

METAPHORICAL EXPRESSIONS IN ARCHITECTURE:
UNDERSTANDING SYMBOLIC MEANINGS OF QABUS TOWER IN IRAN

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UNDERSTANDING SYMBOLIC MEANINGS OF QABUS TOWER IN IRAN**

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ABSTRACT

METAPHORICAL EXPRESSION IN ARCHITECTURE: UNDERSTANDING SYMBOLIC MEANINGS OF QABUS TOWER IN IRAN

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Symbols with their meanings have always been one of the vital and primal communication tools in humans' perception of the universe. Symbolic expressions are important means of representation of abstract ideas that go beyond the concrete physical forms. Accordingly, it's not just about physical material of architecture that provide mere shelter; it's about symbolic meanings of architecture that are concealed behind its concrete forms. Metaphors, on the other hand, in art and architecture are the vehicles that help the realisation of the expression of ideas through the symbolic presentations of physical forms. There is a need to disclose the very meanings of symbolic expressions of architectural forms (via metaphors) for better understanding of their historical and cultural reasonings.

This thesis aims to investigate the relationship between metaphorical connotations and symbolic forms in architecture. Metaphors, by this way, act to decipher inherited historical-cultural meanings of a space/form that are hidden in the figurative forms of buildings. Panofsky's iconographical *reading in deeper sense* is the methodology of the thesis in de-mythification of the selected architectural symbolic form.

The thesis considers Qabus Tower (1006/7 AD in north region of Iran) as the pivot point to scan the possible metaphorical connotations of the period. Cryptic historical

and cultural meanings behind the concrete form of Qabus Tower require an *iconographical reading in a deeper sense* order to de-mythify its becoming reasonings. Political, cultural, religious, (Mithraism, Zoroastrianism, and Islam), as well as mythological, ontological, philosophical, and cosmological knowledge of the different historical periods in Iran are the specific issues that are concerned in order to disclose symbolic significance of the tower and its concealed mystical and mythical intentions.

In this thesis, it's claimed that Qabus Tower symbolically represents the political, cultural, religious and mythological worldview of the period that is derived from Islamic period, but deeply and mostly, the tower represents the worldview that is connected to the pre-Islamic historical-cultural period of the history of Iran.

Keywords: Symbolic meaning, metaphor, historical-cultural knowledge

ÖZ

MİMARLIKTAKİ MECAZİ ANLATMA: İRAN'DAKİ QABUS KULE'SİNİN SEMBOLİK ANLAMLARINI KAVRAMAK

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Semboller insanların evreni algılamasında her zaman önemli iletişim araçlarından birisi olmuştur. Sembolik formlar, somut fiziksel ve biçimsel ifadelerinin ötesinde aslında soyut fikirlerin temsil edilmesinde önemli araçlar olmuşturlardır. Mimari ürünleri, bu anlamda, salt barınak sağlamak için üretilmiş binalar olarak değil aynı zamanda sembolik form ve arkasındaki kültürel-tarihsel anlamları ile değerlendirmek uygun olur. Metaforlar (mecazi çağrışımlar) ise sanat ve mimaride fiziksel formların sembolik ifadesinin gerçekleşmesine yardımcı araçlardır. Mimari formların tarihsel ve kültürel anlamlarını iyi anlamak için onların metaforlar aracılığı ile sembolize edilmiş anlamlarını ifşa etmeğe ihtiyaç vardır.

Bu tez mecazi çağrışımlar ve mimari sembolik formlar arasındaki ilişkinin araştırılmasını amaçlarken adı geçen mecazi çağrışımlar aracılığı ile somut mimari formların ötesindeki tarihsel-kültürel bilgiye dayalı anlamları deşifre etmeye çalışır. Tez de başvuru olan araştırma yöntemi ise Panofsky'nin '*derin anlamda ikonografik okuma*' yöntemidir.

Bu çalışma, Kuzey İran bölgesinde 1006/7 AD tarihinde yapılmış olan Qabus Kulesi nin gizemli sembolik yapısını üzerinde barındırdığı mecazi çağrışımları tarihi ve kültürel bilgilere dayanarak Panofsky nin derinlemesine okuma yöntemi ile deşifre etmeye odaklanır. Kuzey İran'daki farklı tarihsel dönemlerin, siyasi, kültürel, dini

(Mithraizm, Zerdüştlük, ve İslam) özelliklerinin, yanı sıra dönemin mitolojik, ontolojik, felsefi, ve kozmolojik bilgi kaynakları, Qabus Kulesinin sembolik önemini ve onun mistik ve mitolojik yönelimlerini açıklamak için başvurulmuş belirli konulardır.

Tez, Qabus Kulesi nin mecazi çağrışımları ile birlikte sembolik olarak yapılandırıldığı tarihsel döneminin İslami dönemden kaynaklanan siyasi, kültürel, dini, ve mitolojik dünya görüşlerini ifade etmesi ile birlikte, bu dünya görüşlerinin, aslında, derinden ve çoğunlukla, İslam öncesi tarihsel-kültürel dönemle bağlantısı olduğunu ortaya çıkarmaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Sembolik anlam, mecazi çağrışımlar, tarihsel ve kültürel bilgi

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Architecture and metaphoric presentation

Symbols have been all along with human being since they were the first and easiest mean of communication. Before learning about words and letters, human being used to express him/herself to other people by using various drawings and pictures. Similarly, in art and architecture symbolic expressions can be accepted as the important means of representation of abstract ideas in sensible ways. The matter of *symbol* derives from human being's challenge with his/her environment and makes the source of art and architecture. Symbols as origins of art, interrelates with ontological perception of God and the universe (nature of being) which have been the concern of many philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, Kant, Hegel, Heidegger, Cassirer, Gombrich and Panofsky for ages.

With an emphasis to the significance of symbolic form of architecture, Norberg-Schulz underlines that "Architecture cannot be satisfactorily described by means of geometrical concepts. Architecture ought to be understood in terms of symbolic form." (as cited in Nasar, and Kang, 1989, p.165). With this words, Schulz reminds that the very meaning and value of architecture go beyond the concrete geometrical forms of architecture. Accordingly, we can claim that it's not just about physical material of architecture that provide mere shelter; it's about symbolic meanings of architecture that are concealed behind its concrete form. Architectural symbolic forms, similar to any other symbolic forms, are the means to realize the world, and to express humans' ideology. In this way, people can identify the world, and in accordance with their identification, they can communicate with the society.

Metaphors in art and architecture, in that sense, are the means, vehicles, tools that help the expression of ideas of people in the presentation of symbolic forms. Metaphors and metaphoric expressions in architecture has also been an important subject among the authors who question the value, meaning, and poetry of architecture for long time: Norberg-Schulz (1965), Suzanne Preston Blier (1987–1994), George Lackoff (1993), Kojin Karatani (1995), Susanne Von Falkenhausen (1997), Cynthia Jane Brown (2000), Juhani Pallasmaa (2005), John Onians (2006), Daniel Purdy (2011), Barie Fez-Barrington (2012), and Gernot Bohme (2013) are the names of few authors who mention about the importance of metaphor in demystification of symbolic forms.

Qabus Tower (or *Gunbad-i Qabus*)¹ (figure 1–5) is the architectural sample of this thesis in which historical-cultural meanings of the tower is going to be analyzed in order to clarify its symbolic form. The tower was built in 1006/7 A.D in the north region of Iran. Qabus Tower with the extraordinary height of 53 meters is constructed in the period, in which, the period is literally referred as the Renaissance period of Iran.

Further in the importance of symbols, metaphors, and their relation with architecture, we need to step forward in discussion of these subjects.

1.2. Symbolism in culture, art and architecture

Symbols are from various forms like words, sounds, images or gestures that convey meaning to their community. Symbols have been used by people to understand the world, and to express and share their thoughts, ideas, and beliefs in communication with others. In this way, symbols can be considered the necessity theme in creation of communities and cultures. Symbols in their artistic perspective, attempts to evoke the same experience and realization of a referent. Art was used by humans for communication of people with each other to share their ideologies. Cultures were evolved with symbols since symbols were one of the main factors in establishment of cultures' entity.

¹ from now on, we will use term of "Qabus Tower" instead of "*Gunbad-i Qabus*".

In definition of symbol, we may claim that fundamental essence of symbols lays on 'realization' of something ineffable that symbols 'express' it, so people can share them in their 'communication'. The words of "realization", "expression" and "communication" that have been stressed, can be traced from other philosophers' words. For instance, G.W.F Hegel (1818–1829) describes symbol and claims that:

There are, then, in the symbol two terms to be distinguished: first, the meaning, and, secondly, the expression. The first is a conception of the mind; the second, a sensuous phenomenon, an image which address itself to the senses.

Beyers (2013, p.1) about the oldness of symbols in history states that “The existence of symbols is as old as the existence of *homo sapiens*.” Before learning about words and letters, human being used to express him/herself to other people by using various drawings and pictures. Paintings in caves all around the world are the simple example of prehistoric symbols that mankind used to express his/her thoughts, and to communicate with others. Chris Knight (2010, p.196) in order to understand the oldness of symbols in history states that “[According] To Christopher Henshilwood and Benoit Dubreuil, the cosmetic evidence indicates that Middle Stone Age people were capable of symbolic communication ...” Chase (1994, p.628) in his question of necessity of symbolic culture brings Gamble's suggestion and says that:

One possible answer might lie in the suggestion by Gamble ... that art in the Upper Paleolithic of Europe served as a medium for transmitting information through large networks of people who could be called upon to aid one another in the harsh environments of Pleistocene Europe.

As it is emphasized in the above quotation, symbols have the main role in recognition of cultures. Spirova (2013, p.47) says that “Culture acquires meaning through symbols.” Culture is a pattern of human activities that helps people in identification and recognition of basic assumptions of human nature. People cooperate in a society (with a specific culture) which is in accordance with their personal beliefs. In this process, symbols are indispensable parts in visualizing individuals' cognition of basic assumptions and beliefs; and also, symbols are the necessary tools in human communications which help people to share their common beliefs. Accordingly, Hatch

(1993) refers to elements of "assumptions", "values", "artifacts", and "symbols" in the cycle of creation and recreation of cultures. She (1993, p.673) says that:

To summarize, organizational members are symbol manipulators, creating as well as discovering meaning as they explore and produce a socially constructed reality to express their self-images and to contextualize their activity and identity. Symbolization refers to culturally contextualized meaning creation via the prospective use of objects, words, and actions. The objects, words, and actions are transformed (e.g., through communication) into symbols, the dynamic constellation of which constitutes the symbolic field of a culture. The symbolic field then retrospectively transfigures artifacts by imbuing them with the charms of surplus meaning.

In accordance with the argument, Spirova (2013, p.46) comments that “symbol as an important category of philosophical anthropology that sheds light on the issue of man’s origins and culture.” Feinberg (1979, p.541), also says that:

For Geertz, culture is "an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitude toward life" (1966:3), and a symbol is "any object, event, quality, or relation which serves as a vehicle for a conception.... the conception is the symbol's 'meaning'" (1966:5).

Hegel (1818–1829) claims that art is born from symbol. He says that “Thus it [symbol] ought rather to be considered as the precursor of art.” In the process of cultural foundation, art gains its identity through main aspects of symbols that are "expression" and "communication". Art arouse to make tangible symbols of ineffable things or assumptions; so, it can build grounds for humans to describe and to share their beliefs. Art came to be born to trigger the same senses and feelings of the founder of an ideology. Art came to compose a pure emotive connection. Hence, it is the task of art to evoke the same experience of a person's worldview.

Architecture as an art encompasses factors of "expression" and "communication" in itself. Architecture connects mental cognition of some ideas and their meanings with physical elements of nature. In this way, it moderates individual's inner perception with external world to set up a middle world to live in and rely on. Architecture is an embodiment of human thought that integrates cohesive image of the world to relieve

homeless human being of his/her quandary. It brings order and meaning, also sense of belonging and identity to mankind. Architecture is about to make symbols, and can be considered as incorporator of social life. Jody Paterson Finch (2009, p.12) talks about the position of architecture in connection of inner world of human cognition with external world of natural environment, and claims that:

Building is more than a practical art, it is a dialogue: architecture contributes to the relationship between individual ego or collective identity and the larger world. By its physical being, it gives form to the interactions between man and his total environment.

Additionally, Norberg-Schulz speaks about the role of architecture in social environment and claims that “Architecture makes social life articulate, tells its meaning, and is a chief fruit of culture” (as cited in Finch, 2009, p.31). Architecture as an art needs to be symbolic. Symbolic expressions in art and architecture can be accepted as the important means of representation of abstract ideas in sensible ways. The matter of "symbol" derives from human being's challenge with his/her environment, and makes the source of art and architecture.

Architecture as the main axis of art has been born in the cycle of symbols, cultures, and humans' perception of the universe. In the process of architectural generation, buildings convey meaning through society. However, 'expression' and 'communication' are the main aspects of architecture as an art, but it already needs to carry 'meanings' in itself to conduct humans' relation with their environment. In another point of view, architecture with its relation with symbols comes to provide meanings for our being and dwelling in the world. Human being needs to 'realize' the world with his/her inner feelings more than being in need of shelter protection. Architecture is an intermediate for the expression of these two worlds. Finch (2009, p.30) says that:

Architecture, therefore, is more than an outer skin to moderate the elements, an enclosure to take possession of space, or a purely aesthetic expression. Architecture is a symbolic midworld, conditioning the relationships that connect humanity to a meaningful order.

It is the advantage of architecture to moderate the relation between human and his/her environment, so it can make the environment pleasant for habitancy and resting for him/her. Architecture performs this by donating identity to a place, and to its occupants that has been already acknowledged with some meanings by a community with a specific culture. It is in the nature of architecture to have substantial meanings which the meanings are related to some culture. Rapaport (1969, p.46–47) says that:

... building a house is a cultural phenomenon, its form and organization are greatly influenced by the cultural milieu to which it belongs. ... house form is not simply the result of physical forces or any single causal factor, but is the consequence of a whole range of socio-cultural factors seen in their broadest terms.

When an architecture is been created outside the cycle of cultures and symbols, it's been deprived of its meaningful values. It will lose cultural authentication for its entity.

1.3. Metaphor in art and architecture

In this thesis, we articulate metaphor in relation to architecture since symbols generally can cause wrong perceptions with signs. On the other hand, metaphor have more specialty in searching for (architectural) meanings that goes beyond the concrete form of buildings.

Metaphor, in comparison with symbol, acts as the symbol's subset which is specialized in seeking meanings. Metaphor is a quality which fetches between symbol and what it symbolizes. It's a mutual way or a free ground to pass through; it's like a discursive vehicle to relate two or more subjects. In the way, it can osculate between other subjects, and reflect to weave a compound reference to declare more confidently its credence. Hence, it explains more vividly and complexly its subjects. It's like a network of lines, weaving a glasses for us to see better the lines between symbol and the some historical-cultural realities which are unknown.

Gunter (1995, p.79) describes metaphor and says that “A metaphor is a powerful thing. It compares the [things that are] yet unknown with something that is already

known. It makes the former easier to grasp.” Referring to Locke, Barie Fez-Baringten (1992, p.4,7) in explanation of metaphor says that:

John Locke (1632-1704) best expressed that ideas are not innate as Plato maintained; rather, they came from experience, that is, sensation and reflection. The very things of which *metaphors* are made. As people are exposed to experiences, they are impressed on the mind. These experiences are all imprinted on the mind through one or more of the five senses. Once they are in the mind they can be related in a variety of ways through the use of reflection. We can acquire the idea of milk through the sense of taste; perfume through the sense of smell; velvet through the sense of touch; and green through sense of sight. One can create *ideas* of green milk or perfumed velvet. These are kinds of *metaphors* ... The *metaphoric* process is based on a literary term which means "*carrying-over*"; it associates meanings and emotions which would otherwise not have been related.

Metaphor is a way to compare two or more unrelated things with each other. It conveys meanings and implicit messages from one subject to others. It opens new sights of understanding to a viewer. Each viewer base on his/her own cultural perspective can interpret metaphoric connotations of a subject. Metaphoric interpretations arise from the conjunction of cultural background of an interpreter and the subject like a form of a building. Hence, metaphorical meanings are subjective to viewers. Metaphor makes the subject to be watched in several perspectives. It can be read by a viewer who is acquaintance with the culture of its composer.

Metaphors have been commonly used in poetry which are more conceptual than being linguistic. Jeanne Pietig (1997, p.46) says that:

According to classical language theorists dating back to Aristotle (1969), a metaphor is a poetic expression having little to do with everyday language or systematic thought. Contemporary theorists like George Lakoff (1993) are challenging the traditional view by defining metaphors as "mappings across conceptual domains" (p. 239). He argues that metaphors are fundamentally conceptual, not linguistic, in nature and that they are embedded in our ordinary language and everyday experiences.

Daniel C. Strack (2005, p.37–38) in the description of metaphor states that:

Metaphor is not simply rhetorical ornamentation but is part of a conceptual process crucial to everyday communication. For example, the statement "His *path* in life hasn't been easy" is conceptualized according to the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Concerning such expressions, cognitive linguist George Lakoff states: "These are ordinary, everyday English expressions. They are not poetic, nor are they necessarily used for special rhetorical effect. Examples like this show that what is involved is not just conventional language, but a conventional mode of thought" ("Invariance" 47). The numerous entailments of a metaphor result in extended metaphor when used in combination, and analysis of such extended metaphor is common in cognitive linguistics. If we extend the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, we understand that one's birth is the beginning of the journey, one's destination is the goal of the journey, and the events of one's life are the path along which a person travels.

Metaphors in art and architecture can be accepted as the means or vehicles to support and express the meanings which are embedded in symbolic forms. Ran (2010, p.83) says that "As the most tangible physical component of society, architecture plays a central role in motivating the evolution of metaphors." By the help of metaphors, artists or designers have chance to express their ideas, beliefs, worldviews and cultural relations in their works. In this way, symbolic expressions of art and architectural works act as the metaphors of life/worldview itself at the same time. Architecture as embodiment of visual expression of some ideology, incarnates in physical concrete forms and images that a group of people already realized them in their experience and their culture. The way which these images mention the idea behind them, is the task of metaphor. Dogan (2000, p.10) says that:

Since Aristotle claims the practice of art or architecture concerns a capacity to make with a reasoning behind it, the function and the responsibility of metaphors to reveal this reasoning which is mainly human intellectual and moral knowing of his life, are of importance as they lead us to depart from thinking about architecture more than in operational terms, as a creative intentional act.

Ran (2010, p.84) in accordance with the metaphoric obligation of architecture, notes from Fez-Barrington and claims that "According to Professor Fez-Barrington; A. Art is about making metaphors; B. Architecture has an artistic dimension; C. Therefore, architecture involves the making of metaphors." Architecture is not just visual shapes and forms of concrete construction. There are historical-cultural beliefs behind each

form. During in history, architects realized the world by those forms and also used the forms in their constructions. Hence, each form has its own worldview-meaning base on each person's historical-cultural background. Architecture as concrete visualization of forms, automatically conveys our perception of a form to some cultural believes that are concealed in them. Here is the strong bond of architecture and metaphor. Human realizes the (external) world in his mind through visualization of those natural forms of the world. In this process of realization, s/he shapes metaphorical forms of the concrete world in his/her mind which are different to exact forms of external world. When s/he attempts to dwell in the external world, s/he extracts the metaphorical forms of his/her mind. Hence, we can claim that architecture as the mediator of internal world of mind and the external world, is the way for embodiment of metaphors. Pietig (1997, p.46) states that:

Rudolf Arnheim (1977) claims that all systems of thought take the form of architectural structures. When the human mind organizes a body of thought, it almost inevitably does so in terms of spatial imagery. Since all thoughts are worked out in the medium of perceptual space, architecture is the embodiment of thought because it invents shapes and builds structures.

The importance of the relation between metaphor and architecture in implantation of each culture's beliefs in the history can be realized from Juhani Pallasmaa's words. He (2005, p.71) claims that "The timeless task of architecture is to create embodied and lived existential metaphors that concretise and structure our being in world."

1.4. Problem Definition

This thesis regards to two major deficiencies as the problems. First, comprises the outer circle of architectural isolation from symbolic meanings. Second, comprises the inner circle gap in recognition the form of Qabus Tower.

Architectural forms and buildings that have been purged of cultural meaning is one of the main issues of the contemporary architecture. The issue of meaningless architecture concludes to various social issues and dissociations since buildings have less cultural meanings in their context to share with a society. As the result, the

problem can be discussed in other concepts of contemporary social issues like "identity crisis", "cultural fragmentation", "social dissociation", "personal alienation", and forgotten role of architecture with its symbolic aspect in reconnecting human with his/her environment (Finch, 2009, p.11). In order to emphasize the important relation between symbolic meanings and historical-cultural world, Finch (2009, p.11–12) says that:

From the disintegration of history to the exploitation of the natural world, it is evident that modern man no longer forms part of a meaningful totality: he has become a stranger to his world and to himself. He is isolated, necessarily self-interested, and careless since he does not feel the need to cultivate a world anymore. ... The breakdown of established order and symbolic meaning, hallmarks of traditional human societies, sets modern man adrift. Broken connections alienate him from environment, society, even himself.

As can be seen, Finch defines the problem of disintegration of the history from the meaningful living world that derives from disconnection of human from symbolic meanings. Additionally, she underlines the social dissociation or alienation as the problem of this disconnection. The vital role of architecture as the symbolic form cannot be ignored in treatment of these issues since it has the fundamental role in satisfying the basic needs of human existence. Le Corbusier counts "social", "symbolic", "spatial" and "creative" factors for existential needs of human which are all cumulative in architecture (as cited in Finch, 2009, p.29). The disconnection of symbolic meanings from societies are one of social issues that architecture can help in resolving the problem. Architecture supposed to connect our inner feelings of realization of the world to the outer cosmic order. Unfortunately, it seems that architecture majorly has lost its imperative play, and deprived from its meaning; so, it's been accompanied with socio-cultural dissociation. Finch (2009, p.11) claims that:

architecture can connect us, literally and figuratively, to the world around us. This is a critical issue because there is so much evidence today that we are not very well connected - neither to nature, society, nor even ourselves. Ecological apocalypse, identity crisis, cultural fragmentation, social dissociation, personal alienation ... all are these schisms are increasing concerns in the Western world.

This thesis steps in understanding the possible symbolic meanings of architecture. Historical-cultural reasoning of the expression of symbolic form of architecture is our main concern. The study attempts to demystify the symbolic meanings of the architecture of earlier time in Iran. Qabus Tower (1006/7 AD) as the case study of the thesis, is going to be our module to understand the meaningful architecture.

The next deficiency, is the lack of knowledge about the formation of the Qabus Tower. Factors that have influenced the form of the tower is unclear. There are a few experts who have stated about the quality of the tower and about the potential meanings behind its concrete form. Their comments, also, are very incomplete. There are insufficiencies in metaphoric and symbolic recognition of Qabus Tower. This thesis tries to resolve these insufficiencies by the help of a deeper reading that will help us to de-mystify or de-mythify the symbolic meaning of the tower by using the historical cultural knowledge of that particular period.

1.5. Aim of the Study

In this thesis, we are going to reveal the meanings of historical architecture using metaphors. In this way, metaphors act as the means of the expression of the symbolic images and meanings that go beyond the concrete forms of art and architecture. Metaphors, by this way, act to decipher inherited historical-cultural meanings of a place hidden in the figurative form of a building. The meanings imbued in culture will be investigated via metaphor. The metaphoric research will scrutinize several aspects of the period like policy, culture, religions, mythology, ontology, philosophy, and cosmology to demystify or de-mythify the architectural form of the case study. The aim is to search for meanings by analysis of mentioned aspects in history of Iran to the period of the case study. In some cases, the observation surpass the history of Iran, and goes beyond it.

The thesis considers Qabus Tower as the case study. The tower has been built by the order of King Qabus Ibn-e Voshmgir² in 1006/7 AD in north region of Iran. The historical-cultural conditions of the period, and also the periods before, in which, the tower has been obtained its physical form, is concerned. Panofsky's iconographical *reading in deeper sense* is referred in order to scrutinize metaphoric connotations of the tower.

Extra goals that can be acquired from the thesis with its deciphering attitude (using the metaphor for de-mythification of meanings), is to introduce architectural examples of a time, when architecture seemed to be less isolated from the culture of its time.

1.6. Methodology

In this thesis, Panofsky's methodology of iconography, is referred to demystify and demythify the meanings beyond physical forms of Qabus Tower. Panofsky (1972) in his book of "studies in iconology" manifests his method in three main stratum; his method comprises a range of visible clear forms to invisible or dim historical meanings behind subjects of study. I use his method in order to clarify metaphors and the symbolic expressions and meanings. In the method, there are three layers in interpretation of an object: "primary of natural subject matter", "secondary or conventional subject matter", and "intrinsic meaning or content" (Panofsky, 1972.p.14). The first layer, is the general analysis of formal figure of the object. It includes the formal sense of the object too. Second layer, is the analysis that attempts to reach the originality of the object's act (the original event); it also, attempts to realize the reasons during the construction of the original event. It is the layer that Panofsky (1972) refers to it as the analysis in the "narrower sense" (p.14). The third layer is the profound layer of the methodology in which character of the object, based on its behaviors or events, is observed. It's interrelated with the second layer, since it goes to demystify the personality of the object by demystification the reasons behind the object's acts and events. It's the analysis in which referred as the "deeper sense" (p.14).

² Qabus Ibn-e Voshmgir (Persian: قابوس ابن وشمگیر) was the fourth king of Ziyarid dynasty. His reign was from 977 AD to 981 AD, and from 998 AD to 1012 AD. He died in 1012 AD.

However, Panofsky's (1972) three levels of interpretations are seem to be separate, but he acknowledges that in actual work the levels may be "merged with each other into one organic and indivisible process" (p.17).

In our case study, we focus on the second and third layer of the Panofsky's method. Almost all the contemporary interpretation about the Qabus Tower have been based on the first layer, in which, physical form and general sense of the tower have been discussed. For instance, Pope (2011) ascribes general senses (like power) to the tower, based on his own judgment (p.86). Daneshvari (1986), goes a little further in the second layer to demystify Qabus Tower. Before our main analysis, we bring the existing knowledge and interpretation about the tower. As Panofsky (1972, p.17) mentioned before, in our study of the tower, the layers of the method, generally, will merge with each other to procure a cohesive interpretation. However, we preferred to study Qabus Tower in six different topics to acquire the cohesiveness, but they are all interconnected with each other.

1.7. Argument of the study

The argument is about to state the importance of meanings of buildings which are concealed behind their physical form. Recognition of physical forms or styles would be sterile if we don't understand their meanings. Concrete body of architecture are the words, and in order to understand the words we need to learn the language. Metaphor is the language of buildings which they speak of their periodic life via metaphor.

On the other hand, the argument is about to display the importance of Qabus Tower as one of the most meaningful building in the architectural history of Iran. However, literally, Qabus Tower is referred as a great tower, but its greatness is observed remotely via general senses. Today's knowledge about Qabus Tower is very deficient to fairly express its importance. The tower is not a building to be understood only by its physical form or attributed style. There is a vast area of meanings that goes beyond its concrete form. It's the concrete evidence that represents the worldview of the society of its period. Probably, it's one of the rare architectural samples in Iran that has been completely charged with meanings.

1.8. Boundaries of the study

As far as our case study is in Iran, generally, our main concentration and interpretation is based on Iran's history of architecture, culture, events, and knowledge. Most of important architectural example of Iran, to the period of Qabus, have been mentioned in the thesis. Thus, (visual) analysis of mentioned architectural samples is one of our sources and boundaries for all interpretations. Political events, cultural ceremonies and beliefs, doctrine of three dominant religions (Mithraism, Zoroastrianism, and Islam); as well as existed knowledge about mythology, ontology, philosophy, and cosmology of the period, can be considered as the boundaries of the study. In the case of cosmology, it goes beyond the borders of Iran, and includes the Greek philosophers' cosmological knowledge about the celestial bodies. Terms like "in Iran" and "to the period of Qabus" facilitate the realization of the boundaries.

1.8. Structure of the thesis

The thesis continues with second chapter of "literature review". In the chapter, we bring existing knowledge about Qabus Tower. First, physical aspects of the tower is introduced. Second, metaphorical and iconographical features of the tower are gathered from experts who have claimed about the tower. Insufficiency of the metaphorical and symbolical knowledge about Qabus Tower display itself through unclear statements of other authors, so it pushes the study to go further in unrevealed meanings of the tower behind its concrete form.

Third chapter of "methodology" begins with Panofsky's ideology in realization of peace of art. In the chapter, more specifically, we observe the layers of meanings behind a form of event through Panofsky's ideology. Then, we use his method in demystification of Qabus Tower. For better results, we divided several topics to reveal the true senses and meanings of the tower. First topic is related to political events of the period. In the topic, we search for political influence of the period in formation of

the tower. Political behavior of Ziyarid dynasty³ among other kingdoms, and its reaction against foreign invasions like the invasion of Arabs are main axis of the topic. Political life of Qabus himself is concerned too. Second topic is related to the culture of Iran. In the topic, Persian cultural ceremonies and events includes; specially, their relation with number ten are concerned since the tower has ten pointed plan. Previous examples of tombs in old Persia are discussed too. Third topic is related to religions. We observe how three different religions of Mithraism, Zoroastrianism, and Islam have affected the form of Qabus Tower. Doctrine of the religions and their prominent features have been discussed to discover their probable relevance to the tower. Forth topic is related to mythology. In the topic, main aspects of Persian mythology in relation to the form of the tower, Qabus, and the spectacular site of the tower have been argued. Next topic which is related to philosophical ideas and ontological perceptions of God and the universe, is one of the most important arguments of the thesis. In the topic, we observe how religious beliefs and political events like Arabs' invasion have influenced the ontological ideology of Persian people. Their ontology represents itself in the form of Qabus Tower. We bring the great philosophers' ideologies like Farabi⁴ and Avicenna, and also Ferdowsi's⁵ poems to support our idea. They all lived in the exact period of Qabus. The last topic is related to cosmology. Cosmological beliefs of Biruni⁶, Pythagoras and others in formation of circular plan of the tower are the main issues. It also argues the cosmological knowledge of the period to demystify the number ten.

³ Ziyarid dynasty (Persian: آل زیار) was one earlier dynasties that established after Islam in Iran. It lasted from 927 AD to 1078 AD. Main reign of the Ziyarid dynasty was north of Iran around the south part of Caspian Sea.

⁴ Abu Nasr al-Farabi (Persian: ابونصر فارابی) is one of the prominent Persian philosopher who lived from 872 AD to 950 AD. His ideology greatly influenced *Mashshai* philosophy that was followed by Avicenna later.

⁵ Abu I-Qasim Ferdowsi Tusi (Persian: ابوالقاسم فردوسی طوسی) (940–1020 AD) is one of most highly revered Persian poets who has written the *Shahnameh* (book of kings). His book is in epic poetry that narrates old Persian history and mythology.

⁶ Abu Rayhan al-Biruni (Persian: ابوریحان بیرونی) (973–1048 AD) was a great astronomer, scientist and polymath of Iran. He lived a few years near king Qabus and dedicated one of his books to him.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Architectural and constructional properties of Qabus Tower

Qabus Tower has been built in 1006/7 AD, by order of King Qabus Ibn-e Voshmgir from the Ziyarid dynasty. It is situated in north sector of Gonbad-e Qabus (or Gonbad-e Kavus) town from Golestan province of Iran. (figure 6) The town has granted its name from the tower by Reza Shah Pahlavi in 1926. The town has been built on the grounds of old Jorjan city (or city of Hyrcania) which its history derives from Achaemenian dynasty⁷. The city of Jorjan was the capital of Ziyarid dynasty in the time of king Qabus. Debris of old Jorjan city can be found three kilometres away from the Qabus Tower. The tower is the highest tower of the world that has been built only by bricks with height of almost 53 meters above a hill with 15 meters height (Pour Abdollah, 2013, p.124). It was built on a manner between *Khorasani Style*⁸ and *Razi Style*⁹ (Iranian cultural heritage, handicrafts & tourism organization [ICHHTO], 2014). King Qabus Ibn-e Voshmgir was a great warrior, scientist, poet and astronomer who was fluent in both Farsi and Arabic languages. He cherished science and all scientists including Avicenna (980-1037 AD) and Abu Rayhan al-Biruni (973-1048 AD). The document entitled "The World Cultural Heritage on Qabus Tower" gives information about the architectural importance of the tower in Iran or Central Asia, and it is noted in the document that:

⁷ Achaemenian dynasty (Persian: سلسله هخامنشی) was the first Persian empire that founded by Cyrus the Great in the 6th century BC. The dynasty lasted to the invasion of Alexander the Great in 330 BC.

⁸ *Khorasani Style* (Persian: شیوه خراسانی) is the third style in architecture of Iran and also it's the first style after Islamic period. Main personality of this style is to avoid from redundancy, and buildings are proportionate for humane size. Using local materials is another trait of this style.

⁹ *Razi Style* (Persian: شیوه رازی) is the fourth style in architecture of Iran and the second style after Islamic period. Main character of this style is advance in building domes, using best materials and plaster works.

Gonbad-e Qābus [Qabus Tower] is an outstanding example of Islamic architecture in the region which played a significant role, illustrating an exceptional case in further dissemination of the concept and architecture of the tomb towers in Iran, Anatoly, and Central Asia. Its innovative structural design supporting the stability of this over one thousand years old brick-made monument and initiating a specific building technology to erect a 52 meters height tower with 9 meters deep brick-made foundation for the first time in history, have made Gonbad-e Qābus an exception among the similar towers in the world. (UNESCO, 2011, p.14)

2.1.1. Location and the regional characteristics of Qabus Tower

Qabus Tower is situated in extension of Alborz mountains in North-East region of Iran. (figure 6) Its distance from the Alborz mountains is about twenty kilometers from south and also twenty kilometers from east. The tower has around 110 kilometers distance from the Caspian sea from west side. Qabus Tower is among two rivers up and down. (figure 7) Gorgan river is about one kilometer far from north direction of the tower and Chelchay river is about 3.5 kilometers far away from south side of the tower. The area of Qabus Tower in the time of construction was filled with shrubs and trees more than what it has today. Today, Qabus Tower is in the north side of the Gonbad-e Qabus city in a park with area of around 40,000 m², and the park is surrounded by streets. (figure 8) Over the streets there are residential buildings with some shopping stores. The street in the west side of the tower is one of main avenues of the city today.

2.1.2. Features of the hill of Qabus Tower

The hill with around 15 meters height has the tower above its ground (figure 1). The hill is neither natural nor manmade. It's intentionally been constructed from debris of buildings in the spot of the time for metaphoric meanings and construction purpose. There is a spot on the hill which is across the entrance with almost 35 meters distance. (figure 3) In this spot there is sound reflection and echo. Someone can hear himself/herself from the tower after loud speaking on the spot (ICHHTO, 2014).

2.1.3. Architectural properties of the foundation and the shaft of Qabus Tower

Foundation of the tower with height of 9.82 m commences from the flat ground with bricks and similar materials. (figure 9) The shaft of the tower with 36.971 meters height is almost a cylinder, but there is a slight difference in the diameter of the frame in its topside and bottom. The diameter of the shaft's frame in the top slightly tapers from the bottom. Circular external frame has 10 angular vertical ledges make the shaft seen as 10 point star. (figure 9) These ledges are in the same distance from each other. Diameter of the shaft from peak of the ledges is 1920 cm and diameter of inner space is 960 cm. Entrance is situated in the South-East side of the tower and also there are two encircling Kufic¹⁰ inscription around the tower. Main material is from unglazed fired bricks (ICHHTO, 2014).

2.1.4 Details of the entrance of Qabus Tower

In the South-East side of the tower the entrance is situated above the ground. (figure 10) It has 120 cm width and 416 cm height. There are two platforms beside the entrance which probably were the place of two statues. Entrance has an ogee arch, and above the portal there are two muqarnases or stalactite work sat symmetrically (figure 11). These muqarnases are the first ones of their kind in architecture of Iran (Memarian, 2013, p.182). The entrance makes a niche through the thick wall of the shaft and door situates almost in the middle of this niche.

2.1.5. Characteristics of the inscriptions of Qabus Tower

There are two row of inscriptions with Kufic calligraphy written by same bricks (figure 12–14). One row is about 8 meters above the hill and the other is around 2 meters below the dome. Inscriptions are in rectangular frames made by same bricks. These inscriptions are between the ledges of the shaft. It starts with the one in the right side of the entrance and circulates clockwise around the tower. Mitra Mehrabadi (1995,

¹⁰ Kufic calligraphy (Persian: خط کوفی) is a calligraphic form in scripts with no usage of punctuation or marks. In this style lines have more horizontal and vertical angled fractures with less round forms.

p.263) claims the inscriptions were set up after Qabus's death. Her claim is only based on her interpretation of the inscription and is in opposition with other authors' words and historical evidences. Hence, we will consider the inscriptions were setup during the Qabus's life.

Text of the inscriptions are: In the name of Allah, the beneficent, the merciful; this is a superb palace; for Amir [king] Shams ul-Ma'ali; Amir Ibn-e [son of] Amir; Qabus Ibn-e Voshmgir [Qabus son of Voshmgir]; ordered to build during his life; in the year 397; lunar Heqira; and the year 375; the solar [Yazdgerd solar calendar¹¹] (ICHHTO, 2014).

2.1.6. Constructional properties of the dome of Qabus Tower

Conical dome of the tower has 1587 cm height from cone's climax to the end of its steep. This conical dome is first from its own kind and is categorized from Rok¹² dome in Iranian architecture. (figure 14–15) The dome has two shells at the top, and between the peak of two shells is not completely filled with materials because of construction and stability purposes (figure 16). There is a hatch in the east side of the dome with height of 185 cm and 206 cm length from below (figure 17). Material of the dome is also from unglazed fired bricks. There was a golden cock in the top of the dome at the beginning but it has been stolen by Russians (ICHHTO, 2014).

2.1.7. Constructional materials of Qabus Tower

The main material of the tower is unglazed fired bricks¹³. This kind of bricks are formatting during the construction with unique mould for special usage. Hence, bricks

¹¹ In this text, the year 375 the solar is based on the year that third Yazdgerd (Persian: یزدگرد سوم) who was the last king of Sassanid dynasty became the king and inherited the reign. Hence, it is not the Muslims' solar year which is prophet Mohammad travelled from Mecca to Medina.

¹² Rok dome (Persian: گنبد رک) is a kind of dome with conical and pyramidal form. It's used most in north region of Iran near the Caspian Sea since it is more suitable for continental atmosphere and also visual geographic mountains.

¹³ Unglazed fired brick (Persian: آجر پیش بر)

of the tower are not in same size or readymade. There are specific bricks with different sizes in length, width and height for particular spot of the tower, specially, in the dome. The bricks in the time of construction had red colour but during the time its colour fade into tan colour. Mortar of the tower is from plaster. Water of the construction is provided from Gorgan River and soil of the construction is prepared from the Red mountain about 15 kilometres far from the old Jorjan city (ICHHTO, 2014).

However it's written in the inscription that the building is a palace but most possible purpose of the building should be a devotion as a tomb for its constructor who was king Qabus (ICHHTO, 2014). There was a rectangular hole filled with soil in the middle of the tower that probably was the king's grave, but Russian in 1899 AD dug the grave deep to 1075 cm and found nothing (ICHHTO, 2014). There is another story about the king's grave. He was hung after his death in the glass coffin in the tower for days, so his people can have proper farewell. Suspension of the coffin was provided from chains. In another passage, part of the coffin was made of metal and suspended by four magnetic stones (Mehrabadi, 1995, p.264–265). Via suspension, first light of the sun would light up the coffin through the hatch in the dome. This ceremony is very near to pre-Islamic Zoroastrian rites.

2.2. Limitations of earlier studies on symbolic aspects of Qabus Tower

Before starting with our own metaphorical interpretation of Qabus Tower, there would be necessity to bring existed knowledge about the tower from point of other authors in order to recognize flaws and shortcomings in true perception of the tower.

Unfortunately, almost all of current books about the architecture of Iran or *Razi Style* have just searched for physical condition of the tower and they have mentioned very short metaphorical meanings of the tower. Abbas Daneshvari (1986) is the only author who discussed further about the tower but it is still imperfect. Memarian (2013, p.181) beside physical explanation of Qabus Tower, stated that “the tower is a guide bar which has been the mark of the city and tomb of its constructor.” Ansari (2010, p.129–130) has only mentioned the physical form of the tower. Moshtagh (2008, p.307) also has not talked about meanings beyond the tower's physical form. Almost the same

happened in Kiani's book (2012, p.44–46). Pour Abdollah (2013, p.124–125) in his book, alongside of physical introduction of the tower, mentioned about similarity of internment in the tower with Zoroastrian *Astadans*.

Arthur Pope (2011) tried to enter in metaphoric meanings of the tower in relation with Qabus's character. He (2011, p.86) states that:

Qabus was a fantastic person who ruled city of Jorjan periodically from 976 to 1012 AD. He was a scientist and protector of scientist. He was a poet and protector of poets. He was a calligraphist, astronomer, linguist, great chess player, brave warrior and also was suspicious person who was killed by angry grandee. His life provided to continuance of safety and comfort and also challenged the destiny—all of this features are displayed in design of this building. Its power in sublime height and silent loneliness, in the pure and plain volume of the composition and in its powerful latent shape, ends roads of any wrong discussions. The building is completely naked, like a warrior in the battle with destiny, and like a poet king in challenge with eternity. The building with its elegance and dignity is a display of death and defeat of death. Is there any tombs as impressive and communicative as the tower?

Daneshvari (1986), generally, studies iconographical significance dimensions of tombs. For instance, he talks about "heavenly domes" of towers. I peruse his study in general concept of tomb's structure later, but I would like to specifically bring his words about Qabus Tower before starting our own metaphorical interpretation. Daneshvari (1986, p.14) in the first chapter of his book explains tombs as an image of heavens and about the Qabus Tower he says that:

Aside from the shade, another paradisaic quality ascribed to the tomb structure was apparently its ascension toward the heavens. ... The best structural manifestation of this idea can be seen in the Gunbad-i Qabus which reaches the amazing height of sixty-one meters, while its diameter is only seventeen meters (plate 4, fig. 6). Although most tomb structures have a relatively modest height when compared to the Gunbad-i Qabus, we can clearly see the importance of a tomb's vertical impetus in our contemporary sources.

Daneshvari admits his uncertainty about the flanges of Qabus Tower that made the plan of the tower like a ten pointed star. He (1986, p.25–31) says that:

I regret that I cannot as yet provide with certainty any answers to the iconography of these flanges. They may be purely structural or perhaps are devices used to emphasize the vertical ascension of the tower, or, they may have alluded to heavenly bodies: especially in the case of Shams al-Ma'ali whose name means the "Sun of the Heights," the heavenly configuration of the structure may be a reference to his name. ... The problem of the meaning of the hexagonal and the decagonal structures must remain to be solved when further information is brought to light on them.

Daneshvari (1986, p.69) talks about the power display of the tower in political perspective and states that:

On the most basic level, the building of a funerary structure reflected the rank and social status of its patron. The greater the importance of the patron the more prestigious was the tomb tower. The impressive height of the Gunbad-i Qabus clearly matched the political rank of its patron and occupant, Qabus ibn Wushmgir.

About the tower's power significance, as well as the tower's desire to have perpetual presence in the life of its surroundings, Daneshvari (1986, p.74) claims that:

An important element in recognizing the socio-political significance of the tomb structure is its relation to its site. In many instances the mausoleum is the focal point of the cityscape or occupies a prominent position within the geographical setting. The aim, as we shall see from the source descriptions of tomb sites, was to assure the people of the ruler's ever presence, in life and in death. The tomb stood as a symbol of the ruler's immortality and was, therefore, a symbol of his political viability and permanence. Although today we do not know of the Gunbad-i Qabus exact relation to its original site, the tower is still an imposing figure in the Gorgan [Jorjan] landscape and is visible from miles around. It shows the enormous presence of Qabus for his contemporaries, not so much in death as in life, for the tomb was built during his lifetime and stood as a monument to his everlastingness.

There are insufficiencies in recognition of Qabus Tower as a symbolic form. It seems that there are much more historical-cultural meanings lay behind the form of Qabus Tower. This thesis, in the next chapter, attempts to demystify and de-mythify the symbolic form of the tower by the help of metaphors. We will realize how various

historical-cultural lines of knowledge and events weave the glasses of metaphor to observe the symbolic contents of Qabus Tower through its concrete form.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Panofsky's methodology of reading in deeper sense

The thesis regards Panofsky's methodology in demystification and de-mythification of metaphorical meanings that are concealed behind Qabus Tower. Panofsky uses three main layers in analysis of subjects of a study. These layers begin with the analysis of vivid clear forms and continues to unclear and dark historical meanings that lay over the concrete form of the subject. Our main concern of the methodology is to clarify the profound historical layers of Qabus Tower as Panofsky suggests. In this way, unrevealed metaphorical and symbolical meanings of the tower disclose themselves.

Panofsky begins his book with defining of "iconography", and he (1972, p.3) says that "Iconography is that branch of the history of art which concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning of works of art, as supposed to their form." In his opinion, work of art can be analyzed in three level. First one is "Primary or Natural Subject Matter" which is divided in two parts of "formal" and "expressional". In explanation of his methodology, Panofsky bring the example of an acquaintance who removes his hat for greeting. In this case, "a gentleman" would be the "object" and "the hat removing" would be the "event". 'Formal' meaning of the subject is the pure form of a gentleman when he removes his hat. Variations in certain details like lines, colours, volumes in pure form while 'event' is happening is concerned. To realize the changes of forms we need to be familiar with pure forms from our practical experience. Theses 'formal' meanings arouse a sensible reaction within the viewer through his/her feelings which is called "expressional" meanings. In the event of hat removing, we would grasp a sense toward the gentleman like friendly, hostility or etc. To have feelings in reaction with 'the event' we need to be familiar with artistic motifs through our practical experience. As far as practical experience is not something concrete, so we can't

guarantee its correctness. Panofsky identifies a principle of "history of style" in this layer to more validate the analysis in this level. He (1972, p.15) describes the "history of style" as "insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, *objects* and *events* were expressed by *forms*." Panofsky cites this layer's act of interpretation as "pre-iconographical description" of work of art.

The second level is "Secondary or Conventional Subject Matter". In this level, Panofsky goes for discovering the historical origin of 'the event'. It is an intelligible process rather than sensible in 'expressional meaning'. In this way, we would grasp a better idea about the subject, and 'expressional meanings' of the subject would display themselves more vividly. For instance, when we discover the event of hat removing originates from mediaeval chivalry as a pose of salute, when armed men wanted to show their peaceful intentions, it would reveal the politeness sense that supports the friendly sense of 'expressional meaning'. Hence, it intensifies the primary meanings. In order to identify the origins of 'the event' we need to be familiar with historical and cultural traditions. In order to be specific about the origin of 'the event', and about the senses that 'the event' convey with itself, we need to be familiar with artistic motifs with combination of themes or concepts through literary sources. However, being informed about literary sources would not be sufficient to acknowledge the correctness of the origin of 'the event'. Panofsky identifies a principle of "history of type" in this layer to validate the identification of the origin. He (1972, p.15) describes the "history of type" as "insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, specific *themes* or *concepts* were expressed by *objects* and *events*." Panofsky cites this layer's act of interpretation as "iconography in the narrower sense".

Third level is "Intrinsic Meaning or Content". In this level, basic attitude of 'the object' is the foci of investigation. It uncovers reasons behind historic origins, and also discovers in a 'deeper sense' reasons that caused differentiations between the origin and the present state of the subject of study. It concerns personality of 'the object' based on various criteria like cultural, national, social, educational background and present surrounding. For instance, personality of the gentleman in the example is focused. Of course, character of the gentleman would not be identified with the alone action of hat

removing since it is just a symptom of his character. Variety of other similar actions should be interpreted in connection with his general information like his period, nationality, intellectual traditions and etc. The insight that can be obtained from this level supports for conventional meanings of historic origins of subjects which is mentioned in previous level. This is the essential level that Panofsky refers as "symbolic value" rather previous levels which were phenomenal. It launches for basic attitude of a person, nation, period, religion or etc to achieve. "Synthesis intuition" is needed to proceed in this level of interpretation which is something related with personal psychology and *weltanschauung*. There is no guarantee in accuracy of the interpretation in this level since it has personal intuition in itself that can't be relied on for sure, but Panofsky identified a principle of "history of cultural symptoms or symbols in general" to validate the interpretation. He (1972, p.15) describes the principle as "insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, *essential tendencies of the human mind* were expressed by specific *themes and concepts*". Panofsky cites this layer's act of interpretation as "Iconographical Interpretation in a Deeper Sense" or "Iconographical Synthesis". However, these main three levels in Panofsky's methodology seems to be different categories, but in actual work of interpretation, he mentions that the levels will merge together into a one indivisible process (1972, p.17).

In the metaphorical interpretation of Qabus Tower, I follow the observed methodology. I use the three layers of the method to demystify or de-mythify the covert meanings of the tower, but our main foci is the third layer of 'deeper sense'. For better analysis, I preferred to divide the study in six topics which are related to political, cultural, religious, mythological, ontological, philosophical, and cosmological knowledge of the period. All the topics are interrelated with together, and the divisions are to facilitate the study.

3.2. Political conditions of the period of Qabus Tower in the region and their influence on symbolic form of the tower

In some historical literature, it has been generally assumed that Iranian people had usually act defiant to new cultures and ideologies when they come with enforcing attitude, and seemed to be more faithful to their own historical culture. For instance, Memarian (2013) mentions that, after the invasion of Alexander (330 BC), Greeks tried to impose their culture to Iranian. Alexander to reach this aim ordered ten thousand of his soldiers and warlord to marry Persian girls, and he also married to two Persian girls. Alexander also ordered 30000 Persian children to being fostered by Greeks. Despite all this efforts, Persian people denied to being submissive to this aim of Greeks (p.100–101). Another example of Persians' reluctance in accepting foreign cultures is the Arabs' invasion (651 AD). Arabs after long and successive assaults, finally, defeated Iranian military forces. After the invasion, there were several uprisings against Arabs in various regions of the country. Memarin (2013, p.141) mentions that in the second century of lunar Heqira in Iran, there were stirrs and uprisings against Arabs to gain their independency and freedom from Arabs' slavery. Specially, in the domain of Ziyarid dynasty, this rejection demonstrates more vividly. Mehrabadi (1995, p.b) mentions that people of Tabarestan¹⁴ were very rigid to being overruled, and this feature made years more than other regions of Iran to accept Islam. The disinclination attitude of Iranians toward Arabs, and recess toward pre-Islamic culture can be observed from behaviours of Mardavij¹⁵ who was the founder of the Ziyarid dynasty. He had a desire to revive the Sassanid dynasty and remove Arabs' government (Mehrabadi, 1995, p.51–52). Mardavij executed the greatest Sadeh¹⁶ ceremony in the history of Iran that never happened again (Mehrabadi, 1995, p.55). The ceremony remained from pre-Islamic culture. We discuss it in the next topic.

¹⁴ Tabarestan (طبرستان) includes vast lands between Albors mountains and Caspian sea of Iran in History. Contemporary provinces of Mazandaran, Gilan and Golestan are situated in the old Tabarestan.

¹⁵ Mardavij (Persian: مرداویج) was the founder of the Ziyarid dynasty. He was the uncle of Qabus Ibn-e Voshmgir. His reign lasted from 930 AD to 935 AD.

¹⁶ Sadeh (Persian: سده) is the one of great ceremonies remained from old Persia executed in 30 January. People had cherished the ceremony by gathering woods and firing them on their houses' roof or on a mount.

Respect to the earlier cultures is seen in Qabus's character too. For instance, Qabus used Yazdgerd solar calender in the inscriptions of the tower, or he was donated with a book called *Asar al-Baghieh*¹⁷ by Abu Rayhan al-Biruni (973-1048 AD) which was a research about calendars, ceremonies, traditions and religions of various cultures and nations.

Referring to above description, we can claim that one of the main policy of the period of Qabus was to retrieve previous culture of Persia. In the next topic, we discuss how this culture influenced the form of the tower. On the other hand, this natural resilience of Persians to their old cultures, consciously or unconsciously, makes movement against foreign invasions and toward their own identity. As Panofsky pointed out in his ideas of "narrower sense" and "deeper sense", we can say that, generally, historical events and movements have become very influential in the formations of cultures including art and architecture. For example, *Parti Style*¹⁸ is a method of architecture emerged after Alexander's invasion and lasted until Islamic period in Iran, and in some regions it lasted to third and fourth century of Solar Heqira (Memarian, 2013, p.100). (figure 20–37) In this style, variety, embowed or curved roofs and arches, long height, introversion, and local material are the main features (Memarian, 2013, p.132–133). The discussed movement represented itself plainly in the *Parti Style*, especially with traits like curve and roundness. Round plan of Goor City¹⁹ (figure 20), and partially in the form of *Dakhma*²⁰ or Tower of Silence (figure 21–22), and partially in the plan of Ghale Dokhtar²¹ (figure 23–24). Additionally, the round arches, domes and towers of

¹⁷ *Asar al-Baghie* (Persian: آثار الباقیه, English: the chronology of ancient nations) is the name of a book that Biruni donated to king Qabus.

¹⁸ *Parti Style* (Persian: شیوه پارتی): Is a second style in architecture of Iran.

¹⁹ Goor City (Persian: شهر گور) was built in Sassanid dynasty in third century AD.

²⁰ *Dakhma* (Persian: دخمه) or Tower of Silence were the buildings for burial ceremony in Zoroastrianism. Persian based on the doctrine of Zoroaster used to leave their decedents in the Tower of Silence, so the dead body would not pollute the earth. The form of the building was completely circular.

²¹ Ghale Dokhtar (Persian: قلعه دختر, English: girl's castle) was built in Sassanid dynasty.

buildings like Ashoor palace²² (figure 25), Taq-i Kasra²³ (figure 26), Bazeh Hur Chahar-Taq²⁴ (figure 27), Firuzabad Fire Temple²⁵ (figure 28–29), Mount Khajeh²⁶ (figure 30), Sarvestan Palace²⁷ (figure 31–34), Niasar Fire Temple²⁸ (figure 35), Falak ul-Aflak Castle²⁹ (figure 36), and Bishapur city³⁰ (figure 37) are the evidences that confirm the influence of the movement in departure toward embowed lines in architecture. Probably, the historical facts show that this movement lasted to the period of Qabus Tower, and also intensified by Arabs' invasion. The consequence of this intensified movement demonstrates itself—specially in *Razi Style*—in round plans of buildings like Qabus Tower, Burj-i Resket³¹ (figure 38), Burj-i Radkan³² (figure 39), Burj-i Lajim³³ (figure 40), Gunbad-i Pir-i Alamdar³⁴ (figure 41), Gunbad-i Chihil Dokhtaran³⁵ (figure 42), Gunbad-i Ali³⁶ (figure 43), Kharraqan towers³⁷ (figure 44),

²² Ashoor palace (Persian: کاخ آشور): was built in Parthian dynasty in the first century AD.

²³ Taq-i Kasra (Persian: طاق کسری) was built in Sassanid Dynasty in 540 AD. It's located near the modern town of Salman Pak in Iraq.

²⁴ Bazeh Hur Chahar-Taq (Persian: چهارطاق بازه هور) was built in Sassanid dynasty.

²⁵ Firuzabad Fire Temple (Persian: آتشکده فیروزآباد) was built in Sassanid dynasty.

²⁶ Mount Khajeh (Persian: کوه خواجه) was built in Parthian dynasty.

²⁷ Sarvestan palace (Persian: کاخ سروستان): was built in Sassanid dynasty in fifth century AD.

²⁸ Niasar Fire Temple (Persian: آتشکده نیاسر) was built in Sassanid dynasty. It is from kind of Chahar-Taq.

²⁹ Falak ul-Aflak Castle (Persian: قلعه فلک الافلاک) was built in Sassanid dynasty.

³⁰ Bishapur city (Persian: شهر بیشاپور) was build in 266 AD in Sassanid Dynasty.

³¹ Burj-i Resket (Persian: برج رسکت) was build in 1016 AD in Sari city.

³² Burj-i Radkan (Persian: برج رادکان) was build in 1020 AD in Kordkuy city.

³³ Burj-i Lajim (Persian: برج لاجیم) was build in 1022 AD in Savadkuh city.

³⁴ Gunbad-i Pir-i Alamdar (Persian: گنبد پیر علمدار) was build in 1026 AD in Damghan city.

³⁵ Gunbad-i Chihil Dokhtaran (Persian: گنبد چهل دختران) was build in 1054 AD in Semnan city.

³⁶ Gunbad-i Ali (Persian: گنبد عالی) was build in 1056 AD in Abarkuh city.

³⁷ Kharraqan towers (Persian: برج های خرقان) was build in 1067 AD and 1093 AD in Avj city.

Burj-i Mihmandust³⁸ (figure 45) and Burj-i Tughril³⁹ (figure 46). According to the observed samples, it may be claimed that if the policy of the period with the mentioned movement in itself would have affected the form of the tower, it would show itself in the round plan of the tower and its conical dome. Ardalan, and Bakhtiar (1973, p.39) say that: “The dome and the conical forms correspond to maximum mobility and are thus generation lines of movement in many directions while being the only family of spaces related to the transcendent axis.”

There is another major influence of the policy of Qabus period on the form of the tower. At first, we need to know a little about the political situation of the period. Qabus's reign commenced in 366 Solar Heqira (976 AD), and he completely overcame to Tabarestan and Gilan in 368 SH (978 AD) (Mehrabadi, 1995, p.105). During his reign, there were two other dynasties of Samanid and Buyid in Iran. In 369 SH (979 AD), Fakhr al-Dawleh⁴⁰ fled from his half-brother king Azod al-Dawleh⁴¹ to Qabus to seek for refuge (Mehrabadi, 1995, p.107). Two years later king Azod al-Dawleh asked Qabus to extradite his brother to him but Qabus refused (Mehrabadi, 1995, p.107–108). At the same year, in 371 SH (981 AD), king Azod al-Dawleh attacked to the reign of king Qabus and defeated him, so king Qabus had to abandon his domain and flee to the reigns of Samanid dynasty (Mehrabadi, 1995, p.110). Qabus regained his dominion in 388 SH (998 AD) after almost 18 years of distance (Mehrabadi, 1995, p.119). However, Mehrabadi writes Qabus was far away from his reign almost 18 years, but as we can see it was almost 17 years (388-371=17). King Qabus fully recovered his territory of Tabarestan and Gilan in 397 SH (1006 AD) (Mehrabadi, 1995, p.125). It was the same year that Qabus Tower was built. Now, we are going to reveal the connections between the number of these years and height of the main shaft

³⁸ Burj-i Mihmandust (Persian: برج مهماندوست) was build in 1097 AD in Damghan city.

³⁹ Burj-i Tughril (Persian: برج طغرل) was build in 1139 AD in Raay city.

⁴⁰ Fakhr al-Dawleh (Persian: فخرالدوله): who was half-brother of king Azod al-Dawleh and cousin of king Qabus.

⁴¹ Azod al-Dawleh (Persian: عزالدوله): was the king of Buyid dynasty 949/983 AD.

and dome of Qabus Tower. In the period, Gaz⁴² was the unit for length that equivalents to 106.66 cm (Memarian, 2013, p.31). Main shaft of the tower has 36.971 m height which equivalents to 39.43 Gaz or almost 39 Gaz. 39th decade of SH was the time that Qabus regained his power and built the tower. The dome has 15.87 m height which equivalents to 16.92 Gaz or almost 17 Gaz. Qabus was far from his reign for almost 17 years. The tower with its considerable scale is a display of the power of king Qabus to his enemies and also to his country. The kings seems to represent his intention of returning back to his throne even through the height of Qabus Tower.

Tomb towers always intertwined with prestige, rank and power display during the history. Daneshvari (1986, p.71–72) says that:

The erection of a dome over a tomb structure was another visible indication of great honor, prestige and social importance. Historically, the erection of a dome had always played a significant role in the political rituals of Islamic communities. The dome was a focal point of veneration, honor and political clout. ... Clearly, the presence of the dome over tombs was partly to indicate high rank, honor and prestige; and this was derived from the royal function of the dome in palace architecture.

Accordingly, it can be claimed that Qabus Tower also is a display of power in two points of views. First, it displays its rejection against foreign invaders of Arabs with its own existence as a tomb or as a palace; it opposes against Arabs' invasions with its spectacular height since there was no sign of palace or tomb (with one exception) in architecture of Iran after Islam, and there was no sign of tall and sublime buildings after Islam in the country. Qabus Tower is the first kind of a palace after Islam and second kind of a tomb after Ismail Samani mausoleum⁴³ (figure 47). Qabus Tower, however, includes as second tomb after Islam in Iran, but it seems that it's the first palace and the first building that controverts the low height of buildings in *Khorasani Style* which derived from Islamic beliefs. Memarian (2013, p.142) mentions about the

⁴² Gaz (Persian: گز): was the unit of length in the early history of Iran. One Gaz equivalents with 106.66 cm.

⁴³ Ismail Samani mausoleum (Persian: مقبره امیر اسماعیل سامانی) was built in Samanid dynasty in 944 AD.

proportionate size of buildings after Islam in *Khorasani Style* that influenced from Islamic beliefs. Qabus Tower in its march against recently substituted customs, and toward old ingrained pre-Islamic culture, strides with its own existence and height. It tears a part the limits of scales that shaded the architecture of Iran in *Khorasani Style*.

Second, Qabus Tower seems to displays its rejection to the political or cultural conditions of the time with its material and hill. In Achaemenian dynasty, high grade materials and stones with the best quality used to be exerted in important buildings that came from far regions. Memarian (2013, p.94) enumerates usage of the high quality stones as one of *Parsi Style's*⁴⁴ feature. He (2013, p.64) continues that main construction of the period was stone. There is inscription left from Darius I⁴⁵ that explains how the materials of Apadana Palace⁴⁶ (figure 48–49) in Susa were brought from various far region like Greece, Egypt and other faraway districts (Memarian, 2013, p.63). In this way, probably, Persians used to show their political power and permanence of their dynasty by using stone in their buildings, since stone, metaphorically, refers to its permanent quality. After Alexander's raid, stones were used less in construction of buildings, since the country was not as rich as before to bring the best stones from far regions; and also, Iran in comparison with Greece was not the country to have best quarries to exploit. Memarian (2013, p.103) explains that Parthians had not advantage of Achaemenians to obtain their materials from distant regions. He (2013, p.102) also, mentions that stones were not completely compatible with Iran's continent. Thus, local stones, adobes and bricks gradually opened their way into the architecture of Iran in *Parti Style*. It seems that after Islam to the period of Qabus, stones completely have been removed from Iran's architecture, but it was Qabus Tower with its *Razi Style* that first after *Parsi Style* expanded the usage of high grade materials with best quality; however, their materials were local and didn't include foreign stones.

⁴⁴ *Parsi Style* (Persian: شیوه پارسی) is a first style in architecture of Iran lasted to the Alexander's invasion. Main features of the style is usage of best stones and materials, construction on stages, introverted spaces, orthogonal forms and beatification or embellishment.

⁴⁵ Darius I (Persian: داریوش اول) is a third king of Achaemenian dynasty.

⁴⁶ Apadana Palace (Persian: کاخ آپادانا) was built in Achaemenian dynasty in 521 BC.

On the other hand, construction of buildings above stages or hills is a tradition that comes from imperial dynasties, especially from Achaemenian period. One of the main features of *Parsi Style* is to construct buildings on a stage (Memarian, 2013, p.94). There are also other buildings in *Parti Style* that have constructed above a stage or hill like Niasar Fire Temple (figure 35), Ghale Dokhtar (figure 23–24), Taq-i Kasra (figure 26), Sarvestan Palace (figure 31–34), Hatra Palace⁴⁷ (figure 50), Qasr-e Shirin Palace⁴⁸ (figure 51) and Raay Fire Temple⁴⁹ (figure 52). Unfortunately, there are no buildings left from first and second century after Islam in Iran (Pope, 2011, p.78). According to the remained building of *Khorasani Style*, it seems that construction of buildings above stages or hills stopped after Islamic period. Qabus Tower is the first building after Islam that constructed above a hill which indicated its dependency on imperial customs. As we mentioned before, the hill is not completely manmade and it has been constructed above debris of old buildings in the area. From political point of view, it seems that Qabus Tower wants to utter its enthusiasm to the power and permanency of the previous dynasties through its material and hill.

3.3 Influence of cultural beliefs, ceremonies, and tomb tradition of Persia on the symbolic form of Qabus Tower

In this topic we are going to probe the cultural influence of old Persia in formation of Qabus Tower. I would like to begin with cultural events that lay behind the number ten in shaping the ten point star of the plan of the tower. First, we need to know about the calendar of old Persia.

⁴⁷ Hatra Palace (Persian: کاخ الحضرا) was built in Parthian dynasty.

⁴⁸ Qasr-e Shirin Palace (Persian: کاخ قصر شیرین) was built in Sassanid dynasty.

⁴⁹ Raay fire temple (Persian: آتشکده ری) was built in Sassanid dynasty.

3.3.1. Persian Calendar

F. Mehr (1995, p.178–179) explains the Persian calendar and states that:

In ancient times, Iranians had solar calendar (base on sun's relation with earth). They divided each year to 12 months and divided each month to 30 days. In this way, each year complained 360 days and the beginning of next year commenced 5 days and 5 hours and 48 minutes and 46 seconds earlier. Achaemenians to solve this problem added one month to each 6 years. Parthians followed Achaemenian's calendar. Sassanians held the division of 12 months and 30 days for each year, and added 5 days to the end of a year. In this way, Sassanid year became 365 days a year and to compensate for remained 5 hours and 48 minutes and 46 seconds, they added one month in every 120 years. At the beginning of the 6th century, Sassanians chose leap year for their calendar; they added one day in every 4 years.

We realize that the calendar of old Persia which Mehr calls it as "Zoroastrian calendar" has a little differences from the calendar of Qabus period. Hence, we need to scrutinize both calendars that have special ceremonies in the tenth day of specific month. There would be three particular ceremonies including Mehrgan Ceremony⁵⁰, Abanegan Ceremony⁵¹ and Sadeh Ceremony⁵².

3.3.2. Mehrgan Ceremony

According to the calendar of Qabus period (which is the same contemporary calendar of Iran), Mehrgan Ceremony was performed at 10th day of Mehr Mah⁵³ (1 October). It is equivalent to 16th day of Mehr Mah in Zoroastrian calendar. Vali, and Basiri (2000, p.105) state that Mehregan ceremony lasts for five days to 21th day of Mehr Mah. Vali, and Basiri (2000, p.105) say that Iranians in ancient times had two seasons of summer

⁵⁰ Mehrgan Ceremony (Persian: جشن مهرگان) was a second great ceremony in ancient Persia.

⁵¹ Abanegan Ceremony (Persian: جشن آبانگان) was one of cherished ceremonies in ancient Persia.

⁵² Sadeh Ceremony (Persian: جشن سده) was a third important national ceremony in ancient Persia.

⁵³ Mehr Mah (Persian: مهرماه) is the seventh month of Iranians' calendar from 22 September to 22 October. Mehr or Mithra is a name of goddess in Mithraism religion.

and winter, and Mehrgan Ceremony was the celebration of winter seasons. According to Mehr (1995, p.189), it was a day to harvest the agricultural productions. From historic point of view, in this day, force of truth in command of Kaveh Ahangar⁵⁴ defeated Zahhak⁵⁵, and Fereydun⁵⁶ became a king (p.189).

Abu Rayhan al-Biruni (2007, p.337–339) in his dedicated book of *Asar al-Baghieh to Qabus* writes that:

The reason that Iranians cherish this day (16th day of Mehr Mah) is because people heard about Fereydun's arise, and after Kave raised against Zahhak and overcome him, he invited people to Fereydun. 21th is the "Ram Day" which is the great Mehrgan. The reason of this festival is because Fereydun triumphed over Zahhak and imprisoned him; so, people relieved from Zahhak's evil. At the day of victory, Fereydun commanded people to gratitude god who let them occupy their land again after 1000 years of fear.

From religious point of view, Mehr or Mithra has a meaning of light of sun, friendship, guardian of promise who warns perfidious people (Mehr, 1995, p.189). Biruni mentions that in the day of Mehrgan, sun rises between light and darkness (Biruni, 2007, p.338). We will discuss about this concept of "between day and night", which refers to Mithra, in the next topic.

3.3.3. Abanegan Ceremony

Abanegan Ceremony was performed at 4th of Aban Mah⁵⁷ (26 October) in the normal calendar of Iranian people which was the same calendar at Qabus period. It was the 10th of Aban Mah in Zoroastrian calendar. Aban in Persian language means "waters"

⁵⁴ Kaveh Ahangar (Persian: کاهه آهنگر) is a hero in Persian mythology that raised uprising against Zahhak in favour of Fereydun.

⁵⁵ Zahhak (Persian: ضحاک) is a foreign demon-king in Persian mythology who had two snakes in his shoulder, and each day the snakes needed to be fed by brains of two innocent people.

⁵⁶ Fereydun (Persian: فریدون) was a king of first dynasty in Persian mythology. He defeated Zahhak and imprisoned him in Mount Damavand.

⁵⁷ Aban Mah (Persian: آبان ماه) is the eighth month of Iranians' calendar from 23 October to 22 November.

and has close relation to Anahita⁵⁸. Vali, and Basiri (2000, p.115) say that “Name of goddess Anahita titled to this day [the day of Abanegan Ceremony].”

Biruni (2007, p.340) writes about Abanegan Ceremony and states that:

In this day, Zu son of Tahmasb became king and ordered people to dig and fix streams; in this day septet countries have been informed that Fereydun had imprisoned Zahhak and became king, and he ordered people to seize again their home and family and call themselves "kadhoda"⁵⁹ which means owner of home and himself/herself. Fereydun became the lord of his home and family, and began to dictate [in no offensive meaning] and seize, after all Iranians in the period of Zahhak had lost their homes and lives, and were dispossessed.

As can be seen, in both Mehrgan and Abanegan ceremonies, we have the news of new reigns by righteous kings and defeat of devil. Additionally, we have news of regaining homes and lands by people who are the real owners and landlords. Similarly, in the period of Qabus there are two incidents that remind us the mentioned news. First one is the raid of Arabs who grasped Iranians' lands, wealth, and culture. Second is the raid of Azod al-Dawleh, the king of Buyid dynasty who enforced Qabus to flee, so at that time Qabus was far away from his reign for about 17 years. Arab invaders and the king of Buyid dynasty can be symbolically compared to devil, and return of Qabus to his righteous kingdom can be symbolically compared to reign of righteous king who provides people to regain their home again.

3.3.4. Sadeh Ceremony

Literally, Sadeh means "century" or "hundred". Sadeh Ceremony was performed at 4th of Bahman Mah⁶⁰ (24 January) in contemporary Iranians' calendar. It is equivalent to

⁵⁸ Anahita (Persian: آناهیتا) is a very old goddess in Persian religions. She was the goddess of purity and water. In some texts, she is referred as the Mithra's virgin mother.

⁵⁹ Kadhoda (Persian: کدخدا), literally in English means "sheriff".

⁶⁰ Bahman Mah (Persian: بهمن ماه) is the eleventh month of Iranians' calendar from 21 January to 20 February.

10th of Bahman Mah in Zoroastrian calendar. In this day, Iranians gather some place out of city and set fires and celebrate (Vali, and Basiri, 2000, p.165). From the Sadeh ceremonies that have been performed during history, there was one which is very famous and that belongs to Qabus's uncle, Mardavij. Mehrabadi (1995, p.55) comments that in Bahman Mah of 313 solar calendar, Mardavij ordered to perform an unprecedented Sadeh Ceremony in that year. In the ceremony, from long before they gathered mounts of woods and fired them on mountains of Isfahan and they bind firing walnuts to over 2000 birds, so the sky be lighted as the earth (Mehrabadi, 1995, p.57). The ceremony has derived from various causes. Some of them are:

Mehr (1995, p.190) explains one of the reasons in establishment of Sadeh Ceremony and says that:

in ancient times, our ancestors divided each year to two parts (seasons). Summer lasted for 7 months. Winter was began from first day of Aban Mah and lasted to the end of Esfand Mah⁶¹. Sadeh Ceremony is the 100th day from winter or is a 100th day and night (50 days and 50 nights) to the beginning of summer.

Biruni (2007, p.350–351) writes that:

It's been told that the reason of the ceremony may derive from the fact that when days and nights are counted separately between the day and the end of the year, number 100 would be the outcome. Some [people] say that the reason of this day comes from the story, in which, descendants of Kiyumars⁶² reached the exact 100 persons and they chose one of themselves as a king to all. Some others believe that this is a festival day of Hushang Pishdadi⁶³ who obtained the world's crown. Iranians in this day were waiting to see the cold vanish, since they calculated the winter from the fifth of Aban Mah to the tenth of Bahman Mah.

⁶¹ Esfand Mah (Persian: اسفند ماه) is the last month in Persian calendar from 20 February to 21/22 March.

⁶² Kiyumars (Persian: کیومرث) is the father of all human being in Persian mythology. He is equal to Adam.

⁶³ Hushang Pishdadi (Persian: هوشنگ پیشدادی) is a first king who ruled the world in Persian mythology. He is the one who discovered fire accidentally.

As Biruni mentioned shortly, this is the day that Hushang Pishdadi discovered fire too. Vali, and Basiri (2000, p.166) say that “Someday, Hushang was passing with his companions through a mountain. He saw a big dark snake with red eyes far away, he picked and threw a stone to hit the snake. The snake flew away, and the stone stroke a bigger stone. It broke and fire emerged.” There is another story that explains the relation of this day to fire. Biruni (2007, p.351–352) states that:

In the day of Sadeh, Fereydun questioned Zahhak's incumbent Ezmail⁶⁴ who was the person in charge to prepare food for Zahhak. Zahhak had two snakes in his shoulder and they need to be fed by brains of two humans; so, he assigned Ezamil to this service. Ezmail used to spare one person and he combined a ram's brain with one human's brain. He settled the spared persons in Mount Damavand. Ezmail explained his act to king Fereydun. The king send someone to approve this fact. When the envoy arrived to the mount, it was already night and the survived people by Ezmail had lighten torches. The envoy saw many torches and informed Fereydun, and the king cherished Ezmail.

As what we have discussed, we might conclude that Sadeh Ceremony is interrelated with fire and light, and it gives the promising of winter's end and beginning of new year or Nowruz⁶⁵. It seems to be relevant to Qabus's history, when he seemingly promises the end of Arabs' and Buyids' invasions, and also promises the new era for the people of his kingdom. Possibly, he wanted to compete with his uncle in performing the most famous event (Sadeh Ceremony) by building Qabus Tower instead of performing the traditional fireworks of Sadeh Ceremony.

3.3.5. Tomb tradition in Iran before Qabus Tower and its influence on the symbolic form of the tower

From the cultural perspective, Daneshvari (1986, p.5) indicates that the source of the main form of tombs may have come from central Asia, and states that “Ernest Diez believes that the conically roofed tower was a translation into permanent materials of

⁶⁴ Ezmail (Persian: ازمائیل) was Zahhak's incumbent in preparing his food.

⁶⁵ Nowruz (Persian: نوروز) is the most important ceremony in old Persia that continues to this vary day. It begins within new year of solar calendar in 20/21 March.

the royal tent of Central Asian nomads.” In order to better understanding of the form of Qabus Tower, it would be helpful to look at the earlier formations of tombs in Iranian culture. There are three prominent kinds of tombs before Qabus Tower. Two of them are pre-Islamic and from Achaemenian dynasty including tomb of Cyrus The Great⁶⁶ (figure 53) and Naqsh-e Rostam⁶⁷ necropolis (figure 54). The third one is Ismail Samani mausoleum (figure 47) which was built after Islam. The reason that there were no tombs in the Sassanid dynasty is the doctrine of Zoroastrian religion which was prevalent in the dynasty. In the doctrine of Zoroastrianism, there is no grave to bury corpses, but there are places called "*Astadan*"⁶⁸ to collect bones of the decedents. The tomb of Cyrus The Great was build before 529 BC. It's built on a stone stage with 6 steps. Above the sixth step, there is a chamber of the king with a slant shape roof. Main stage is almost in the form of square. It is very alike to Chogha Zanbil Ziggurat (figure 55–56). The tomb with its stair-like stage and with its slant shape roof alongside the ziggurat reminds us of a mountain. Pope (2011, p.23) states that “the tomb of Cyrus The Great is a reminder of old ziggurats and Egyptian temples. It's obvious that even for the first king of Achaemenian dynasty, mountain and its symbolic form was important as it was for Mesopotamians”. Naqsh-e Rostam necropolis consists of four great kings of Achaemenian dynasty. Their tombs have been graved in the mountain of Dogonbadan or Haji Abad. The necropolis is about 6 kilometres away from Persepolis or Maount Rahmat/Mehr. Carved rocks of the necropolis has the primal form of old Persian Cross⁶⁹. (figure 57)

⁶⁶ Cyrus The Great (Persian: کوروش بزرگ): or Second Cyrus is the founder of Achaemenian dynasty.

⁶⁷ Naqsh-e Rostam (Persian: نقش رستم): is a necropolis contains tombs of four kings from Achaemenian dynasty. The tombs have been carved in the Rahmat mountain.

⁶⁸ Astadan (Persian: استودان) in general was a well in the centre of *Dakhma* or Tower of Silence which were constructed above a mountain or hill far from cities. Flesh bodies of decedents were eaten by birds and lammergeyers then, the remained bones were put in the well of Astadan. Sometimes, Astadans were stone boxes contains of bones usually were put in hillsides of mountains.

⁶⁹ Persian Cross (Persian: چلیپای ایرانی): in west as known as Swastika is an ancient symbol that has four main wings. The four wings represents four elements of fire, wind/air, water and soil/earth or represents the sun. It is the most prominent feature of Mithraism religion.

As can be seen, from the mountain-like form of the tomb of Cyrus The Great, and from Naqsh-e Rostam necropolis which was carved in a mountain, we observe that mountains had close relationship with tombs and temples in the period's culture. Pour Abdollah (2013, p.15) points out the veneration of mountains in the history of Iran and says that:

Election of Persepolis's construction place in the hillside of the Mount Rahmat/Mehr was because of venerability of the mountain. Names and remains of mountains like Drag mountain (medicinal), Dena mountain (good and bliss), Mare Sorkhi mountain (Red Mehr mountain), Abarghu (god + mountain) and etcetera in Fars province, and ziggurat and Chogha Zanbil in Susa are reminder of people's beliefs about sacred mountains in their period. On the hat of Achaemenians and Sassanians, and alongside of all stairs of Persepolis, symbols of mountain and spring are seen. From the perspective of Pars people, Mount Rahmat had a very sublime place.

From the cultural point of view, mountains' sacredness probably had its influence on the form of mentioned pre-Islamic tombs and temples. It seems that the influence passed its way to the period of Qabus and made the main form of Qabus Tower like a mountain, or at least prescribed the tower's spot on its hill. Daneshvari (1986, p.16) states that "The tower [Qabus Tower] can thus be seen as some kind of ladder or a mountain placing one closer to the heavens."

Third tomb belongs to the Samanid dynasty. The tomb was built before 295 AD in Bukhara (Pope, 2011, p.81). The tomb is in cubic form with almost 10 meters length or width, and it has a hemispherical dome. Walls of the tomb has slight slant upward as this feature is seen in the Qabus Tower. The tomb has four entrances and materials are from bricks. Shady texture of the walls which reminds of basketwork prevents from intense radiation of sun (Pope, 2011, p.85). Qabus Tower with one hatch and one entrance prevents from severe glare of the sun too. There are ten hatches each side of the Samanid tomb and the building is situated above a stage with four entrances above the ground. Qabus Tower is also situated above a stage. 'Ten' hatches of the Samanid tomb reminds us the 'ten' pointed plan of Qabus Tower. Arches of the entrances are equilateral pointed arches which can be compared to pointed ogee arch of the entrance

in Qabus Tower. Arches of hatches in Samanid tomb are from Mazedar⁷⁰ type (Memarian, 2013, p.178). The dome has almost smooth and peaceful hemispherical form very like to Sassanid domes, but there are corners of bricks that have come out from the smooth skin of the dome that make it acerate. Probably, the pointed bricks give the promise of militant pointed domes of Rok. We discuss this in the next topic as we study religions' influence on the tower. The Sassanid tomb almost has detached from *Khorasani Style* (Memarian, 2013, p.178). Daneshvari (1986, p.18) believes that the cubic form of the tomb of Ismail Samani is related to Sassanid's Chahar-Taq. He also concludes that Chahar-Taq has a symbolic notion of fourth level of paradise that relates to the domicile of the sun (1986, p.22–25).

3.4. Reflection of religious beliefs on the symbolic form of Qabus Tower

In this topic we discuss three main dominant religions of Mithraism, Zoroastrianism and Islam which were prevalent before the formation of the Qabus Tower in Iran. Influence of the religions on configuration of the tower is perused.

3.4.1. Influence of Mithraism on the symbolic form of Qabus Tower

Payam Nabarz (2005, p.1–5) introduces Mithra and states that:

Mithra is an ancient Indo-Iranian god who was worshipped in polytheistic Persia at least as early as the second millenium B.C.E., ... Mitra is the lord of heavenly light and the protector of truth, invoked whenever a contract or oath is taken. ... The name Mithra (or Mehr, the modern form) has three meanings in Farsi: "love," "sun," and "frined."

Vali, and Basiri (2000, p.94–96) believe that “Mithra was one of the most important subjects of adoration for Iranians from 35–40 centuries before today. Mithra was born from a rock near a river beside of a fig tree. In the moment of birth he had a dagger and a torch in his hands.” In some passages it has been told that virgin Anahita was his mother. Nabarz (2005, p.4) says that “... Anahita, who is sometimes referred to as

⁷⁰ Mazedar (Persian: مازۀ دار): is kind of arches with no distinct point as it seen in pointed arches like ogees. Forms are like hemispherical or oval.

Mithra's virgin mother or as his partner.” The most characteristic feature of Mithra is twisted with the term of "contract" (Malandra, 1983, p.56). Mithra is the guardian of the 'contract' who mediates between night and day, darkness and light, and he promises the liberation from evil. Nabarz (2005, p.4) says that:

Interestingly, "mithra, it has been suggested in sources from the Sassanian era, is the figure responsible for 'mediating' between Ahura Mazda⁷¹ and Angra Mainyu⁷²," which gives Mithra a unique position within the Persian cosmology as one who stands between light and darkness-the gray middle way, or the liberated third path.

Mithra as a guardian of contract originates from ancient mythology. Vali, and Basiri (2000) state that “According to mythology, Zarvan⁷³ is the generator of Ahura Mazda and *Ahriman*⁷⁴.” Vali, and Basiri (2000, p.80) continue and explain that:

Goodness and evil, light and darkness are from him [Zarvan]. He waited for one thousand years to bear a son to give him the reign of the world. Then, he doubted his ability. From his patience Ahura Mazda was born, and from his uncertainty *Ahriman* was born. When *Ahriman* was still in the abdomen of Zarvan, Ahura Mazda informed Zarvan's wish to his brother. *Ahriman* came out from his father's abdomen; he stood against Zarvan and asked for the reign of the world. *Ahriman* was ugly and blackish. Zarvan was discontented from such an ugly child; but perforce, he had to give *Ahriman* the empire, since he already promised to give the reign of the world to his first child. However, he knew that finally, Ahura Mazda will conquer over Ahriman, and he will succeed the kingdom of the world.

Vali, and Basiri (2000, p.94), then, explain that 9000 years is the period between the contract or promise of Zarvan and Ahriman; and Mithra is the guardian of the contract between them. Accordingly, it can be said that Mithra is the mediator between good and evil who promises conquest of light over darkness. This feature is plainly visible

⁷¹ Ahura Mazda (Persian: اهورامزدا) is supreme God of goodness in ancient religions of Persia.

⁷² *Angra Mainyu* (Persian: انگره مینو) is the Avestan-language name of Zoroastrianism's hypostasis of the "destructive spirit". The Middle Persian equivalent is *Ahriman*

⁷³ Zarvan (Persian: زروان) is the God of infinite time in ancient Persian religions and mythology.

⁷⁴ *Ahriman* (Persian: اهریمن) is the inferior deity or god of evil was born beside Ahura Mazda from Zarvan in ancient Persian religion and mythology.

in Qabus Tower. The hatch in the east part of the dome of the tower, with its high altitude, embraces the first rays of the sun inside the tower. The rays penetrate inside the tower before any other buildings in the area, and it happens when the space is between darkness of night and light of dawn. It seems that the event symbolizes Mithra himself since he was the mediator who promises the light after darkness. There is another feature of the tower which is relevant to the subject of mediating between night and day. It's the red colour of the bricks in the construction period which now they faded to tan colour. Red symbolizes combination of white and black colours like red sky in a dawn or a sunset. Ali Uzay Peker in his article entitled "Imprisoned pearls: The long-forgotten symbolism of the great mosque and Dar al-Shifa at Divirği" quotes from Suhrawardi and writes that:

Every white thing that is connected to light appears red when admixed with black, like the sunset at the beginning of evening or the end of dawn, which is white where it is connected to the sun's light. One side of it is toward the light, which is white, while the other side is toward the night, which is black. Therefore it appears red. (as cited in Shankland, 2013, p.325)

Concept of "cave" has close relation to Mithraism. A cave is the place that Mithra brought an indocile bull after capturing it, but the bull fled out of the cave and Mithra followed and slew the bull; so, from its blood clusters of wheat, grapevine and other beneficial plants grew (Vali, and Basiri, 2000, p.96). Nabarz (2005, p.19) says that "The Persian Mithra was born of the immaculate virgin Mother Goddess Anahita ... This birth took place in a cave or grotto ..." Additionally, in relation of 'cave' with Mithraism, Vali, and Basiri (2000, p.98) state that:

In the Mithraic rituals, there was a sacred meal. Rite of this sacred meal was performed in a natural or unnatural caves. Sometimes, cellars—with a dome format of ceiling which symbolize the dome of sky—were substituted for caves. At the end of the cellars, there was a altar or sculpture of Mithra with a *farijh* hat⁷⁵ while performing the bull slaying.

⁷⁵ *Farijh* hat (Persian: کلاه فریژی) is a conical hat with small bend on its top.

From this point of view, we observe similarities of Qabus Tower with the concept of cave. When a visitor come into the tower, s/he will immediately sense the building as a constructed cave. (figure 18–19) The tower's darkness,—with only two opening of hatch and entrance—emptiness, and sound reflection inside the tower intensify this sense. In the introduction, we mentioned about the two muqarnases above the entrance which were the first kind of their own. Muqarnas has been made by inspiration of stalactite and stalagmite (Moshtagh, 2008, p.260). Hence, we can consider muqarnas as symbol of caves, and in the case of Qabus Tower, two muqarnases above the entrance reinforce our idea about cave-like formation of the tower which metaphorically responds to Mithraism.

Mithra is a God who has no fear from war in order to protect his people. In the battle of light and darkness, Mithra has the attitude of a warrior that seems his attitude has influenced the symbolic form of Qabus Tower. Mithra was born with dagger, then he slew the bull with the dagger (Vali, and Basiri, 2000, p.96). He has pointed *Farijh* hat on his head, in all features that we know of him. (figure 58) According to Vali, and Basiri (2000, p.97), “Mithra is always in battle with evil. If there is a drought, he throws an arrow from his arch and water flows from ground.” About this attitude of Mithra, Curtis (2005, p.13–14) says that:

He [Mithra] is the guide towards the right order (*asha*) and is also responsible for giving protection against attack. ... he protects the faithful and punishes the unfaithful. in this connection he is associated with warriors, and is described as riding on a chariot pulled by white horses. He carries a silver spear, wears a golden cuirass, and is further armed with golden shafted arrows, axes, maces and daggers. ... The mace or club of Mithra is a powerful weapon not only against untruthful humans but also against the Evil Spirit, Angra Mainyu.

There is a "*Nask*"⁷⁶ (section) in Avesta⁷⁷ called *Yasht*⁷⁸. The tenth *Yasht* or *Mihr Yasht* is dedicated to Mithra. There are many examples in the tenth *Yasht* that confirms the combative quality of Mithra. For instance, I picked up some lines from *Mihr Yasht*:

10. We worship Mithra ... 11. whom the Warriors worship, ... [35.] the avenger of (unpaid) debts, the levier of armies ... 36. who sets the battle in motion, who takes his stand in battle, who, taking his stand in battle, smashes the battle lines. All the flanks of the battle-tossed lines are in confusion, the center of the bloodthirsty army is quaking. ... 96. (who) grasps in both hands the mace with a hundred knobs, with a hundred blades, a feller of men as it swings forward, cast in strong golden bronze, the strongest of weapons, the most victorious of weapons. (Malandra, 1983, p.60–70)

Possibly, this warrior aspect of Mithra has affected the architecture of the period when Mithraism was the dominant religion of Iran. Correspondingly, it seems that the warrior aspect of Mithraism has affected the form of Qabus Tower, since the tower has been greatly influenced by supposed Mithraic prestige. This influence demonstrates itself in 'pointed' conical dome, 'pointed' ogee arch of the entrance, and in 'pointed' ledges of the Qabus Tower. Likely, the "pointed" character of Persian architecture is the key to realize the influence of militant behavioral religions or believes of each period. For example, in the Sassanid dynasty, when the Zoroastrian was the dominant religion, because of the religion's peaceful attitude we don't encounter with vivid sharp pointed domes or arches in the architecture of the period. In the architecture of the Sassanid dynasty, almost all domes and arches have been smoothed. (figure 20–37) Pour Abdollah (2013, p.24–28) underlines the peaceful manner of Zoroaster and quotes from Avesta in which it is written that “Let us remove hostility, enmity and war from the world, and apply friendship and symbiosis. Let's obtain peace, liberty, truth and justice. We adore the good religion of Zoroastrianism which removes war, and abandons military tools.”

⁷⁶ *Nask* (Persian: نسک) is called to each chapter of Avesta.

⁷⁷ Avesta (Persian: اوستا) is the holy book of Zoroaster. It had 21 "*Nasks*" or chapters, but today only 5 *Nasks* have left.

⁷⁸ *Yasht* (Persian: یشت) is the one of five *Nasks* in the Avesta. There are 21 *Yashts* and each *Yasht* is divided into smaller parts called "*Karde*" which includes hymns toward ancient gods of old Persia.

The smooth-form arches and domes of the Sassanid dynasty's architecture ends with the period of Islamic religion in Iran, since it has belligerent manner in itself which is very similar to militant attitude of Mithraism. In Islamic period, pointed domes and arches arise again in the architecture of Iran. (figure 38–47) The conical pointed *Farijh* hat of Mithra with conical dome of the Qabus Tower are concordant with each other.

Mithraism has close relation with golden cock. We discuss it in the next topic which is related to Persian mythology. According to *Mihr Yash*, there are other aspects in Mithraism that can have possible connections with Qabus Tower. In *Mihr Yasht*, there are frequent hymns that describe Mithra with ten thousand eyes who is 'standing above a wide tower'⁷⁹. In Malandra's (1983, p.59) translation of the hymn, Mithra 'has a wide outlook', but it seems that the correct translation should describe Mithra 'standing above a wide tower'. Dustkhah (2006, p.335) in his translation of *Mihr Yasht* to Farsi, uses the word "*Borj*" which means "tower". Number of 'ten' and the word of 'tower' in *Mihr Yasht* reminds us of Qabus Tower. In 28th paragraph of *Mihr Yasht* it's written that "We worship Mithra ... who makes firm the pillars of the high-built house, (who) makes strong the gateposts." (Malandra, 1983, p.62) In this passage, terms like "pillars" and "high-built house" are familiar with Qabus Tower, since the tower is perceived like a high strong pillar at first glance. According to Dustkhah (2006, p.365), in the 50th and 51th paragraph of *Mihr Yasht*, Ahura Mazda dedicates an "*Aramgah*" to Mithra above the Alborz⁸⁰ mountain. "*Aramgah*" has two meanings in Persian language. The first meaning of "*Aramgah*" is "dwelling", and the other meaning is "tomb". Malandra (1983, p.65) uses only the first meaning of 'dwelling' in his translation of Avesta when he writes that:

49. We worship Mithra ... 50. for whom he who is the creator, Ahura Mazda, fashioned a dwelling [or tomb] on top of shining lofty Hara [Mount Alborz] ... 51. which (dwelling) [or tomb] all the Beneficent Immortals built in harmony with the sun, believingly, with

⁷⁹ standing above a wide tower. (Persian: بر فراز برجی پهن ایستاده است)

⁸⁰ *Alborz* Mountain or *Alburz* Mountain (Persian: کوهستان البرز) is situated in north region of Iran. It's alongside of the Caspian Sea. The mountain has specific meanings in Persian mythology. Inside the mountain there is a Mount *Alburz* (or Mount *Alborz*) which is the highest mount that unites the earth with the sky.

understanding thought from a trusting mind, (for him) who surveys the entire material world from lofty Haraiti [Mount Alborz].

In the passage, there is a tomb over *Alborz* Mountain which Mithra watches over the world from that tomb. As can be seen, there are significant similarities with Qabus Tower. Qabus Tower is the tomb that was built on the extension of *Alborz* Mountain for the king Qabus who watches over his kingdom and protects the people of his country.

There is a cosmological aspect in Mithraism that leads to creation of dome. Pour Abdollah (2013, p.67) believes that domes and arched roofs were invented by Mithraists. We discuss this further in the topic which is related to cosmology of the period.

3.4.2. Influence of Zoroastrianism on the symbolic form of Qabus Tower

Zoroaster was the Persian prophet who brought second important religion in Iran. Nabarz (2005, p.2) says that “Zoroaster's teachings led to the world's first monotheistic religion, in which Ahura Mazda, the "Wise Lord" of the sky, was the ultimate creator.” The prophet's period is unclear for researchers, but Mehr (1995, p.127) after a long discussion surmises the prophet's period from 1300 BC to 6000 BC. Girshman (2011, p.359) explains the Zoroastrianism as the dominant religion in the Sassanid dynasty.

Major influence of the Zoroastrianism on the form of Qabus Tower displays itself in the circular plan and shaft of the tower, since it's very similar to Zoroastrian *Dakhma* in the Sassanid dynasty. (figure 21–22) Circular plan and form of *Dakhma* and Qabus Tower has a strong relation with ontological perception of god regarding their periods. This issue will be discussed in the topic which is related to ontology and philosophy.

There is an interesting feature in the Qabus Tower which is related to its mediatory character. It's alike to Mithra's personality who was the mediator between night and day. This mediator aspect of Qabus Tower triggers the notion of limbo, and correspondingly, the concept of limbo in Zoroastrianism seems to have sizable effect

on the tower's form. In the religion's ideology, there is a place called "*Misvana Gatu*" or "*Hamistagan*" that is located between hell and heaven for people whose good and evil deeds are equal (Mehr, 2003, p.133). Mehr (2003) says that:

The younger Avesta embarks on greater details concerning life after death and speaks also of a place between heaven and hell, where the souls with an equal record of good and evil reside. No description of that place and no explanation of the nature of reward and punishment therein is provided in *The Younger Avesta*.

In its distinctive manner of presentation, *Vendidad*⁸¹ localizes the intermediary place now called *Hamistagan* between the earth and the starry region. An account of the conditions at *Hamistagan* is very scanty. Its climatic conditions are very much like those on earth: hot in summer and cold in winter. Beyond that they are not exposed to any hardship or mental agony. These people continue to live in a mental world (which they themselves form) similar to that of this world. (2003, p.133–134)

Vali, and Basiri (2000, p.158) describe *Hamistagan* as the place between earth and sky, in which there is no joy and agony. From the description of the "*Hamistagan*" we realize that it is a place with no facilities of heaven for enjoyment or hell for torment. It brings the notion of emptiness and nudity. There is only circulation of air in *Hamistagan* that makes it cold or hot. These descriptions are in accordance with Qabus Tower, since it is completely empty with no ornamentation, or there is no place to decorate or situate ornamentation in both exterior and interior design of the tower. Inside the tower, also, there is the mere circulation of air which is allowed by the openings; one of the openings is the hatch which is situated in the dome and the other one is the entrance.

Above the dome of Qabus Tower, there used to be a golden cock. Cock has played an important role in Zoroastrian religion. Cock in the religion fights against fiends and wizards, and he is an ally with dog against demons (*The Sacred Books of The East*, 1880, p.193). In the book it's written that:

The cock is called 'the drum of the world.' As crowing in the dawn that dazzles away the fiends, he shared with it the honour of the

⁸¹ *Vendidad* (Persian: وندیداد) is one of five chapters in Avesta. *Vendidad* has 22 "*Fargard*" or sections. Sections of *Vendidad* are called "*Fargard*".

victory, and was believed to crow away the demons: 'The cock was created to fight against the fiends and wizards; ... he is with the dog an ally of *Srosh* against domons' (Bundahis XIX). 'No demon can enter a house in which there is a cock ; and, above all, should this bird come to the residence of a demon, and move his tongue to chaunt the praises of the glorious and exalted Creator, that instant the evil spirit takes to fight' ... (*The Sacred Books of The East*, 1880, p.193).

In the 18th *Fargard of Vendidad*, there are hymns about cock. In the text, cock is promising of a dawn and helps people in fighting against indolence and demons. For instance, in 15th, 16th, 28th and 29th verses of the 18th *Fargard*, it's written that:

15. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the bird named *Parodars*, which ill-speaking people call *Kahrkatas*, O holy Zarathustra! the bird that lifts up his voice against the mighty dawn: 16. ' "Arise, O men! recite the *Asehm yad vahistem* that smites down the *Daevas*. ... 28. ' And whosoever will kindly and piously present one of the faithful with a pair of these my *Parodars* birds, a male and a female, it is as though he had given a house with a hundred columns, a thousand beams, ten thousand large windows, ten thousand small windows. 29. ' And whosoever shall give to my *Parodars* bird his fill of meat, I, Ahura Mazda, need not interrogate him any longer ; he shall directly go to paradise.' (*The Sacred Books of The East*, 1880, p.193–196).

In the text, *Parodars* and *Kahrkatas* are descriptions for cock (Dustkhah, 2006, p.848). *Parodars* literally means 'who sees the rise of dawn from distant' and *Kahrkatas* means 'when it called this way is strong' (Dustkhah, 2006, p.848). In the 28th verse we encounter with terms like "house with hundred 'columns' with 'ten' thousand large windows". They remind us of Qabus Tower again. Choosing a statue of cock who fights and force away demons by Qabus is very meaningful, since he had forced away the demons of his own time. Symbolically, the demons of Qabus's period were Arab invaders and the Buyid dynasty.

3.4.3. Influence of Islam on the symbolic form of Qabus Tower

Qabus's Islamic religion had its effects on the formation of Qabus Tower. Mehrabadi (1995) in discussion of the religions of Qabus's father and his uncle—Mardavij—who was the founder of the Zyarid dynasty, believes that they probably had desire of pre-

Islamic religion like Zoroastrian in their heart; however, they may pretend to be Muslims (p.53–96). On the other hand, Mehrabadi (1950, p.150) is completely confident about the Islamic religion of Qabus. King Qabus also was fluent in Arabic language, and this probably derives from the influence of Islam on Qabus's character. There are poems remained from him in both Arabic and Farsi languages (Mehrabadi, 1995, p.146–148). The influence of Islamic trait on the personality of Qabus is visible in the inscriptions around the tower. The inscriptions are in Arabic language, and they are written in *Kufic* calligraphy. The text of the inscription begins with "In the name of Allah, the beneficent the merciful". Additionally, Qabus uses the Arabic calendar of lunar Heqira in the inscriptions to specify the time of the tower's construction. As we mentioned before, the usage of stones were gradually disappeared during the Sassanid dynasty in the *Parti Style*. It seems that after Islam, stones were completely removed from *Khorasani Style*. Perhaps it can be claimed that elimination of stones from the architecture of Iran after Islam to the period of Qabus is a manner of Islamic tradition on the architecture of Iran. This manner of stone-elimination (at least) confirmed by the architecture of *Khorasani Style*. As we observed in the topic which is related to culture, Qabus Tower has inclination toward pre-Islamic culture, but it respects to this newly accepted manner of stone-elimination from assumed Islamic tradition, since it's completely built from bricks. However, Qabus Tower which is included in *Razi Style* brought many changes to the previous *Khorasani Style*. For example, an extraordinary height of the tower, or its place on a stage or hill are completely in opposition to *Khorasani Style*.

We already talked about the militant feature of Mithra that possibly has influenced the tower in its 'pointed' conical dome, ogee arch, and sharp ledges or flanks. Islamic religion with its belligerent attitude can have the same influence on the form of Qabus Tower. To display belligerent manner of Islam, it would be sufficient to quote some lines from Quran. In *Al-Baqara*, *At-Tawba* and *Muhammad Suras* God says that:

2:190. Fight in the cause of Allah those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for Allah loveth not transgressors. 2:191. And slay them wherever ye catch them, and turn them out from where they have Turned you out; for tumult and oppression are worse than slaughter; but fight them not at the Sacred Mosque, unless they

(first) fight you there; but if they fight you, slay them. Such is the reward of those who suppress faith. ... 2:216. Fighting is prescribed for you, and ye dislike it. But it is possible that ye dislike a thing which is good for you, and that ye love a thing which is bad for you. But Allah knoweth, and ye know not. ... 9:41. Go ye forth, (whether equipped) lightly or heavily, and strive and struggle, with your goods and your persons, in the cause of Allah. That is best for you, if ye (but) knew. ... 47:4. Therefore, when ye meet the Unbelievers (in fight), smite at their necks; At length, when ye have thoroughly subdued them, bind a bond firmly (on them): thereafter (is the time for) either generosity or ransom: Until the war lays down its burdens. Thus (are ye commanded): but if it had been Allah's Will, He could certainly have exacted retribution from them (Himself); but (He lets you fight) in order to test you, some with others. But those who are slain in the Way of Allah,- He will never let their deeds be lost.

However, there are many verses in Quran that talks about peace and mercy, but the militant character of Islam is undeniable.

Cock in Islamic religion has great dignity too. "*Translation of Tabari's interpretation*" is the name of the book written in the 9th century AD for Quranic interpretations and Islamic narratives. It's the one of the most old and comprehensive books of its kind. There are texts in the book that relates to cock during the prophet Muhammad's ascension to visit God. Tabari (1977, p.191–192) speaks through prophet Mohammad's words in the ascension, and states that:

In the fourth sky, I saw a bird whiter than ivory 'like a cock'. His leg was on the 7th level of ground and I saw his head under the 7th level of the sky. One of his feathers reached to east and the other reached to west. I asked Gabriel what is this huge bird. Gabriel, God bless him, said: This is a white cock and glorious God created him like this. Each night at the dawn, he opens his wings and calls. Every cocks in the earth hear his singing, and also they sing and praise. Because the prophet had seen that cock, when he came down to earth, he always held a white cock, and said: wherever there is a white cock, evil magic would not work, and demons would abstain from there. This is the reason that the prophet advised and said: love white cock who is my friend and I'm his friend, and his enemy is my enemy and my enemy is his enemy. If people knew about the great munificence of white cock to glorious God, whenever one of his feathers falls, they would redeem a red goat.

Tombs with domes signify social importance of their decedent in Islamic societies; however, this feature derives from pre-Islamic traditions (Daneshvari, 1986, p.71). Daneshvari (1986, p.71) says that:

The erection of a dome over a tomb structure was another visible indication of great honor, prestige and social importance. The dome was a focal point of veneration, honor and political clout. The roots of this tradition can be easily traced back to pre-Islamic Arabia, Iran, and the Byzantine civilizations. H. Lammens has shown that among the pre-Islamic Arabs the dome (qubba) signified a high social and political standing.

Probably, Qabus by building the tomb for himself, politically, wanted to signify his social prestige among people. Hence, he could gain more authority to stand firm for his reign. Daneshvari (1986, p.5) says that “Oleg Grabar considers the significance of the tomb tower in its particular role as a tower of victory and thus ascribes a political meaning across stylistic lines.” In accordance with the political gain from the building of tower, Daneshvari (1986, p.72–73) acknowledges that "patronage" is acquired from building of "tomb" and also from inscriptions on it. He (1986, p.72–73) states that:

Its [tomb's] construction commemorated and preserved the name of its builder for posterity. The foundation inscriptions further insured the patrons against the misappropriation of the structure by others and commemorated their names in a most favorable light. As Nizam al-Mulk points out in his *Siasat-nama* about patronage of buildings and public works: " By such action his name will be remembered and he will receive the reward of that action in the next world and prayers for his well-being will continually be offered." This shows that the political gain for patronage was indeed very significant.

It seems that Qabus used people's Islamic beliefs to obtain their allegiance. In Islamic tradition, tombs with domes had great place among people which was equivalent to shrines (Daneshvari, 1986, p.65–68). Daneshvari (1986, p.67) says that “Veneration of tombs was, in fact, a means of obtaining help from the saints and the holy.” Symbolically, Qabus claims himself as the holy king via constructing the tomb with its dome over his grave. Ardalan, and Bakhtiar (1973, p.75) say that “Archetypically, the dome in all its manifestation is the locus of the Divine Throne, passive to the intellect, maternal in gender, and sublimely timeless in form.”

Concept of "shade" over graves is another aspect that can be searched in Islamic and pre-Islamic believes, since Qabus Tower is providing shade over Qabus's grave. Daneshvari (1986, p.9) says that:

One factor that was considered important by pre-Islamic and early Islamic peoples was the provision of shade over the grave by the erection of a tent or an edifice for this purpose. This shade—the point is crucial—was sought as quality of Paradise.

Daneshvari (1986, p.9) also with indication of the "shade" as a symbol of "paradise", brings example verses from Quran and writes that:

Surah 76, Verse 14 states that in paradise,
The shade thereof is close upon them and the clustered fruits thereof
bow down.
And in surah 13, verse 35:
A similitude of the Garden which is promised unto those who keep
their duty (to Allah): Underneath it rivers flow; its food in
everlasting, and its shade; this is the reward of those who keep their
duty, while the reward of disbelievers is fire.
Surah 36, verses 55-56 reads:
Lo! Those who merit Paradise this day are happily employed. They
and their wives, in pleasant shade, on thrones reclining.
Surah 25, verse 45:
Hast thou not seen how thy Lord hath spread the shade...

From Islamic point of view, domes are symbols of heaven. Daneshvari (1986, p.37) says that:

In Islamic Iran the use of such terms as *Gunbad-i Asimani*, *Gunbad-i Khadra* and *Gunbad-i Kabud* demonstrates its heavenly function. ... Most of the domes in Islamic architecture bear similar signs that point to their heavenly imagery.

Ardalan, and Bakhtiar (1973, p.75) about the heavenly aspect of Islamic domes say that "Islamic domes preserve and exalt the memory of the heavenly vault."

There is a book called "*Kashf al-Mahjub*" which is written by Al-Hajwiri. This book was written around 68 years after the construction of the Qabus Tower. In the book, there are texts about 'ten' stations of spirit in perspective of *Sufi Shaykhs*. I'm not sure

if this is the knowledge that Qabus knew about it, but the accordance of number ten in the ten stages of spirit with the ten pointed star plan of Qabus Tower can't be ignored. Daneshvari (1986, p.43) quotes from *Kashf al-Mahjub* and states that “Abu Bakr Wasiti has discoursed on the spirit more than any of the sufi shaykhs. It is relate that he said, 'There are ten station (*maqamat*) of spirits ...’”

To this point, we talked about influence of Islamic believes on Qabus Tower, but there is a fact about the tower which is completely opposed to Islamic beliefs. It's about construction or building over graves which is completely condemned by the prophet. Daneshvari (1986, p.1) says that “All traditions indicate that the Prophet Muhammad had strictly forbidden the construction of a building on a grave.” This may be considered another evidence for Qabus Tower's inclination toward pre-Islamic culture.

3.5. Symbolic expressions of Qabus Tower regarding Persian mythology

In this topic, we peruse Persian mythology to see uniqueness of its relation to the form and site of Qabus Tower. In the Persian mythology, there is a twisted connection between Mount *Alburz* (Mount *Hara* or *Harburz*), *Vourukasha* Sea (*Farakhkart* Sea), Tree of *Vispubish* (*Saena* Tree, Tree of All Remedies or Tree of All Seeds) and *Simurgh* (*Saena*). According to the mythology, Mount *Alburz* is the first mount that unites the sky with earth and it's situated at the center of the universe. Sadighi (2007, p.99) after a quotation from *Bundahishn*⁸² concludes that Mount *Alburz* is the mediator between earth and sky, and it is in the middle of the universe. Curtis (2005, p.19) describes Mount *Alburz* and states that:

Certain place names have been linked with the creation of the world. For example, *Alburz* (Mount *Hara* or *Harburz*) is described in the *Avesta* (*Yasht 19,I*) as the first mountain in the world, which took 800 years to grow, its roots reaching deep into the ground and its peak attached to the sky. It is the most important mountain. The Iranians, like the Indians, believed that the world was divided into seven regions or *Karshvar* (*Keshvar* in modern Persian, which means country). ... The central region, the *Khvanirath*, inhabited by

⁸² *Bundahishn* (Persian: بندهشن) which means "Primal Creation" is the name traditionally given to an encyclopaediaic collections of Zoroastrian cosmogony and cosmology written in Book *Pahlavi*.

humans, was as large as the other six put together. ... It is in khvaniras (khvanirath) that the Peak of Hara (Alburz) was believed to have grown from the roots of the Alburz Mountains; the stars, moon and sun were thought to move around this peak. Alburz is described thus in the *Bundahishn*:

On the nature of mountains, it says in revelation, that, at first, the mountains have grown forth in eighteen years; and Alburz ever grew till the completion of eight hundred years; two hundred years up to the star station, two hundred years to the moon station, two hundred years to the sun station, and two hundred years to the endless light. The other mountains have grown out of Alburz...

From the quoted text, we understand the Mount *Alburz* as the center of the universe and creation that ties the earth to the sky, and in this way, it takes the heavenly significance. Curtis (2005, p.19) in explanation of *Farakhkart* Sea or *Vourukasha* Sea says that:

While Alburz or Mount Hara was the source for both light and water, the Vourukasha Sea is described in the *Avesta* as the gathering point of water. This important sea occupied 'one third of the earth, to the south, on the skirts of the Harburz' (*Vendidad* 21,16), and was fed by a huge river, the Harahvaiti. Two great rivers flowed out from the sea to the east and the west, thus forming the boundaries of the inhabited world. The rivers were cleansed as they passed around the earth and, when they returned to the Vourukasha, their clean water was taken back up to the Peak of Hara.

Most important feature of *Vourukasha* Sea is its location. According to Persian mythology, it's situated on the skirt of the Mount *Alburz*. Two rivers flow from it that specify the boundaries of the world. The rivers somehow satiate and fill the whole world, and they return back to the sea and the mount after being purified.

Curtis (2005, p.19) explains the mythological Tree of *Visupubish* and states that:

In the middle of the Vourukasha grew the mother of all trees, the source of all plants, described in the *Avesta* (*Yasht* 12, 17) as the Saena Tree, Tree of All Remedies or Tree of All Seeds. This first tree held the nest of Saena (Senmurv in Pahlavi, Simurgh in Persian), the legendary bird. It also produced the seeds of all plants.

Sadighi (2007, p.99–100) describes the tree of *Vispubish* and says that:

Tree of *Vispubish* has grown in the middle of *Farakhkart* Sea. *Simurgh* has nest on it. Whenever she arises, 1000 branches grow and whenever she sits on it, 1000 branches breaks, and seeds scatter from it. Seeds of all plants are in it. In its stem, 9 mountains have been created which has 999099 streams. Waters of these streams flow to seven countries. Waters of the seas of the whole world derives from it.

According to Avesta, nest of the *Simurgh* is above the Tree of *Vispubish* in the middle of *Farakhkart* Sea (Dustkhah, 2006, p.400). In Firdowsi's (940–1020 AD) book of "*Shahnameh*" (book of kings), the nest of *Simurgh* is on the top of the Mount *Alburz* (Curtis, 2005, p.45). In Attar's (1145–1220 AD) book of "*The Conference of the Birds*", *Simurgh*'s location is on the Mount *Kaaf* or is on a tree above the Mount *Kaaf* (Sadighi, 2007, p.93). Curtis (2005) indicates that *Simurgh* in *Shahnameh* is seen as a wise mentor who raised Zal and protected him and his family. Alongside of being a good advisor, she has a healing role in the mythology. (Curtis, 2005, p.37–48)

Curtis (2005, p.19–20) talks about the first animal and the first man which are related to the mentioned mythology and states that:

The first animal in the world was the 'uniquely created bull', white in colour and as bright as the moon. ... The home of the uniquely created bull was on the bank of the River Veh Daiti (Veh Rod), which flowed to the east from the Vourukasha Sea. On the opposite bank lived Gayomartan (Gayomard in Pahlavi, Kiyumars in the *Shahnameh*). In *Yasht* 13, 87 he is described as the first man, as wide as he was tall and as 'bright as the sun'.

In the Persian mythology, Mount *Alburz* and Tree of *Vispubish* are interrelated with each other, and somehow they are considered the same. They both have the nest of *Simurgh* on them. They both are in the exact middle of fundamental thing in the world; they are in the middle of the universe, or they are in the middle of *Farakhkart* Sea. They both are related with water, since the Mount *Alburz* is the source of all waters, and also Tree of *Vispubish* is in the water and it is the source of all waters for seven countries and world's seas. In the mythology, close relationship of the mount and the tree displays itself when the mount has been perceived as a living thing like a tree.

Sadighi (2007, p.95) explains that:

From the Iranians point of view—and basically ancient human being—mount is a living thing which grows. Firdowsi influenced from this thought and said: Mount grew and waters arose, then peak of plants began to flourish.⁸³ This growth—in the discussion of the tree—likens the mount to a plant. Specially, in other perspective, there is a very close relevance in the mythology between stone (mount) and tree—and also water. This interrelationship is obvious in the quoted poem of Firdowsi. This connection in mythology is so evident that sometimes tree is replaced by stone column (which is a reminder of a mount). For instance, in the cult of Shamanism, Shaman in his theosophical voyage to the sky, ascends from a tree which has seven of nine steps. He frequently, for the ascension to the sky, passes through a pillar or a sacred column which has seven steps. This column or tree also is considered to be at the center of the universe.

However, identity of the legendary *Farakhkart* Sea is not clear today, but some authors ascribe it to the contemporary Caspian Sea. From the description of the mentioned text, it's very probable to considerate the Caspian Sea as the *Farakhkart* Sea, since the legendary sea is on the skirt of the Mount *Alburz*, and also the Mount *Alburz* has grown from the roots of the *Alburz* Mountain. Today, we know that *Alburz* Mountain are extended under the Caspian Sea.

Qabus Tower is situated at the extension of *Alburz* Mountain and on the east skirt of Caspian Sea. Its extraordinary height and its mountain-like form resembles Mount *Alburz*. Its conical dome is relevant to Tree of *Vispubish*. Daneshvari (1986, p.40) says that:

Vincenzo Strika has suggested that even the conical domes and especially the imbricated pine cone shaped ones used in the mausolea of Iraq and south-west Iran (plate 20) symbolize the tree of life and stand for resurrection and are thus imbued with heavenly-paradisaic significance.

However, Tree of Life is different from Tree of *Vispubish*, but it's the second important tree in the mythology that situates near *Vispubish* Tree. In Avesta, Tree of Life is called

⁸³ ببالید کوه آبها بردمید سر رستنی سوی بالا کشید

"*Gaokerena*". Curtis (2005, p.19) says that "Another important plant growing nearby [*Vispubish* Tree] was the 'mighty *Gaokerena*', which had healing properties when eaten and gave immortality to the resurrected bodies of the dead." Sadighi (2007, p.101) believes that the *Gaokerena* Tree is a reminder of "Tree of Life" in Torah, and also it is the reminder of "*Tuba* Tree" in the paradise.

Above the dome of Qabus Tower, there used to be a golden cock which probably symbolizes the legendary *Simurgh* who had the nest on Mount *Alburz* or on Tree of *Vispubish*. In both subjects, if the legendary *Simurgh* be on the mount or on the tree, the tower is in accordance with them, since the form of the tower is like a mount, and the conical dome of the tower symbolizes Tree of Life.

At the previous topic, we discussed about social and political prestige that Qabus sought and obtained by constructing his tomb tower. His intent is completely compatible with the site of the tower based on the mythology. Mount *Alburz* is in the center of the universe, and also it is in the center of the creation. It ties the earth to the sky. On its peak, sun, moon and whole stars are circulating around. On the skirt of the mount, there is *Farakhkart* Sea which satiates the whole world with its water. Two rivers of the sea specify the boundaries of the world. In the middle of the sea there is the *Vispubish* Tree which the seeds of all plants is in it, and it provides the water of seven countries. Above the mount or the tree, there is a legendary *Simurgh* who watches over his domain, and she protects it, and heals it. On the east side of the sea, alongside of the River Veh Daiti, there is a place of the first human who called "*Kiyumars*", and also it is the place of the first animal of "uniquely created bull". From all the mentioned elements of the Persian mythology, we perceive the geographic spot as the most important place in the whole world. The spot is the place of creation and being. Water, mountains, plants, animals and human being are derived from this place. It is the beginning of the world and the end of it. Position of the tower on the east side of the Caspian Sea, alongside of the Gorgan River which flows to the sea is in accordance with the spot of legendary *Kiyumars* who was the first man. Most likely, Qabus chose the site for his masterpiece very carefully to emphasize his intention about the beginning of a new shiny world by his throne, and to emphasize the end of

the dark world which was seized by the (symbolically) demon-like invaders. From this aspect, Qabus is very alike to Mithra who promises the beginning of a new day and end of a night.

In the Persian mythology, there are two personages who are very similar to Qabus. First one is the legendary *Simurgh*. They both have common features. *Simurgh* lives on Mount *Alburz*, and Qabus lives on his symbolic Mount *Alburz* (the tower). *Simurgh* with her feathers just like a physician has a healing role in *Shahnameh* when she heals Rustam and his mother (Curtis, 2005, p.39–47). Additionally, Qabus was the unrivaled physician of his own time (Mehrabadi, 1995, p.145). *Simurgh* in *Shahnameh* is seen as a wisest of all who protects Zal and his family (Curtis, 2005, p.37–48). Qabus himself was the specimen in wisdom and knowledge in his time or maybe in centuries, and he supported all scientists (Mehrabadi, 1995, p.133–141). *Simurgh* sheltered Zal whom was abandoned by his father in *Shahname* (Curtis, 2005, p.37). Qabus's court was the sanctuary for all scientists (Mehrabadi, 1995, p.141). *Simurgh* as a lonely bird who lives on the top of the unreachable Mount *Alburz* or Tree of *Vispubish* is also a war counselor. She gives a tactical council to Rustam to triumph over Isfandiyar (Curtis, 2005, p.48). Pope (2011, p.86) describes Qabus as lonely man and as a great warrior.

The second personage is Kiyumars. Curtis (2005, p.24–31) describes him and states that:

The first mythological figure described [in *Shahnameh*] is Kiyumars (the first man, Gayomartan or Gayomard of the *Avesta*). Here he is the ruler who introduces the throne and the crown, the master of the world. He lives in the mountains, ruling over mankind and all creature, wild and tame. Dressed in a leopard skin which signifies courage and manhood, Kiyumars symbolises the early period in human evolution, a cave dweller who becomes the highest ruler through courage. It is at his court that religion is introduced to people who come from far and wide in search of spiritual and religious values. Kiyumars is the perfect ruler, possessor of all the necessary symbols of kingship - that is, the throne, the crown and the castle. ... Gayomartan, whose name means 'Mortal Life', is the mythical first man. Described as 'bright as the sun', he is a large and impressive figure who was created out of earth. ... Gayomartan falls victim to the Evil Spirit, but his seed is purified by the sun after his death.

Forty years after being returned to the earth, his seed becomes a rhubarb plant from which the first mortal man and woman develop.

The first common feature between Kiyumars and Qabus is their location. Kiyumars lived in the east side of the *Farakhkart* Sea alongside of the River *Veh Daiti* which flows from the sea. Qabus lived in the east side of Caspian Sea alongside the *Gorgan* River which is connected to the sea. Kiyumars is described as 'bright as the sun'; Correspondingly, Qabus's title is "Shams-ul Maali" which means "sun of the heights". On the other hand, influence of Mithraism which is related to sun and light on the symbolic form of Qabus Tower is already discussed in the related topics. In the mythology, Kiyumars was defeated and murdered by 'evil spirit' but somehow he returned back to earth after 40 years. 'Returning' of Kiyumars in the mythology after a defeat is very similar to the political conditions of Qabus. King Qabus also returned back to his throne after almost 17 years after a defeat from Buyid dynasty's king who can be considered as a 'evil spirit' for Qabus. Kiyumars is described as a 'cave dweller' who 'lives in mountains'. Qabus Tower can be considered a 'living building' for Qabus which symbolizes 'Mount *Alburz*', and according to influence of Mithraism on Qabus Tower, the tower symbolizes a cave who Qabus dwelled in it. Kiyumars was a man who became 'highest ruler through courage'. This 'courage' is visible in Qabus's life when he was defeated from Buyid dynasty and lost his reign, then he achieved back his lost throne after 17 years through much politics, wars and sufferings. Mehrabadi (1995, p.106–125) explains about the circumstances of the period that Qabus could recapture his throne. According to the mythology, Kiyumars was the first king who introduced throne and crown. However, Qabus in comparison with Kiyumars, was not the first king who brought the crown after Islam in Iran, but his is the one of the first kings, and his dynasty of Ziyarid is one of the first dynasties that has the characteristic features of pre-Islamic imperial culture. The pre-Islamic attitude of Qabus is visible in his tower based on earlier discussions. Kiyumars was the 'perfect ruler' and this 'perfectness' is graceful for Qabus himself, since he was a great warrior, physician, scientist, astronomer, poet, calligraphist, linguist, chess player, righteous and a wise man in his period. Kiyumars was the first king who introduced religion to the people who desperately seek for spiritual value. In this way, we may entitle Kiyumars's reign as a "divine throne", since he had attached religious and spiritual values to his throne.

As we discussed before, Qabus tower with its symbolic heavenly dome, has the feature of 'divine throne'. Additionally, we discussed that Qabus symbolically sought people's allegiance in political, social, and religious perspectives by the construction of his tomb tower which resembles a shrine. It seems that Qabus (similarly to Kiyumars) symbolically was a holy king who introduced 'divine throne' through his reign.

In this thesis, the significance of the cock above the dome of Qabus Tower has been de-mythified from various religious aspects. Furthermore, in Persian mythology, there is a strong connection between golden cock and Mithra. Nabarz (2005) has written the story in his book. In the story, Prince Khorshid is Mithra. Nabarz (2005, p.72–77) narrates the story and writes that:

In the old, old times there was a king (the guardian of the throne of the wisdom) who had three sons: Prince Jamshid ... Prince Mohammad, and the youngest, Prince Khorshid, who had no mother ... because he was self-born. ... He was the king's favorite because he was the bravest of all.

In the garden of the palace there grew a pomegranate tree (the treasure of secret knowledge) with only three pomegranates; their seeds were fabulous gems that shone like lamps by night. When ripe, the pomegranates would turn into three beautiful girls who were to become the wives of the three princes. Every night, by the king's order, one of his sons guarded the tree lest anyone should steal the pomegranates.

[On three consecutive nights princes lost their pomegranates, but at least Prince Khorshid cut the thief's finger and blood trail was appeared. By the order of the king they tracked the blood to a hot well. Prince Jamshid and Prince Mohammad couldn't endure the heat but Prince Khorshid went inside. He found there a beautiful girl near a *Diev* or giant. He fell in love with her. There was also two other girls, *dievs* and huge treasure. Prince Khorshid killed the *Dievs* and rescued the girls and collected the treasure.]

As it was not yet dark, his brothers were still waiting for him and when he called them they started to pull up the rope. The girl whom Prince Khorshid loved wanted him to go up before her, because she knew that when his brothers saw the jewels they would be jealous and would not pull him up. But the prince insisted she go up first. When she saw that she could not change his mind, she said: "If your brothers do not pull you up and leave you here, there are two things you should know: first, there are in this land a golden cock and a golden lantern that can lead you to me. (The golden cock represents Saroush, or Sarousha in Pahlavi. Sarousha is a godlike

bird who is the most powerful of the gods, since he is the manifestation of righteousness, honesty, and striving. He fight the diav of frailty and weakness....) The golden lantern is self-illuminated, and it burns forever.

[Then she remind the prince that at night there will be white and black oxen, and the prince should ride on the white one. anyway, brothers of the prince betrayed him and cut him loose in the well. The prince became disappointed and rode on the black oxen by mistake. He went 7 levels under the earth. During his adventure, he tamed two lions, slew a dragon who blocked a river and water for a town. Then he killed a serpent who was the enemy of *Simurgh's* children. *Simurgh* in return ride him back to the ground and gave him three of her feathers in a situation in which Prince Khorshid would need her. He found out that there will be three weddings soon, but there is a problem with one of them. The youngest bride had asked for a golden cock and a golden lantern. The prince understood that it's a sign of his love. He burned one of the feathers and *Simurgh* appeared, and she gave him his demands of golden cock and golden lantern. He went to the king (his father)]...

[The king] was overjoyed to discover it was none other than his favorite son. Prince Khorshid told his story but he begged the king not to punish his brothers for the wrong they had done him.

The whole town celebrated his return and there were three weddings indeed. The king made Prince Khorshid his successor to the throne, and all lived happily ever after.

Hence, the golden cock was the sign for Mithra that has a meaning of Mithra's return to his beloved one, his kingdom and his righteous throne. Maybe it's possible to claim that the golden cock of Qabus Tower can be considered the sign for Qabus that has a meaning of Qabus's return to his beloved homeland and his righteous throne after almost 17 years. Additionally, the condition of the dome of Qabus Tower that every morning embraces the golden rays of sun through its hatch, may be considered a eternal self-illuminated golden lantern. Specially, at the Qabus's funeral while he was hung up in his glass coffin, reflections of the rays through the glass coffin probably would intensify the symbolic connections of Qabus Tower with golden lantern.

3.6. Influence of ontological perception of God and philosophical ideas on the symbolic form of Qabus Tower

In this topic, we discuss perception of god as an ontological problem, and we argue the related creationist theories and philosophies in the period when Qabus Tower was built. We need to inspect the ideas in the period before the construction of Qabus Tower to understand the subject more profoundly. Mithraism, Zoroastrianism, and Islam with their specific ontological conception will be central to our discussion. In this part "Creationism" and "Emanationism" are studied by means of religious and philosophical perspectives.

3.6.1. Definition of Creationism and its relation with Mithraism and Islam

Encyclopaedia Britannica defines Creationism and claims that “Creationism: the belief that the universe and the various forms of life were created by God out of nothing (*ex nihilo*).” In the "Dictionary of philosophy and psychology", Creationism has been explained that:

Creationism: ... The form of Deism which teaches that the creative act by which the world arose did not, and does not, identify the Creator with the universe in an essential or substantial sense.

Creation by a single act, or 'continuous' creation (by a serious act), alike hold the theory of transcendence as opposed to that of complete immanence.

Creationism (in theology): ... The doctrine according to which the human spirit (*anima*) is created separately in each individual case, and infused from an external source into the foetus so as to vitalize it. This doctrine is opposed to Pre-existence ... (1960, p.242)

In the "A dictionary of philosophy", the term of "creation" has been described that:

The Action required both to produce the Universe out of nothing and to be its indispensable sustaining cause. ... to say the Universe has a Creator is essentially to say that, were the Creator's support at any time to be withdrawn, then the whole Universe, in which everything both animate and inanimate is his creature, must ... "collapse into non-existence". ... But the Universe in fact had a beginning ... could be known to us only thanks to God's special revelation. (1979, p.76)

Bunnin, and Yu (2004, p.149) explain "Creation *ex nihilo*" and state that:

The doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* maintains that **matter** is not eternal and that not matter existed prior to a divine creative act at the initial moment of the cosmic process. ... the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* holds that matter was created instantaneously by God out of nothing, in the strict sense of absolute non-being.

According to the definitions, we may conclude that Creationism is the philosophical ontology which separates God as the creator from nature and creatures. There is a conflict between God and nature, and also there is an oddness among creation theology and nature (Rouner, 1974, p.234). In Creationism, God seems to be beyond reach who acts beyond question. For instance, he created the universe himself because he wanted, and he may withdraw his support 'any time' he wants, so the outcome will be inexistence for the whole universe. It seems that in Creationism, God is similar to a monarch or a king who sits 'beyond the system of creation' as a king who sits beyond the system of elections or consensus reality. About the kingship of God, and also about the distance between God and human in this ontology, Rouner (1974, p.234) states that "Reaffirming the Reformation doctrine of God's radical sovereignty over the world [in creationism], he [Karl Barth] emphasizes the distinction between nature and history, man and God, this world and the Transcendent." According to Creationism, the universe is in God's direct control of decision and creation, then, it's possible that he punishes or rewards whenever he wants to whomever he wants. In this way, miracles would be inseparable phenomenon in the ontology. There is a great gap between God and human in this ontology. In some religious perspectives (like Semitic religions) the gap will be eliminated in the next world. Because of the gap, there would be a need for mediators like messengers, prophets and angels as a revelation for the connection between God (or gods) and humans in this ontology. Accordingly, the world and materials are not from God and they are restricted and limited. Rouner (1974, p.229) says that:

[In creationism] the goodness of the world is not derived from the being of God, but rather from the act of God. The world is not an extension of God's being; it is an independent entity, marked or shaped by God's handiwork. The world is God's artifact.

Time is restricted in Creationism, since it would be an end for the world in its time. Rouner (1974, p.229) confirms that “For creationism, time is limited and time is destiny.” According to the ontology, the whole universe is only restricted in the control of God. This terms of "restricted" and "limited" are the keywords in demystification of the symbolic form of Qabus Tower in accordance with Creationism.

According to Mithra's description and his character, we may claim that Mithraism follows the ontology of Creationism. Curtis (2005, p.13) claims that Mithra is the God who watches over his people and guide them, and he is responsible for his people's protection. Curtis (2005, p.13) continues that Mithra has the control of cosmic order such as day and night or changing seasons. Curtis (2005, p.14) states that “he [Mithra] protects the faithful and punishes the unfaithful.” As we mentioned before, God(s) in Creationism has similarities with kings' character. Mithra also has an intense connection with kings or kingship. Curtis (2005, p.14) says that “One of Mithra's most important duties is to protect the Kingly Fortune or Divine Glory ...” Nabarz (2005, p.54) says that:

Mithra ... provided a link to kingship ... To the Persian kings and queens, Mithra was a bestower of Divine Glory or Kingly Fortune ... In all sense, all mithraic initiates were now kings, with the same divine connection to Mithras, and no longer bound by social class or consensus reality.

Connection of Mithra to kings and divine glory intensifies the relation of Mithra as the God of Mithraism with the assumed "unreachable" or "unquestionable" character of kings. Hence, Mithra would be the "unreachable" or "unquestionable" God. In *Mihr Yasht* there are verses which describe Mithra's actions compatible with Creationism. For instance, there are verses about how Mithra punishes his enemies and protects his followers. In the *Mihr Yash* it is written that:

36. [Mithra] who sets the battle in motion, who takes his stand in the battle, who, having taken his stand in the battle, smashes the regiments ... 37. well may he (*lit.* he will be able to) brig them terror and fear: off he throws the evil heads of the men that are false to the treaty ... 48. ... fetters behind the evil hands of men false to the treaty,

switches off their eyesight, deafens their ears... 71. as he ... catches up with the opponent(s), best by passion-simultaneously by manly valour-, he knocks them (*lit.* the opponents) down with a toss (of his head). 72. he cuts to pieces everything at once, mingling (*lit.* he who mingles) together on the ground the bones, the hair, the brains, and the blood of men false to the contract... 46. ... [Mithra] is ready to help and protect, protecting behind, protecting in front, a watcher and observer all round ... 80. You [Mithra] are the protector, the defender, of the abode of those who reject falsehood; you are the guardian of the community of those who reject falsehood ... (Gershevitch, 1967, p.91–111)

There is a verse in *Mihr yasht* explains that Mithra himself rules over waters, rain and plants without mentioning of the nature or natural rules. In the verse it is stated that “61. ... [Mithra whom] the replenisher of waters who listens to the call, thanks to whom water (= rain) falls and plants grow, the challenging director of (boundary) lines.” (Gershevitch, 1967, p.103) As we mentioned before, there is a need for mediators in Creationism because of the distance or gap between God and creatures. In *Mihr Yasht*, assistances or servants of Mithra have been described. It's written that:

45. for whom on every height, in every watchpost, eight servants sit as watchers of the contract, watching the contract-breaker(s) ... 46. To whose assistance comes Mithra with fore-knowing thought, the strong, all-knowing, undeceivable master of ten thousand spies ... (Gershevitch, 1967, p.97)

Religion of Islam can be considered as a pure Creationism since Allah creates and rules everything directly. Allah has created universe in 6 days and has created human from mud. He similar to a king, sits upon heavens and commands over cosmic order, rain, water, plants and generally to the whole universe. He personally, punishes, rewards and gives livelihood to people. In accordance with Creationism, Allah has the prophet Muhammad and angels like Gabriel as mediators. He does not share his power with nature or anything else, and everything is under his direct control and surveillance. He sits 'beyond the system of creation' with unquestionable actions. In the religion, because of the gap between human and God, physically, people will join God in their afterlife. The prophet Muhammad had his miracles are in accordance with Creationism's supposed doctrine. The prophet's ascension to God, his conversation with God, his book of Quran which is believed to be God's words, and Muhammad's

split of the moon are regarded as the prophet's miracles in point of Muslims' view. There are many *Ayahs* in Quran that support this idea that Islam follows the ontology of Creationism. In Quran it's written that:

[50:38] We created the heavens and the earth and all between them in six days, nor did any sense of weariness touch us. [57:4] He it is Who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and is moreover firmly established on the throne (of Authority). He knows what enters within the earth and what comes forth out of it, what comes down from heaven and what mounts up to it. And he is with you wheresoever ye may be. And Allah sees well all that ye do. [7:54] Your Guardian-Lord is Allah, Who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and is firmly established on the throne (of authority): He draweth the night as a veil o'er the day, each seeking the other in rapid succession: He created the sun, the moon, and the stars, (all) governed by laws under his command. Is it not his to create and to govern? Blessed be Allah, the cherisher and sustainer of the worlds! [6:2] He it is created you from clay, and then decreed a stated term (for you) ... [55:14] He created man from sounding clay like unto pottery [67:21] Or who is there that can provide you with Sustenance if He were to withhold His provision? ... [30:37] See they not that Allah enlarges the provision and restricts it, to whomsoever He pleases? ... [15:19] And the earth We have spread out (like a carpet); set thereon mountains firm and immovable; and produced therein all kinds of things in due balance. [15:22] And We send the fecundating winds, then cause the rain to descend from the sky, therewith providing you with water (in abundance), though ye are not the guardians of its stores. [15:23] And verily, it is We Who give life, and Who give death: it is We Who remain inheritors (after all else passes away). [6:99] It is He Who sendeth down rain from the skies: with it We produce vegetation of all kinds: from some We produce green (crops), out of which We produce grain, heaped up (at harvest); out of the date-palm and its sheaths (or spathes) (come) clusters of dates hanging low and near ... [36:34] And We produce therein orchard with date-palms and vines, and We cause springs to gush forth therein [6:95] It is Allah Who causeth the seed-grain and the date-stone to split and sprout. He causeth the living to issue from the dead, and He is the one to cause the dead to issue from the living ... [30:36] When We give men a taste of Mercy, they exult thereat: and when some evil afflicts them because of what their (own) hands have sent forth, behold, they are in despair! [29:34] "For we are going to bring down on the people of this township a Punishment from heaven, because they have been wickedly rebellious." [29:40] Each one of them We seized for his crime: of them, against some We sent a violent tornado (with showers of stones); some were caught by a (mighty) Blast; some We caused the earth to swallow up; and some We drowned (in the waters): It was not Allah Who injured (or oppressed) them:" They injured (and oppressed) their own souls.

Direct surveillance and management of God over his restricted kingdom of universe is obvious from the mentioned *Ayahs* of Quran.

3.6.2. Definition of Emanationism and its relation with Zoroastrianism

"Emanationism" is the next subject that is related to the discussion, and it needs to be defined through various sources. In the book of "A dictionary of philosophy", it is written that "[Emanationism is] A theory particularly associated with Neoplatonism, which accounts for the source and structure of reality in terms of a perpetual, spontaneously flowing out (emanation) from a transcendent principle, usually called God or the One." (1979, p.96) In the book of "The Cambridge dictionary of philosophy" Emanationism has been defined, and it's written that:

A doctrine about the origin and ontological structure of the world, most frequently associated with Plotinus and other Neoplatonists, according to which everything else that exists is an emanation from a primordial unity, called by Plotinus "the One." The first product of emanation from the One is Intelligence (*nous*), a realm resembling Plato's world of Forms. From Intelligence emanates Soul (*psuche*), conceived as an active principle that imposes, insofar as that is possible, the rational structure of Intelligence on the matter that emanates from soul. The process of emanation is typically conceived to be necessary and timeless: although Soul, for instance, proceeds from Intelligence, the notion of procession is one of logical dependence rather than temporal sequence. The One remains unaffected and undiminished by emanation: Plotinus likens the One to the sun, which necessarily emits light from its naturally infinite abundance without suffering change or loss of its own substance. Although emanationism influenced some Jewish, Christian, and Islamic thinkers, it was incompatible with those theistic doctrines of divine activity that maintained that God's creative choice and the world thus created were contingent, and that God can, if he chooses, interact directly with individual creatures. (1995, p.220–221)

In the book of "Dictionary of Philosophy and psychology", "emanation" has been explained, and it's written that:

A pantheistic conception of the being of the universe. The emanated being 'flows out' or proceeds' from the Godhead, so that all finite beings at different removes from the primitive essence are part and parcel of the Divine Being. [...] The plurality of the emanated beings

was not supposed to affect the unity of the primitive Divine Being.
(1960, p.314)

"Emanation" is described in another book of "The dictionary of philosophy". In the book it's written that:

Literally, an outpouring or flowing forth, specifically, applied to the process of derivation or mode of origination, immediate or mediate, of the multiplicity of beings whether spiritual or material from the eternal source of all being, God, of Whose being consequently they are a part and in Whose nature they somehow share. It is opposed to creation from nothing. (1942, p.158)

Bunnin, and Yu (2004, p.204) define "emanation" and say that:

... a metaphorical description of the manner in which a lower level reality is derived from a higher-level reality. The supreme one is perfect, and its perfection is inevitably productive and creative. It spreads its goodness abroad by generating an external image of its internal activity. Thus there is a necessary and spontaneous downward procession from the One to the Divine Mind, and then in turn to the Soul or Form, and finally to the material universe. This procession is one of emanation, like the radiation of heat from a fire or the diffusion of scent from a flower. It is simply a giving-out, which involves no change or diminution in the higher reality. The lower reality is at first produced as an unformed potentiality, but then turns back to the higher reality in contemplation and is thus informed and filled in content.

From the definitions, it may be claimed that Emanationism is the philosophical ontology which explains that universe has been emanated from "the One" or God. In this ontology, the universe has been within God eternally, and has not been created from nothing. Hence, it's completely in opposition to Creationism. The process of emanation is timeless; so, there is no time-distance between God and creatures. Rouner (1974, p.231) says that "[In Emanationism] Time is not understood fundamentally as movement. Time is understood fundamentally as condition. Time is not linear, progressive, taking its meaning from the tension between beginning and end. Time is either cyclical or spiral." In the ontology, all beings are not apart from God, and they are within him; hence, God shares his power with nature and creatures. It is against to

Creationism in which God does not share his power, and he personally acts and controls the whole universe directly. Rouner (1974, p.231) states that:

[In Emanationism] God does not make the world ex nihilo. World substance and God substance remain the same substance. The world results not from a conscious act of will, which God works to perform in a limited time, but from the spontaneous freedom of God's *lila* or play.

It seems that in Emanationism, distances and separations between God and human has been removed. In this way, messengers and mediators like prophets or angels are not necessary as they were in Creationism. Accordingly, there would be no need for physical return of humans to God (like a corporeal resurrection) since humans are within god and have been always there with him. There is no "limited" or "restricted" concepts in Emanationism, because of 'eternal' feature of universe with its all spiritual or material beings, and because of 'eternal' time. According to Emanationism, the universe is not the restricted domain of God who acts directly, but God's power has been shared and emanated through various creatures of the universe. In the ontology, God acts reasonably 'in the system of creation' which is opposed to Creationism; hence, miracles have no place in Emanationism. "Reason" and "intelligence" are the prominent feature of the ontology.

Zoroastrianism sits in the later ontology of Emanationsim. Following analysis of Zoroastrianism, with regarding to its relation to Emanationism, will be based on *Gathas* or *Gathas'* interpretations, since *Gathas* are attributed to Zoroaster himself and probably would have less impurity in Zoroastrianism's doctrine. Zoroaster, however, called himself as a messenger of Ahuram Mazda, but his prophecy was spiritual and happened in the reason and in his mind. Opposed to Semitic religions, in which, prophets claim of their prophecy through visual or auditory contact with God, (like the sacred ascension of the prophet Muhammad) Zoroaster denies of this kind of contact with God; he received God's message thought his reason. Mehr (1995, p.34) indicates that:

Zoroaster discovered the unique Ahura Mazda through the way of reasoning. From the reason, he received Ahura Mazda's message and achieved the prophecy. Zoroaster from the way of reasoning recalled people to hear his words and to accept the true religion.

Mehr (2003) continues his explanation, and states that:

He [Zoroaster] further considered creation in its universality as a manifestation of Ultimate Reality. he called that Universal Intelligence, *Vahishta Mana* (the Sublime Wisdom), and postulated that the Sublime Wisdom was the author of creation and that creation proceeds according to the law of *Asha*. ... Zoroaster was eager to perceive him [God] through the eyes of his mind and conscience. He longed to see the author of the eternal law, the designer of the universe, and the cause of creation. He had pondered that except through attributes, a finite man cannot see and comprehend the Infinite; he discerned that Sublime Wisdom must be the first attribute of the True God. He was determined to have communion with God. Listening to the call of his conscience, *Daena*, he realized that such a communion is possible only at a moral level, the level of *Asha* or righteousness ... With his mind's eye he saw God, in his conscience he felt God and from being with him, Zoroaster derived the greatest joy ... God's voice was heard by Zoroaster through his mind's ears. The metaphors used are beautiful and revealing. This all happened in an abstract and spiritual ambiance where no physical movement was involved. (p.49–51)

Creation from nothing is unacceptable in Zoroastrian's doctrine, since creation is always has been within god (Mehr, 1995, p.42). In accordance with Emanationism, the features of Zoroastrianism, like eternality of the universe or time alongside of God, or attachment of creatures in god as his extension, are visible in Mehr's words. Mehr (1995, p.27–47) states that:

Creation has always been within Ahura Mazda and in Spenta Mainyu which is the creation symbol of Ahura Mazda. Creation within God is eternal. Infinite time and space (or independent state of time and place) is within Ahura Mazda. Human has been emerged in Ahura Mazda's (quasi-moral) image and has one of his flares. Emanation of all goods are from Ahura Mazda, and whatever is from Ahura Mazda is good. Material is given from Ahura Mazda and it's sacred. This is the major difference between Zoroastrianism and other religion, in which, material is foul and unholy.

In Zoroastrianism, emergence of humans and animals originates from plants (Mehr, 1995, p.51–54). Thus, human has not been created directly by God. There is a process of emanation at the beginning of the universe. There is no sign of miracles in Zoroastrianism (Mehr, 1995, p.32). In the religion, humans are co-workers of god—but not his servants or children (Mehr, 1995, p.36). Hence, God shares his power with nature which is in contrast to Creationism. In the doctrine of Zoroastrianism, afterlife would be spiritual; resurrection, heavens, and hells are not physical, but they are spiritual or mental (Mehr, 1995, p.99–110).

3.6.3. Influence of Creationism and Emanationism on the symbolic form of Qabus Tower and architecture of different historical periods in Iran

Possibly, the influences of Creationism and Emanationism, display themselves in architectural formation of each period of the history in Iran. According to our earlier discussions, main feature of Creationism is "limited" and "restricted" aspect of the ontology. With regard to Persian architectural samples, this "restricted" feature of Creationism, seems to be transported into "restricted" or "closed" spaces in architecture. For instance, in the period of Mithraism and in the early period of Islam which are affected from Creationism, the architecture of Iran shows itself as 'closed' buildings. In the architecture of Achaemenian dynasty (or earlier periods) as the *Parsi Style* in which the dominance of Zoroastrianism was not as quite as Sassanid dynasty, buildings are in 'closed' or 'introverted' formation in accordance with assumed Mithraistic Creationism. (figure 48–49, 53–56) Memarian (2013, p.94) claims that "introverted space" of buildings was the prominent feature of the *Parsi Style*. In Emanationism, the limited aspect of Creationism has been removed, and God has embraced all creatures with no limitation. Correspondingly, time, power, and the universe are not restricted anymore. In the architecture of Sassanid dynasty as *Parti Style*, introverted buildings are not as rigid as they used to be earlier in *Parsi Style*. Buildings have accepted wide openings (at least) at their facades. (figure 25–35, 37, 51–52) However, Memarian (2013, p.133) counts "introverted space" of buildings as the feature of *Parti Style* too, but he adds that the "introverted space" of buildings has accompanied by "*Miansara*". This "*Miansara*" which is like an open yard or a void

inside the buildings, almost situates in the middle of the buildings; so, it acts as an opening inside the plans of buildings. Hence, it is not in contrast to the idea that Emanationism's "unlimited" feature brought assumed openings to the buildings of *Parti Style*. As can be seen, architecture of the Sassanid dynasty, under the influence of Emanationism of Zoroastrianism, began to reform from closed spaces of *Parsi Style* (which was under the influence of Creationism) to more open spaces of *Parti Style*. This reforming was crossed by religion of Islam and its ontology of Creationism. After Islam, closed buildings rouse again in the country. (figure 38–47) However, the possible influences of Mithraism on Qabus Tower was observed before, but it seems that Creationism as the common trait of both Mithraism and Islam had its mark on closed and introverted form of the tower. On the other hand, Creationism may have another two effects on the tower. First, in Qabus Tower, there is no accessibility to the dome or top of the tower; there is no sign of stairs or ladders inside or outside. It probably indicates the separation between human and God in Creationism. As God is unreachable in the ontology, so the dome is unreachable too. Second, pointed 'linear' ledges of the body of Qabus Tower, create rigid shadows on the tower; in this way, inevitably, the shadows would display time. During a day, the shadows change as time proceeds; hence, time displays its importance to a viewer. Time-display of the shadows may derives from Creationism in which time is 'linear' and has 'limited' notion which probably implies its importance.

In quandary of human being in the lost universe, architecture with its symbolic dimension helped people in better perception of the world. Architecture with its vertical axis in connection to the sky, displays its attempt to unify with universe, heavens or gods. Specially, it occurs in sacred buildings like shrines and temples, since they were assumed to be closer to the heavens. Tombs always have been assumed as the commencing place in the journey of afterlife toward heavens; also palaces have been assumed as places for heavenly kings of divine thrones. Qabus Tower is both palace and tomb which has shrine's significance. Daneshvari (1986, p.14,31) says that:

another paradisaic quality ascribed to the tomb structure was apparently its ascension toward the heavens. No doubt this ascension was seen as an expression of flight from the earthly to the heavenly or from man to God. ... It is, therefore, important to point out that a

majority of the plan-types of tomb towers such as the square, cylindrical, octagonal and the twelve-sided indicate a heavenly-paradisial significance and may thus have been viewed as earthly forms of heavenly archetypes.

In this ascension from earth to heavens, earth almost always had the form of square in plans of the buildings. Heavens had the form of circles in domes of the buildings. Daneshvari (1986, p.27) says that “I should point out here that the circle has always been associated with the heavens because of the circular motion of astral bodies.” In accordance with the argument, Ardalan (1973, p.29) says that:

The square, the most externalized form of creation, represents, as earth, the polar condition of quantity, whereas the circle, as heaven, represents quality; ... The square of earth is the base upon which the Intellect acts in order to reintegrate the earthly into the circle of heaven.

In representation of the ascension from the symbolic square form of the earth toward symbolic circular heavens, there are many examples of pre-Islamic or Islamic architecture in Iran. For instance, Firuzabad Palace (figure 28–29), Sarvestan Palace (figure 31–34), Samanid Mausoleum (figure 47), Qasre-e Shirin Palace (figure 51), Anahita's Temple (figure 59) and especially in *Chahar-Taqs* like, Bazeh Hur (figure 27) and Niasar Fire Temple (figure 35). *Chahar-Taq* is the explicit architecture of Iran in ascension of earthly man upward heavens. It begins with square plan and ends to circular dome. The tomb of Qabus Tower has already been influenced by the form of *Chahar-Taq*; they both have their domes in symbolic ascension upward heavens, and they both are standing alone above a higher ground. Daneshvari (1986, p.24) talks about paradisaic aspect of *Chahar-Taq* and its appropriation in adoption for a tomb, and claims that:

chahar-taq as a symbol of the fourth level of Paradise. ... Firstly it is the domicile of the sun and thus a source of light. ... Thus, considering the symbolism of the *Chahar-taq* as the fourth level of Paradise and as the home of the devout and the religious, its adoption for a tomb is quite appropriate. In an elegy written by the Il-Khanid poet Said Harawi, the *chahar-taq* is described as a universal, heavenly and everlasting structure. ... It [*Chahar-Taq*] signified the fourth level of Paradise and the resting place of the devout and

religious. It was, therefore, a fitting plan for a tomb since it envisioned the Paradise sought after death.

From the discussion, we can conclude that architecture with its special buildings like *Chahar-Taqs* in Iran symbolizes the ascension of human or earth to god or heavens. In this symbolization, earth or human is attributed to square, and heaven or God is attributed to circle.

In Zoroastrian period which was under the influence of Emanationism, we encounter with unprecedented buildings which are called "*Dakhma*" or "Tower of Silence". (figure 21–22) The building which is meant for burial ceremonies of Zoroastrian religion, begins with circular plan and ends with the same circle. However, origins of *Dakhmas* as a pre-Islamic building can be traced via various texts, but there has been no architectural model remained from pre-Islamic period. For instance, there are two Towers of Silence in Yazd which their construction period is unclear. (figure 22) Mary Boyce (2001, p.158) in surmising the period of 'documented' *Dakhmas* says that "The practice of erecting funerary towers was thus clearly widespread by that time, [9th century AD] but was probably not older than Islamic period, since there seems to have been no established tradition governing their use." In regards to pre-Islamic origin of *Dakhma*, Memarian (2013, p.58) indicates that:

At the later period of Iran, when the country had more advanced civilization (Achaemenian period), they put decedents on the metallic or iron grilles in the Miansara of the house. *Nasakeshs*⁸⁴ put the decedents in *Dakhmas*. Usually, they construct *Dakhmas* outside of villages and in the middle of deserts. Their shape were like a round tower which had not door and they ascend them by iron ladders.

Girshman (2011, p.372) also mentions that in the Sassanid dynasty, people put the decedents in the Towers of Silence. Boyce (2001) claims that the existence of *Dakhmas* were earlier than 9th AD. She (2001) refers to a letter which has been remained from the period, and the letter refers to 'old *Dakhmas*' before the period. Boyce (2001, p.157–158) says that:

⁸⁴ *Nasakesh* (Persian: نساکش) are called the people who carry corpses in early periods.

The first allusion to a structure of this kind [Dakhma] comes in a letter written in about 830 by the Hudinan peshobay, Adurfarnbag Farrokhzadan, to the Zoroastrians of Samarkand, who had asked how they should act while a new dakhma was being built, the old one having been damaged. He answered 'Until a new dakhma has been completed, when a person dies, small stones should be arranged on the surface of the old dakhma, in a corner, and the body laid on them with (proper) rites'.

Boyce (2001, p.158) continues in explanation of the form of *Dakhma*, and states that “The early towers [*Dakhmas*] in Iran and India were simple, solid structure, round, with a high parapet to screen the stone platform from view. There was no stairway, ladders being used for each funeral, to limit ease of access.” According to the mentioned documents, it can be claimed that however today's Towers of Silence in Iran have remained from Islamic period, but their absolute circular form are the intact formal legacy of pre-Islamic period. In other words, Towers of silence originate from Sassanid dynasty under the influence of Zoroastrianism's doctrine. The form of *Dakhma* begins and ends with the same circle. Based on doctrine of Emanationism, it seems that the building is removing the distance between god and human, or earth and heaven, by removing the square from the plan, because square was the inseparable symbolic form in identification of earth or human. Possibly, it signifies the heavenly dimension of human, and heavenly dimension of materials or earth as it accords with Emanationism. In Emanationism, as we discussed before, all creatures (like humans, earth or materials) and time are parts of God. Spiral concept of time in the ontology is completely visible in the building with its circular form. It seems that from architectural perspective, *Dakhma* is the first concrete evidence of Emanationism in the whole country.

In order to realize the influence of Emanationism on Qabus Tower—like the ontology's influence on *Dakhma*—there is a need for further examination in Islamic period to see the ontology's fall and possible rise until the construction of the Qabus Tower. Islam's distinct Creationism came after Zoroastrian's Emanationism. Zarrinkoob (1957, p.63–64) states that “Iran in the last period of Sassanid dynasty had a corrupted system. Safety of people had been exposed to danger. Religious unity was destabilized, and people were open to new religion.” New religion of Islam had a common point in

Iranian earlier religion of Mithraism, and that was the common ontology of Creationism. It seems that the common point of new religion affected Iranians in accepting Islam. Zarrinkoob (2004, p.373) indicates that “because of common beliefs of Islam with Iranians' earlier beliefs —like believing in Allah, *Iblis*, angels, day of resurrection, hell, heaven, and five times pray during a day—people gradually began to accept Islam.” As can be seen, almost all of these indicated common beliefs are the characteristic features of Creationism. However, Iranians in the period were open in adoption of new religion, but it does not mean that they were pleased—or at least remained pleased—with Arabs or maybe their religion. There are facts to support this claim. First fact is the Arabs' cruelty and injustice that resulted in chaos, and then entailed with Iranians' displeasing and hatred. Zarrinkoob (2004, p.373) describes the Arab invaders with terms like “terrible Arabs” and “with bloody swords” who brought new rules that Iranians were not accustomed to them.

Zarrinkoob (1957; 2004) describes Iran after Arabs' invasion and claims that:

During and after Islamic victories, Arabic clans began to migrate to Persian lands. They sometimes slew farmers or Zoroastrians, and divided their lands and properties. With the torrent of Arabs' invasion, several cities and castles destroyed. Many of clans and ancestries were perished. Luxuries and properties of wealthy people were depredated and they were called as gifts or booties. Persian girls and women were sold in Medina's market and they were called as slaves or captives. They took taxes from tradesmen and farmers and they called the taxes *Jezyeh*⁸⁵. Arabs were doing all of these in the support of sword and scourge. Nobody would ever dared to confront apparently, because slaughter, burn, stone, and punishment were the only replies of Arabs to any objections (especially in Umayyad dynasty). There was no place of objection against Arabs' cruelty and calamity against people in cities and villages. Whoever tried to object, his blood was spoiled as an infidel. Arabs' behaviour toward *Mavali*⁸⁶ was mixed with violence and humility. They thought that *Mavali* were born to do the inferior works: to clean Arabs' way and to sew their clothes. *Mavali* laboured the hard works of agriculture, craftsmanship, and commercial while Arabs were only celebrating of war, booties and plunder. With all these pressure, humility, and hardship—which similar examples were seen several centuries after—some of Zoroastrians from Fars and Khorasan

⁸⁵ *Jezyeh* (Persian: جزیه) was the tax for the non-Muslims assigned from Arabs in triumphed lands.

⁸⁶ *Mavali* (Persian: موالی) used to be called for non-Arab Muslims.

migrated to Sistan, Makran and India. Numbers of Zoroastrians who could migrate from their homeland during Arabs' invasion—after almost one century humiliation and hardship—were slight. Majority of these people, if were not murdered during wars, became slaves of Arabs or became *Ahle Zammah*⁸⁷ and disgracefully accepted Jezyeh. In the Arabs' invasion, many of Persian books have been destroyed. Value and significance of Persian language, everyday, became less important. At the beginning, adjacency with these new immigrants was hard for Iranians. In Sistan, people called Arabs as *Ahriman* and refrained to company them. Anyway, Persians, in exception of those who were intensely influenced by Islamic doctrines, looked Arabs with hatred and grudge. During two centuries, hard, extended, and horrid silence shaded over the whole history and language of Iran.

Zarrinkoob (1957, p.98–101) talks about the fall of Farsi poems, literature, and Farsi language in the period. In accordance with the argument, Katouzian (2009, p.66) says that “It is true that there were no independent Iranian states in these two centuries and there is virtually no evidence of written literature in the various Persian and Iranian languages.” There is no building has been survived today from the first two centuries of Islamic period (Pope, 2011, p.78). Arising several uprisings during the first two centuries is another evidence in regression of Iranians against Arabs. Katouzian (2009, p.79–81), and Zarrinkoob (1957, p.66–68; 2004, p.348–351) narrate of these revolts and resistances. For instance, Zarrinkoob (2004, p.348) states that “after Yazdgerd's murder, people in various cities of Iran resisted when they acquired opportunities. Anyway, progress of Arabs in Persian lands was slow, and incessant local resistances prevented this progress.” Katouzian (2009, p.66) claims that “It took almost 250 years to Iranian to accept Islam in the whole country. In the adjacent provinces of Caspian Sea, people displayed impregnable resistance against Arabs more than other provinces of Iran.” Conversion to Islam for Iranians, sometimes, was because of rescue from heavy taxes of *Jezyeh*, and also to provide safety for themselves. Katouzian (2009, p.66) says that “non-Muslims began to appreciate the economic benefits of conversion both in avoiding *jezyeh* and in protecting their property.” Zarrinkoob (2004, p.371) states that “Iranians, sometimes, beneath the Islamic support, lived safely against the assault of Arabs' executors and other robbers.” The hatred toward Arabs—and probably to their culture—is visible in Ferdowsi's poems. Ferdowsi (940–1020) who

⁸⁷ *Ahle Zammah* (Persian: اهل ذمه) were the people who didn't accept Islam and remained to their religions.

lived in the 'fourth century' after the Arabs' invasion—the exact period of Qabus—speaks through Rustam's⁸⁸ words and says that:

A wise man will be saddened when he learns
Of how the moving sphere of heaven turns:
Caught in the evil clutch of Ahriman...
But for the Persians I will weep, and for
The House of Sasan ruined by this war...
Four hundred years will pass in which our name
Will be forgotten and devoid of fame...
"But when the pulpit's equal to the throne
And Abu Bakr's and Omar's names are known,
Our long travails will be as naught, and all
The glory we have known will fade and fall.
The stars are with the Arabs, and you'll see
No crown or throne, no royal sovereignty:
Long days will pass, until a worthless fool
Will lead his followers and presume to rule: ...
Some will rejoice, while others live in fear,
Justice and charity will disappear,
At night, the time to hide away and sleep,
Men's eye will glitter to make others weep;
Strangers will rule us then, and with their might
They'll plunder us and turn our days to night.
They will not care for just or righteous men,
Deceit and fraudulence will flourish then. ...
The peasantry will suffer from neglect,
Lineage and skill will garner no respect,
Men will be mutual thieves and have no shame,
Curses and blessings will be thought the same.
What's hidden will be worse than what is known,
And stony-hearted kings will seize the throne.
No man will trust his son, and equally
No son will trust his father's honesty—
A misbegotten slave will rule the earth,
Greatness and lineage will have no worth,
No one will keep his word, and men will find
The tongue as filled with evil as the mind. ...
Men will pretend they're holy, or they're wise,
To make a livelihood by telling lies.
Sorrow and anguish, bitterness and pain
Will be as happiness was in the reign
Of Bahram Gur—mankind's accustomed fate:
There'll be no feasts, no festivals of state,
No pleasures, no musicians, none of these:
But there'll be lies, and traps, and treacheries.

⁸⁸ Rustam (Persian: رستم) is the Persian hero who was the commander of Persian army in the battle of *Al-Qadisiyyah* (636 AD). He wrote a letter to his brother before the crucial battle; Ferdowsi speaks through the words of the letter.

Sour milk will be our food, coarse cloth our dress,
 And greed for money will breed bitterness
 Between the generations: men will cheat
 Each other while they calmly counterfeit
 Religious faith. The winter and the spring
 Will pass mankind unmarked, no one will bring
 The wine to celebrate such moments then;
 Instead they'll spill the blood of fellow men.
 These thought have dried my mouth, my cheeks turn pale,
 I feel my sickened heart within me fail...
 The heavens have betrayed us, and they spurn
 Our supplications as they cruelly turn. ...
 Against these naked Arabs, and all I see
 Has only multiplied my misery. ...
 The day comes soon when heaven's sphere will be,
 Like Ahriman, our bitterest enemy. (Ferdowsi, 2006, p.833–837)

It seems that the regression and hatred of Iranians toward Arabs—and probably to their culture—caused a change in society's ontological perception of God. Probably, Iranians who were exhausted from Arabs, swayed from Islamic Creationism to Zoroastrian Emanationism. However, Islamic Creationism was in accordance with Mithraic Creationism, and people never abandoned it completely—as we observed the influence of Creationism on Qabus Tower. The recent attitude of inclination to Emanationism in the period of Qabus can be traced through poets (like Ferdowsi) and philosophers (like Farabi and Avicenna) of the time.

Ferdowsi's regard to Zoroaster is visible in his poems when he praises wisdom while Zoroaster was known as the prophet of wisdom in the period. His praises are written at the beginning of *Shahnameh*. (Ferdowsi, 1960, p.13–14) Ferdowsi in his poems mentions about "three goods".⁸⁹ Three goods of "Good Thoughts", "Good Words", and "Good Deeds" are the fundamental values and columns of Zoroastrianism. Ferdowsi, then, talks about the creation of the world and humans. His description are completely in accordance with Emanationism. It would be better to peruse some of his verses. First, he mentions that god created the universe from "*nachiz*"⁹⁰, so he could create

نخست آفرینش خرد را شناس، نگهبان جانست و آن سه سپاس؛ سه پاس تو چشم است و گوش و زبان، کزین سه رسد نیک و بد بی گمان

که یزدان ز "ناچیز" چیز آفرید، بدان تا توانایی آرد پدید⁹⁰

ability. (Ferdowsi, 1960, p.14) The "*nachiz*" may be translated in informal language as "nothing"; but, it has a meaning of "unvalued thing" in Persian dictionaries. Hence, Ferdowsi is not mentioning the creation of universe from nothing as the doctrine of Creationism. His further verses support this idea. In the poem, he says that God has created "without time"⁹¹ or period (Ferdowsi, 1960, p.14). Creation of universe in time—for instance, in 6 days in Quran—is one of aspects of Creationism. Ferdowsi (1960, p.14) speaks of 'gradually emergence' of lands from first fire; when the fire becomes cold.⁹² He (1960) talks about "emergence" or "engender" of sky, firmament, mountain, water, plant, motile, and people (p.15–16).⁹³ This "emergence" or "engender" is vividly in contrast to Creationism. Ferdowsi doesn't speak of creation with God's hands; he doesn't say that God created plants, mountains, lands or people. He uses the terms "emergence" or "engender"; hence, he refers to the power and ability of the nature without God's direct management. Furthermore, he refers to 'gradually' creation (or emergence) of the universe. He doesn't speak of creation in distinct time as the doctrine of Creationism offers. There are other examples of his verses compatible with Emanationism. For instance, Ferdowsi (1960, p.15) speaks about gradually radiation of sun, falling of water, and rotation of sun around the earth.⁹⁴ He also claims that nobody would ever know the exact fate of the universe (1960, p.16).⁹⁵ As we observed in Emanationism, afterlife is spiritual and mental, so it's not known. On the other hand, in Creationism, afterlife is physical, and religions like Islam have already described it exactly, so afterlife is known in Creationism. According to our discussions, we can claim that Ferdowsi had a inclination toward Emanationism, and it probably derives from the ontological spirit of his time. Philosophical ideas of the period confirms this fact.

⁹¹ سرمایه گوهراں این چهار، برآورده بی رنج و "بی روزگار" ⁹¹

⁹² یکی آتشی برشده تابناک، میان آب و باد از بر تیره خاک؛ نخستین که آتش به جنبش دمید، ز گرمیش پس خشکی آمد پدید؛ وزان پس ز آرام سردی نمود، ز سردی همان باز تری فزود

⁹³ پدید آمد این گنبد تیزرو، شگفتی نماینده نو بنو؛ فلکها یک اندر دگر بسته شد، بنجبید چون کار پیوسته شد؛ ببالید کوه آبها بر دمید، سر رستنی سوی بالا کشید؛ گیا رست با چند گونه درخت، بزیر اندر آمد سرانشان زبخت؛ وزان پس چو جنبده آمد پدید، همه رستنی زیر خویش آورد؛ چو زین بگنری مردم آمد پدید، شد این بندها را سراسر کلید

⁹⁴ ستاره رو بر شگفتی نمود، بخاک اندرون روشنایی فزود؛ همی بر شد آتش فرود آمد آب، همی گشت گرد زمین آفتاب

⁹⁵ چنینست فرجام کار جهان، نداند کسی آشکار و نهان

Emanationism is evident in the dominant philosophy of the period which was the philosophy of *Mashshai* (*Mashshai* School). The foundation of *Mashshai* School—also is known as Peripatetic School, which was the most important philosophy during 9/11 centuries—was set up by Al-Kindi (801–873 AD); the school was immensely influenced by Farabi (872–950 AD); and was culminated by Avicenna (980–1037 AD) (Nasr, 2008, p.127–135). Harris (1992, p.127,143) states that:

Al-Farabi does not speak of emanation only in purely metaphysical contexts. He does in fact refer to emanation in his philosophy of mind, especially in his views on intellection. ... al-Farabi does not hesitate to present a clear and developed emanationism by means of which he grounds the whole physics in using it to ground hylomorphism. This emanationism also allows him to solve problems he left unresolved in *The Philosophy of Aristotle*. Already while following the scheme of the corpus he takes many liberties with Aristotle, but the farther he moves from his scheme, the more his emanationism comes to the fore.

In the Farabi's philosophy, there is "The One" or "The First" which all universe have been emanated from it. The First is the perfect, and nothing can affect its perfectness. Intellect emanates from it; and there is no need and also there is nothing outside its everlasting substance to reflect on it. Hence, all beings are from it and are within it. Emanation is in its substance with no aim; since if it had aim then it would become imperfect to reach the perfectness. Farabi says:

The First Existent is the First Cause of the existence of all the other existents. ... Therefore its existence and substance cannot be adulterated by non-existence at all. ... Likewise its existence has no purpose and no aim, ... Thus the First is one in this respect as well, and deserves more than any other one the name and the meaning (of 'the one').

Because the First is not in matter and has itself no matter in any way whatsoever, it is in its substance actual intellect; ... And when a thing exists without being in need of matter, that very thing will in its substance be actual intellect; and that is status of the First. It is, then, actual intellect. ...

In order to be intelligible the First is in no need of another essence outside itself which would think it but it itself thinks its own essence. As a result of its thinking its own essence, it becomes actually thinking and intellect, and, as a result of its essence thinking (intelligizing) it, it becomes actually intelligized. (as cited in Nasr, 2008, p.164–167)

Avicenna follows Emanationism in Farabi's philosophy of *Mashshai* School. Morewedge (1972), in explanation of Avicenna's philosophy in regarding to Emanationism, indicates the possibility of Zoroastrian origin in the philosophy, and he also mentions the ontology's confrontation with Islamic doctrine. He claims that:

The ultimate being in the ibn Sinian system is the Necessary Existent (*wajib-al-wujud*) from which the world has emanated in a "flow" or a descent. ... In the process of emanation only some entity must be emanated from the Necessary Existent, for the absolute perfection of the latter implies that some being had to emanate from It. Since It is a unity, however, at most one being can be emanated from It. Therefore, exactly one entity emanated from It. In one sense or another, Ibn Sina regards the process of emanation as thought. It is possible that he adopted this view from Neo-Platonism and possibly even from another earlier source, namely from the Persian Zoroastrian sects, e.g., Zurvanism. ... A flow of emanation (*padid dmadan, faid*) effuses from the Necessary Existent towards the world. In this flow, exactly one entity, namely the first intelligence emanates from the Necessary Existent. This intelligence is described as having two aspects—one of necessity when it is regarded with respect to its source, and one of contingency when it is regarded with respect to itself. Accordingly, two emanations are thought to take place. Considered from the aspect of contingency, a body emanates from the intelligence, whereas another intelligence emanates from the aspect of the necessity of this intelligence. The initial emanations are followed by similar series of emanations in which intelligences and heavenly bodies are generated. ... In this paper, Ibn Sina's emanationism has not been interpreted as a version of the creation theory as this theory is portrayed in the Qur'an. ... The interpretation taken of Ibn Sina's doctrines in this paper favors the view that his emanationistic doctrine is theoretically in agreement with mysticism, and perhaps even with a mysticism of the kind that was present in the pre-Islamic Zoroastrian tradition. ... It is well known that Ibn Sina was attacked by Ghazali and later Muslim philosophers for holding anti-Islamic views. (Morewedge, 1972, p.9–16)

According to the discussions, Emanationism is apparent from the philosophy and the literature of Qabus's period. It seems that Emanationism demonstrates itself in the circular plan of Qabus Tower, as the ontology displayed itself in the circular form of *Dakhma*. Qabus Tower, with its circular plan, is the first kind of its own in Islamic period. Probably, after *Dakhma*, Qabus Tower is the second kind of buildings that has the absolute circular form in the whole architectural history of Iran. Correspondence of Qabus Tower with *Dakhma* is visible in two ways. First, in their absolute circular plan. Second, in their ceremonial funeral functionality. Interment of Qabus in glass

coffin which was suspended by chains, resembles the Zoroastrian funerary. Pour Abdollah (2013, p.124) quotes that, interment in tomb towers resembles the type of interment in Zoroastrian *Astadans*. Accordingly, Grigor (2009, p.127) says that:

[Qabus Tower] was theorized by scholars to have housed funerary practices originating in Zoroastrianism, where the corpse of Qabus is believed to have hung by a chain in a glass coffin in the tower, so as not to pollute the earth. ... Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar concur with Godard on the Zoroastrian and Mazdan origin of Gombad-e Qabus [Qabus Tower]

Nasr (2008, p.128) explains that *Mashshai* School was the mother of all Islamic philosophies, including philosophies of Ibn Rushd, Suhrawardi, and Mulla Sadra. As far as *Mashshai* School is influenced by Emanationism, and also Qabus Tower is affected by the ontology, maybe we can claim (in architectural perspective) that Qabus Tower is the first concrete evidence in Islamic period that commenced the great sway from Islamic Creationism toward Zoroastrian Emanationism.

There is another aspect in *Mashshai* School that may have influenced the tower; it's the subject of "Active Intellect" or "*Aql-i Faal*". In the philosophy, God emanates First Intellect. From the First Intellect, First Firmament and Second Intellect emerges. The Second Intellect emanates Third Intellect and this sequence continues to the tenth and the last intellect which is called "Active Intellect". (Rahimian, and Rahbari, 2011, p.79) Morewedge (1972, p.12) in explanation of Active Intellect says that:

the active intelligence, or the last intelligence of the heavenly realm, emanates the substratum-matter. From these differences four kinds of primary, simple bodies are derived which are capable of composition: fire, air, water, and earth. The active intelligence emanates three different kinds of souls, the vegetative soul, the animal soul, and the rational soul. No other kind of entity can be emanated after the emanation of the rational soul.

Active intellect is the closest intellect to the materialistic world. It is the mediator between heavenly spirits and materials, and management of subjacent world is its responsibility. Multiplicity of materialistic world—including souls of plants, animals and human— derives from it (Rahimian, and Rahbari, 2011, p.72). Active Intellect in

Aristotle's point of view is similar to "light" and in Avicenna's perspective, it is like the "sun" (Davudi, 1970, p.354).

Resemblances of Active Intellect with Qabus Tower can be perused in several aspects. First one is the similarities in the number "ten". Active Intellect is the 'tenth' intellect and the tower has 'ten' pointed plan like a star. Second similarity is their function as a mediator. Active intellect is the mediator between material and spiritual worlds. Qabus Tower, in ontological point of view, is the mediator between God and human, or between earth and heavens like *Chahar-Taqs*. From mythological view, Qabus Tower is the symbol of *Mount Alburz*, mediates between earth and sky. From Mithraic perspective, the tower mediates between night and day. From political and religious point of view, Qabus Tower resembles the divine throne, in which, Qabus mediates between people and God through his heavenly reign. Third resemblance, is their correspondence in the subject of "light". Active Intellect is resembled to light or sun. Qabus Tower, in Mithraic perspective, symbolized the light of dawns. From cultural point of view, the tower resembles the light of fire or sun. From mythological viewpoint, it symbolizes the self illuminated golden lantern. Fourth similarity is in their common feature of "reason" or "wisdom". Human reason and soul derives from the Active Intellect. Qabus himself was the wise man very similar to *Simurgh* who was the wisest of all. Qabus is under the influence of Zoroaster, who was the wise prophet. Fifth correspondence, is their resemblance in management of the world. Active Intellect manages the materialistic world, and Qabus from mythological standpoint, metaphorically, claims himself as the king of the world—specially, with the unique site of his reign that in Persian mythology symbolizes the beginning and the end of the world.

According to the discussions, we can claim that ontological philosophies of Creationism, Emanationism, *Mashshai* School, and Active Intellect had their influences on the symbolic form of Qabus Tower.

3.7. Cosmological beliefs of the period of Qabus Tower and their effects on the symbolic form of the tower

In this topic, we discuss the probable influence of cosmological beliefs of the period on the formation of the Qabus Tower. The form of the dome of the tower as paradisiacal symbol, 'ten pointed star' form of the tower, and circular plan of the tower will be perused from cosmological point of view.

Cosmological Symbolism, maybe is one of the first kind of Symbolism since human being is in urgent need to comprehend his/her place in the lost universe. Ardalan, and Bakhtiar (1973, p.11) say that:

Space is one of the most direct symbols of Being. It is primordial ... Traditional man tends towards a mode of comprehension which provides a metaphysical interpretation of life, an interpretation that precedes and goes beyond all external perception. This mode of comprehension, or initial interpretation, affects all of man's perceptions because it begins by situating him in the universe.

In this comprehension of the universe, "dome" plays the symbolic role of cosmic heaven in architecture. Ardalan, and Bakhtiar (1973, p.74) explain that:

Throughout history, traditional civilizations have thought of the tent, house, tomb, or sanctuary as a symbol of the universe. The idea of the "cosmic house" evolved from associating the domelike ceilings of these structures with the heavens. It followed that as long as the spherical shape possessed real meaning for the traditional man, it was natural for him to transfer this meaning from one shape to another similar one. Consequently, the terms "cosmic tent", "majestic parasol," "cosmic egg," and "heavenly bowl," to give but a few, preserve an ancient memory and convey something of the ancestral beliefs and esoteric meanings associated with the dome.

Pour Abdollah (2013, p.67) mentions the relevance of the dome to Mithraism and claims that:

Mithraism had a peculiar concern toward stars and firmaments. In Mithraism, sun, stars, and planets are perceived to have influence in people's actions and deeds. Place of Mithraism can be considered as

one of the first observatories of the world. They used to construct Mihrabs and ceilings in the form of the dome which was the symbol of sky; they divided inside of the dome to twelve parts to be the symbol of twelve constellations; they put sun in the middle and set stars around with accurate geometrical divisions.

As a result of the discussion, from cosmological perspective (and also from earlier discussion in previous topics), we can claim that the dome of Qabus Tower derives from its cosmic heavenly connotation.

In demystification of the Qabus Tower's 'ten' pointed plan, cosmological point of the *Mashshai* School is indispensable. In the philosophy, there are ten intellects that the first nine emanate the nine firmaments; the last intellect (Active Intellect) emanates the world with its physical materials. The sequence of the firmaments are: *Falak ul-Aflak* (empyrean), *Falak ul-Boruj* (fixed stars), Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, sun, Venus, Mercury, and moon (Imanpour, 2011, p.83). In this cosmology, first firmament of *Falak ul-Aflak* seems to be the newly invented firmament in the philosophy, because—generally—the seven planets and fixed stars were the only accepted firmaments to ancient Greek philosophers, and also to ancient civilizations. Kuhn (2002, p.45) says that “For Greeks and their successors the sun was one of the seven planets. The others were the moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. The stars and these seven planets were the only bodies recognized as celestial in antiquity.” Saadat (1968, p.b) states that “In ancient time, pastors were the first astronomers. ... According to the retrieved document from 719/720 BC, Chaldean knew about the seven planets and fixed stars.” Persian Cross, maybe regarded as an evidence that notifies Persians were informed about the seven planets. (figure 57) In Persian Cross, one of the implication of the four, probably, is the fourth place of the sun in the sky. Owing to earlier discussions, sun has the most important place in Mithraic cosmology. One of the ancient architectural example of the Persian Cross is seen in Naqsh-e Rostam necropolis. (figure 54)

Therefore, the first firmament of *Falak ul-Aflak* seems to be newly invented in *Mashshai* School. There are at least two possible theories that may explain the existence of the firmament. First, the invention of the firmament maybe derives from

the cosmology of Pythagoras, in which, there are ten celestial bodies. Ardalan, and Bakhtiar (1973, p.25) acknowledge the possible effect of Pythagoras on Islamic philosophies and say that "The concept of number in Islam is similar to the Pythagorean system where numbers, being qualitative as well as quantitative entities, are not identified simply with addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division." In Pythagoras's cosmology, besides fixed stars, seven planets, and earth, there is the "counter-earth" which reaches the number of the celestial bodies to number ten (Furley, 1987, p.57). Furley (1987, p.58) says that "Aristotle said the Pythagoreans were so entranced by parallels between number and nature that they invented the 'counter-earth' to make the heavenly bodies up to the perfect number of ten." Second, the firmament of *Falak ul-Aflak* maybe derives from Islamic thought. Anvari, and Dadbeh (2006, p.74) quote that the ninth firmament (from below or first firmament from above) can be regarded as "*Arsh*" which is mentioned in Quran. There is an *Ayah* from Quran that informs about the existence of *Arsh* (Throne of the Lord) above the eight. Probably, the eight refers to eight celestial bodies of fixed stars and seven planets. It is written in Quran that "[69:17] And the angels will be on its sides, and eight will, that Day, bear the Throne of thy Lord above them." Compatibility of Greek philosophies with Islamic doctrine was one of the most concerns and challenges of the *Mashshai* philosophers. Hence, maybe we can claim that it is possible that *Falak ul-Aflak* was invented by Islamic doctrine as the ninth firmament.

On the other hand, in the cosmology of Pythagoras, number ten has a unique position. In the prayer of Pythagoreans, the term "Tetractys" or "Tetraktys" is used to refer to number ten. Dantzig (1959, p.41) quotes the prayer of "Tetractys" from Pythagoreans and writes that:

Bless us, divine number, thou who generatest gods and men! O holy, holy *tetraktys*, thou that containest the root and the source of the eternally flowing creation! For the divine number begins with the profound, pure unity until it comes to the holy four; then it begets the mother of all, the all-comprising, the all-bounding, the first-born, the never-swerving, the never-tiring holy ten, the keyholder of all.

From Pythagoras's view, numbers have sensible shapes that reveal their essences. Ardalan, and Bakhtiar (1973, p.25) say that:

The outer expression or form of a number does not exhaust its possibilities. It contains a *batin*, or an essence, which distinguishes it from another. This *batin* is a projection of Unity which continuously links the number to its source. Number understood in the Pythagorean sense, identified with certain shapes in the sensible world, integrates those shapes through their essences into Unity.

Ardalan, and Bakhtiar (1973, p.24–26) in the discussion of the numbers through Pythagorean perspective, depict and explain the shape and quality of the number ten. From macrocosmic point of view, number ten is "The Holy Tetractys" which has a shape of triangle (figure 60), and also it is attributed to "First four universal being". Its geometry is circle with ten equal point. (figure 61). From microcosmic perspective, it has the "basic disposition of the body". Form mathematical attributes, it is the perfect number.

As can be seen, triangular form of the tetractys is similar to the form of the dome of Qabus Tower. Geometrical form of the number ten has the exact form of the body of Qabus Tower. There is also a conformity between microcosmic aspect of the number and mythological trait of the tower. According to the mythology, Qabus Tower with its unique site has the basic disposition of the body of the world. Symbolically, it's the *Alburz* Mount which links the world to the sky or heavens. From its position, first human, first animal, and the seeds of all plants scattered to the whole world. Hence, as the ten number is the "basic disposition of the body", Qabus Tower, metaphorically, is the basic disposition of the body of the world. Furthermore, from Pythagoreans' prayer of the Tetractys, there are many conjunctions with the features of Qabus Tower. In the prayer, the terms of "divine number" and "holy, holy *tetraktys*" have been used. It's compatible with the "divine throne" of Qabus himself (as we observed in previous topics). The four elements of fire, water, air, and earth is described within the "tetractys", as the "holy four". From the philosophical view, it's adaptable to the Active Intellect in *Mashshai* School; in the philosophy, Active Intellect (tenth Intellect) grants the four elements to the materialistic world. In the prayer, terms like "all-comprising"

and "all-bounding" have been mentioned. These terms from mythological perspective, reminds us of Qabus Tower. The tower as the metaphoric Mount *Alburz* situates near *Farakhkart* Sea. In the mythology, two river which flows from east and west side of the sea, delineates the boundaries of the inhabited world. The Mount *Alburz* itself is the boundary of the world from sky. These terms, also, can be interpret from the perspective of *Mashshai* School. The Active Intellect is the boundary of the materialistic world from the spiritual world. The other term which has been mentioned in the prayer is the term of "first-born". From mythological point of view, the site of Qabus Tower is the place of all first borns. Kiyumars is the first born man in the world from the spot. First animal and tree of *Vispubish* which is the mother of all plants arouse from the same area.

In the previous topic, from ontological view, we discussed about the heavenly ascension of buildings from square-earth to circular heavens. In this topic, the same ascension but from circular earth to circular heavens is discussed. Probably, the square form of earth in architectural examples derives from the following idea: In ancient cosmology, earth is considered as a fixed planet which is in the centre of the universe, and all stars and planets circulate around it. It seems that the immobility of the form of square and its centric shape, were the qualities to nominate it as the symbol of earth. Before Copernicus (1473–1543), almost whole world followed the idea of fixed and centric earth. Kuhn (2002) says that:

Before his [Copernicus] proposal the earth had been the fixed center about which astronomers computed the motions of stars and planets. ... For most Greek astronomers and philosophers, from the fourth century on, the earth was a tiny sphere suspended stationary at the geometric center of a much larger rotating sphere which carried the stars. ... The earth's central position, for example, kept it stationary in the spherical universe. In which direction can a body fall from the center of a sphere? There is no "down" at the center, and very direction is equally "up." Therefore the earth must hang at the center, eternally stable as the universe rotates about it. (2002, p.1,27,29–30)

If the earth has obtained its symbolic form of square because of its supposed centric and fixed traits, then, it would lose its square form when it is deprived of this traits. There were a few philosophers before Copernicus who believed in earth as a mobile

and peripheral planet. For instance, Pythagorean philosophers believed in earth as one of the planets that rotates around the centric fire (Furley, 1987, p.57). Kuhn (2002, p.42) says that:

Later in the fifth century the followers of Pythagoras suggested a second cosmology which set the earth in motion and partially deprived it of its unique status. The Pythagoreans did place the stars on a gigantic moving sphere, but at the center of this sphere they placed an immense fire, the Altar of Zeus, invisible from the earth. The fire could not be seen, because the earth's populated areas were always turned away from the fire. For the Pythagoreans the earth was just one of a number of celestial bodies, including the sun, all of which moved in circles about the central fire.

Biruni (973–1048 AD) is another important examples of these philosophers. Pour Abdollah (2013, p.98) claims that Biruni calculated the movement of the earth around the sun. Homai (1973, p.122) in the introduction of Biruni's book of "*al-Ta'fhim*" states that:

However, Biruni drastically didn't claim of earth's movement, but he spoke of this possibility against other astronomers and scientists who believed in fixed position of the earth. He was so suspicious about this matter; he claimed the solution of the matter [movement of earth] is one of the scientific problems. Biruni, spiritually believed in earth's movement.

However, Biruni lived beside Qabus in his youth, and he wrote his major books after the construction of Qabus Tower; but, it is not possible to say that he didn't believe in the earth's movement when he lived near Qabus. He may conferred his ideas with Qabus. Result from our discussions, Pythagoras and Biruni were two major philosophers who influenced the philosophy and astronomy of the period of Qabus. Because of this fact, from cosmological point of view, the circular plan of Qabus Tower may have been influenced by the philosophers' idea of mobile and peripheral earth. When peripheral earth deprived of its fixed and centric position, possibly, the circle would be the best symbolic form for the earth.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

Throughout the history symbols have been one of main tools in recognition of the universe, and they have been one of main means in the communication of people. Symbols bear meanings of some ideologies that present various cultural and historical knowledge and memories in a society. Architecture as art, is better to be symbolic to convey and share the cultural ideologies in a society. Symbolic expressions of buildings are important tools to realize the historical cultural formations of different cultures and societies. On the other hand, we need to ponder on historical buildings to realize the historical-cultural conditions of a society in formation of symbolic architecture. This can help the de-mythification of historical symbolic forms of buildings.

Panofsky's method of "reading in deeper sense" is referred as the methodology of de-mythification of the historical building of our study. According to Panofsky's methodology, historical, cultural and religious events and beliefs of each period are the vital points in understanding the intrinsic meanings of symbolic expressions of art and architecture. As Panofsky suggested, we used metaphorical research through vast historical-cultural areas to detect a suitable relevance between symbolic form of our case study and the meanings that it implies.

Qabus Tower from north region of Iran that was built in 1006/7 AD was the case study of the thesis. The tower was constructed based on cultural background of Iranian society. We attempted to reveal the covert meanings of the symbolic form of the tower via metaphors. Six different topics of policy, culture, religions, mythology, ontology and philosophy, and cosmology are perused to demystify and demythify the metaphorical expressions of Qabus Tower.

From political point of view, Qabus Tower displays its power and objection against Arab invaders and against Buyid dynasty of the period. The tower utters its enthusiasm to pre-Islamic imperial dynasties. Some features of Qabus Tower, like its construction on a hill, intensifies the claim of the tower's pre-Islamic attitude, because building on hills and stages has been remained from Achaemenian and Sassanid dynasties. Using the best materials for the construction of Qabus Tower, also, has remained from Achaemenian dynasty. Furthermore, there is an inscription on the tower that displays the time of the construction based on Sassanid calendar. It seems that there was a movement in the period of Qabus (to return to the pride and glory of previous Persian empires), and the assumed movement shows itself in the circular form of the tower. Probably, height of the tower is interrelated to the numbers of important dates in Qabus's political life.

From cultural aspect, Qabus Tower tends to lean on pre-Islamic cultures of Iran. Dates of the most three important ceremonies of ancient Iran are related to number ten, since the plan of the tower is a ten pointed star. The ceremonies are called Mehrgan, Abanegan, and Sadeh. Additionally, events of those ceremonies are completely compatible with the events of Qabus's personal life. The events narrate the return of true king to his kingdom after a long dominance of evil in their related regions. As we discussed before, Qabus himself returned to his legitimate kingdom after 17 years. The events speak about fire and arising the dawn of new day or new year, as Qabus, metaphorically, claims the dawn of new era for the people of his kingdom. According to Persian cultures, tombs of pre-Islamic dynasties had close relevance to mountains. It seems that the mountain-like form of Qabus Tower has been influenced by the mentioned relevance in Persian cultures.

Qabus Tower has been influenced by three different religions of Mithraism, Zoroastrianism, and Islam. Cave form of the interior space of the tower, likely, symbolizes Mithraism since in the religion, cave has important and meaningful place. First kind of muqarnaces above the entrance, intensifies the cave form of the tower. Extraordinary height of the tower which embraces the first lights of dawn through its hatch on the dome (when the space is between darkness of night and light of new day),

probably, symbolizes Mithra who was the mediator between darkness and light. Zoroastrianism had its own effect on Qabus Tower. The form of the tower is very alike to the form of *Dakhma* in Zoroastrianism. Qabus's burial ceremony (glass coffin suspension from the dome) was very similar to Zoroastrians. It seems that interior space of the tower resembles Zoroastrianism's limbo or *Hamastigan*, in which, there is no ornamentation with mere air circulations. Islamic attitude of the tower is obvious from the attached inscriptions on the tower, where it's written "in the name of Allah". Mere materials of bricks may implies Islamic thoughts since the tower has not used permanent stone that used to be exerted in pre-Islamic imperial buildings. Perhaps, militant attitude of Islam (which is also common in Mithraism) shows itself in pointed arch of the entrance and in pointed dome of the tower.

According to Persian mythology, it seems that Qabus Tower symbolizes the Mount *Alburz*, and Qabus himself symbolizes the legendary *Simurgh* and legendary Kiyumars (first human being). Possibly, site of the tower very carefully had been chosen by Qabus to intensify the Persian mythology's main personages like: Mount *Alburz*, *Simurgh*, Kiyumars, Tree of *Vispubish*, and *Farakhkart* Sea. Golden cock which used to be above the dome of Qabus Tower had been derived from the mythology. According to the mythology, golden cock and self-illuminated golden lantern are the symbols that indicate the return of the true king to his rightful kingdom and to his beloved people. The dome, when the rays of sun penetrates and reaches inside the tower—specially, when the rays meets the suspended glass coffin of Qabus and make it glow—symbolizes the self-illuminated golden lantern. Hence, it seems that Qabus intentionally used these two symbols of Persian mythology to stress on his return to his rightful kingdom.

From ontological-philosophical perspective, Qabus Tower displays its ideology about God and its relation to him. It seems that Creationism and Emanationism have influenced the formation of the tower. Generally, tombs in Iran represent the ascension from human to God, or from earth to heavens. In this ascension, square plan of tombs represents human, and circular form of the dome of tombs represents God. Probably, circular plan and form of Qabus Tower has been affected by Emanationism, in which,

there is no distance between human and God. It seems that Qabus Tower eliminated the square plan to remove the distance between human and God. On the other hand, rigid and pointed form of ledges around the shaft of the tower, and also the unreachable dome are assumed to symbolize Creationism. The rigid ledges of the tower make sharp shadows on the tower that implies time. In Creationism, time is restricted and is one of its grave elements. Possibly, the rigid ledges are indicating the importance of time in accordance with Creationism. In Creationism, there is a distinct distance between human and God. The unreachable dome of the tower, likely, represents the distance between human and God in accordance with Creationism. However, Islamic doctrine is a pure Creationism, but the cruelty or disaster that Arab invader impose to Iranians, possibly, make the sway from Islamic Creationism toward Zoroastrian Emanationism. *Mashshai* School was the dominant philosophy of the period, in which, there are ten intellects. The ten intellects of the philosophy are assumed to have their effect in the formation of ten pointed plan of the tower. Characteristic features of the Active Intellect (tenth intellect) are very compatible with the personality of Qabus and his tomb tower.

From cosmological point of view, ten pointed star plan of Qabus Tower can be derived from the ideologies of scientists and astronomers like Pythagoras, Farabi, Avicenna, and Biruni. According to Pythagoras's ideology, there are ten celestial bodies in the universe that is called the "holy tetractys". Characteristic features of the "holy tetractys" (like its geometrical form) is very similar to the features of Qabus Tower. Accordingly, there are ten celestial bodies in *Mashshai* School. From cosmological aspect, it seems that ten pointed star of Qabus Tower is originated from these ideologies of ten celestial bodies in the universe. On the other hand, it seems that the symbolic square form of earth originates from this fact that earth was assumed to be immobile and to be at the center of the universe. Before Copernicus (1473–1543) almost whole world believed in centric and fixed earth, but Pythagoras and Biruni were the astronomers who believed in peripheral and mobile earth. In this way, symbolic square form of earth deforms to symbolic circular earth. From cosmological perspective, possibly, the ascension from earth to heavens in Qabus Tower is commencing from the symbolic circular earth.

It seems that Qabus Tower is representing the worldview of its own time. In creation and representation of this worldview, political, cultural, mythological, religious, ontological, philosophical, and cosmological factors (at least) had the key role. Probably, main attitude of Qabus Tower inclines to pre-Islamic cultures, and the main reason for this inclination was the cruelty of Arab invaders; but Qabus tower has not abandoned the Islamic culture. In the worldview that the tower represents, we can observe both pre-Islamic and Islamic cultural behaviors.

Throughtout the reading of Qabus Tower in a deeper sense and during the de-mythification of the historical-cultural knowledge that transcends the symbolic expression of the tower, we considered the main events of Iran until the construction of the tower, and we focused on the knowledge of Iranian people in that particular historical period. Following this deeper reading process, it can be claimed that the knowledge gathered critically in this thesis may give insight to further studies to achieve further de-mythifications or de-mystifications concerning the historical events and knowledge of that period which can find resonance in other parts of the world. Hence, we can suggest for oncoming researchers to study the influence of global events on Qabus Tower. Another suggestion for future researchers is the possible symbolic meanings of Qabus Tower in relation to geometry and music. These two topics are very important yet unfortunately remained beyond the boundry of this thesis. The sound reflection spot near the tower, probably, is an important meaningful symbol. Farabi's ideology about music can provide fresh visions in realization of the spot. Geometry and music are interrelated with together, and Qabus Tower, very possibly, is designed based on mathematics, geometry, and music.

CHAPTER 5

FIGURES



Figure 1. Qabus Tower. Gonbad-e Kavus. Ziyarid dynasty. 1006/7 AD.
(This photo has been retrieved personally from ICHHCTO, Gonbad-e Qabus World Heritage Base)



Figure 2. Qabus Tower. Gonbad-e Kavus. Ziyarid dynasty. 1006/7 AD.
(This photo has been taken by author in August 2014)



Figure 3. Qabus Tower and the sound reflection spot near the tower. Gonbad-e Kavus. Ziyarid dynasty. 1006/7 AD.
(This photo has been taken by author in August 2014)



Figure 4. site view of Qabus Tower. Gonbad-e Kavus. Ziyarid dynasty. 1006/7 AD.
(Online image retrieved from <http://tnews.ir/news/487839199550.html>)



Figure 5. Qabus Tower. Gonbad-e Kavus. Ziyarid dynasty. 1006/7 AD.
(Online image retrieved from <http://www.dolat.ir/NSite/FullStory/Photo/?Serv=2&Id=219926>)

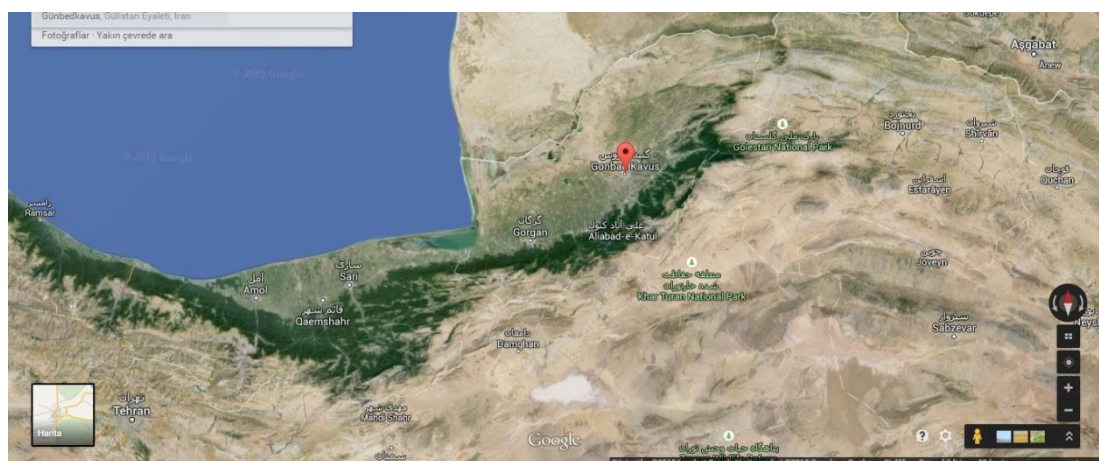


Figure 6. Spot of Qabus Tower in extension of Alburz Mountains in the north region of Iran.
(online image retrieved from <https://www.google.com/maps/place/Gonbad-e+Qabus+Tower/@37.1476959,55.1388743,162683m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m2!3m1!1s0x3f82bf0f3681aac1:0xb8eacc0ae01e8b94!6m1!1e1>)

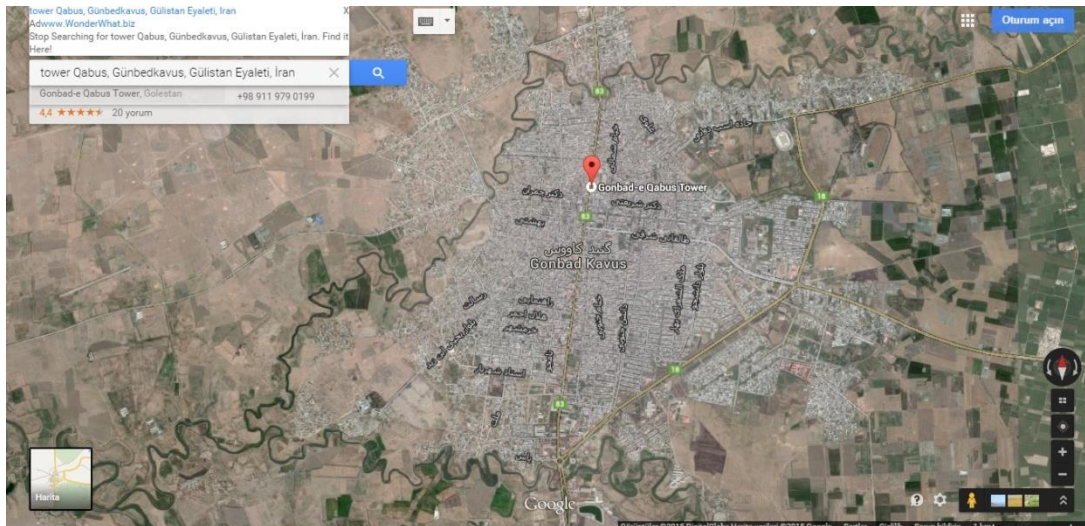


Figure 7. Spot of Qabus Tower between two rivers.

(online image retrieved from <https://www.google.com/maps/place/Gonbad-e+Qabus+Tower/@37.1476959,55.1388743,162683m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m2!3m1!1s0x3f82bf0f3681aac1:0xb8eacc0ae01e8b94!6m1!1e1>)



Figure 8. Site plan of Qabus Tower.

(online image retrieved from <https://www.google.com/maps/place/Gonbad-e+Qabus+Tower/@37.1476959,55.1388743,162683m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m2!3m1!1s0x3f82bf0f3681aac1:0xb8eacc0ae01e8b94!6m1!1e1>)

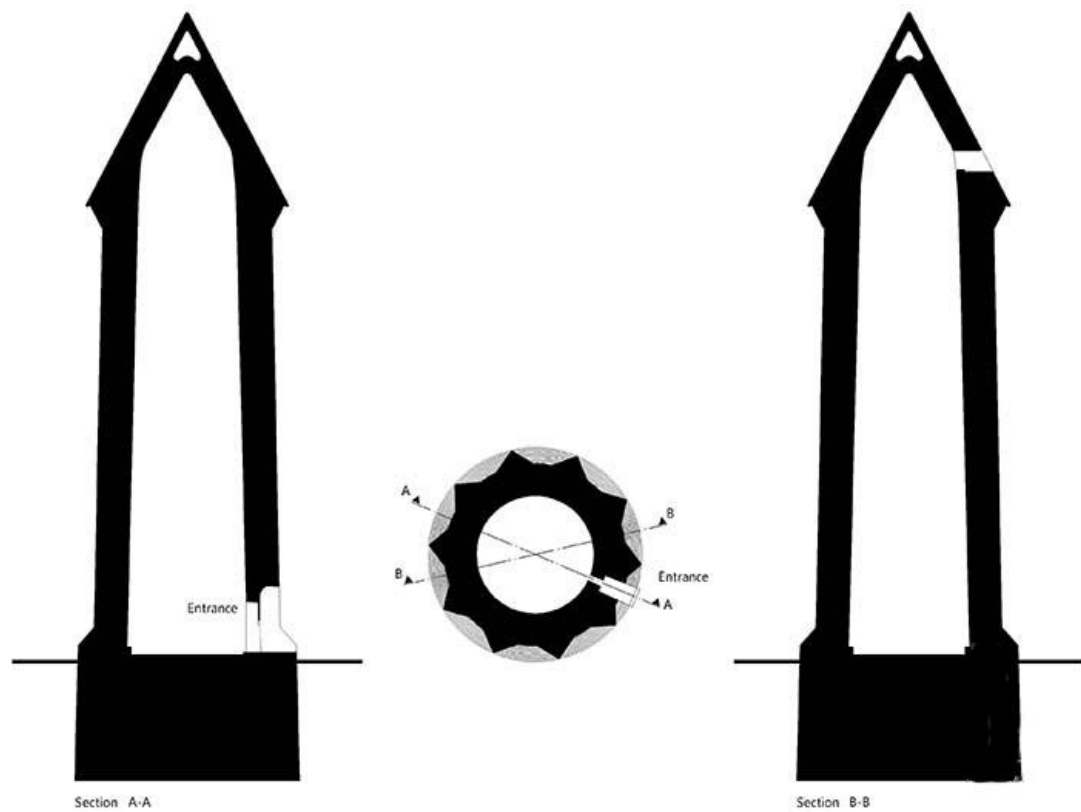


Figure 9. Plan and sections of Qabus Tower.
 (Online image retrieved from <http://gonbad-eqabus-whb.ir/u-Portal.aspx?GroupsID=70>)



Figure 10. Entrance of Qabus Tower.
 (This photo has been taken by author in August 2014)



Figure 11. Muqarnases of the entrance of Qabus Tower. (This photo has been taken by author in August 2014)



Figure 12. Inscriptions on the body of Qabus Tower.
(Online image retrieved from <http://www.iichs.org/srcfiles/printmag.asp?id=972>)



Figure 13. Inscriptions on the body of Qabus Tower.
(This photo has been taken by author in August 2014)



Figure 14. Dome of Qabus Tower and the inscriptions under the dome.
(online image retrieved from http://katoul-afraz.persianblog.ir/tag/%D9%85%DB%8C%D9%84_%DA%AF%D9%86%D8%A8%D8%AF_%D8%A7%D8%AB%D8%B1%D8%AA%D8%A7%D8%B1%DB%8C%D8%AE%DB%8C_%D8%B4%D9%87%D8%B1%DA%AF%D9%86%D8%A8%D8%AF%DA%A9%D8%A7%D9%88%D9%88%D8%B3_-%DA%AF%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%A7%D9%86)

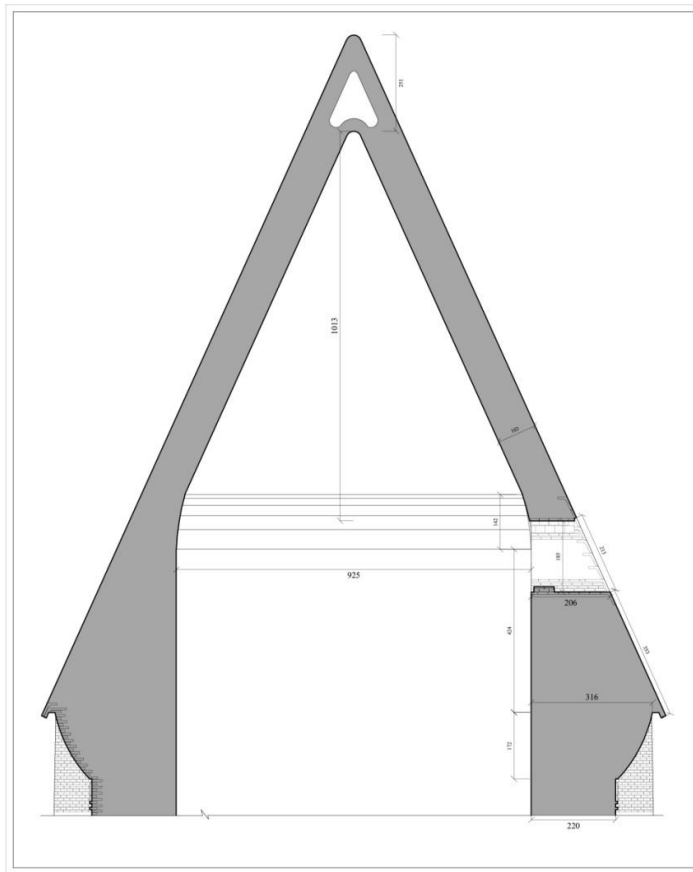


Figure 15. Details of the dome of Qabus Tower.
(This photo has been retrieved personally from ICHHCTO, Gonbad-e Qabus World Heritage Base)

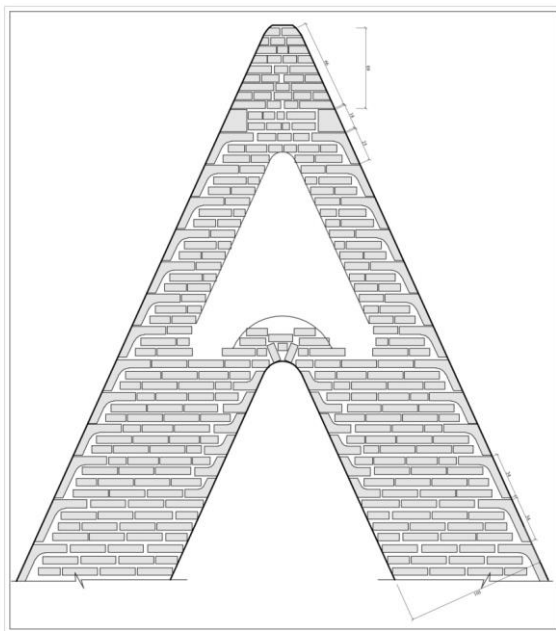


Figure 16. Details of the dome of Qabus Tower.
(This photo has been retrieved personally from ICHHCTO, Gonbad-e Qabus World Heritage Base)

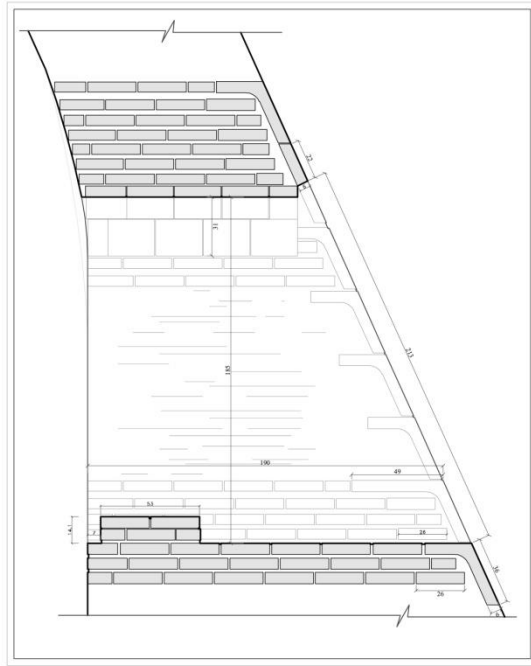


Figure 17. Details of the hatch of Qabus Tower.
(This photo has been retrieved personally from
ICHHCTO, Gonbad-e Qabus World Heritage
Base)



Figure 18. Interior space of Qabus Tower.
(This photo has been taken by author in August 2014)



Figure 19. Interior space of Qabus Tower.
(This photo has been taken by author in August 2014)



Figure 20. Goor City. Firuzabad. Sassanid dynasty. Third century AD.
(Online image retrieved from <http://www.makanbin.com/fars/place/%D8%B4%D9%87%D8%B1-%D8%AA%D8%A7%D8%B1%DB%8C%D8%AE%DB%8C-%DA%AF%D9%88%D8%B1/>)



Figure 21. Sketch of a *Dakhma* or Tower of Silence.
 (This photo is reprinted from *Sabkshenasi-e Memari-e Irani* (p.59), by Memarian, 2013)



Figure 22. *Dakhma* or Tower of Silence. Yazd.
 (Online image retrieved from
<http://www.makanbin.com/yazd/?place=%D8%AF%D8%AE%D9%85%D9%87-%D8%B2%D8%B1%D8%AA%D8%B4%D8%AA%DB%8C%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%A8%D8%B1%D8%AC-%D8%AE%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%88%D8%B4%D8%A7%D9%86-%DB%8C%D8%B2%D8%AF>)

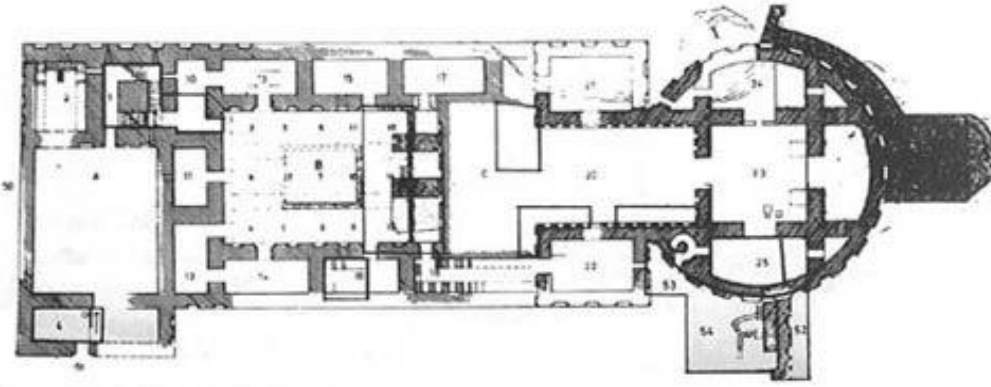


Figure 23. Plan of Ghale Dokhtar. Sassanid dynasty.
 (Online image retrieved from <http://www.yataahoo.com/?p=1107>)



Figure 24. Remains of Ghale Dokhtar. Sassanid dynasty.
 (Online image retrieved from http://www.panoramio.com/photo_explorer#view=photo&position=2209&with_photo_id=35815208&order=date_desc&user=4493355)



Figure 25. Ashoor palace. Parthian dynasty. First century AD.
(Online image retrieved from <http://hamedbia2.persianblog.ir/post/87/>)

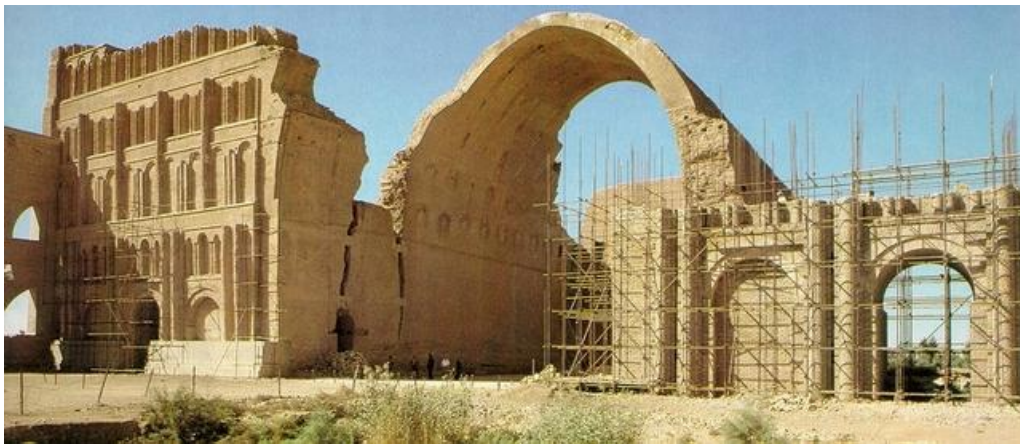


Figure 26. Taq-i Kasra. Sassanid dynasty. 540 AD.
(online image retrieved from <http://www.mehremihan.ir/component/tag/%D8%AE%D8%B3%D8%B1%D9%88%D9%BE%D8%B1%D9%88%DB%8C%D8%B2%20%D9%88%20%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%AE%D8%AA%20%D8%A7%DB%8C%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%86%20%D9%85%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%86.html>)



Figure 27. Bāzēh Chahār-Tāq. Sassanid dynasty.
 (online image retrieved from
<http://www.tebyan.net/Weblog/nima67/post.aspx?PostID=203837>)



Figure 28. Firuzabad Fire Temple. Sassanid dynasty.
 (Online image retrieved from
<http://www.nividar.com/news/53fa996e36e63b8793fd0968#prettyPhoto/0/>)

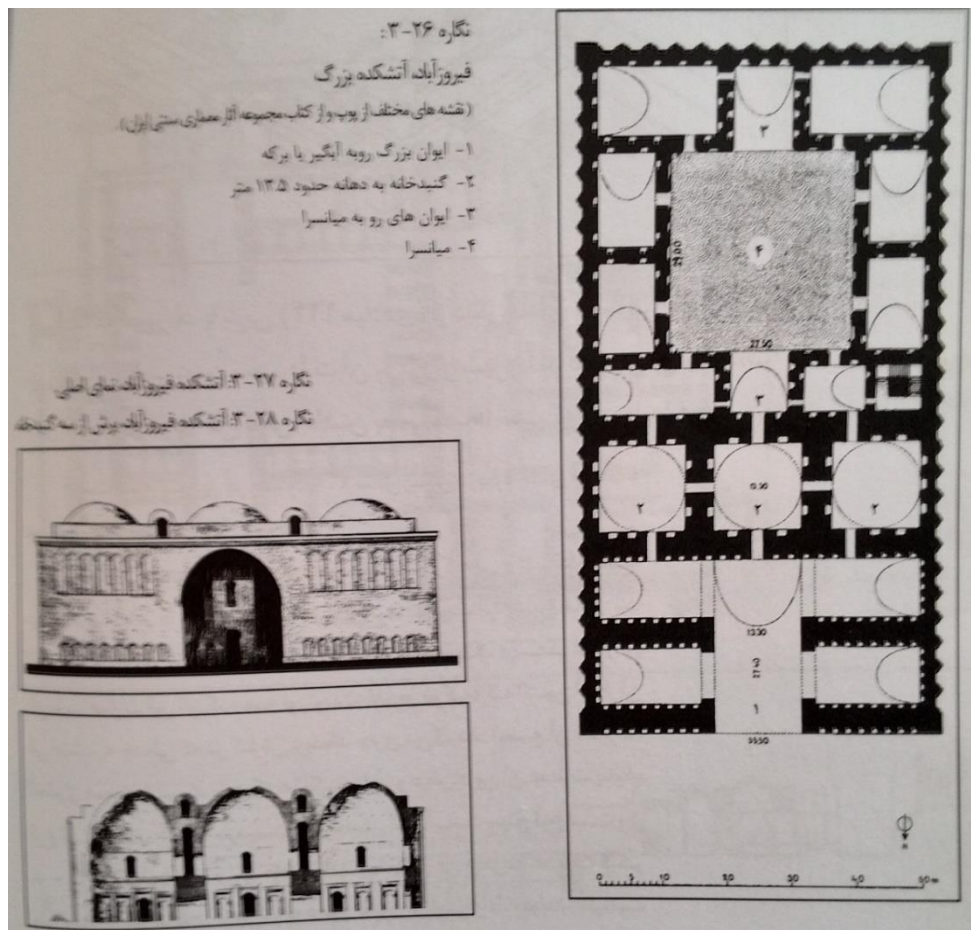


Figure 29. Firuzabad Fire Temple. Sassanid dynasty.

(This photo is reprinted from *Sabkshenasi-e Memari-e Irani* (p.118), by Memarian, 2013)



Figure 30. Mount Khajeh. Parthian dynasty.

(Online image retrieved from
<http://shamsehplus.ir/tag/%D8%A2%D8%AB%D8%A7%D8%B1-%D8%AA%D8%A7%D8%B1%DB%8C%D8%AE%DB%8C-%D8%B3%DB%8C%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%88-%D8%A8%D9%84%D9%88%DA%86%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%A7%D9%86/#>)



Figure 31. Sarvestan Palace. Sassanid dynasty. Fifth century AD.
(Online image retrieved from <http://sasaniarchitecture.persianblog.ir/>)

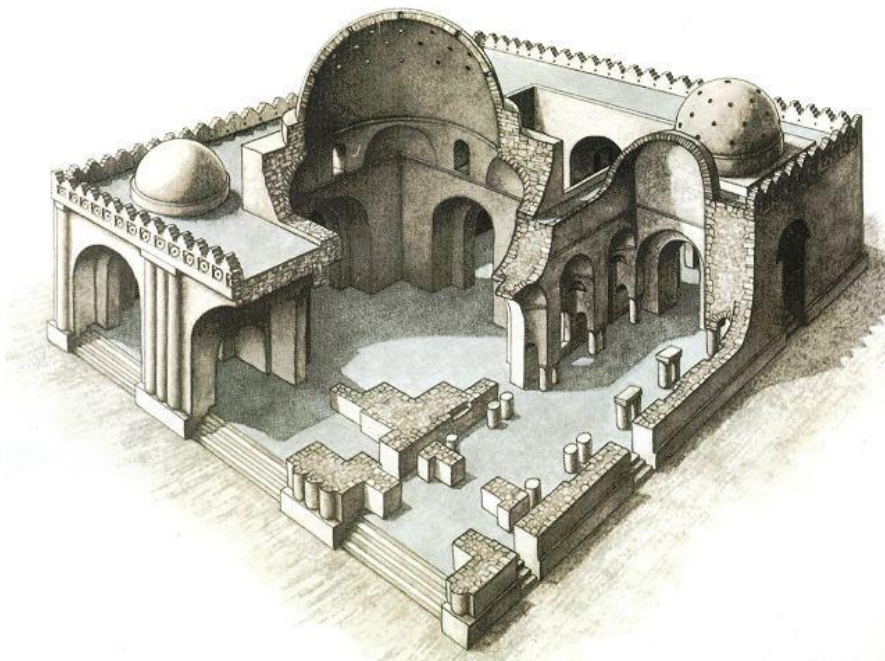


Figure 32. Sarvestan Palace. Sassanid dynasty. Fifth century AD.
(online image retrieved from
http://memaran.ir/%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%B2%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%87/%D8%B3%D8%B1%D9%88%DB%8C%D8%B3-%D9%87%D8%A7/%D8%A8%D8%AE%D8%B4-%D9%85%D8%B1%D9%85%D8%AA/50-news7/2023-%DA%A9%D8%A7%D8%AE-%D8%B3%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%AF%DA%86%D8%A7%D8%B1-%D8%B1%D8%B7%D9%88%D8%A8%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%AA))

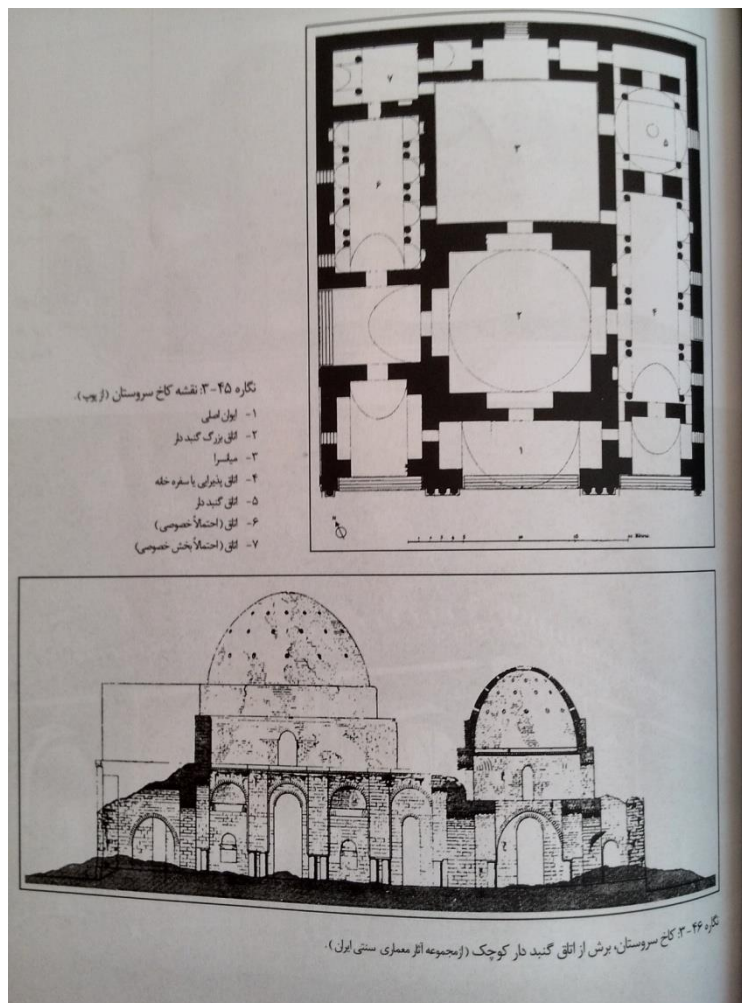


Figure 33. Sarvestan Palace. Sassanid dynasty. Fifth century AD.
(This photo is reprinted from *Sabkshenasi-e Memari-e Irani* (p.129),
by Memarian, 2013)

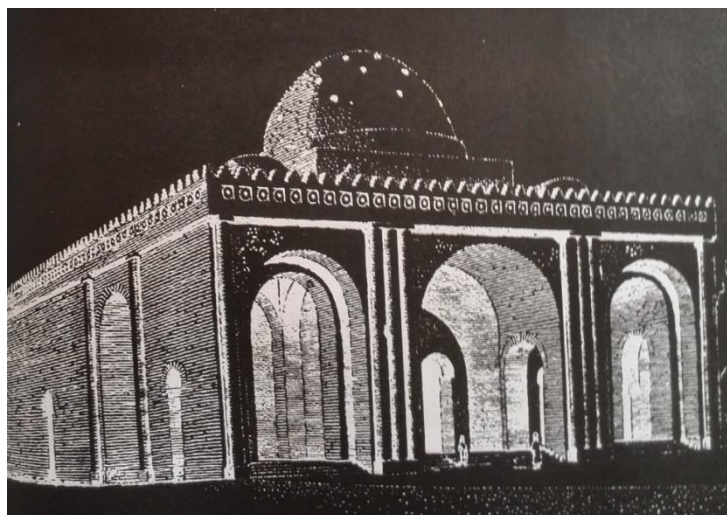


Figure 34. Sarvestan Palace. Sassanid dynasty. Fifth century AD.
(This photo is reprinted from *Sabkshenasi-e Memari-e Irani*
(p.130), by Memarian, 2013)



Figure 35. Niasar Fire Temple. Sassanid dynasty.

(online image retrieved from <http://www.delgarm.com/tourism/about-iranian/121711->

%D8%AF%DB%8C%D8%AF%D9%86%DB%8C%D9%87%D8%A7%DB%8C-%D8%A7%D8%B5%D9%81%D9%87%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%88%D8%B4%D9%87%D8%B1%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%87%D8%A7%DB%8C-%D8%AA%D8%A7%D8%A8%D8%B9%D9%87-%D8%A2%D8%AA%D8%B4%DA%A9%D8%AF%D9%87-%DA%86%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%B1-%D8%AA%D8%A7%D9%82%DB%8C-%D9%86%DB%8C%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%B1-%DA%A9%D8%A7%D8%B4%D8%A7%D9%86)



Figure 36. Falak ul-Aflak Castle, Sassanid dynasty.

(Online image retrieved from <http://monatours.p30pars.ir/page-507288.html>)

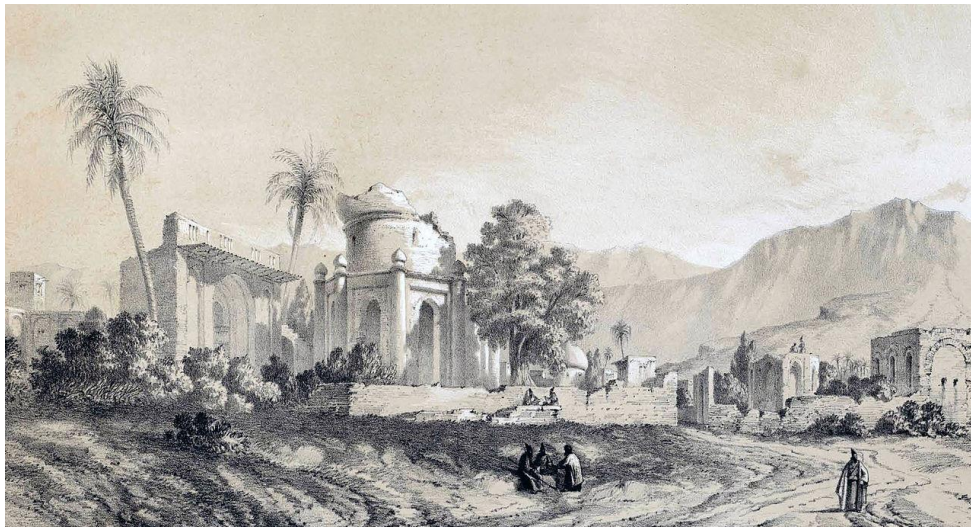


Figure 37. Bishapur City. Sassanid dynasty.
 (Online image retrieved from
https://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%A8%D8%B4%D8%A7%D9%BE%D9%88%D8%B1#/media/File:Bishapur_by_Eug%C3%A8ne_Flandin.jpg)

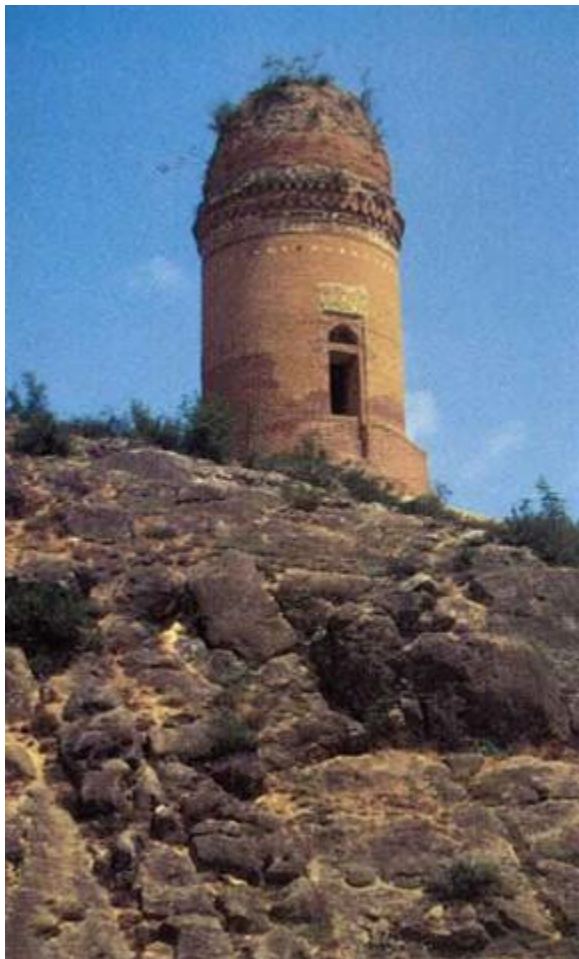


Figure 38. Burj-i Resket. Sari. 1016 AD.
 (Online image retrieved from
<http://rct.ir/Default.aspx?tabid=111&galleryType=SlideShow&ItemID=686&TagID=290>)



Figure 39. Burj-i Radkan. Kordkuy. 1020 AD.
(Online image retrieved from <http://shahrmajazi.com/content-13155.xhtml>)



Figure 40. Burj-i Lajim. Savadkuh. 1022 AD.
(Online image retrieved from <http://danakhabar.com/fa/news/1153393>)



Figure 41. Gunbad-i Pir-i Alamdar. Damghan. 1026 AD.
(Online image retrieved from <http://www.tasnimnews.com/home/single/321005>)

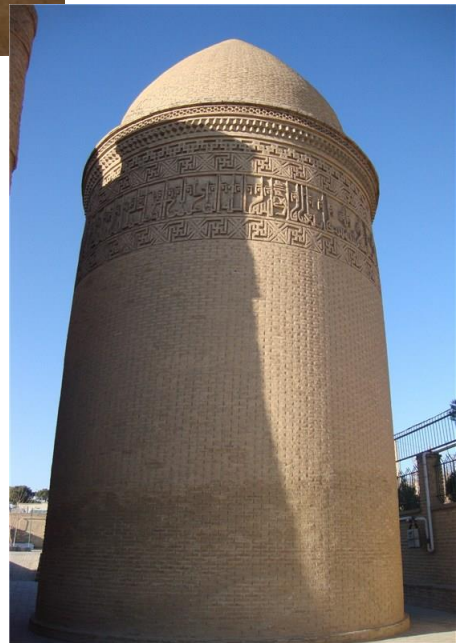


Figure 42. Gunbad-i Chihil Dokhtaran. Semnan. 1054 AD.
(Online image retrieved from <http://www.tasnimnews.com/home/single>)

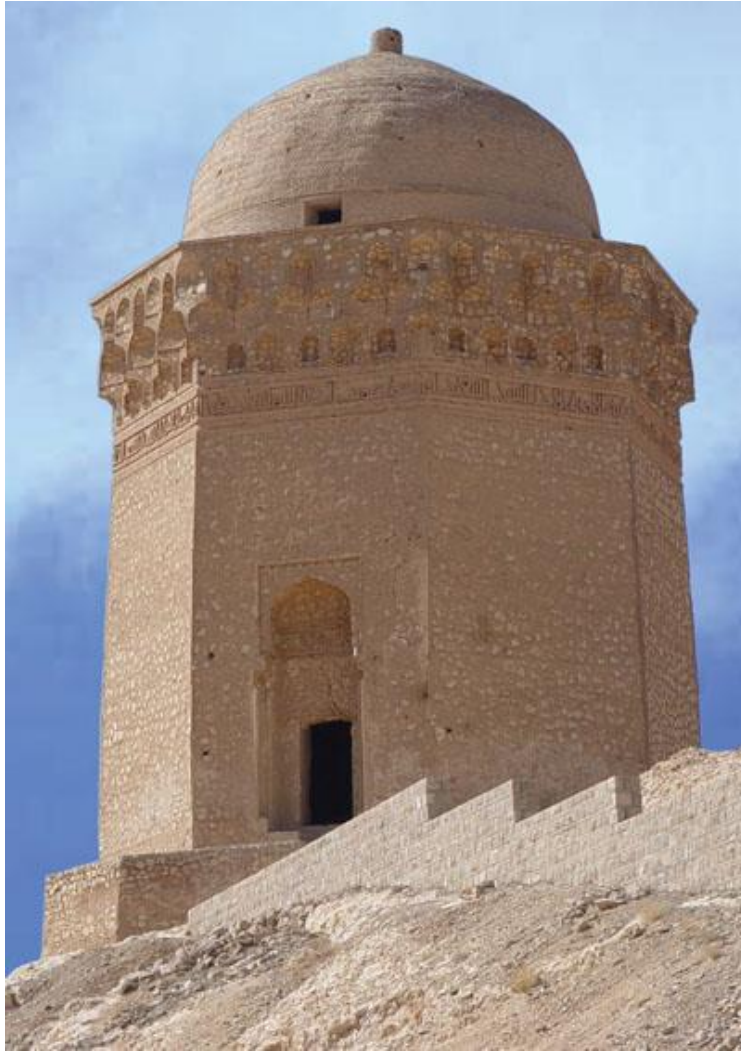


Figure 43. Gunbad-i Ali. Abarkuh. 1056 AD.
(Online image retrieved from <http://www.beytoote.com/iran/bastani/mason-abar-koooh.html>)



Figure 44. Kharraqan towers. Avj. 1067–1093 AD.
(Online image retrieved from [http://www.chn.ir/Images/News/kha400-274\(2\).jpg](http://www.chn.ir/Images/News/kha400-274(2).jpg))



Figure 45. Burj-i Mihmandust, Damghan. 1097 AD.
(Online image retrieved from <http://www.tasnimnews.com/Home/Single/321005>)



Figure 46. Burj-i Tughril, Raay. 1139 AD.
(Online image retrieved from https://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%A8%D8%B1%D8%AC_%D8%B7%D8%BA%D8%B1%D9%84#/media/File:Borj-toghrul.jpg)



Figure 47. Ismail Samani mausoleum. Samanid dynasty. 944 AD.
(Online image retrieved from <http://8pic.ir/images/uwa8cgyzl2dir4px4xu.jpg>)



Figure 48. Apadana Palace. Achaemenian dynasty. 521 BC.
(Online image retrieved from <http://www.heritageinstitute.com/zoroastrianism/susa/>)



Figure 49. Apadana Palace. Achaemenian dynasty. 521 BC.
 (Online image retrieved from <http://www.heritageinstitute.com/zoroastrianism/susa/>)



Figure 50. Hatra Palace. Parthian dynasty.
 (Online image retrieved from <http://www.farsnews.com/newstext.php?nn=13920403000513>)



Figure 53. Tomb of Cyrus The Great. Achaemenian dynasty.
 (Online image retrieved from http://newyorktonomad.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/image_2.jpeg)



Figure 54. Naqsh-e Rostam necropolis. Achaemenian dynasty.
 (Online image retrieved from https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fa/Naghshe_Rostam_ZPan.jpg)



Figure 55. Chogha Zanbil Ziggurat. 1250 BC.
 (Online image retrieved from <http://alternativearchaeology.jigsy.com/ziggurat-temples>)

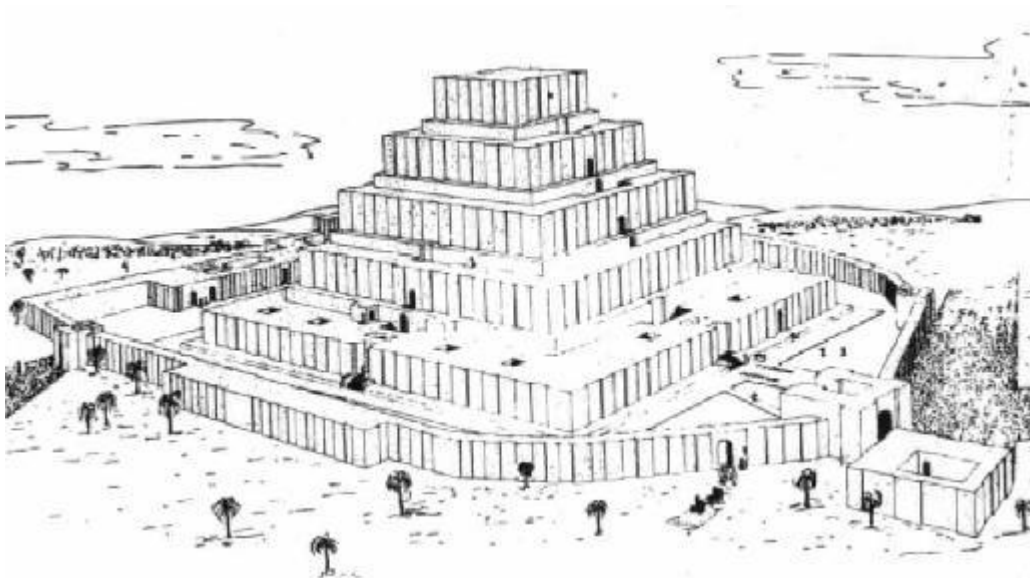


Figure 56. Chogha Zanbil Ziggurat. 1250 BC.
 (Online image retrieved from <http://www.futuropasado.com/?p=1030>)



Figure 57. Persian Cross. On the body of Gunbad-i Chihil Dokhtaran.
(Online image retrieved from http://www.panoramio.com/photo_explorer#view=photo&position=149&with_photo_id=96924510&order=date_desc&user=6091445)



Figure 58. Statue of Mithra.
(Online image retrieved from <http://www.karalahana.com/makaleler/tarih/efsanevi-mithra-kayaliklari.html>)

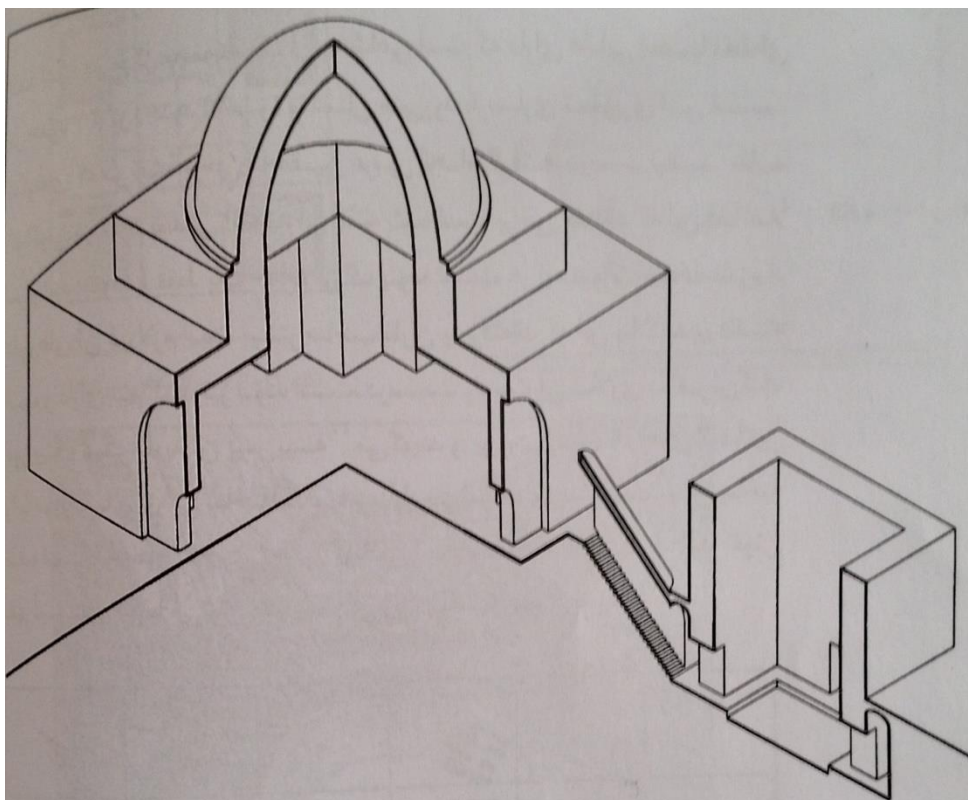


Figure 59. Anahita's Temple. Kazerun. Achaemenian dynasty.
(This photo is reprinted from *Sabkshenasi-e Memari-e Irani* (p.124), by Memarian, 2013)

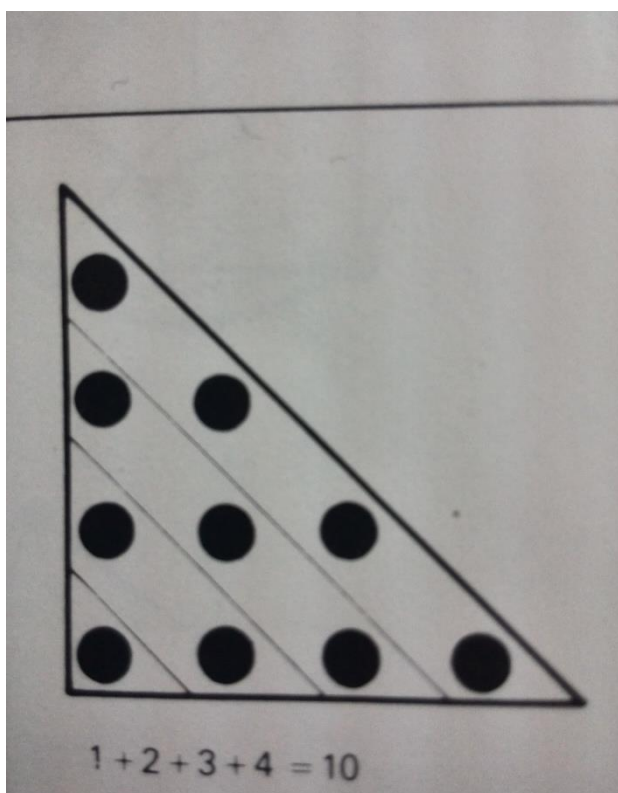


Figure 60. The Holy Tetractys.
(This photo is reprinted from *The Sense of Unity*, by Ardalan, and Bakhtiar, 1973)

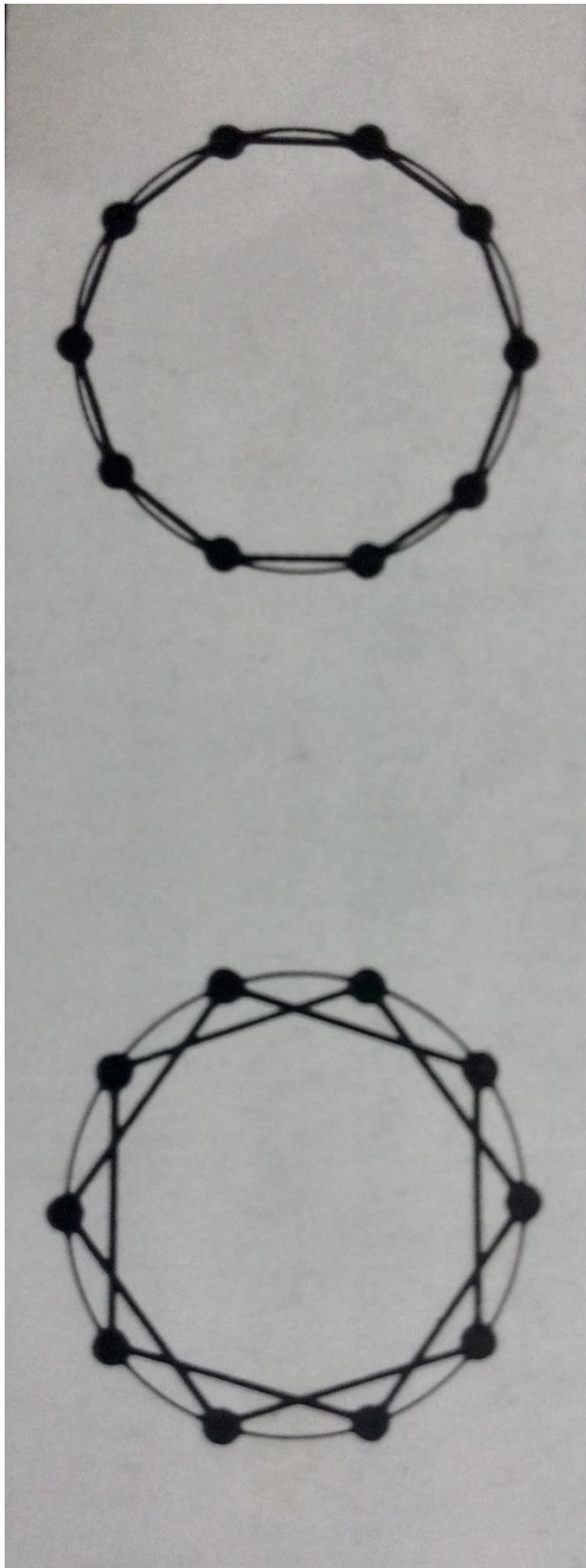


Figure 61. Geometric form of The Holy Tetractys.
(This photo is reprinted from *The Sense of Unity*, by
Ardalan, and Bakhtiar, 1973)

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