above one hundred cubits high
And eight and thirty broad; the hold out-ranged

Both shaft and catapult, but thou should see
The place itself, for one that hath not seen it
Will, thou wouldst say, be angry with the poet.
The prince endured much hardship thereabout

All for the sake of greatness, throne, and crown,
And made himself in that delightful spot
A charming seat with palace, hall, and park.

He planted many trees, and made the place
Like Paradise, and for its flowers chose
Narcissus, tulip, hyacinth, and rose.

.... Thereon he built
A city famous for its rosaries,
Its lofty palaces, and orchard-grounds.
He limned within the hall full many a picture
Of kings, of battle, and of banqueting,
And painted there Kavoos with mace and armlets,
Crowned on his throne, with elephantine Rustam,
With Zal, Gudarz, and all that company.
Elsewhere he limned Afrasiyab, his army,
Pirn, and Gersiwaz the vengeful one.
That pleasant city was the talk of all

Good men both in Iran and in Tllraan.
At every corner was a cupola,
Whose summit reached the clouds. There minstrels sat
And sang while chiefs and warriors kept guard
Around. Syavooshgird the common voice
Called it; that city made all hearts rejoice.
...

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