



Investigating of the Function of the Architectural Square Space of Tang-i-Chakchak Complex, Fars Province: A New Look Toward Sanctuaries of Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā during Sassanid Period¹

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(229-249)

Abstract

Tang-i-Chakchak complex is located at eastern Fars Province. As one of the biggest religious Sassanid architectural complex, it consists of two main architectural spaces including a Chahartaq or a domical squared space. One of the two main spaces, with a square plan, considered the place of maintenance of the holy fire. Present paper attempts to suggest a plan of the structure of the religious architecture, during Sassanid period, following investigating architectural square space of Tang-i-Chakchak in comparison to similar structural spaces, in order to understand historical and realistic function of the building. Purposefully, it is a fundamental research, with a historical and descriptive-analytical methodology and nature, while data collected bibliographically and following fieldwork. The conclusions present a modern classification of the sanctuaries attributed to Anāhitā during Sassanid period, consisted of two different religious architectural spaces, furthermore, there is an introduction of the square architectural space of Chakchak as a sanctuary that attributed to Anāhitā. Some of the religious spaces relate to Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā the ancient Zoroastrian goddess, and some other structures connect to Anāhitā, with Mesopotamian origin. The architectural spaces indicate various religious attitude for different reason, not a development during Sassanid period. It appears that there was an attempt to diminish the latter, for their non-Zoroastrian origin during late Sassanid phase. Present paper potentially is Important for suggesting a new structure of the sanctuaries of Anāhitā, in addition to revising earlier theories and assigned structure to Anāhitā, which explain various religious attitude within Zoroastrian framework during Late Antiquity of Iranian history.

Keywords: Sassanid period, Tang-i-Chakchak, religious architecture, Temple of Anāhitā, Zoroastrianism, Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā.

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1. Introduction

One can consider the Sassanid religious structures for unique architectural complexities that leads to different categorization, despite of general similarities in the constructions. The so-called fire temples, as religious structure are symbolic signs of the Zoroastrianism. By now, Fars is known as the origination of Sassanids and Zoroastrianism center during Sassanid and early Islamic periods, where has most of the religious structures from the period. The tang-i-Chakchak complex is located at Darab suburban areas far from population and other destructive factors consists of two main religious structure and other secondary spaces that respectively remained intact until now. The authors of present paper attempt to understand probable function of one of the main structures, known as “the square space”, following survey and fieldwork at Tang-i-Chakchak and comparison to other similar spaces, in order to suggest a function of the structure, and present a new pattern of religious structures of Sassanid period.

2. Research questions

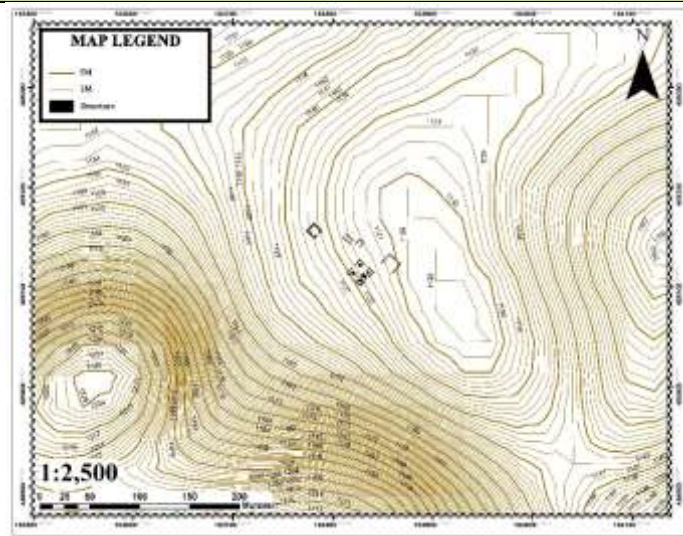
Here, there have been an attempt to answer to questions including which one of buildings of Fars or other Sassanids’ are comparable to the square structure of Tang-i-Chakchak, and, what is the suggestable function of the structure? Second, is the hypothetical function of the square structure following a pattern, considering the Sassanid history?

3. Methodology

Purposefully, the research is a fundamental research, however, naturally it follows historical descriptive analytical methodology, while data collected bibliographically and by fieldwork. First, the authors archaeologically surveyed Tang-i-Chakchak region; second, there was a comparison to other similar structures to suggest the function of the main building. Finally, following functional analysis of the structure, there is an attempt to suggest a pattern of similar structures, considering bibliographical and comparison of archaeological findings to historical sources.

4. Geographical position

Tang-i-Chakchak is located at 40R309640E3141366N and 1135 m longitude, at southwestern heights of Rastagh District, 65 Km away from Darab, Fars Province. To reach to Chakchak complex, one should go 60 km toward Bandar Abbas, halfway turning to right into a stony path, known as the Sand Factory road, after turning to a mountainous range and a 5 Km path and a temporal village, there will be Chakchak complex. In a strait, it is positioned on a 6 m high terrace, next to a seasonal river, which is dried now. Considering temporal flow in the flood season, the terrace is partially eroded and washed away, leading to a transformation at western front of the site (fig. 1).



figur.1 Topographical map of Tang-i-Chakchak (Authors)

5. Research history

Tang-i-Chakchak complex locally known as Qasr-e-Ayeneh [the mirror castle] or Qasr-i-Dokhtar [the girl castle], registered as 16122 no. as a national monument at 1385. Only Vandenberg studied the site respectively following fieldworks (Vanden Berghe, 1959: 487). Then, Schippmann (1971: 82-83) and Ghirshman (2011: 150) explained architectural characteristics of the site according to earlier Vanden Berghe's report. While explaining the site, Vanden Berghe defined the domical square structure as a closed dark building that kept fire, what only priests accessed to (Vanden Berghe, 2008: 20). Following Vanden Berghe, Ghirshman repeated the same function for the square structure and dated it to 6th and 7th BC centuries (Ghirshman, 2011: 28), what Azarnoush confirms as well (Azarnoush, 1994: 28). Hossein Azma (1991: 116-117) knew the complex as Qasr-e-Ayeneh and Qasr-e-Dokhtar and explained narrations to define the square structure as Chahartaq or fire temple. The appellation is locally for a girl of Sassanid elites who resided in the complex; another narration is for dripping water on a slab in the middle of a pond near the site. Finally, Hassani surveyed the cut platform of the site (Hassani, 2014: 181-182).

6. General architecture of Tang-i-Chakchak complex

The site consists of a religious complex, defensive structure and a rocky architecture. The religious complex oriented at northwestern-southeastern axis, with 95×50 m dimension. Considering erosion and destruction of western front, it appears that it was greater than now. Present religious architectural remains of Chakchak include a domical square space at northwestern, the main Chahartaqi at southeastern, and few architectural space and series of walls between both structures toward east of the complex (fig. 2). The only material of the structure is cobble and mortar of half kilned gypsum. Comparing to other Iranian Chahartaqis, the Chahartaqi of the complex is of the great type of Chahartaqi, with surrounding corridor, while there are only scars of it. One can distinguish architectural findings including scars of the wall from south of the square space into the middle of the site. Considering the wall, it is more probable that that southwest of the site was an enclosure, while the wall probably paved perimeter of the Chahartaqi. There are at least three structures at northwestern Part of the site. Also,

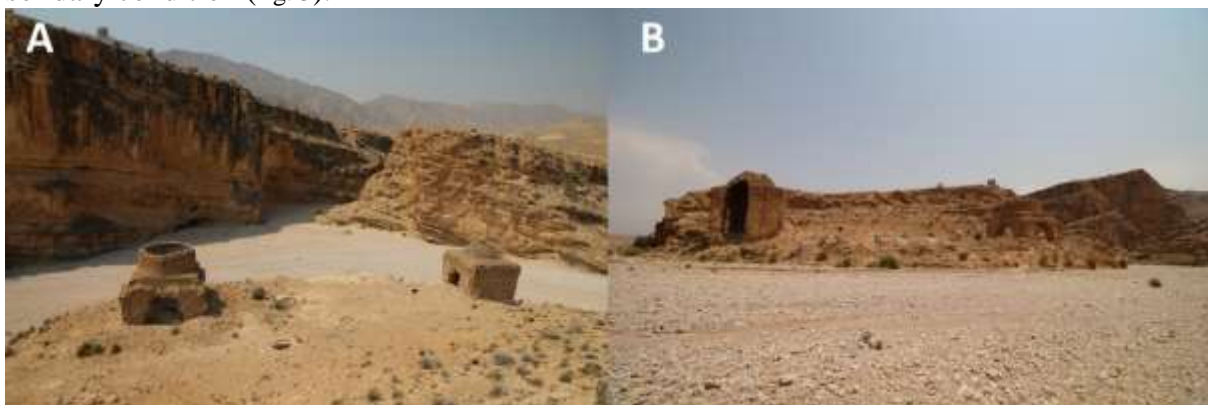
there is a round architectural space 100 m away, east of Chahartaqi, with about 80 m height from a neighboring river. Technically, it followed the same method of the complex and can be functionally a watchtower. 50 m away at west part of the square space, there is a cut rectangular plate, 10 m above the neighboring river, which appears contemporaneous of the religious complex (Hassani, 2014: 182).



figur.2 Satellite image of architectural remains in the Tang-i-Chakchak (Authors)

7. The Square space

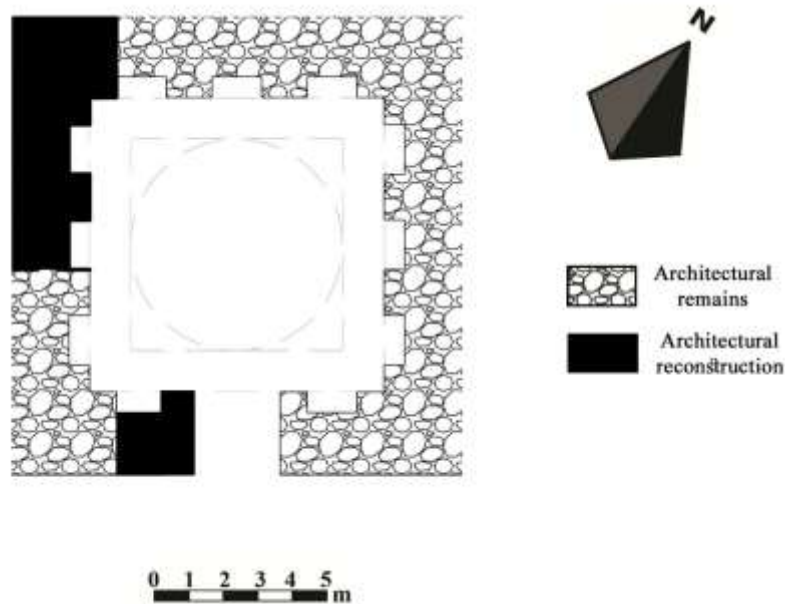
It is one of the main structures of Chakchak religious complex, which located directly in front of the Chahartaqi, 47 m northwest of the complex. The building subsided and slipped at western front, where considerably suffered of destruction and is not in a solidary condition (fig. 3).



figur.3 A) Eastern view of the complex from the watchtower, B) Southwestern view of Tang-e-Chakchak area (Authors)

Every single side of the square space exteriorly is 11.1 m and interiorly 7.1 m (fig. 4). The wall of the structure is near 2 m thick. The building followed the same constructive method of Chahartaqis, where cut side of stone blocks lays outwardly, and a rich mortar of gypsum and fine pebbles filled a 2 m distance of the walls, however, there is a respectively different technique of dome construction. In the structure, the walls

thickened at 5.5 m height, where internally turned using low squinches of stone and gypsum that leads to an internally arched wall. Then, the arch reach to a vault springer [*chapireh*], at the height of 9 m, to keep the structure of the dome. Methodologically, the arch is not visible from the exterior façade, at the height of 9 meter the wall retreated inwardly and transformed to a low dome, because of lack of a basic arch of the dome at the exterior façade. Considering the evidences, gypsum is used as exterior threading and there is a thick slip on the internal surface.



figur.4 The Square space Plan (Authors)

Notably, there are holes in the arched section of the structure to provide light. Evidently, there were some eleven niches in the structure, where two niches at southeastern side and next to the threshold; other niches located at the other three sides at a distance of 1.1 m from each other. The niches partially collapsed at northwest and southwest sides that symmetrically are explainable (fig. 5).



figur.5 A) North view inside the square space, B) South view inside the square space (Authors)

Notably, niches at northwestern wall began from lowest parts of the walls and continued to 3.1 m height, with 0.5 m depth and 1.2 m height. The niches began, at the other three

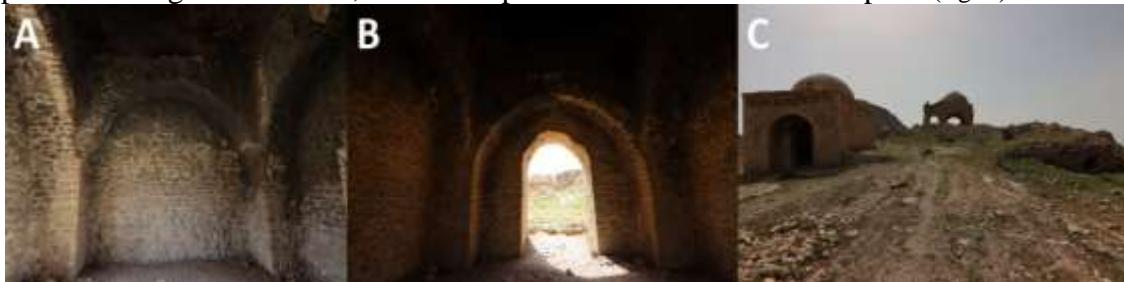
sides, from near 1 m height, which continued to around 2.1 m, with depth and width similarity to northwestern niches. The niches enjoyed semicircular arches with outline walls in comparison to the arches (fig. 6).



figur.6 A) The niches of the northwest side, B) Niche of the southwest corner (Authors)

7. Comparison and determination

Firstly, it appears that the small square space of Konarsiah is the most similar one to the architectural square space (Azarnoush, 1994: 28). However, investigation of the structure reveals it was originally a Chahartaqi with open thresholds that transformed after a period of religious function, never comparable to the architectural space (fig. 7).



figur.7 A) Eastern view from inside of the small Chahartaqi at Konarsiah, B) South view from inside of the small Chahartaqi, C) North view of The Konarsiah Complex (Authors)

Studies on more than 32 religious structures at southern Iran (Vanden Berghe, 1961: 163-200; 1965: 128-147; Huff, 1975: 243-254), and other regions including Chahartaqis at Kirmanshah and Ilam (Rezvani, 2005; Moradi, 2009: 155-185; Khosravi and Rashno, 2014: 178 ; Khosravi, 2017: 119-146; Vanden Berghe, 1977: 175-190; Khosravi, Alibeigi & Rahbar, 2018: 267-298), Takht-i-Soleiman Complex (Naumann, 1964, 1977; Naumann et al., 1975: 109-204; Huff, 2002), and even Bandian Complex (Rahbar, 2004: 7-30 ; 1999: 315-341), and Mele Hairam, Turkmenistan (Kaim, 2002: 215-230 ; 2004: 223-237), however, the only respectively similar architectural space to the square space of Tang-i-Chakchak, considering plan, internal decorative details, and period is the 113 and 114 architectural spaces at Tall-i-Sefidak at HajiAbad, Fars, with smaller size, which Late Azarnoush identified and excavated.² When excavating, the site divided into four sections, where religious ruins located at the section C and western side of the site. Regarding appellation of the architectural spaces, the most important architectural spaces of section C, Tall-i-Sefidak, included the no. 104 cruciform space, nos. 107 and 147 courtyards, and no. 114 the square space with no. 113 architectural space; accordingly, the excavator most probably believes nos.

104 and 114 architectural spaces worked as religious spaces (Azarnoush, 1983: 170-171; 1994: 81-88). There is a threshold at the western side of no. 107 courtyard that the excavator called it as no. 113 architectural space, as wide as 1.45 m, with a niche at northern part that is probably similar to the finding of niches at the no. 114 architectural space, where the threshold connected to (Azarnoush, 1994: 82). The no. 114 architectural space that located at the western front of the former architectural space, is a 3.7×3.7 m square. Lower parts of the architectural space at northern and western sides preserved during excavations, while southern side partially leveled, with the southern part of the no. 113 space (Ibid: 82). The most important characteristics of no. 114 architectural space is few concavities in the structure, which described as a corridor and two niches at northern side, and three niches at western side, however, considering available evidence at the southern side of the space and the condition of northern front, Azarnoush suggested the southern side a symmetrical replica of the northern side, with two niches and a corridor as well. The niches were as wide as 0.5 m, 0.24 m deep, where it reached 0.54 m width. The thickness of the southern and northern walls of the architectural space was near 1.1 m (Ibid: 139-140) (fig. 8).

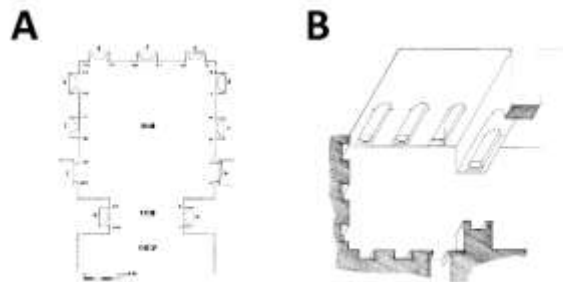


fig.8 Plan of architectural spaces no. 114 and 113 in Tall-i-Sefidak (Azarnoush, 1994: 140, 147)

The floor of the architectural space plastered by gypsum, just similar to the open parts of the lord's house of Tall-i-Sefidak, meanwhile, there was not threading in the floor of the building, where the floor was 3 cm lower than the floor of the no. 113 space. Considering plastering of the floor, Azarnoush suggested it same as the ones at the open spaces, while he believed the position of the gypsum blocks at the points with a roofed space such as corridor or threshold that opened toward an open space. Therefore, he suggested the space probably was an open space or partially roofed (Ibid: 82). There were fragments of figures on the six niches of no. 114 space. The figures stood on semicircle columns in the niches. They included female dressed figures, which some were eroded (Ibid: 140). There have been recovered fragments of female naked figures, sons with clusters of grapes in hand, lion heads, open-winged eagles, and humped cows in different parts of the no. 114 architectural space that made Azarnoush acclaim the no. 114 architectural space of Tall-i-Sefidak as a temple of Anāhitā (Ibid: 81) (fig. 9).

Comparing no. 114 architectural space and the square building of Chakchak, one can notify few common features. First, both constructed on an analogic square plan, and located in a context, which appears a religious one. However, the no. 114 space of the lord's house of HajiAbad, the space is located at a place that consisted of several religious structure, according the excavator. For three thresholds of the no. 114 architectural space, the no. 113 space can be regarded as the main threshold that connected to the no. 107 courtyard, considering the width of the threshold. According to

position of the architectural spaces of Chakchak complex, one can imagine that the square space connected to the central courtyard. The most important reason of similarity related to the niches of the two structure. Considering two probable niches of no. 113 architectural niches and a connection to no. 114 space, niches of the structure summed up to nine, which is different to the 11 niches of the structure of Tang-i-Chakchak, however, multiplicity of the niches in both spaces can be a reason of similarity of both structures.



fig.9 Architectural Space no. 114 (Azarnoush, 1994: Pl.XXVII)

Regarding dimensions of the niches at the square structure, especially, three niches of northwestern side, one can suggest a real size, even bigger, human figures and busts in the niches, when the spaces were used. Therefore, according the similarities and close distance of both sites, and locating in the same geographical area (fig. 10) one can interpret the architectural similarities as affirmation of one religious' function, while another third structure can be reconstructed according every one of these structures. For example, considering type of roofing of the square space that is an arched wall to create a base for dome (vault springer) [chapireh in Persian], one can suggest that the building of the no. 114 space was roofed, with a probable doubt in semi roofed building. If one can determine function of the square space of Chakchak complex as a temple, therefore, the local narrations about the girl palace (qaleh dokhtar in Persian), and location of the complex, over dominated by a water source, can confirm the function of the structure. However, one can doubt the square space of Chakchak as a hypothetical place of maintenance of fire.

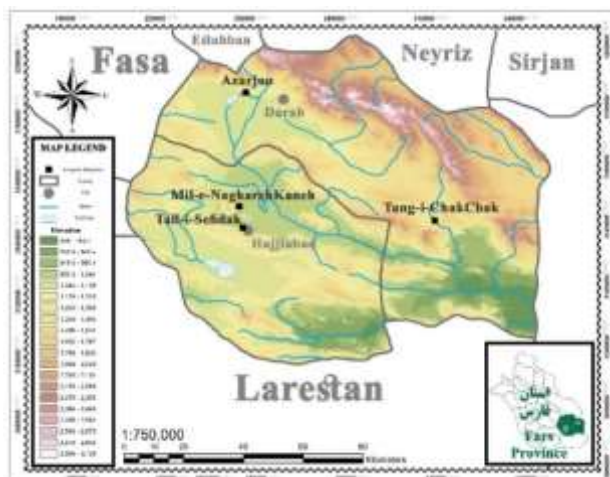


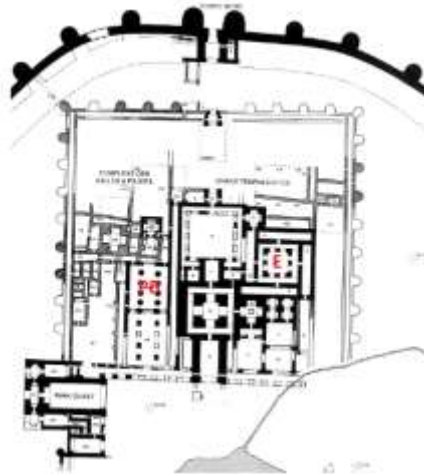
fig.10 Tang-i-Chakchak and Tall-i-Sefidak in Fars Province (Authors)

8. The structure of the temples of Anāhitā, during Sassanid period

The most important question about the architectural pattern of these type of temples is, if the architectural structure of the temple, assigned to Anāhitā, followed an invariant uniform pattern?

A: Archaeological Evidence: If one can divide the architectural evidence of the temple of Anāhitā into two groups of written sources and archaeological evidence, it appears that the archaeological evidence are iconographic designs on vessels, rock arts, and some coins, however, such attributions have remained ambiguous. regarding to utensils, however some of the female motifs potentially relates to the goddess Anāhitā, it seems that it can be only subject of attribution, and that these women are not exactly the manifestation of Anāhitā herself (Mousavi Kouhpar, 2006: 86-91). Regarding the rock arts, the common opinion has been only about Tagh-i-bostan's, where the goddess that accompanies "Khosrow II /Pirooz" has been considered Anāhitā (Moradi, 2003: 30; Compareti, 2012: 75-85), while the figure of woman who depicted in the relief of Nerseh at Naqsh-i-Rostam can be attributed to a member of Sassanid dynasty (Mousavi Hajji & Mehrafarin, 2009: 75-85; Shenkar, 2013: 614-634). The female figure of Bahram II's coins generally assigns to his wife, while few scholars believe it as the goddess Anāhitā (Shahbazi, 1983: 255-265; Choksy, 1989: 126-133).

Few excavated structures, in Iran, have been assigned to Anāhitā; the most important is the Anāhitā Temple of Kangavar, where Kambakhshfard, the excavator, attributed the structure to Anāhitā and dated it to pre-Sassanid era, whereas early Sassanid rulers destroyed it (Kambakhshfard, 2007: 133). Later revisions of the site by Azarnoush (Azarnoush, 1981: 69-94; 2009: 393-402) and Alibeigi (2016: 200-201) criticized function and chronology of the site and denied any relation of the site to Anāhitā. Trever for the first time used references of "Aban Yasht" and the "Fourth Dēnkard", comparing to few metal vessels from Sassanid cultural territories and several Near Eastern temples at pre-Christianity, suggested that the Anāhitā temples probably were hypostyle structures with niches in which figures of the goddess placed (Trever, 1967: 111-132). However, the first structure that properly and regarding discovering a water system assigned to Anāhitā was the cube structure of Bishapur, where excavated by Sarfaraz (Sarfaraz, 1975: 99); a conclusion that was relatively different to the Trever's description from the temple. Before the Sarfaraz's excavations at this part of Bishapur, Ghirshman wrongly suggested the site as "fire temple", because of unearthing part of base of a fireplace from sedimentations, however, he knew of the water system (Ghirshman, 1999: map 2). Several religious architectural spaces discovered during excavations of 1960s and 1970s at Takht-i-Soleiman, where "E" and "PB" architectural spaces assigned to Anāhitā (fig. 11).



figur.11 Plan of Takht-i-Soleiman (Huff, 1989)

The excavators believe that space “E” is comparable to space “A”, which is the main Chahartaqi of the complex, and because of the former’s connection to other neighboring architectural spaces, would be a temple (Nauman and Huff, 1972: 29-30), while Nauman unconvincingly suggested the space as an Anāhitā Temple, where related to water, or a storage of wood and firewood to maintain the holy fire (Naumann, 1977: 50-51). Report of 1973 excavation season reveals the vertical prose sedimentation on the pillars of the space “E” resulted of uncontrolled penetration of the water from the lake, a hypothetical flood, into the site, not a sign of a pond in the space (Huff, 1975: 131); meanwhile there have not recovered any water circulation system into the architectural space (Ibid: 132). The second space was the “hypostyle PB Hall” with a cylindrical mudbrick pillars, and a water passage that derived of a main runnel and led to a square pond. Furthermore, there are three other ponds in this part of the hall, while there is another pond at the western side of the “PB” hall. However, there were recovered fragments of base of a fireplace in the hall (Ibid: 151-152) (fig. 12).



figur.12 Architectural Space “PB Hall” (Naumann et.al. 1975: 151, 153)

According to the findings from the hall, the excavators of Takht-i-soleiman suggested the water passage and ponds for sacrificial purposes, and said few common recent rites of modern temples, probably were the same rites of eastern side of the “PB” hall (Numann and Huff, 1972: 39). Considering underlying floors of the “PB” hall floor, Numann and Huff believed that the chamber had various responsibility during Sassanid

period that caused changes in the floor during the period (Numann and Huff, 1972: 49). The hall dated contemporary to the space A (premier Chahartaqi of Ādur Gušnasp) when Mazdakis suppressed at the transition of Kavad I to Khosrow I (Huff, 1975: 167). On the contrary, Azarnoush suggested the hypostyle BP hall related to Anāhitā worshiping, because of presence of water circulation system (Azarnoush, 1987: 397). Considering published reports of Numann and Huff, one can present that they had little knowledge of Sassanid Zoroastrian religious issues, and compared their findings to modern Zoroastrianism or European Pre-Christianity religions. For example, Naumann (1977: 46) presented very different explanation of “yazišngāh” from the original and historical existence (Boyce, 1971: 223; Boyd & Kotwal, 1983: 304). Therefore, one can deny the reasonless assignation of the space “E” to Anāhitā, whereas suggest the water passageway and ponds at the “PB” space to water circulation, not sacrificing and altar.

Except what mentioned earlier, the most important study of the structure of Sassanid Anāhitā temples was by Azarnoush. He compared no. 104 and no. 114 structures of HajiAbad to the cruciform space and the so called Anāhitā structure of Bishapur, Noushijan, and the hypostyle structure of Takht-i-Soleiman (PB), and analogy of the results to Aban Yasht; he hypothesized two types of worshiping structures of Anāhitā during Sassanid era, the first is available at Bishapur and HajiAbad, which was probably part of a residence or more private area, while the second type was hypostyle halls that are available at sites including Takht-i-Suleyman, Noushijan, and charsotoon-i-chah-i-Sabz, as more public temples that are comparable to prerequisites of Anāhitā Temple, according Avestan sources. However, the first type did not follow the prerequisites for some smaller scales (Azarnoush, 1987: 391-401).

However, Azarnoush identified two types of Anāhitā temple, but his theory, as the most important one about the architectural structures of Anāhitā temples in the Sassanid period, has some ambiguities: first, one can hesitate if smaller scale of the temples do not follow Avestan prerequisites. The scale of the cruciform space of Bishapur, as the biggest domical Sassanid architectural space, respectively indicates unlimitedness of restriction of the religious structure of Bishapur, accordingly, architects had open hands in construction of a temple that boasts royal majestic features, at the same time, following religious canons. Furthermore, it seems difficult to compare no. 114 architectural space of HajiAbad to Anāhitā temple of Bishapur (Sarfaraz et al., 2014: 246; Azarnoush, 1994: 82-85). Water is the most significant religious element in the temple of Bishapur, however, the same factor is completely absent in the space of HajiAbad. Comparing Noushijan complex to the architectural spaces of Takht-i-Suleyman raise questions including if one accepts the Azarnoush’s suggestive function, how the structural similarity could be defined, considering all ambiguities about pre Achaemenidaeae religious culture across Iranian Plateau, more than a millennium interval between construction of Noushijan and Takht-i-Soleiman, and changes in Zoroastrian religious attitude? Finally, considering all ambiguities and problems, one cannot deny Azarnoush’s theory about function of the “PB” spaces of Takht-i-Soleiman and no. 114 of Tall-i-Sefidak. Therefore, if one hypothesizes a similar religious nature for the square architectural space of Tang-i-Chakchak to the architectural space of Tall-i-Sefidak, there will be three types of architectural spaces assigning to Anāhitā during Sassanid era. First type, characteristically is Anāhitā temple of Bishapur; second type include “BP” architectural space of Takht-i-Suleyman; and the third type is architectural spaces of HajiAbad and Tang-i-Chakchak. The most important question is, whether this

observing difference in the architectural structure of the shrines attributed to Anāhitā is only due to the time process or not? Understanding the issue demands investigation of written sources that relate to the structure of the Anāhitā shrines during Sassanid period.

B) Written Sources: Kartir refers to fire of Ardashir-Anahid in the inscription of Ka'abeh Zartosht (Sprengling, 1953: 51), while Tabari points to 'Beit-i-Naar" (house of fire) of Anahid at Istakhr (Nöldeke, 1881-1882: 814). Despite of various interpretations of scholars about Anāhitā (Chaumont, 1958: 163-164), using terms of "fire" (ĀTĀŠ in Persian) and "house of fire" (Beit-i-Naar in Arabic) as the fire temple. Considering Shapur I's inscription at Ka'abeh Zartosht about raising a fire temple in the name of his girl "Azar Anahid" (Maricq, 1958: 316), one can imagine that the structures that Kartir and Tabari mentioned to, were only the nomenclature of the fire temples, whereas there is no evidence of any connection to the worship of Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā for the buildings. The 4th Book of Dēnkard refers to construction of a structure known as "Apan Khanak" by Shapur II, where probably was a nomenclature for the temples that assigned to Anāhitā and water³ (Madan, 1911: 413; Nyberg, 1938: 419), where comparison to the water system of the cube building of Bishapur, it appears that the title of "Apan Khanak" is comparable to the temples that relied on sanctification of water (Azarnoush, 1987: 393). The second source is the written one that points to pre-Sassanid period and present considerable information of architectural structures and the applied elements in the Anāhitā temples within Iranian historical periods. The source divides into two groups of "Oriental/Zoroastrianist" and "non-Iranian". The most significant source that scholars referred to is the 5th Yasht known as "Aban Yasht" that assigned to the goddess Anāhitā and consisted of two various parts to present a pattern of the structure of the temples of Anāhitā. The first part includes 101-102 paragraphs of Aban Yasht, whereas call "Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā" as the owner of a thousand lakes and a thousand rivers, with a hypostyle house that has one hundred windows and one thousand pillars, next to every given lake (Purdavood, 1998: 280); some scholars including Trever (1967: 122-123) and Azarnoush (1987: 397) exploited the paragraphs to interpret the characteristics of temples of Anāhitā. The second part includes paragraphs 126-129 that described the goddess Anāhitā where point to her appearance (Purdavood, 1999: 294-296). For the first time, according to Halevy, Darmesteter considered the Yasht's paragraphs and suggested that the author of the texts probably stood against a statue of Anāhitā and observed what he wrote (Darmesteter, 1883: 53). Benveniste (2014: 39-40), Boyce (1982: 60-61), Panaino (2000: 37), and Mazdapour (2015: 125) repeated the same theory.

For the first time Herodotus, one of non-Zoroastrian sources, introduced a god whom newly was worshiped in the Persian temples. He compared the goddess to Arabic "Alilat" and Assyrian "Milita". However, he addressed it as "Mithra", comparing the characteristics of the goddess to his Arabic and Assyrian confers, one can conclude it as Anāhitā, not Mithra (De Jong, 1997: 269). The most important report that reveals valuable information of the structure of the temples of Anāhitā, during Achamenidae empire, is "the Report of Berossus". According to Berossus, Clement of Alexandria, the Babylonian historian from 3rd century BC, narrated that Artaxerxes II ordered to raise statues of Anāhitā "the woman goddess" in metropolises such as Babylon and Susa, in honor of Anāhitā (Protrepticus, 5.63.5). Artaxerxes II's inscriptions from Susa and Hamadan about worshiping Anāhitā, calling her after Ahuramazda and before Mithra (Campos Méndez, 2013: 42), and Plutarch's report about the Artaxerxes investiture

ceremony, at a shrine that belonged to Atena, at Pasargad, which Chaumont attributed it to the temple of Anāhitā, and considering common features of Anāhitā and Atena (Chaumont, 1989: 1006) can confirm correctness of the report of Berossus and the value of Anāhitā to Artaxerxes II.

9. Theories and discussion

The name of Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā consists of three terms of “Ardavi” meaning humidity and name of a sacred river, “sur” means powerful and “Anāhitā” meaning cleanliness and purity (Amouzegar, 2009: 23).

Scholars variously have discussed Anāhitā or, according Aban Yasht, Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā. Benveniste (2014: 37) introduced her by a Babylonian origination and believed her features in the depictions including carrying Anāhitā on chariots characteristically is non-Zoroastrian. Furthermore, he believed the real name of the ancient goddess was “Arədvī” and the suffix of Anāhitā is a later addition. Benveniste suggests chronology of Aban Yasht around 4th century BC, and knows unlikely an older date (Benveniste, 2014: 40). Lommel believes that the gods such as Mithra, Huma, and Apamnapat that introduced from pre-Zoroastrian religions and have equals in the Vedic religion, belong to the most primary Iranian belief context, on the contrary to Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā (Lommel, 1927: 27). He expresses however, Anāhitā is known as a goddess relates to the Iranian religion, she overlaps and reveals common features to gods from other cultures, especially Ishtar (Ibid: 28). However, Lommel does not confirm that Zoroastrianism owes Anāhitā to other religions, he knows it acceptable that various historical reports from Artaxerxes II’s reign can be a reference to date rhyming Aban Yasht (Ibid: 31). Boyce believes That Anāhitā adapted from “Anaïtis”, the fertility goddess, with non-Iranian origination and added to “Arədvī Sūrā” during Achaemenidae period (Boyce, 1982: 202-203). Boyce believes that Anaïtis rooted in Mesopotamia whom was under Ishtar influence (Boyce, 1989: 1005-1006). Furthermore, she knows it possible if some paragraphs of Aban Yasht are survivors of rhymes that worshiped other gods including Ishtar or Apam-napat, regarding presence of some male pronouns in the Yasht (Boyce, 1996: 73). Boyce suggests one can divide the paragraphs of Aban Yasht into four groups: the paragraphs indicating pre-Zoroastrian religions; the paragraphs dated to pre Achaemenidae period and originated from Zoroastrian principles from Early Zoroastrianism; the paragraphs that rhymed following combination of Arədvī Sūrā to the Semitic Anaïtis; and finally, the paragraphs dated to Late Zoroastrianism (Boyce, 1982: 60). De Jong respectively accepts Boyce’s theory about Semitic and Mesopotamian roots of Anāhitā, however, refers to insignificance of Anāhitā through Avestan and Pahlavi texts, and explain how Anāhitā limited only Aban Yasht (De Jong, 1997: 105-106), while he doubts the authenticity of Aban Yasht and suggests it as a derivative of the 17th Yasht of Avesta that belongs to “Ashi” the god (Ibid: 104). Malandra knows Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā, in Aban Yasht, a dual personality, and says while she is generally the goddess of waters, she has human aspects that probably has non-Iranian origination, in comparison to non Avestan sources (Malandra, 1983: 117). He suggested Indo-Iranian origination for the first manifestation of the goddess, whereas the second manifestation indirectly owes to the Babylonian Ishtar or Sumerian Inanna. Considering linguistic evidences, he continues that both gods synthesized into one during later period of Zoroastrianism (Ibid: 118). Stausberg believes that Anāhitā indicates symbiosis of at least three goddesses including Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā, the goddess of water, fertility, and

wisdom from eastern Iran; Ishtar the goddess of warship who connects to Venus planet; and Nanna, a Mesopotamian goddess (Stausberg, 2002: 175-176). Gnoli believes that Mesopotamia was behind the expansion of Anāhitā during Achaemenidae period (Gnoli, 2012: 82), similarly Panaino supported a Mesopotamian influence of Anāhitā in Zoroastrianism, although he confirms on the Indo-Iranian origination of the goddess and believed the goddess has an Iranian nature while she absorbed few Mesopotamian goddess characteristics (Panaino, 2000:37-39). Among scholars of Anāhitā, Kellens presents a somewhat different view; While he finds Halevy's theory unprovable that the description of the goddess Anāhitā in Aban Yasht was inspired, and knows it just based on types of speech. Then he signifies unimportant the Gathas' failure to mention Anāhitā, while knows the reason that the Gatha does not have a room for the mythology of water, on the contrary to "the Sevens" (Kellens, 2002-2003: 320). Kellens differed Anāhitā and Anāitis, while believing the former is completely from Iran who never owes to Mesopotamian and Anatolian gods (Ibid: 325-326).

Considering majority of scholars, one can understand a dichotomy in "Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā", a western/Mesopotamian non-Zoroastrian origin, on the other hand, a Zoroastrian or probably Indo-Iranian nature. Aban Yasht describes Anāhitā half river and half a dressed and covered woman (Skjærvø, 2005: 22-23) what probably roots in the same dichotomy. According to Azarnoush's findings at no. 114 space of Tall-i-Sefidak where the goddess, iconographically, manifested and there are figures with no traces of water, one can imply the priority of western/Mesopotamian manifestation of in the Lord House and Tang-i-Chakchak. These type of the temples root in Darius II reign, when the king and his queen "Parysatis" probably owned private temples with female figures that assigned to Anāhitā (Boyce, 1982: 217) what later publicized and expanded during Artaxerxes II's reign. Furthermore, one can refer to the "pedestal" temple at the north of Persepolis a continuation of the same tradition at the reign of "Faratrakeh"s, considering presence of a figure on the 5th pedestal (Razmjou & Roaf, 2013: 414). Therefore, one can imagine the tradition, at least, regionally continued until Sassanid era. Regarding the inscription of "Ka'abeh Zartosht", Boyce believes that fire replaced Anāhitā figure at the temples attributed to her (Boyce, 1989: 1005). Also, Chaumont believes that following coming to power, Kartir attempted to eliminate the pagan manifestation of Anāhitā, and close it to an orthodox Zoroastrianism (Chaumont, 1958: 172); probably one can date the issue to late Sassanid period when fire temples replaced the temples of Anāhitā, however, one can doubt in Boyce's theory of replacement icon or figure of Anāhitā by fire. By the late Sassanid period, Zoroastrian priests, the probable orthodoxy symbol, attempted to separate Arədvī Sūrā from Anāhitā. There is a paragraph in "Madigan-i-Hazar Dadistan" referring to a point that archaeologically and comparatively express the Zoroastrian priests' attitude against Anāhitā. It says:

"...It is also said, (that) under (our) late sovereign Xusrav son on Kavāt, one man named Dandan (or: "Kaka.") and another named Aturtoxm held equal (lots) of land under an idol-shrine, when the temple of the idols was dug up from that place ("from there") by the order and with the sanction of the magupats, and a Fire-altar was set up there instead. When it was desired to transfer this Fire-altar to the supervision of the department of pious foundations, it was ordered that this land (together) with this altar should be conveyed to the trusteeship of (this Dandan) and this Aturtoxm and their sons and grandsons - so that Dandan and Aturtoxm should not suffer any loss because of this. Dandan and Aturtoxm set up this altar in the temple of the Varahran Fire. And as long as Dandan and Aturtoxm were alive, Dandan and Aturtoxm kept this Fire under their

trusteeship. But after the death of Dandan and Aturtox, Burzak, the magupat of Artaxsahr-Xvarreh (rendered) a decision regarding (the fact that) through the title (given by) this order, (their) sons, grand-sons, and (their) successors, born from an epikleros-daughter, should hold this Fire as trustees in the same manner..." (Perikhanian, 1997: 314).

One can conclude several points, first, there were structures in Fars Province where Zoroastrian priests interpreted them as idol house. According to Berossus and other historians, and Azarnoush findings from HajiAbad, one can insist on probable presence of Anāhitā more than other gods and goddesses as figures and icons. Therefore, considering the explanation of an idol house, one can suggest reference to idol house is the temple that keeps Anāhitā figures. Secondly, although the structure were idol houses but the landowners or owner of the building never regarded apostate of infidel. They could keep their properties if replaced the idol house by a fire temple, therefore, from the priests view the owners considered Zoroastrian. Several Pahlavi sources, indicating lost Zoroastrian texts, define Arədvī Sūrā and Anāhitā two different gods, where Arədvī Sūrā, the older, relates to waters and mythical river, while Anāhitā is a rare figure mainly as a reference to Venus Planet (Lommel, 1927: 28; Boyce, 1989: 1004). Meanwhile, only Anāhitā can be seen in non-Zoroastrian sources, whereas Ardavi is completely unknown (Lommel, 1927: 29). Zener explained how MHD differs to reports of Tabari about "Mehrnarseh" and acknowledged the MHD mainly indicates Zoroastrian Priests attitude, while Tabari, who enjoyed late Sassanid Khodainamaks [letter of Lords], indicates what Sassanid nobles and aristocracy thought (Zener, 2008: 84). Zoroastrianism knows figures of gods as idolatry and a big sin (Mazdapuor, 2015: 125). There are evidences indicating orthodox Zoroastrians kept distance to iconography and making statues of gods. The first evidence is what Bahram II approached to reliefs that despite the variety and large number, none of them depicted Ahuramazda or the other gods; considering what religiously the Sassanid rulers thought before and after Bahram II, the most important reason of the behavior is raising Kartir to power as an orthodox Zoroastrian cleric and his influence on the Sassanid emperor. Even if we consider the designs of women on metal vessels as Anāhitā, it is possible that the items is religiously for a different class, which is different expression and iconography of gods, not exactly an orthodox Zoroastrianism. The first vision, probably, sought to purify non-Zoroastrian elements from religious rituals, at least succeeded to change religious places at the late Sassanid phase.

The second group of shrines, which enjoyed of water as the main religious element, probably reflect orthodoxy of Zoroastrianism, and the architectural evidence in Bishapur and Takht-i-Soleiman is equivalent to "Apan Khanak" mentioned in the 4th Book of Dēnkard. In order to interpret any detailed difference between the two buildings, the authors use Azarnoush's theory about the function of Noushijan complex. Accordingly, one can notify that Noushijan constructed on the basis of verses from Aban Yasht that rhymed during pre-Achaemenid period and before the so-called combination of the Arədvī Sūrā to Anāhitā. Relying on Aban Yasht, if we consider Takht-i-Soleiman PB Hall as a temple, then one can analyze differences in the architectural structure of PB Hall to Anāhitā Temple of Bishapur following two points. First, at the end of the Sassanid period, there was an attempt to adapt the shrines attributed to Arədvī Sūrā to Avestan texts, especially texts related to the original Zoroastrian religion, and the second point, which is the founder of the first reason, is to

write Avestan texts in the middle of the Sassanid period. First, during late Sassanid period, there was an attempt to adapt the shrines of Arədvī Sūrā to Avestan texts, especially to the authentic ones, and second reason, as the foundation of the first one, was writing Middle Sassanid Avestan narrations. References to the 4th Book of Dēnkard indicate forces for writing Avesta since Ardashir I to Shapur II (Madan, 1911: 412-413). It is more probable that the final text of Avesta compiled in 21 Nask [chapter] by “Ādurbād-ī Mahraspand” at the reign of Shapur II (Christensen, 1944: 142 ; Duchesne-Guillemin, 1983: 886-887). Except reasons such as confrontation to Christianity, one should consider the compilation of Avestan texts in this period as a basis for the efforts of Zoroastrian priests during later period to eliminate non-Zoroastrian derivations from the orthodox (Behdinan) religion. Maybe it is the reason that worshiping Anāhitā and Mithra faded away during late Sassanid period, then later concluded to no sign of the two figures, as a reflection of "true Zoroastrian religion" (Shaked, 1994: 97), therefore, one can doubt the theory of expansion of worshiping Anāhitā during Late Sassanid period (Harper, 1983: 1120-1121). Therefore, it is suggested that to seek the structural differences in both shrines at early and late Sassanid periods, relying on the knowledge of the constructors of Avestan texts as well as their insistence on Zoroastrian orthodoxy. Furthermore, one should notify that on the contrary to the magnification of Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā during Achaemenidae until the middle Sassanid periods, they had not highly regarded, while there is no trace of chanting Aban Yasht in fire temples.

10. Conclusion

Present research attempted to analyze function of the architectural space of tang-i-Chakchak. Considering comparison of architectural plan and characteristics of the structure, the only comparable architectural space is the no. 114 chamber of Tall-i-Sefidak that the excavator introduced it as the temple of Anāhitā. According several scholars one can understand Arədvī Sūrā was a compilation of few gods from different origins, each of which endowed some characteristics to the god. Comparing the architectural structures attributed to Anāhitā in the Sassanid period, one can suggest that the attribution of all structures to one deity may not be correct. Comparing Sassanid archaeological evidence to written sources such as Avestan texts and reports of non-Iranian historians of the Achaemenid period, one can imagine that the discussing structures can be divided into two groups. The first group includes the square structures of Chakchak and no. 114 of Hajjiabad, which specially related to "Anāhitā" with sculptural and iconographic Mesopotamian roots, and the second group consists of Bishapur cube space and the Takht-i-Soleiman PB hall with emphasis on Zoroastrian/Indo-Iranian element of water. Although throughout the historical period of Iran, there had been references to the opposition of orthodox Zoroastrians to iconography and sculpture of the gods, but according to late Pahlavi sources, it seems that during the period there was an attempt to return to orthodoxy by removing buildings of the first group. Also, according to Avestan narrations of Arədvī Sūrā religious structures built, therefore the discussing buildings are comparable to the architectural structure of pre-Achaemenid religious buildings that attributed to Arədvī Sūrā, such as Noushijan complex. Finally, the authors suggest a revision in the nature and relationship of fire / fire temples that attributed to Anāhitā in Sassanid and early Islamic written sources, and compare them to the worship of Arədvī Sūrā the god.

Footnote

1. The authors obligatorily acknowledge that considerable part of the conclusions owes to late Dr. Azarnuosh's reports of archaeological excavations and surveys from Haji Abad, Fars, during 1970s and 1980s, which published as papers and volumes. Present paper never has been completed without these published contributions.

2. What has remained of Tall-i-sefidak is a 88×84 m mound, with only excavated architectural ruins, pile of dirt, and leveled parts of the site. Therefore, all architectural descriptions rely on what Azarnuosh published.

3. Considering the text that Madan expressed, Nyberg explained the statement, however, according to other copy of the 4th Dēnkard that Sanjana published (Sanjana, 1900: 579), there is no trace of any statement about the construction of Apan Khanak by Shapur II.

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مطالعه کارکرد فضای معماری مربع شکل مجموعه تنگ چک چک فارس: رویکردی نوین به

نیایشگاه‌های «اردوی سور-آناهیتا» در دوره ساسانی

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چکیده

محوطه‌ی تنگ چک چک با مختصات جغرافیایی «40R309640E3141366N» و ارتفاع ۱۱۳۵ متری از سطح دریا، در ارتفاعات جنوب غربی بخش رستاق شهرستان داراب استان فارس و در فاصله‌ی تقریبی ۶۵ کیلومتری خط مستقیم از این شهرستان قرار دارد. این مجموعه به سبب دور بودن از مناطق پرجمعیت و عوامل مخرب انسانی، دربرگیرنده‌ی دو بنای اصلی مذهبی و تعدادی فضای معماری فرعی بوده که امروزه تا حدودی حفظ شده‌اند. درحال حاضر یک فضای مربع گنبددار در قسمت شمال غربی، چهارطاقی اصلی در قسمت جنوب شرقی و تعدادی فضای معماری و رشته دیوار در فواصل بین این دو سازه و متمایل به سمت شرقی مجموعه، آثار معماری مجموعه‌ی مذهبی تنگ چک چک را تشکیل می‌دهند و تنها مصالح به‌کاررفته در این مجموعه شامل لاشه‌سنگ، قلوه‌سنگ و ملاط گچ نیم‌پز می‌باشد. ضمن آنکه در پیرامون این مجموعه یک سازه‌ی دفاعی و یک نقش برجسته‌ی ناتمام نیز به چشم می‌خورد. این محوطه تا به امروز تنها توسط لویی واندنبرگ و به‌صورت مختصر مورد مطالعه‌ی میدانی و معرفی قرار گرفته، ضمن آنکه شیپمان و گیرشمن نیز بر اساس گزارش واندنبرگ اقدام به بیان مشخصات معماری این مجموعه کرده‌اند. واندنبرگ در هنگام معرفی این مجموعه، از فضای معماری مربع شکل گنبددار با عنوان ساختمان تاریک و بسته‌ای یاد می‌کند که در آنجا آتش را حفظ و نگهداری کرده و تنها موبدان به آن دسترسی داشته‌اند. گیرشمن با پیروی از واندنبرگ همین کاربری را در مورد این فضای مربع شکل تکرار کرده و این محوطه را مربوط به سده‌های ششم و هفتم میلادی دانسته و آذرنوش هم نظریه‌ی واندنبرگ در مورد فضای مربع شکل را مورد تأیید می‌داند. این پژوهش بر اساس هدف از نوع تحقیقات بنیادی و از منظر ماهیت و روش تحقیق به‌صورت تاریخی و توصیفی-تحلیلی بوده، همچنین روش گردآوری داده‌ها به شیوه‌ی میدانی-کتابخانه‌ای است، بدین ترتیب که نخست به‌صورت میدانی محوطه‌ی تنگ چک چک و به‌طور خاص فضای معماری مربع شکل این محوطه مورد مطالعه و بررسی باستان‌شناختی قرار گرفته، سپس از طریق مطالعات میدانی و کتابخانه‌ای با سایر سازه‌های مشابه در نواحی هم‌جوار و دوردست سنجش و مقایسه شده تا ضمن شناخت دقیق معماری بنا، بتوان به نوع کاربرد آن پی برد. درنهایت با تحلیل کاربری مورد تشخیص، سعی شده بر اساس مطالعات کتابخانه‌ای و تطبیق یافته‌های باستان‌شناختی با منابع مکتوب تاریخی، الگویی از وضعیت معماری سازه‌هایی با کاربری مشابه فضای معماری مربع شکل تنگ چک چک در دوران ساسانی ارائه شود. در این تحقیق سعی گردیده تا به چند پرسش پاسخ داده شود که مهم‌ترین آن‌ها شامل دو مورد می‌شود. نخست آنکه سازه‌ی معماری مربع شکل موجود در محوطه‌ی تنگ چک چک با کدام‌یک از بناهای مشابه در ناحیه‌ی فارس یا جغرافیای ایران ساسانی قابل قیاس می‌باشد و چه نوع کاربری را می‌توان برای سازه‌ی معماری موردنظر پیشنهاد نمود؟ و پرسش دوم آنکه در صورت دستیابی به کاربری مشخص برای فضای معماری مربع شکل تنگ چک چک، آیا این نوع کاربری از الگوی مشخصی پیروی نموده و وضعیت این الگوی مشخص از منظر تاریخی در دوره‌ی ساسانی چگونه بوده است؟ براساس مقایسه‌ی پلان و ویژگی‌های معماری سازه‌ی مربع شکل تنگ چک چک تنها فضای معماری قابل مقایسه با آن، فضای معماری ۱۱۴ خانه‌ی اربابی حاجی آباد بوده که توسط مسعود آذرنوش کاوشگر محوطه‌ی تل سفیدک، از آن به‌عنوان نیایشگاه آناهیتا یاد شده است. با توجه به نظریات غالب پژوهشگران می‌توان دریافت عملاً یک دوگانگی در "اردوی سور آناهیتا" نهفته که بخشی از آن ریشه‌ی غربی/بین‌النهرینی یا به عبارت بهتر غیر زرتشتی داشته

و بخش دیگر آن ماهیت زرتشتی و احتمالاً هندو ایرانی را دارا است. در آبان‌یشت نیز بخشی از آناهیتا به صورت رودخانه و قسمتی دیگر به صورت زنی با لباس پوشیده توصیف شده است که احتمالاً از همین دوگانگی سرچشمه دارد. با توجه به یافته‌های آذرنوش در فضای معماری ۱۱۴ تل سفیدک که در آن جلوه‌ی ایزدبانوی مورد بحث به صورت شمایل‌نگاری و پیکره‌سازی نماد پیدا کرده و عملاً هیچ اثری از آب به چشم نمی‌خورد، می‌توان این‌گونه استناد کرد که در بناهایی مانند خانه‌ی اربابی و فضای مربع شکل تنگ چک‌چک تأکید بر جلوه‌ی غربی/بین‌النهرینی اردوی‌سور آناهیتا است و جلوه‌ی شرقی/زرتشتی او با وجود آنکه عناصر مرتبط با آب در محوطه‌ای مانند تنگ چک‌چک قابل مشاهده هستند، در اولویت نیستند. ریشه‌ی معابد این گروه را باید از دوره‌ی داریوش دوم هخامنشی جستجو نمود که در این دوره احتمالاً شاهنشاه هخامنشی به همراه ملکه‌ی خود "پری‌ساتیس" دارای معابدی خصوصی با پیکره‌هایی مرتبط با آناهیتا بوده‌اند و این موضوع در زمان اردشیر دوم به صورت علنی و عمومی گسترش می‌یابد و می‌توان این‌گونه متصور شد که در فارس این سنت حداقل تا دوره‌ی ساسانی ادامه یافته است. همچنین با مقایسه‌ی سازه‌های معماری منتسب به آناهیتا در دوره‌ی ساسانی می‌توان دریافت که احتمالاً انتساب همه‌ی این سازه‌ها به ایزدی با نام "آناهیتا" نمی‌تواند درست باشد. از تطبیق شواهد باستان‌شناختی دوره‌ی ساسانی با منابع مکتوب تاریخی مانند متون اوستایی و گزارشات مورخین غیر ایرانی دوران هخامنشی، می‌توان دریافت که سازه‌های مورد بحث قابل تقسیم در دو گروه هستند. گروه نخست شامل بناهای مربع‌شکل تنگ چک‌چک و ۱۱۴ حاجی‌آباد بوده که مشخصاً با پیکره‌سازی و شمایل‌نگاری به "آناهیتا" با ریشه‌های بین‌النهرینی مربوط بوده و گروه دوم شامل فضای مکعبی بیشاپور و تالار PB تخت سلیمان با تأکید بر عنصر آب به "اردوی‌سور" ایزد زرتشتی/هندوایرانی ارتباط دارد. با وجود آنکه در تمام دوران تاریخی ایران اشاراتی به مخالفت زرتشتیان راست کیش با شمایل‌نگاری و پیکره‌سازی ایزدان به چشم می‌خورد، اما با توجه به منابع پهلوی اواخر ساسانی به نظر می‌رسد که در این دوره تلاش شده تا با حذف بناهای گروه نخست، به‌نوعی بازگشت به آیین زرتشتی راست‌کیشانه صورت گیرد. همچنین در این دوره سعی گردیده تا بر طبق روایات اوستایی سازه‌های مذهبی مرتبط با اردوی‌سور ساخته شود و از این‌رو بناهای مورد نظر قابل مقایسه با ساختار معماری بناهای مذهبی پیش از هخامنشی مرتبط با ایزد اردوی‌سور مانند مجموعه‌ی نوشیجان می‌باشد. نگارندگان پیشنهاد می‌نمایند براساس نتایج حاصل از این پژوهش ضمن بازنگری در سایر آثار منتسب به آناهیتا در دوره‌ی ساسانی، ماهیت و ارتباط آتش/آتشکده‌هایی که در منابع مکتوب رسمی عهد ساسانی و سده‌های نخستین اسلامی در بخشی از نام خود دارای واژه‌ی آناهیتا هستند، با نیایش ایزد اردوی‌سور آناهیتا مورد تجدیدنظر قرار گیرد.

واژه‌های کلیدی: دوره‌ی ساسانی، تنگ چک‌چک، معماری مذهبی، نیایشگاه آناهیتا، آیین زرتشتی، اردوی‌سور-آناهیتا.

