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# The Sasanian ‘Mare Nostrum’: The Persian Gulf\*

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**Abstract:** The Romans used the Latin phrase *mare nostrum* (“our sea”) to describe the Mediterranean as part of the Roman Empire. Using written and archaeological sources, this essay will attempt to show that the Persian Gulf was a *mare nostrum* for the Sasanian Persians in the same way that the Mediterranean was a *mare nostrum* for the Romans. The Sasanians considered the Persian Gulf to be part of their empire and made a systematic and continuous attempt to maintain control over it from the beginning of their dynasty in the third century C.E.

**Keywords:** *mare nostrum*, Persian Gulf, Sasanians, Roman Empire.

## Introduction

The Romans used the Latin phrase *mare nostrum* (“our sea”) to describe the Mediterranean as part of the Roman Empire. They controlled its perimeter coastline and extracted resources from it which were sent back to Rome and other imperial centers. The Romans controlled commercial and military shipping in the Mediterranean so it facilitated imperial expansion (transporting military forces) and trade (transporting commodities). The Mediterranean put the Romans in direct contact with places, such as Egypt, that they would otherwise have had to reach over more difficult land routes, and it provided access to the Black Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. This essay will attempt to show that the Persian Gulf was a *mare nostrum* for the Sasanian Persians in the same way that the Mediterranean was a *mare nostrum* for the Romans. The Sasanians considered the Persian Gulf to be part of their empire and made a systematic and continuous attempt to maintain control over it from the beginning of their dynasty in the third century C.E.

## The Persian Gulf in the Sasanian Religio-Political Perspective

To grasp the Sasanian view of the Persian Gulf, one must delve into the Zoroastrian conception of lands and bodies of water, and the position of Ērānšahr, i.e. “the imperium,” in this sacred landscape. The *Younger Avesta* provides the earliest description of a Persian mythical world divided into seven climes or regions. This appears in *Yašt* X, also known as the *Mihr Yašt*, which contains pre-Zoroastrian concepts and which was probably redacted during the

Achaemenid period. Mithra, the deity to whom the hymn is dedicated, surveys from his chariot not only the abode of the Aryans, but all seven regions of the world (*Yašt* X.15):

*auui arəzahi savahī, auui fradadafšu Vīdadafšu, auui vouru.barəšti vouru.jarəšti, auui ima-karšuuarə, ya-xʷanirathəm bāmīm, gauuašayanam gauuašitīmča baēšazyqm, miθrō sūrō ādiδāiti*

[The seven climes of the earth, which are] Arezahi, Savahi, Fradadafshu, Vidadafshu, Vouru.bareshti, Vouru.jareshti, and that splendid clime which is Xvaniratha, the land of settled dwelling and healthy village colonization (all this area) strong Mithra surveys (Gershevitch 1959: 80-1).

The *Gathas* corroborate this seven-partite division of the world. In Yasna 32.3 Zoroaster states that the *daēuuas* “demons” are notorious for their actions in *būmiiā haptaiθē* “the seventh world” (Humbach 1991:132), referring to the central clime, i.e., Xʷanirathā (Avestan)/ Xwanirah (Middle Persian).

The chapter on *abar čiyōnīh zamīg*, “The Nature of the Earth,” in the *Bundahišn*, a Middle Persian encyclopedic text, supplies the most detailed story of the creation of the earth and the *kišwars* “climes” (*Bundahišn* TD1 61.6, TD2

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74.9, DH 39.2). The deity Tishtar caused the rains which brought the seas and left the seven climes separate from one another: *ān rōz ka tištar wārān kard kē-š zrēh[īhā] aziš būd hēnd hamāg gyāg nam (ud) āb grift pad haft pārag be būd* “That day when Tishtar brought rain, from which the seas came about, all places, i.e., lands, gathered moisture and water, it was (made into) seven parts.”

The geographical arrangement of these climes is given in the following manner:

*pārag-ē pad kust ī xwarāsān sawah kišwar (pārag-ē pad kust ī) xwarwarān arzah kišwar; dō pārag pad kust ī nēmōz fradadafš ud widadafš kišwar; dō pārag pad kust ī abāxtar wōrubaršt wōrūjaršt kišwar dō pārag ān ī mayān xwanirah*

The part in the northeast direction is the clime of Sawah, the part in the southwest direction is the clime of Arzah, two parts are in the southeastern direction, the climes of Fradadafsh and Widadafsh, two parts are in the northwestern direction, the climes of Worubarsht and Worujarsht, two parts in between Xwanirah.

The text makes it clear that Xwanirah is the best and most important region: “and from these seven climes, all the goodness was created more in Xwanirah.” The important events of Zoroastrian sacred history take place there:

*čē kayān ud wīrān andar xwanirah dād ud dēn ī weh māzdēsān pad xwanirah dād ud pas ō abārig kišwar burd sošyāns andar xwanirah zāyēd kē gannāg mēnōg a-gār kunēd ud rist-āxēz tan ī pasēn kunēd*

Because the Kayanids [the legendary dynasty] and the heroes were created in Xwanirah and the religion of the Mazda-worshipping religion was created in Xwanirah and then it was taken to other climes. Soshyans [the World Savior] will be born in Xwanirah, who will make the Evil Spirit powerless and bring about the resurrection and the final body.

According to the *Avesta*, the other six climes were uninhabited. In the Zoroastrian Middle Persian texts, however, it was stated that human beings had migrated to them. Both the *Bundahišn* (1369:71) and the *Menog ī Xrad* (Tafazzoli 1364:15.10) describe peoples residing in all seven climes. According to the *Bundahišn* nine of the sardag “tribes” or “peoples” descended from the fifteen primordial couples were able to move into the other climes by riding the mythical bovine Srishwag. These include the Arabs, Mazandaranians, Turanians (Turks), Romans, Dahae, and Indians (Bahār 1375:179).

The Sasanians established an empire firmly entrenched in a Zoroastrian worldview. But the original image of the

world was altered to fit Late Antique geopolitical realities. In the imperial ideology of the Sasanian kings Ērānšahr i.e., the Sasanian Empire, came to be identified with Xwanirah, the territory in which the Iranian people lived and ruled, and the other climes were identified as other neighboring territories.

According to the *Bundahišn* the seven climes were by the major *madagwar* “seas” which are *sor* “salty”:

*ēk pūidīg ud ēk kam-rōd ud ēk siyābun... az har sē pūidīg meh... ham-kustag ī zrēh frāxwkard ō zrēh ī frāxwkard paywast ēstēd mayān ī ēn zrēh frāxwkard (ud) ān ī pūidīg pahlūgīh zrēh dārēd kē war ī sadwēs xwānēnd*

One Puidig and one Kam-rod and one Siyabun... from all three Puidig is greater... it is in the direction of the Sea of Fraxwkard, [and] and it joins the Sea of Fraxwkard. Between this Sea of Fraxwkard and that of Puidig, it has a sea next to it which is called the Sea of Sadwes.

The *Bundahišn* discusses seven seas: Puidig, Fraxwkard, Sadwes, Kamrud, Siyābun and two other unnamed bodies of water which act like outlets for the Fraxwkard sea. In the Sasanian period Fraxwkard was identified with the Indian Ocean, Puidig with the Persian Gulf, and Sawdes with the Sea of Oman. Kamrud was identified with the Caspian Sea close to Tabaristān (*zreh ī kam-rod ān ī pad abāxtar pad tabarestān widārēd*), and Siyābun clearly refers to the Black Sea near Rome (*ān ī syā-bun pad hrōm*).

Puidig, the Persian Gulf, was seen as the greatest of the three major seas. It was considered to be part of the realm of the Aryans, as the Persian Gulf and its shoreline was imagined as part of the Sasanian Empire. This imperial ideology made the Sasanians feel entitled to control the Persian Gulf.

The royal inscription Šābuhr I (r. 240-270 C.E.) at Ka’be-ye Zardošt articulates an imperial outlook which includes the southern side of the Persian Gulf as part of the Sasanian Empire (ŠKZ 1-3):

Ērānšahr xwadāy hēm [ud dārām] šahr Pārs, [Par] θaw, Xūzestān, Mēšān, Asūrestān, Nōdšīragān, Arbāyestān, Ādūrbāyagān, Armin, Wiruzān, Sīgān, Arrān, Balāsagān tā frāz ō Kāf kōf ud Alānān dar, ud hamāg Padišxwar kōf, [Māh, Gurgān, Marw, Harēw], ud hamāg Abaršahr, Ki[r]m[ān], Sagestān, [Tūrān, Mak(u)rān, Pār(a)dān, Hindestān, Kūšānšahr tā frāz ō Paškabūr ud tā ō Kāš, Sugd, Čācestān ud az ān (?) ālag ī drayā Mazūnšahr.

I am the ruler of Ērānšahr and hold these *shahrs*: Persia, Parthia, Xuzistan, Meshan, Assyria, Adiabene, Arabia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Segan,

Albania, Balaskan, up to the Caucasus mountains and the Gates of Albania, and all of the mountain chain of Pareshwar, Media, Gurgan, Merv, Herat and all of Abarshahr, Kerman, Sistan, Turan, Makran, Paradene, India, Kushanshahr up to Peshawar and up to Kashgar, Sogdiana and to the mountains of Tashkent, and on the other side of the sea, Oman (Huyse 1999:22-24).

The last line of the above excerpt mentions the *drayā* “sea” which, based on the inclusion of Mazunshahr “Oman,” refers to the Persian Gulf. Thus, both the Persian Gulf and its far side are parts of Šābuhr’s domain (de Cardī 1972: 308; Potts 1993: 197). This *mare nostrum* attitude towards the Persian Gulf becomes evermore apparent when we consider that Arbayestan “Arabia” is also included in Shabuhr’s domain. This geographical boundary of Ērānshahr along with the Persian Gulf reflects the imperial territory of the Sasanians in the third century C.E. Persian control of the Arabian side of the sea is also corroborated by Arab sources which state that during the Sasanian period the Persians controlled the shores and strands of the sea, while the Arabs lived in the mountains and deserts (Awtabi 28).

An encounter between Ardaxšīr (r. 224-240) and the Omani Arabs is remembered in the *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān* (*The Vitae of Ardaxšīr, the son of Pābag*), where the battle is described as follows (KAP VI.15):

andar ān gāh pus-ē ī pad erhestān būd abāg was spāh  
az tāzīgān ud mazūnīgān pad drayā widārag mad ud  
abāg ardaxšīr ō kōxšīšn estēd

At that time, a son (of the Kirm-Xwadāy) who was at Erhestān, with a large number of forces from the Arabs and Omanis who were on the coast of the sea came and fought with Ardaxšīr (Farahwashi 1354: 60).

This indicates that the Sasanians from Ardaxšīr to Šābuhr I were continuously interested in the other shore of the Persian Gulf and considered it part of their domain. Not only the land, but the sea surrounded by that land, was seen as an area that was important to control.

### Economic Incentives

Economic considerations played an important part in Sasanian policy with respect to the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula. While there is some mention of a Sasanian navy (Rā’in 1350: 251-5), I would like to suggest that this force was established mainly to serve Sasanian economic interests. The Sasanian Empire was established from the third century C.E. and there was no need for a continuous heavy naval presence because the Persians or their vassals already controlled the coasts of the Persian Gulf.

The Persians controlled agricultural lands in Bahrain and Oman (Morony 2002: 30). Textile and leather industries in Yemen and the existence of natural resources such as copper and silver mines in Oman must also have been causes for Sasanian interest in the region (Morony 2002: 37).

In the sixth century C.E., Xusro I reformed and reorganized the Sasanian Empire. Such changes required funding, but the Iranian Plateau did not have adequate silver and copper mines, and in the fifth century C.E. there had been losses to the peoples in the east. The *Hudūd al-‘Alam* mentions only one mine at Istakhr in Persis and in the eastern part of that province at Na’in (Sotoodeh 1983: 131, 136). Istakhrī’s *Masalik wa Mamalik* mentions that Persis had little silver (Istakhrī 1347: 135). Neither the *Masalik wa Mamalik*, nor the *Fārs-nāme* of Ibn Balxī mention any significant silver mines in Persis. The Roman Empire was also strong and it was not easy to exact tribute from Justinian. In the sixth century, the Romans forbade the sale of copper and iron to the Persians (Lukonin 1984: 744).

However, it is from this period that the Sasanians minted a large amount of *drahms* (silver coins). Mints throughout the empire, but especially those in Persis, Kermān and Sīstān were more productive than others. Persis was especially important in this endeavor. Although it is usually thought that the reason for such a great output of coinage in Persis was due to the military campaigns of Xusro I (r. 531-579) and Xusro II (r. 590-628), I would like to suggest that the Sasanians were able to extract natural resources, including precious and semiprecious metals, from the Arabian Peninsula which they controlled. Sources describe silver and copper mining at Šamām in the Najd where it is said some one thousand Zoroastrians lived and maintained two fire-temples (Morony 2002: 29). The stationing of Persians on the southern shores of the Persian Gulf may have been for this very reason, and with the coming of the Prophet Muhammad, the Muslims took over these important resources quickly.

### Sasanian Presence in the Persian Gulf

Hamza al-Isfahani informs us that Ardaxšīr I built a series of cities along the coast of the Persian Gulf after defeating the last Parthian ruler. These cities include Wahisht-Ardeshir, Ram-Ardeshir, Ram-Mehr-z-Ardeshir, Bud-Ardashir, Batn-Ardashir, Ansha-Ardashir, Bahman-Ardashir, Ardashir-Xorrah, Meli-Ardashir, Harmshir, Hujastan-Wajar, and Beh-Ardashir (Isfahani 1921: 44). We do not know where exactly many of these sites are, but it is prudent to assume that some of these places were simply ports or forts along the northern and southern coasts of the Persian Gulf (Williamson 1972: 97-109; Kervran 1994: 325-50). The *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pāpagān* (*The Vitae of Ardaxšīr, the son of Pābag*) mentions one of the ports on the northern side (KAP V.10): *ka-š drayāb pad čašm be*



*dīd andar yazdān spāsdārīh hangārd ud ānōh rōstāg-ē ī bōxt-ardaxšīr nām nihād* “When he (Ardaxšīr) saw the sea with his eyes, he gave homage to the Gods and named that *rōsta*, Bōxt-Ardaxšīr (Būšīhr)” (Farahwashi 1354:46).

In addition to this port-city which still exists today in northwest Persian Gulf, there is the old port of Siraf which has been excavated since the 1960s. There we find Sasanian coins and the remains of a Sasanian fort (Lowick 1985: 11-16) and pottery fragments which attest to the existence of a Sasanian site (Piacentini 1992: 117). There are also a number of chamber tombs, typical of Zoroastrian *astōdān* “receptacles for bones” (Trümpelmann 1984: 317; Trümpelmann 1992: 19-20; Whitehouse 1972: 65) found in the hillsides behind the town (Whitehouse and Williamson 1973: 35). We also know of the port of Guzeran or Kujaran-Ardeshir, located near Bandar-ī Lengeh which may date to the third century C.E. (de Cardi 1972: 306). Finally, the island of Kharg, approximately sixty kilometers from Būšīhr, also appears to have had a late Sasanian settlement (Boucharlat and Salles 1981: 71).

Sasanian activities on the southern coast of the Persian Gulf also began during the reign of Ardaxšīr I. It is interesting that most of the information regarding Sasanian control of the Persian Gulf comes from the southern side. This may simply be due to the fact that more archaeological work has been done on that side than on the coast of modern Iran. However, it may also be that there was a larger Sasanian presence on the southern coast because it was of intense interest and there was a need to protect it from Arab tribes raiding from the inland. Ardaxšīr may have been attempting to bring order to a region made chaotic by Arab pillaging raids. By this act he would have attempted to bring security to the Persian Gulf region from the beginning of the Sasanian dynasty (Kervran, Hiebert, and Rougeulle 2005: 211). He may also have conquered the southern side of the Persian Gulf in order to secure the southern flank of his empire from attacks (Potts 1993:233). This move may also have been part of an economic strategy to dominate the Persian Gulf as an access point into the trade routes of the Indian Ocean.

Tabarī informs us that, after laying siege to Bahrain in 240 C.E. Ardaxšīr founded the new city of al-Hatt, also known as Pērōz-Ardaxšīr (Potts 1993: 233). Archaeological research in recent decades has furnished us with some information on Sasanian presence in Bahrain. Pottery from the Tylos fortress has parallels among those from Qasr-ī Abū Nasr and Hormuz. Also some architectural features of the Tylos fortress, such as the round towers, are most probably Sasanian in origin (Kervran, Hiebert, and Rougeulle 2005).<sup>1</sup> It has also been suggested that the temple of Sar is from the Sasanian period.

There are *qanats* at Qatif which point to Persian involvement in that area (Philby 1920: 168; Potts 1993:

208). The importance of Qatif is that it was an entry port for silk in the late Sasanian period (Ibrahim 1990: 48). At Tarut, the discovery of Sasanian material, especially stuccos and stamp seals, suggests some sort of presence (Potts 1993: 215-16). At Dammam Sasanian material culture is again present (Potts 1993: 216). At al-Khobar a *qanat* system, as well as Sasanian coins from the sixth and seventh centuries, suggest a Sasanian presence (Potts 1993: 216-7). At Jabal Kenzan the presence of Sasanian coins from the fourth and seventh centuries suggest a continuous presence in that region (Potts 1993: 218).

Persian Christian communities settled in northeastern Arabia along the Persian Gulf and Persian was the language of the population there (Potts 1993: 245). There appear to have been Sasanian forts at Dammam, Jurfar, and Sohar, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf in the Sea of Oman, which may have taken part in trade (Wilkinson 1973: 888). More importantly there seem to have been Sasanian settlements at Jazirat al-Ghanam and Ghubb ‘Ali (Potts 1993: 296-7). There was a Persian outpost at Ghanam, in the Straits of Hormuz which may have overseen shipping (de Cardi 1972: 308). Banbhore in Sind, and Kilwa in east Africa, where a few Sasanian-Islamic wares were found, appear to have had a similar purpose with respect to shipping (Whitehouse 1977: 874-9). These Sasanian-Islamic wares were produced in Iraq and were exported to Siraf on a massive scale in the Islamic period (Whitehouse 1977: 881).

In the Umm al-Ma region green-glazed pots from Iraq provide evidence of Sasanian contact (de Cardi 1974: 199). There is also evidence of Sasanian contact at Salihyah near Khawran in Ras al-Khaimah (de Cardi 1971: 260, 268). Excavations in Dubai in the 1970s brought to light several buildings, including a caravan station, a governor’s residence and a market-place and a hunting lodge from the Sasanian period (Barmaki 1975; Potts 1993: 298). Other places controlled by the Sasanians included such places as Muscat in Oman during the time of Xusro I (Naboodah 1992: 81). The importance of Muscat for Persian traders continued into the Islamic period, for ships sailing from India to Aden stopped at this port (Spuler 1970: 14).

Because of their success in controlling the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, the Persians were able to establish themselves further east, as far away as Sri Lanka. Persian horses were shipped to Ceylon (Kröger 1979: 447) and a Persian colony was established there which received shipping from Persia (Cosmas 1967: 365). It also appears there was a Sasanian outpost in Malaysia. None of these Indian Ocean and Far East colonies appear to have been military (Whitehouse 1977: 868).

The Persian Gulf made it possible for the Sasanians to contact and trade with the lands and peoples beyond their immediate neighbors who, pursuing their own interests, often sought to make these activities difficult. The Persian Gulf was the Sasanians’ gateway to the Indian Ocean trade.

1. I would like to thank Dr. Kervran for providing me with the unpublished manuscript.

At the same time, Sasanian control of the Persian Gulf prevented the Romans from having direct access to the Indian Ocean trade (Daryaee 2003: 1-16). Under Justinian they sought to circumvent Sasanian middlemen by allying with Ethiopians who would buy silk directly from the Indians. Procopius reveals that it was “impossible for the Ethiopians to buy silk from the Indians, for the Persian merchants always locate themselves at the very harbors where the Indian ships first put in (since they inhabit the adjoining country) and are accustomed to buy the whole cargoes” (Procopius, I. xx.12).

### The Persian Gulf in the Sasanian Administrative Apparatus

In the late Sasanian administrative division, the Persian Gulf fell under one of the four *kusts* “sides” or “quarters” (Gnoli 1985: 270; Gerent 1994: 37; Gignoux 1984: 555-572). This *kust* was called *kust ī xwarwarān* “southwestern quarter,” an area protected from two directions according to the Sasanian geographical treatise *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr* (ŠĒ 25):

šahrestān ī hērt šābuhr ī ardaxšīrān kard u-š mihr-zād  
ī hērt marzbān pad war ī tāzīgān be gumārd

The city of Hīra was built by Šābuhr, the son of Ardaxšīr, and he appointed Mihrzād the margrave of Hīra over the wall of the Arabs (Daryaee 2002:18-19).

And (ŠĒ 52):

šahrestān ī āsūr ud šahrestān ī weh-ardaxšīr ardaxšīr ī  
spandyādān kard u-š ošag ī hagar marzbān dō-sar ud  
bor-gil pad war ī tāzīgān be gumārd

The city of Āsūr and the city of Weh-Ardaxšīr, were built by Ardaxšīr, the son of Spandyād, and he appointed Ōšag, of Hagar as the margrave (over the) Dō-sar and Bor-gil by the wall of the Arabs (Daryaee 2002:20).

In the first passage above we have the name of a military governor, the margrave Mihrzād, who ruled the region in the third century. The second passage may refer to the sixth century C.E. because Ōšag is mentioned with *Hagar* which is based on Syriac hagar known for the Bahrain region. Dō-sar and Bor-gil, also known as Dausar and Šahbā’, were the names of two of the three elite regiments sent by the Sasanians to control the region (Rothstein 1899: 134-38; Kister 1968: 167-68).

The *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr*, mentions Yemen and the Arabian Peninsula as part of the southernmost direction. If this is based on historical realities it would point to ongoing Sasanian control of Arabia in the late fifth and

early sixth centuries C.E. The *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr* indicates that the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula were considered as part of the Sasanian Empire.

An Arabic source suggests that even as early as the rule of Kawād I in the late fifth century Persians were present in Mecca, where Kawād is said to have imposed the religious ideas of Mazdak on the Arabs of Najd and Tihāma. It is stated that when some of the population of Mecca refused to convert, he ordered one of his Arab commanders to destroy the Ka’ba but he did not comply (Frye 1984: 324-8).

By the sixth century Arabia had become a major scene of activity. Yemen had been conquered in 575 C.E. by the Sasanians and placed under the governorship of Bādhan who ruled from San’a’. From Yemen envoys were sent by a Persian governor to Medina to collect taxes (Kister 1968:145) and to inquire about the rising power of the prophet Muhammad. Oman had also been placed under Persian rule (Wilkinson 1975:98). Military governors and troops were stationed on the southern side of the Gulf until the Arab Muslim conquest in the seventh century C.E.

### Conclusion

The Sasanians had an ideological motivation for controlling the Persian Gulf. The central clime in the Zoroastrian worldview, Xwanirah, came to be identified with Ērānšahr, i.e., the Sasanian Empire. Puidig, an important body of water associated with Xwanirah in religious texts, came to be identified with the Persian Gulf. Thus, the Sasanians felt entitled to rule over the Persian Gulf and its shoreline and Šābūhr I’s inscription confirms that they accomplished this goal. The Sasanian presence in the Persian Gulf was also driven by economic motives. There were copper and silver mines in the Arabian Peninsula on the other side of the Persian Gulf. Control of the Persian Gulf also made it possible for the Sasanians to connect directly with the Indian Ocean trade and to prevent the Romans from doing so.

There is textual and archaeological evidence for Sasanian settlements around the Persian Gulf, more on the southern shore than on the northern. Many of these were started by Ardaxšīr I right from the beginning of the Sasanian dynasty in the third century C.E. Šābūhr II and Xusro I continued the attempt to dominate and exploit the Persian Gulf in the fourth and sixth centuries, respectively. The southern shore of the Persian Gulf was integrated into the Sasanian administrative apparatus as part of the southwest quarter of the empire. All of this indicates that the Sasanian dynasty held the Persian Gulf to be their *mare nostrum*.

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**چکیده:** رومیان برای نشان دادن دریای مدیترانه به عنوان بخشی از امپراطوری روم از عبارت *mare nostrum* («دریای ما») استفاده می‌کردند. این مقاله در پی آن خواهد بود که با استفاده از منابع مکتوب و باستان‌شناختی نشان دهد جایگاه خلیج فارس برای پارسیان ساسانی به همان صورت دریای مدیترانه، «دریای ما» برای رومیان بود. ساسانیان خلیج فارس را بخشی از امپراطوری خود در نظر می‌گرفتند و از آغاز سلسله‌ی ساسانی در قرن سوم میلادی، تلاش نظام‌مند و دامنه‌داری برای اعمال چیرگی خود بر آن داشته‌اند.

**واژگان کلیدی:** دریای ما، خلیج فارس، ساسانیان، امپراطوری روم

### یک توالی در بنادر ایرانی: باستان‌شناسی دوره اسلامی در خلیج فارس

دانلد ویتکامب

دانشگاه شیکاگو

تاریخ دریافت: ۱۳۹۲ / ۱۰ / ۲۰

تاریخ پذیرش: ۱۳۹۶ / ۱۱ / ۵

**چکیده:** پژوهش‌های باستان‌شناختی در شناخت ما از جغرافیای تاریخی و الگوی استقرار بنادر کرانه‌های خلیج فارس نقش مهمی ایفا کرده‌اند. این مسأله در دوران اسلامی و پیش از اسلام، اثرگذارتر است؛ زمانی که برخی از نوشته‌های جغرافیدانان عرب، استقرارهای این کرانه را گواهی می‌دهند و شواهد باستان‌شناختی را تقویت می‌کنند. مقاله‌ی پیش رو به بررسی این مدارک و دلالت‌ها بر تفوق سیاسی از سوی شمال، سواحل ایرانی یا به طور خاص از استان فارس می‌پردازد و بی‌ثباتی اقتصادی یا افزون بر آن، بی‌ثباتی زیست‌محیطی که به انتقال تفوق در میان این بندرگاه‌ها انجامید را بررسی می‌کند.

**واژگان کلیدی:** خلیج فارس، استان فارس، جغرافی‌دانان عرب، دوران اسلامی و پیش از اسلام

### اسناد فارسی در بایگانی ملی (تُر دُ.تُمبو) پرتقال و اهمیت این اسناد در تاریخ خلیج فارس در قرون ۱۶ و ۱۷ میلادی

نادر نصیری مقدم

دانشگاه استراسبورگ

تاریخ دریافت: ۱۳۹۲ / ۱۱ / ۵

تاریخ پذیرش: ۱۳۹۳ / ۷ / ۱۶

**واژگان کلیدی:** اسناد فارسی قرون ۱۶ و ۱۷ م. در بایگانی‌های ملی «تُر دُ.تُمبو» در لیسبون، به طور کلی در مجموعه‌ای گرد آمده و نگه‌داری شده‌اند که تا پیش از این «اتلس شرقی» نامیده می‌شد و امروزه «اسناد شرقی» خوانده می‌شود. این مجموعه بخشی از زیربنای «مانوسکریپتس دا کاسا دُس تراتادُس» را تشکیل می‌دهد. برخی از این اسناد مربوط به پرتغالی‌ها هستند که در پی سیاست گسترده قلمرو خود در اقیانوس هند و خلیج فارس در آغاز قرن ۱۶ م، به جزیره هرمز دست یافتند که در فاصله ۶ کیلومتری از ساحل ایران قرار دارد. در آن زمان، این گذرگاه بزرگ خلیج فارس جمعیتی تقریباً برابر با ۴۰,۰۰۰ نفر داشت. جزیره هرمز که تا قرن ۱۳ م. «جارون» خوانده می‌شد، به ایران تعلق داشت و «پادشاهی» ثروتمند این جزیره وابسته به دولت مرکزی ایران بود. چنان‌که پادشاهان آن که در منابع فارسی «وَلاتِ هرمز» نامیده می‌شدند، خراجگزار پادشاه پارس بودند؛ اما با آمدن پرتغالی‌ها، به تابعان پرتغال تبدیل شدند. این مقاله به برخی از اسناد بایگانی‌های ملی تُر دُ.تُمبو می‌پردازد که درباره برهم‌کنش پادشاهی هرمز و پرتغالی‌ها هستند.

**واژگان کلیدی:** بایگانی‌های ملی تُر دُ.تُمبو، جزیره هرمز، پرتغالی‌ها

### ریشه‌های شیعه در مدرسه عیونی ابو زیدان (مسجد سوق الخميس) در قرن ۱۲ میلادی در بحرین

دنیل تی. پاتس

دانشگاه نیویورک

تاریخ دریافت: ۱۳۹۳ / ۱۲ / ۱۱

تاریخ پذیرش: ۱۳۹۴ / ۲ / ۲۲

**چکیده:** این پژوهش تاریخ آنچه را که به طو سنتی به عنوان قدیمی‌ترین مسجد بحرین شناخته می‌شود، مد نظر قرار می‌دهد. علاوه بر بازنگری دانسته‌های مربوط به تاریخ معماری بنا، توجه خاصی به کتیبه‌ها شده است که حدوداً ربع قرن پیش از این به کوشش لودویک کالوس منتشر شده‌اند و بی‌تردید بر ماهیت شیعی مسجد دلالت دارند. علاوه بر آن، این نوشته‌ها به وضوح ماهیت شیعی سلسله عیونی را که در شرق عربستان سعودی امروزی حکومت می‌کردند، نشان می‌دهند.

**واژگان کلیدی:** بحرین، خلیج فارس، مسجد، مدرسه، تشیع.

## چکیده‌ی مقالات به زبان فارسی

اواخر هزاره سوم پ.م. شناخته شده است. اگرچه نگاهی به مدارک مکتوب، شواهد باستان‌شناختی و باستان‌فلزشناختی از سراسر حوزه خلیج فارس، سامانه بدهستان پیچیده‌تری را نشان می‌دهد که نه تنها از منابع مواد خام و مسیرهای تجاری، بلکه از سیاست و جنگاوری، سنتهای فن‌آورانه‌ی تولید و بازیافت، ایدئولوژی‌های مصرفی نخبگان و قواعد اجتماعی که ارتباطات تجاری را ایجاد و از آنها پشتیبانی می‌کنند، تأثیر می‌پذیرفته است. اما همچنان بخش مهمی از کار، اثبات سهم مؤثر احتمالی نظام‌های سیاسی ایرانی بر این سامانه، برای انجام باقی خواهد ماند.

**واژگان کلیدی:** خلیج فارس، تجارت فلز، عصر مفرغ، فلات ایران، شبه جزیره عربستان، بین‌النهرین

### تجارت دریایی در خلیج فارس: شواهدی از آمفورهای اژدری ساسانی

حسین توفیقیان  
پژوهشکده‌ی باستان‌شناسی میراث فرهنگی

فرهنگ خادمی ندوشن

دانشگاه تربیت مدرس

تاریخ دریافت: ۱۳۹۰ / ۱۰ / ۲۰

تاریخ پذیرش: ۱۳۹۲ / ۲ / ۲۵

**چکیده:** بررسی‌ها و کاوش‌های باستان‌شناختی اخیر در آب‌های نزدیک کرانه‌های خلیج فارس و دریای عمان صدها قطعه سفال متعلق به دوره‌های پارسی و ساسانی را آشکار کرده‌اند که شواهدی بر بازرگانی دریایی در منطقه هستند. بقایای سفالین بازیابی شده، از گونه‌ها و اندازه‌های گوناگون هستند که دیواره داخلی بسیاری از آنها با قیر طبیعی اندود شده است؛ روشی که آنها را در برابر آب عایق می‌کرده است. شکل‌های متمایز آنها نه تنها برای انتقال با کشتی به خوبی متناسب‌سازی شده، بلکه برای انتقال مایعات مناسب بوده است. مقاله‌ی حاضر در تلاش است تا به بررسی کوزه‌های اژدری به دست آمده از سواحل ایران بپردازد و ارتباط میان این یافته‌ها با فرهنگ‌های همسایه را نشان دهد.

**واژگان کلیدی:** خلیج فارس، پارسی، ساسانی، آمفورا، تجارت دریایی

### «دریای ما» ساسانیان: خلیج فارس

تورج دریایی

دانشگاه کالیفرنیا

### سفال‌های کفتری و مرتبط با کفتری در جنوب غرب ایران و سواحل خلیج فارس

کمرن. ای. پیتری

دانشگاه کمبریج

مژگان سیدین

پژوهشکده‌ی باستان‌شناسی میراث فرهنگی

علیرضا عسکری چاوردی

دانشگاه شیرازی

تاریخ دریافت: ۱۳۹۳ / ۹ / ۲۶

تاریخ پذیرش: ۱۳۹۳ / ۱۲ / ۷

**چکیده:** هموندگان سفال کفتری تاکنون به هزاره‌های سوم و دوم پ.م. تاریخ‌گذاری شده است؛ این تاریخ‌گذاری، بر اساس نتایج بررسی‌ها در حوزه رود گر و کاوش‌هایی است که در تل ملیان، یا به عبارت دیگر شهر باستانی انشان انجام شده‌اند. کاوش‌های بسیاری نشان داده‌اند که ظروف سفالی کفتری یا مرتبط با کفتری، در گستره‌ی وسیعی پراکنده‌اند که محوطه‌هایی در بخش‌های گوناگون فارس، در شبه‌جزیره بوشهر و در کرانه‌های خلیج فارس را دربر می‌گیرد. این مقاله به بازرنگری شواهد مربوط به مواد فرهنگی کفتری و در ارتباط با کفتری در جنوب غرب ایران و حوزه خلیج فارس می‌پردازد. پس از آن، نتیجه‌گیری درباره اهمیت گاهنگاری و پراکندگی این یافته را مطرح می‌کند؛ اهمیتی که برای درک ما از برهم‌کنش میان جنوب غرب ایران و مناطق دیگر مشارکت‌کننده در سامانه تجارتی خلیج فارس دارد. سامانه‌ای که در اواخر هزاره سوم و اوایل هزاره دوم پ.م. فعال بود.

**واژگان کلیدی:** سفال کفتری، انشان، خلیج فارس، تجارت.

### ایران و تجارت فلز در عصر آهن در سواحل خلیج فارس

لوید ویکس

دانشگاه نیوانگلند

تاریخ دریافت: ۱۳۹۴ / ۷ / ۳

تاریخ پذیرش: ۱۳۹۴ / ۸ / ۱۲

**چکیده:** پژوهش‌های باستان‌فلزشناختی در امارات متحده‌ی عربی و عمان نشان داده‌اند که جوامع محلی عصر مفرغ تولید مس را در ابعاد بسیار وسیع بر عهده داشته‌اند، که خود مدرک مستحکمی برای شناسایی این منطقه به نام سرزمین مگن است که در منابع بین‌النهرینی به عنوان فراهم‌آورنده‌ی اصلی مس در

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