



Oriens et Occidens – Band 25

Franz Steiner Verlag

Sonderdruck aus:

Persianism in Antiquity

Edited by Rolf Strootman and Miguel John Versluys



Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2017

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments.	7
<i>Rolf Strootman & Miguel John Versluys</i> From Culture to Concept: The Reception and Appropriation of Persia in Antiquity	9
Part I: Persianization, Persomania, Perserie	33
<i>Albert de Jong</i> Being Iranian in Antiquity (at Home and Abroad)	35
<i>Margaret C. Miller</i> Quoting ‘Persia’ in Athens	49
<i>Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones</i> ‘Open Sesame!’ Orientalist Fantasy and the Persian Court in Greek Art 430–330 BCE	69
<i>Omar Coloru</i> Once were Persians: The Perception of Pre-Islamic Monuments in Iran from the 16th to the 19th Century.	87
<i>Judith A. Lerner</i> Ancient Persianisms in Nineteenth-Century Iran: The Revival of Persepolitan Imagery under the Qajars.	107
<i>David Engels</i> Is there a “Persian High Culture”? Critical Reflections on the Place of Ancient Iran in Oswald Spengler’s Philosophy of History.	121
Part II: The Hellenistic World	145
<i>Damien Agut-Labordère</i> Persianism through Persianization: The Case of Ptolemaic Egypt.	147
<i>Sonja Plischke</i> Persianism under the early Seleukid Kings? The Royal Title ‘Great King’	163
<i>Rolf Strootman</i> Imperial Persianism: Seleukids, Arsakids and <i>Fratarakā</i>	177

<i>Matthew Canepa</i> Rival Images of Iranian Kingship and Persian Identity in Post-Achaemenid Western Asia	201
<i>Charlotte Lerouge-Cohen</i> Persianism in the Kingdom of Pontic Kappadokia. The Genealogical Claims of the Mithridatids.	223
<i>Bruno Jacobs</i> Tradition oder Fiktion? Die „persischen“ Elemente in den Ausstattung- programmen Antiochos' I. von Kommagene	235
<i>Benedikt Eckhardt</i> Memories of Persian Rule: Constructing History and Ideology in Hasmonean Judea	249
Part III: Roman and Sasanian Perspectives.	267
<i>Valeria Sergueenkova & Felipe Rojas</i> Persia on their Minds: Achaemenid Memory Horizons in Roman Anatolia . .	269
<i>Richard Gordon</i> <i>Persae in spelaeis solem colunt</i> : Mithra(s) between Persia and Rome	289
<i>Eran Almagor</i> The Empire brought back: Persianism in Imperial Greek Literature	327
<i>Michael Sommer</i> The Eternal Persian: Persianism in Ammianus Marcellinus.	345
<i>Richard Fowler</i> Cyrus to Arsakes, Ezra to Izates: Parthia and Persianism in Josephus.	355
<i>Josef Wiesehöfer</i> Ērān ud Anērān: Sasanian Patterns of Worldview	381
<i>Touraj Daryaee</i> The Idea of the Sacred Land of Ērānšahr	393
<i>M. Rahim Shayegan</i> Persianism: Or Achaemenid Reminiscences in the Iranian and Iranicate World(s) of Antiquity	401
Abbreviations	457
Bibliography	459

THE IDEA OF THE SACRED LAND OF ĒRĀNŠAHR

Touraj Daryae

The tenth century CE scholar Tha'alibī, born in Khurasan, provides us with the story of the famous Iranian archer Arash (also known in Persian as *Kamāngīr*) and the setting of the eastern boundary of Iran. Arash the archer through an agreement between the forces of the Iranians and Afrāsīyāb, the king of Turan, is to shoot an arrow to mark the boundary between Iran and Turan. From a mountain peak in Tabaristan, where Afrāsīyāb could see him, he unleashed an arrow, which miraculously hit a walnut tree in the land of Kholm, a district of Balkh. The location was agreed to be the boundary between Iran and the land of the Turanian Turks.¹ The geographical location given for the landing of this mightily shot arrow is near Balkh on the banks of the Oxus River (*Āmū Daryā*), by the various medieval Persian authors such as Bal'amī and Abu Reyhan Bīrunī. What makes this tradition so interesting is that in an early Persian text, *The Preface to the Šāhnāme of Abū Mansūrī* (dated to 960 CE), it is stated that:

[...] the boundary of *Iranshahr* is from the Āmū Daryā (Oxus) river to Forāt (sc. the Euphrates, or, alternatively, the Nile) river and these other regions are around it, and from these seven regions/countries, *Iranshahr* is more magnanimous in every part.²

Thus, here we see that two rivers, one Euphrates and the other Oxus are seen as the westernmost and easternmost limits of *Iranshahr*, *i. e.*, the “Empire of the Iranians.” In the same vein a similar eastern boundary (Balkh) is given in the Middle Persian text, the *Šāhrestānīhā ī Erānšahr* (‘The Provincial Capitals of *Iranshahr*’), a Sasanian geographical treatise, originally composed during the reign of King Kawād I (499–531 CE),³ where it is stated that:

In the brilliant Balkh [...] he (Spandīyād / Isfandīyār) set the miraculous Wahrām fire there and struck his lance there and he sent a message to Yabbu Khāgān, Sinjēbīk Khāgān, and Čōl Khāgān and the Great Khāgān and Gohram and Tuzāb and Arzāsp, the king of the Hayōns (Khionites): “Behold my lance, whoever beholds the movement of this lance is like they have rushed to *Iranshar*.”⁴

There are yet more Middle Persian references pointing to Balkh and the Oxus River as the traditional eastern boundary of *Iranshahr* in the imperial imagery of the Sasanians in Late Antiquity.⁵ Of course, Ctesiphon as the capital of the empire necessitated a strong defense against the Romans and so some territory beyond the

1 Tha'alibī, p. 90–91.

2 Qazvīnī (1984), p. 49.

3 In Arabic the text is known as *Qawādiyān* or the *Book of Kawād*, see Zakeri (2011), p. 218.

4 *Šāhrestānīhā ī Erānšahr*, ed. Daryae (2002b), p. 17–18.

5 See *Wīzīdagīhā ī Zadspram* (Gignoux & Tafazzolī) 1993, p. 58–59. Here *Nawāzag* is the main place for the boundary between Iran and Turan.

Euphrates became contested regions, including Syria between the two great powers of the Eurasian world. The boundary on the western front is also outlined by the Roman defensive forts, which were built south, and west of the Euphrates River, where the river itself in the northern reaches created a natural boundary. However, we should also point to the boundary as agreed in treaties dealing with commerce in Mesopotamia between the Romans and the Sasanians. For example in 408/409 CE it was agreed that Nisibis, Callinicum and Artaxata were the commercial border between the two sides.⁶

Thus, there seems to be a conceptual spatial unit for Iranshahr, which expands from river to river, that is from the Oxus to the Euphrates. This spatial unit was what the Sasanians themselves called *Iranshahr* / *Ērānšahr* (**aryānām xšaθra*), that is, the “Empire of the Iranians”, from the third to the seventh century CE. The Italian scholar, G. Gnoli, in a well-known work entitled *The Idea of Iran*, showed that it was not the Achaemenids, nor the Parthians, but the Sasanians who first used such a terminology to identify their imperial location with precision.⁷ How did the Sasanians create such a spatial boundary and set such border markers as a conceptual unity of Iranshahr? In this essay, I wish to delineate the use of rivers and walls built by the Sasanian at the edges of the empire, which promoted and created a conceptual vision of Iranshahr where the Iranians lived and the King of Kings ruled. Iranshahr was both a sacred and imperial space as we learn from the inscriptions of the third century CE.

Furthermore, the Sasanians infused a set of cultural values, however pertaining to the high culture, it could be found in Middle Persian texts (eg. *Xusrō ud Rēdag* / Khusro and the Page), as part of acquiring culture (Middle Persian *Frahang*), ultimately found in the *Shahnameh* of Ferdowsī (Book of Kings), which is based on the Sasanian *Xwadāy-nāmag* (Book of Lords).

THE IMPERIAL AND CULTURAL BOUNDARIES OF IRANSHAHR: ĒRĀN UD AN-ĒRĀN

Starting with the first major inscription of the Sasanian Empire, that of Šāpur I at Ka'be-ye Zardošt (ŠKZ) we find an imperial geographical setting after the repeated defeat of the Roman Empire in the third century CE. Šāpur I recognizes the boundary of his empire as such:

Ērānšahr xwadāw ahēm ud dārām šahr: Pārs, Pahlaw, Xūzestān, Mēšān, Asōrestān, Nōdštragān, Arabestān, Ādūrbādagān, Armen, Wiruzān, Segān, Alān, Balāsagān yad frāxš ō kōf ud Alānān bar ud hamāg Padišwar kōf, Mād, Wurgān, Marg, Harēw ud hamāg Abrāhār, kermān, Sagastān, Tūrān, Makrān, Pāradān, Hindestān, Kūšanšahr yad frāx ō Paškbūr u dyad ō kāš Sugd Čāčestān marz ud az hō ārag zrēh Mazūnšahr.

I am the ruler of Iranshahr and hold these realms: Persia, Parthia, Xuzistan, Mēšān, Assyria, Adiabene, Arabia, Azarbijān, Armenia, Georgia, Segan, Albania, Balasagān, up to the Caucasus mountains and the Gates of Albania, and all the mountain chain of Pareshwar, Media, Gur-

6 *Codex of Justinian*, IV.63.4, in Greatrex & Lieu (2002), p. 33–34.

7 Gnoli (1989).

gan, Marv, Heart and all of Abaršahr, Kermān, Sistan, Turan, Makrān, Paradene, India, Kūšān lands up to Peshawar and up to Kašgar, Sogdiana and to the mountains of Tashkent, and on the other side of the sea, Oman.⁸

However, we should remember that Šāpur I also adopted the title of *Šāhān Šāh ī Ērān ud an-Ērān* “King of kings of Iranians and non-Iranians”, so it is difficult to see what part of the list provided in the ŠKZ is *an-Ēr* (“non-Iran”). Here I believe the inscription of the third century Zoroastrian priest, Kerdīr, may be of help. Kerdīr in his inscription(s) delineates the geographical boundary of the Iranian Empire / Iranshahr as:

Persis, Parthia, Xūzestān, Mēšān, Asūrestān, Nōdšīragān (Adiabēnē), Ādurbāyagān, Spāhān, *Ray, Kirmān, Sagestān, Gurgān, Marv, Harēw, Abaršahr, Tūrestān, Makran, and the Kushan country up to Peshawar.⁹

By defining Iranshahr as such, he leaves some provinces mentioned by Šāpur I outside of the Iranian realm, namely “Arabia, India, Oman, Armenia, Georgia, Albania, and Balāsagān.”¹⁰ One may suggest that the imperial notion of Iranshahr is somewhat different from the religious notion, and the reason may be that the idea of Iranshahr is originally a Zoroastrian notion. But we should remember that Šāpur I was defining his realm as that of *Ērān* (Iranian) and *an-Ērān* (non-Iranian).

However, by the sixth century CE, a series of walls were constructed to further solidify the imperial space. Textual and archaeological sources have attested four such walls constructed during the late Sasanian period. These are: I the Wall of Gorgan, II the Wall of Tammishe, III the Alān Gates (Darband), and IV the Wall of the Arabs.

As late as 2006 a group of European and Iranian archaeologists has been working on walls I and II, called by them “the great wall of Gorgan and the wall of Tammishe.” The wall of Gorgan, known also as *Sadd-ī Iskandar* (“Barrier of Alexander”), runs across the Turkmen steppe from the Caspian Sea to the mountains. It is about 195 km. long with some 33 forts and in fact is the longest wall built in antiquity (longer than Hadrian’s Wall),¹¹ indeed a huge engineering feat. The wall has been dated to the fifth and early sixth century CE, and no doubt was built as a defensive structure against the Hephthalites and other nomadic peoples trying to enter Iranshahr.¹² Nokandeh and Sauer have correctly stated that the wall “bears the hallmarks of a powerful demonstration of military superiority and an effective security measure against future threats.”¹³ The Wall of Tammishe is the other important wall in the same region, which runs from the southeast corner of the Caspian Sea into the foothills of the Alborz mountains. The excavation report suggests that it was also built during the Sasanian period.¹⁴ Textual sources such as Yāqūt

8 ŠKZ, Huyse (1999), p. 22–23.

9 KKZ, ed. Gignoux (1991).

10 See “Ērān, Ērānšahr,” in MacKenzie (1998).

11 Nokandeh & Sauer (2006), p. 127. See now also Sauer *et al.* (2013).

12 *Ibid.*, p. 163.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 167.

14 Bivar & Fehèrvéri (1966), p. 40.

and Tabarī associate this wall with the time of Khusro I to the sixth century CE. According to Yāqūt:

It was Kisrā Anūšīrvān who built it as an obstacle against the Turks and their raids in to Tabaristan.¹⁵

The third wall is located on the western side of the Caspian Sea. It was built during the reigns of Kawād I and later Khusro I in the fifth and sixth century CE.¹⁶ The Darband Wall was a project for which the Romans provided subsidy for its upkeep, as nomadic raids endangered both empires, but also as a symbol of tribute received by the Sasanian Empire.¹⁷ The Darband Wall was at least 40 km long, extending into the wooded area and impassable mountains. It had 7 gates and some 27 towers with intervals of 170–200 meters, and it was considered by the Arabs, as one of the Seven Wonders of the World. Its most interesting feature is that it has at least 25 Middle Persian inscriptions on it dated to the sixth century CE.¹⁸ The last and far less known defensive system is called *Khandaq-ī Šāpūr* in the Perso-Arabic sources and *War ī Tāzīgān* (“Wall of the Arabs”) in Middle Persian Sources. The ŠĒ mistakenly confuses Šāpūr I for Šāpūr II as the builder and states (ŠĒ 25):

Šahrestān ī hērt šābuhr ī ardaxšīrān kard, u-š mihrzād ī hērt marzbān pad war ī tāzīgān be gumārd

The city of Hīra was built by Šāpūr, the son of Ardaxšīr, and he appointed Mihrzād as the margrave of Hīrā over the Wall of the Arabs.¹⁹

The Sasanians appear to have controlled the region by appointing a margrave over the wall, where the Lakhmid chiefs became its protector from the fourth century CE onward. They were placed to defend the area from the Romans and their client kingdom of the Ghassanids. The Sasanians no doubt were protecting the agricultural lands of Mesopotamia from the Bedouins of Arabia.²⁰ We should also keep in mind that Hira is just west of the Euphrates, the hydraulic boundary between the Sasanian and Roman worlds. The Wall of the Arabs was important enough that a *Marzbān*, “Margrave”, was appointed to oversee it (ŠĒ 52). Yāqūt states that:

Khandaq-ī Sābūr is in Bariyata al-Kufa, as was dug by the order of Sābūr to separate his (realm) from that of the Arabs, for fear of their raids. Sābūr the Lord of Shoulders (Šāpūr II), built and made frontier watchtowers to protect the areas that laid near the desert, and ordered a Mote (*Khandaq*) to be dug from the lower region of the desert to what precedes Basra, and is joined to the sea (Persian Gulf). There, he built turrets and forts and arranged frontier watchtowers, so that the mote could be barrier between the inhabitants of the desert and the people of as-Sawād.²¹

I believe that H. Mahamedi has convincingly demonstrated that *khandaq* not only means “mote” or “trench,” but can also mean “wall”. The wall seems to have been

15 Wüstenfeld ed. II, p. 574; Mahamedi (2004), p. 147.

16 Artamonov (1962), p. 122.

17 Börm (2008).

18 Kettenhofen (1994).

19 Daryae (2002b).

20 Bosworth (2003).

21 Yāqūt, Wüstenfeld ed. II, p. 65.

built from the Persian Gulf to the Basra area already in the fourth century CE as a reaction to Arab raids into the Sasanian the agricultural lands of Iranshahr.

The walls were a barrier between the known and the unknown, the civilization and the uncivilized periphery, but also between *Ērān* and *an-Ērān* (Iranians and non-Iranians). Thus, rivers and walls demarcated Sasanian imperial space. Of course, these physical barriers, I believe, created also mental and psychological barriers, which contrasted the self and the other for the Sasanians in Eurasia. Furthermore, this mental vision had made the Sasanian Empire the center of Eurasia.

SACRED GEOGRAPHY AND THE SASANIAN IMPERIAL SPACE

In the past, I have tried to demonstrate how the Sasanians were able to create an imperial space that fitted their sacred tradition.²² The world of the ancient Iranians, according to the Zoroastrianism was divided into seven continents, climes, regions or, in the modern sense, countries (Avestan *karšuuar*, Middle Persian *Kišwar* “Avestan *karš* in the sense of boundary). This is apparent from the Mihr Yašt (Yašt X) of the *Avesta*, which was probably composed already in the Achaemenid period.²³ By the Sasanian period, they were reworked and commented upon by Pahlavi scholars. According to the ninth century encyclopedic work, the *Bundahišn*, or “(Book of) Primal Creation”, the Middle Persian terms used for these regions were (Bundahišn):

Pārag-ē pad kust ī xwarāsān sawah kišwar (pārag-e pad kust ī) xwarwarān arzah kišwar dō pārag pad kust ī nēmrōz fradadafš ud widadafš kišwar dō pārag pad kust ī abāxtar wōrūbaršt wōrūjaršt kišwar dō pārag ān ī mayān xwanirah

The part in the northeast direction is the country of Sawah, the part in the southwest direction is the country of Arzah, two parts are in the southeastern direction, the climes of Fradadafš and Widadafš, two parts are in the northwestern direction, the countries of Wōrūbaršt and Wōrūjaršt, two parts in between Xwanirah.²⁴

In this Sasanian era text, it is *Xwanirah*, which is the center of attention and the Bundahišn states:

ud az ēn haft kišwar hamāg nēkīh andear xwanirah wēs dād

and from these seven countries, all the goodness was created more in Xwanirah.²⁵

The Sasanians took the Avestan Zoroastrian concept of seven climes and created seven countries/realms, no doubt due to the realities of Late Antiquity, and through manipulation (commentaries) the Arabs, Turks, Romans, Indians and others became the inhabitants of each realm/country. More importantly, the middle realm/country of *Xwanirah* was now equated with Iranshahr, which has strong connections with the mythical homeland of the Aryans, the Weh Dāitiy, i. e., Oxus/Amū Daryā region. Thus, the imperial boundary of Iranshahr grew to a large extent *vis-*

22 Daryae (2005), p. 124–138.

23 Daryae (2002c) also Humbach & Faiss (2016).

24 *Bundahišn*, ed. Bahār, p. 70.

25 *Bundahišn*, ed. Bahār, p. 70.

à-vis other neighbors. It is in this light that we can understand the list of territories (*šahrs*) claimed by Šāpūr I as his empire.

Iranshahr was held together by means of an ideological vision rooted in the Zoroastrian sacred texts, which was manipulated by the Sasanians to fit their imperial agenda. The realm of the Iranians in the *Avesta* was Central Asian and specifically the Bactrian world, but by the Sasanian period sacred names and lore was transformed from the Eastern world to the Western part of the Iranian Plateau. Thus, Adūrbādagān (Azarbijān) became the religious center of Iranshahr, and the sacred fire, Adūr-Gušnasb, was located there,²⁶ while the birth of Zoroaster was now associated with Rayy; Iran's epic history was revealed in Sīstān, and some of the ancient heroes and sacred personages of the *Avesta* also became associated with the province of Fārs²⁷, where the Achaemenid rock reliefs, then known as *Naqš-e Rostam* ("Rostam's Image") and *Takht-e Jamshīd* ("Jamshīd Throne") were associated with respectively the epic hero Rostam and the Avestan ruler Yima, the world ruler Jamshīd of later, Sasanian tradition.

More problematic was the Mesopotamian territory with the Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon, which had been the center of that region, also in Seleukid and Parthian times. This region, too, was mythologized in the Iranian context. Ctesiphon (Tīsfūn) and its history was couched in Iranian lore, and its foundation was now associated with Tūs (ŠĒ 21), the Avestan Tūsa- and the Tūs of the Book of Kings, the warrior hero who defeated his enemies with the aid of the deity Anāhīta. This is not the place to discuss the connections and the symbiosis of Lady Anāhīta and the Babylonian deity Ishtar, as a good bit of cross-fertilization probably took place.²⁸ However, I do believe that the idea of Markwart that the connection of Tīsfūn and Tūs is a "childish etymology" of our Sasanian authors is misunderstood.²⁹ Rather one can posit the idea that the Sasanians deliberately connected the two relative homonyms with the aim to create an Iranian tradition for their capital based on pre-existing local traditions and thus claim ownership of the city.

In this manner, every province received a new mythologized and sacred history as part of Iranshahr, protected by the rivers Oxus and Euphrates and by the four walls (Sadd-ī Iskandar, Tammishe, Darband, Arabs). Thus, the Sasanians created an imperial space to bind the Iranians/*Ērānagān* and to create a single, unifying culture for the ethnically enormously heterogenous inhabitants of a vast area. All that remains unclear is why no wall was built at the southeastern frontier of the Sasanian Empire. I would only hazard a guess that there seems to have been fewer troubles on the southeastern front and that the Sasanians infiltrated and influenced that region with less trouble. We know relatively little about the Indo-Iranian borderlands, although this is slowly improving. Perhaps the Indus River was the other hydraulic boundary for the Sasanian Empire.

26 Huff (2008).

27 Canepa (2013).

28 Brosius (1988), 127–138.

29 Markwart (1932), p. 62.

This boundary was also infused with a set of cultural values (Middle Persian *Frahang*), that is *Ērth* (Iranianness) represented a set of markers. The behavioral norms, learning, physical and the intellectual activity included writing, reading, knowing religion and history, but also being knowledgeable in sciences and the arts. On the other hand the mental exercise included the playing of such games as chess and backgammon, which the physical readiness was done through such games as polo and jousting.³⁰ These were the cultural values of Iranshahr which by learning it made one Iranian. Thus, not only a territorial but also a cultural setting was brought to fore in the Sasanian period which continued into the Islamic period.

CONCLUSION

The culmination of the idea of Iranshahr was a product of a long historical as well as religious tradition. While the *Avesta* provided the religious ideology which had the idea of the mythical land of the Aryas/Iranian attached to it, but it was the Achaemenid idea of being an Arya/Iranian which gave it a temporal sense. It was also the Achaemenid realm, however, limited its memory may have been, that provided a framework for imperial propaganda for a territory claimed by the Sasanians, which the late antique authors such as Ammianus and Herodian noted. The Achaemenid Persians had already established the Avestan idea of the Haft Kišwar (Seven Climes) as an ideological idea, and the Sasanians capitalized on this “Persianism,” and made the central clime its largest and equated with Iranshahr.

Even the religious aspects of the Sasanian period owe not only to the Avestan tradition, but also from the Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid region of Persis, which was the heart of “Persian” practices. The worship of fire, sacred monuments such as the Ka‘be-ye Zardosht and a sacred banner had already been shown to exist at the time of the Fratarakas. The attachment to the cult of Anahita which became prevalent in the Sasanian period was already established in the mid-Achaemenid period. Hence, there was a long tradition at work to create the notions of Iranianness and Iranshahr.

Rivers and walls protected the imperial space of the Iranian world in late antiquity in a manner that was not to be repeated, although the idea of Iran/Iranshahr would be revamped in the later history with the formation of the gunpowder empires of the Safavids and Qajars. Within these boundaries, each province became identified with a specific sacred tradition and history of the Iranians transmitted through the Zoroastrian tradition. The fire-temples in Azarbījān, Khurasan, Sīstān and Fārs marked the sacred localities of Iranshahr, while monuments of Fārs, Media (Rayy) and other regions provided a sacred history for those regions. Consequently, the Sasanian rulers, who symbolically were the patrons of the “Good Religion”, protected a coherent sacred, civilized space, which coincided exactly with the imperial space actually under the control of the Sasanians.

30 Azarnouche (2013).

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