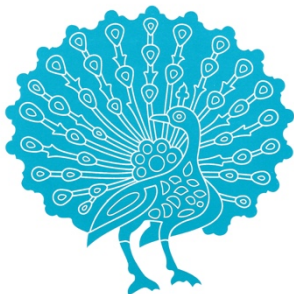




Abstracts
NINTH EUROPEAN CONFERENCE OF IRANIAN STUDIES
(ECIS 9)

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Institute of Iranian Studies, Freie Universität Berlin



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The Peacock motif is taken from Mağsūd-Beyk Mosque, Esfahan, Safavid Period

(From: Nasr-Esfahani, Gholamreza, 2006, The Design of the Peacock on the Mosaic Tiles of Esfahan, Esfahan).

Special thanks to Albrecht Flachowsky

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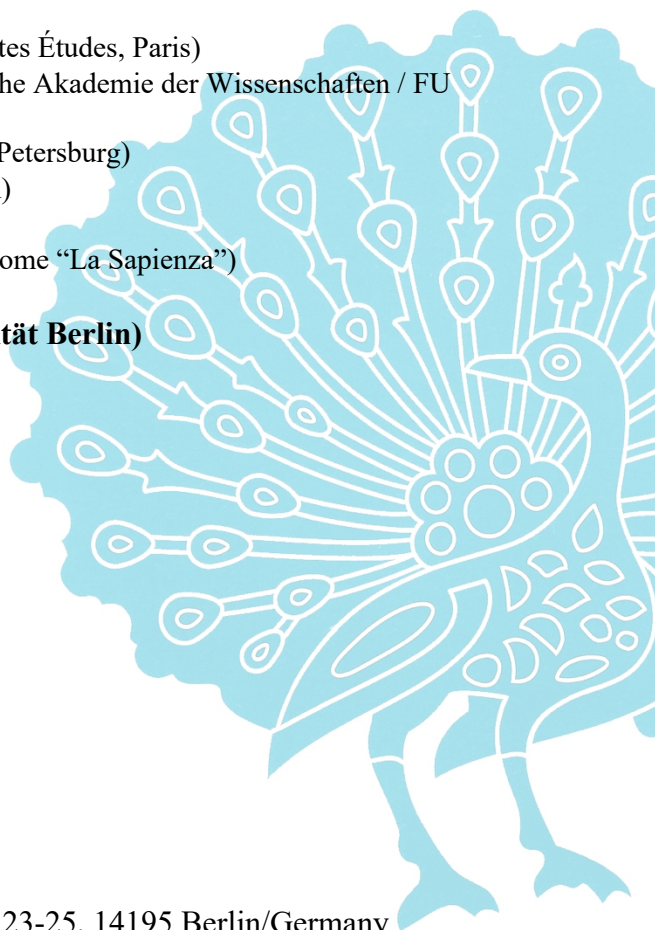
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The Social Consequences of Rural Migrations to Tehran (1973-1979)

This article concerns with the consequences of migrations to Tehran after the oil shock of 1973 and the role did play this issue in the upcoming circumstances of Iran. In this article the term "marginalized", has been used in the meaning that was introduced first by Robert E. Park, an American sociologist as a term to examine the cultural behavior of those who not only cannot live with their traditional patterns of life, but also cannot accept the necessities of an urban living styles too. In other words, in this paper marginalized people are communities who live inside or around a city, but for some reasons they are not able to attract the urban living conditions. These driven out of society groups turn into socially disruptive behaviors as well as addiction, spree, beggar, and theft; also they attend in the riots in the occasion of social crises, because they have nothing to lose.

Therefore, without paying attention to these groups, the nature and identity of many social and political changes in Iran at the 1970s cannot be understood. In fact, understanding the causes and factors of the migration of villagers to the cities such as Tehran and the formation of marginalization is a necessary precondition for understanding some of the most important contemporary developments in Tehran. In this regard, social displacement and moral disorder are among the most important consequences of unplanned immigration in the county especially since 1973. According to Charles Tilly social changes have been due in part to the collapse of the internal structure of the society, rather than the power of the revolutionaries; therefore, the events such as 1979 Iranian revolution owes to the paralysis of the social structure and the collapse of the social order.

Also this article tries to critique and analyze the causes and factors of the normative crisis in Tehran based on the issue of rural migration to this city and the emergence of marginalization phenomenon. Thus this paper tries to answer three main questions:

1. What were the main causes for rural migration to Tehran since 1973?
2. What role did play the phenomenon of rural migration in generating the social crises, anomie and uprisings?
3. What was the role of government in increasing the immigration of the villagers, the class gap and the expansion of marginalization?

The answer to each question depends on the two others. The sources of this research are mostly books, articles, reports, and news, some of them have been published in official institutes and statistics in Persian, although in some cases the English sources which have been written by the scholars who interested in Iran history, have been used for this research.

Mapping of a culture. „Iranism” as a cultural matrix for the Russian conservative thought.

Purpose of the paper is to present a holistic concept of a Slavonic Russian culture through the prism of “iranism” conception by Aleksey Stepanovitch Khomiakov.

The main thesis is that in the face of culture clash between the West and Russia two main problems emerged: to constitute and describe the most important values for national identity and to find “similar” culture to identify with.

In the paper such problems are going to be discussed: the sources of Khomiakov’s knowledge about Persia and the Iranians; a binary idea of the world (a kind of anicheismlike one); the deep

structure of a culture as the essence of cultural identity; the Khomiakov's theory and its metamorphosis in contemporary Russia – especially in Alexander Dugin's conceptions.

The research are going to be conducted on the basis of the contents of primary sources, and namely: the Khomiakov's writings.

The expected result of the paper is to point out similarities in the deep structures of both cultures, regardless of their different geopolitical position and significance in the international arena.

Cultural maps are strongly underestimated in political prognosis. Nevertheless, they play crucial role in trust-building policy and undertaking common actions.

MARYAM ABBASI

Crisis, recovery and gender identity among the participants of the Zar ritual in Hormozgan province of Iran

In southern Iran, the Zar ritual is a community-based activity, which is used to treat people who are believed to be possessed by spirits. The most important spirit is the Zar which also gives the person a divine power in the eyes of others, in which she/he is allowed to ignore some social norms and enjoy societal respect without any punishment. During the ritual, a semi-suspension of place and time happens and the possessed person reaches a new identity based upon the ones of the spirit.

From 2010 to 2016 I interviewed over 40 participants and non-participants of this ritual, and reviewed the existing literature in order to examine different functions of the Zar ritual. The results of my interviews and participatory observations indicate that Zar participants tend to be the most vulnerable and powerless members of society and by means of their participation; they are able to avoid some of the social norms and also heighten the likelihood of gender-based predicaments and particular crises.

The main research questions I sought to answer are: What are the predicaments and crises that lead the participants to turn to the Zar ritual for help? How this participation facilitate their recovery? How do the participants see this process themselves?

SIMA ABBASI (ALI AKBAR MALEKIRAD, FATEMEH FARAHANI)

Comparison of cognitive and executive functions in bilinguals and monolinguals

Bilingual studies have received much attention in recent years. This is one of the interesting, complex, and challenging areas in the educational system of the country. Some researchers consider it as an opportunity while others look at it as a threat. The goal of this study is to compare cognitive and executive functions in bilingual and monolingual people by working on samples taken from bilingual and monolingual students. These cognitive and executive functions include psychometric speed, problem solving, and verbal and nonverbal memory. The research design for this work is causal-comparative. In this study 87 female high school students (53 Turkish- Farsi bilingual students and 34 Farsi monolingual students) were selected from Farahan region in Markazi province using non-random and purposive sampling method. Basadur Creative Problem Solving Profile Inventory, Prospective and Retrospective Memory Questionnaire (PRMQ), and Zimmerman etymological neurology questionnaire were used to

collect data. Multivariate analysis of variance and Student's t-test were used for data analysis. The results indicated no significant difference in psychomotor speed, problem solving, and memory between multilingual and monolingual students. Instead, multiple factors including social, cultural, economic, ethnic, and individual conditions as well as people's proficiency in the second language, environment richness, and opportunities provided for two languages contributed to create cognitive differences between bilinguals and monolinguals.

MOJTABA ABBASNEJAD MATANKOLAEI (ESMAT MOMENI, MOHAMMAD VAFADAR MORADI)

Identifying, Investigating and Introducing the Authors' Handwritings Existing at Malek National Library and Museum Institution

Manuscripts are considered as a part of the national and religious written identity and heritage of each country. In Iran, manuscripts are in top positions among the other documents. Manuscripts are reviewed from two aspects: bibliography and codicology. Some of these manuscripts are exquisite in appearance or content. Malek National Library and Museum Institution is one of the top 6 centers for preservation of treasured manuscripts in Iran. The institute is the endowment of Haj Hussein Agha Malek, operated under the Astan Quds Razavi. The aim of this research is identifying the original version, rough copies, corrected and confronted manuscripts in Malek National Library and Museum Institution by using the first five volumes of the library collection lists and introducing their bibliography and codicology properties by using its database and digital library and observing the manuscripts. The results show that the first five volumes of manuscript lists the 242 original manuscripts, rough copies, corrected and confronted copies. The oldest manuscript belongs to the year 602 AH and others are for 7 to 14 AH centuries. The studied copies are both Persian and Arabic and they are almost equal in number. Results shows that 42.15% of the manuscripts used Naskh which is the most popular calligraphy, the most paper type used among the copies is European Paper with 36.36% usage, the most popular cover type is Sheep leather with 79.75% usage. The findings shows that three copies are written by the students of the writer, four copies by the writers' child, one copy by the writers' grandchild and one by the writers' brother. The most rough copies belongs to Allama Majlisi with 25 copies.

NAFISEH ALSADAT ABDOLBAGHAEI

Comparative Structural Analysis of the stories and images in Thousand and One Nights Qajar manuscript based on the first volume in Golestan Palace

Qajar's Manuscript of Thousand and One Nights of Sani Ol Molk that is referred to as the most prolific illustrated manuscript in the history of Iranian painting, has a special place among the existing versions of the libraries of the world. This work remains intact due to the lack of a six-volume print edition and so far, a little investigation has been done on the adaptation of the text and the images therein. The purpose of writing the present essay is to address this research vacuum in the comparative field of stories and graphic arts that explain the approach of narrators of this work. The essay has been compiled in three separated parts and introduces the Iranian stories and history of Iranian painting of "the porter with girls" collection based on theoretical approaches of previous research and in addition to analyzing the fictional elements of seven complicated tales of a Thousand and One Nights, it considers the analysis of the image elements

of the story as well. Comparative analysis of stories has been done in the final part of the essay that indicates the place and importance of Manuscript of Qajar's Thousand and One Nights of Seni'a al-Mulk in pretext and images. What is of a great importance in this manuscript is its intercultural features that ties the text and the images, with that Shahrzad, the narrator of the story of Thousand and One Nights, accompanies the listener of the story in the boundless boundaries of human geography and Sani Ol Molk pictures this boundlessness in Qajar era's culture. As the tie between text and image in the history of Iranian copywriting has such combination with each other that recognizing a manuscript without considering the thoughts of the author and painter and its maker won't be completely possible so the essay tries to address the importance of literature and art intra-filed researches in the field of manuscript.

Qajar's Manuscript of Thousand and One Nights of Sani Ol Molk that was pictured in Naseri era is a unique example of human literary-artistic thoughts' credit that exhibits different historicalgeographical periods and is incomparable in its case. Due to complicated and astonishing storylines, Thousand and One Nights stories made it possible for the painter to use both his technical and imagination in creating portraiture. In spite of the fact that in the textbook and narrative of Shahrzad Sani Ol Molk has narrated the images of the story, he had also used his point of view and artistic look in the work.

FIRUZA ABDULLAEVA-MELVILLE

What is Shaybani Khan doing in Akbar's album?

In the collection of the BM there is a portrait of a Central Asian courtier signed as Tatar Khan the Padshah of the Qipchaq steppe which iconographically is very similar to the well-known portrait of Shaybani Khan by Kamal al-Din Behzad. The aim of my talk is not to prove that the BM's painting also was authored by Behzad, which could be the case, or could be emulated by one of his disciples, or contemporaries. My aim is to suggest that this portrait could be another version of Shaybani Khan's depiction that found its way to the Manuk album, now spread around the world with its main part kept in the Fitzwilliam Museum, hence its first name: the Fitzwilliam album. My goal to show that the album could be produced at the royal atelier of Akbar shortly after he became the emperor, or even commissioned by him for his mother Hamida Banu Begum. Or it could be her gift to her newly crowned son. One of the most enigmatic features of the album is the presence of the portrait of the 'Tatar Khan' whether he is Shaybani Khan, or not. This enigma I shall attempt to solve in my talk.

ULFATBEK ABDURASULOV

Papering Over a Diplomatic Gulf. Bureaucracy and Translation between Early Modern Central Asian and Russian Courts

Throughout the early modern period, Persian figured extensively in administrative and diplomatic communications produced across a vast area extending all the way from Bengal to the Caucasus, and Central Asia was an integral part of this 'Persianate' world. It comes as little surprise, then, that many of the 17th-century diplomatic letters addressed by Central Asian rulers to Muscovy or elsewhere were compiled in Persian. This was true not only of letters from Bukhara or Balkh, where, as is known, Persian was the main language of chancellery and literati, but also in Khorezm, where it has often been assumed that "the literary language was

predominantly, if not exclusively, Turkic”. By exploring diplomatic texts from the 17th century, a host of interesting details about the languages of diplomatic communication and the practice of translation can be gleaned. More often than not the letters delivered to Moscow on behalf of the Central Asian rulers, whether from Khiva (Urgench), Bukhara or Balkh, had been written in Persian. By way of written response to these letters, however, the Muscovite authorities drafted replies in two versions, one in Russian and the other in Turkic. In a similar manner, Muscovite diplomacy favoured Turkic in replying to the various petitions (*chelobitnaia*) submitted by the Central Asian ambassadors, as well as by other members of diplomatic staff. The question thus presents itself: what was the rationale behind such linguistic incommensurability? In other words, why, in diplomatic correspondence with the Central Asian rulers of the time, did Muscovite diplomacy choose to operate in Turkic, even when fielding communications and enquiries that had originally been written in Persian?

In the paper I offer a close reading of 17th-century diplomatic texts produced both in Muscovy and in the Central Asian principalities in order to make sense of the prevalence of Turkic over Persian in Muscovite diplomatic documentation. In doing so I shall address the specifics and practices of the Muscovite Foreign Affairs Chancellery (*Posol'skii Prikaz*) as well as the different individuals and networks who were involved in translation.

FARZAD ABEDI

‘Father-God-King’ Concept in The Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid Periods

Study of the connections of the political and religious phrases in the Achaemenid period is one of the most complex topics of conversations in the archaeological and historiological circles. The results of the most part of political and religious events in the Achaemenid period emerged in the further era. The semi-Persian (Iranian) families of Anatolia played an indisputable role in resulting of these events and the presence of Alexander's successors dynasties in western Asia completed these events with its western effects. There are some pieces of evidence about the appearance of “*God-King*” concept in the western territories of the Achaemenid Empire. In the subsequence of this, “*Father-God-King*” concept with its historical Greek background acted as a catalyst in making new contents. The post-Achaemenid dynasties of Anatolia, like the Kingdom of Commagene could be signed as the gonfalonier of this new concept. Giving the godship feature to the Persian kings, had begun just after the presence of Xerxes in his great march to Athens, in western Anatolia and Greece. At the late Achaemenid period, the godship feature of the Persian kings was almost forgotten. But after the fall of the Achaemenid Empire, accepting former kings as father-gods became a usual believe in western Asia. In this paper, I will try to concentrate on the backgrounds of “*God-King*” concept in the Achaemenid period and its effects on the later “*Father-God-King*” concept, according to the Classical texts and archaeological evidence.

ALI AGHAEI

The Project “Irankoran”: Digitalisation of Early Quranic Manuscripts Kept in Iranian Collections

The project IRANKORAN (funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research BMBF 2018-2020) aims at surveying early Quranic manuscripts kept in Iranian collections to study

the history of the Qur'ān based on material evidence. Images of Quranic manuscripts from accessible Iranian museums and libraries, together with their metadata, are recorded in an online digital catalogue ("BIBLIOTHECA CORANICA IRANICA"). Manuscripts transliterations display different levels of readability, modifications, erasures etc., but also differences from the prevalent shape of the Qur'ān (Cairo edition 1924). The description and analysis of manuscripts shows textual differences of the manuscripts from the canonical readings recorded by Ibn Muğāhid (died 936). For the dating of manuscripts, paleographical classification and radiocarbon measurements of the writing material (C-14 analysis) are carried out in cooperation with the Laboratory of Ion Beam Physics Isotope Laboratory (ETH Zurich).

LEILA AHMADI

Guardianship: A Feminine Archetype in Feminine Rituals

The feminine archetype of guardianship, which can be recognized in the tasks of Iranian mythological deities, has left its trace in some of today's rituals. This archetype has its roots in Carl G. Jung's theory of Earth Mother Archetype, in which, women, resembling the earth, bear, nurture, and protect their children. In this article, we study the elements of protection in today's females' rituals and their references to the mythical archetype of guardianship.

The Goddess *Anāhitā* protected the creatures and accepted *naẓr* (oblations) from them. In the rituals of *rawẓakāni* and *sofra-hāye zanāna*, women make oblations to a celestial figure to mainly safeguard a family member. Moreover, in the rite of *kuze-šekastan* (shattering potteries), mainly the mother of the household banishes the bad fortune from her family by breaking a pottery. The duty of *Spendārmaḍ*, the other guarding deity, is to protect earth and to keep it green. This responsibility presents itself in women's engagement in preparing ritualistic plant-based comestibles e.g. *āš* and *samanu*. Doing this, they aim to protect those the earth- and they themselves- have given birth to. Women have continued *Amordād*'s task of guarding vegetation with growing grass, called *sabze*, for Norouz. *Haurvatāt*, the goddess of safeguarding water, is manifested in the ritual of *bibi-noruzak*, in which a feminine doll, as a totem, is being washed in order to generate a year full of abundance and rainfall.

By studying female-dominated rituals, one can conclude that the feminine mythological archetype of guardianship, now sustain its existence in female-based rituals. Being distanced from their mythic power, women have transmitted this archetype from being a mythological entity to being a ritualistic form of representation in their active daily lives.

NOZHAT AHMADI

The Story of Women's Lives Based on Resources of the Safavid Era

The history of women's life in pre-modern period remains ambiguous due to the lack of resources. On one hand, there is no place to mention the lives of ordinary people since the official historiography has focused mainly on political affairs and wars and kings and governors' armies. On the other hand, the tradition of patriarchal historiography has provided the basis for such shortcomings.

Not mentioning the state of women's lives does not certainly mean that they didn't exist or didn't affect the society they lived in. Women, as half of a society, have always had a role in social levels from the highest to the lowest. Although they are mostly considered as the hidden-

half of the pre-modern society, the evidence shows that they have had a remarkable presence in many ways as active doers.

Most recent researches and studies on women of the Safavid era have been developed based on western travelogues. Though these resources are valuable, they cannot correspond completely to the reality. And that's because of many reasons such as the lack of familiarity with the culture of the people and also lack of their access to the hidden layers and what was happening inside the community at that time; which was actually accompanied by secrecy most of the times. Moreover, as said before, the domestic historical sources have also rarely mentioned women; and if stated any, it's all about the women of the court, especially the princesses and not the middle and lower class women. However, there are still other sources that have been underestimated.

These resources include various documents from governmental documents to financial and religious documents such as endowments and also private letters which are seen time to time among Monshat, Jong, and collections. Moreover, they are of great importance, since they are written by the women themselves for expressing their feelings and emotions. Also, literary books such as poetries have mentioned women for various occasions, and more interestingly narratives and stories have sometimes shown women as the main and the primary characteristics of the story. Furthermore, the writer has focused on such noticeable details about the daily life of women, in these works. However, it is obvious that the story is created by the author's imagination rather than being a reflection of reality and historical events. Anyway, it has to be taken into account that the context of the story is derived from social and cultural conditions of a society in which the author has grown. Therefore, it can be certainly claimed that many unspoken and unwritten words about the life style and interactions of women in the Safavid society have been inserted within the context of narratives and stories.

In this study, we are going to review the lifestyle and interactions of women in their everyday lives, relying on the resources mentioned earlier. Moreover, we are going to indicate how women expressed their presence in the society, how they traveled and how was their authority within their families and finally what rights they had, despite all social constraints they were confronted. In addition, we come up with these questions that to what extent were the women in pre-modern period aware of their rights? Did they ever respect their rights or consider themselves as second-class citizens? And finally, did they accept easily what was imposed on them?

HASHEM AHMADZADEH

Historical novels in Persian and Kurdish: The Main Discrepancies

This paper, through a general review of the main characteristic features of the historical novels in Persian and Kurdish, aims to find highlight the main discrepancies of the genre in these two languages. The paper focuses on the time of the rise and development of these genres in both languages. There is almost a century of time difference between the Persian and Kurdish historical novel. While the rise of the Persian historical novel goes back to the early decades of the 20th century the Kurdish version of the genre celebrates its birth several decades later. The existing interrelations between the formation of nationalism in Iran and the way that this ideological movement reflects itself in the Persian historical novel provide an interesting empirical ground for the study of literature and politics in general. The same approach towards the Kurdish nationalism enriches the studies about the mutual relationship of the literary and political discourses.

This study, by finding out the main real historical personalities and the way they have been reconstructed in the historical novels, means to highlight the different historical inspiring sources and figures for two nationalist movements in the Middle East. By characterizing the main features of the historical novels in Persian and Kurdish the study sheds light on their contextual roots.

AMR AHMED

The Kurdish Mahdīnāmah: Folk Poetry or Classical Literature?

Completed in 1762 CE, Mulla Muhammad Ibn ul-Haj's long apocalyptic poem, *Mahdīnāmah* (the book of the Mahdi), is known to be the oldest extant piece of literature written in Sorani Kurdish. Because the poem is based on a Kurdish syllabic (folk) meter rather than on quantitative prosody, Marif Xeznedar, the author of the authoritative *Mêjûy edebî kurdî* (History of Kurdish Literature), considers the *Mahdīnāmah* to be a part of "recorded folk poetry." As a result, the historian retains the traditional identification of the famous poet Nalî (1800-1856) as the starting point of "classical" Sorani literature. In my presentation, I argue on philological and historical grounds that despite its folk-inspired prosody, the *Mahdīnāmah* should be acknowledged as a full-fledged component of classical Sorani literature.

ZEINAB AKBARI

An Analysis of Structural Reasons for the Use of Bulbous Domes and their Prevalence in Iran

Dome is considered one of the most important traditional structures in the Iranian architecture, which has come in different shapes and techniques throughout the centuries. Bulbous domes are among discontinuous double-shell domes and were built in Iran in the middle of the fifteenth century. In Timurid period, the dome profile was changed so that it began a return below the base of the arch, producing thereby a slight bulge. The terminology for bulge in Iranian architecture is Avgun. This complex structure has been developing ever since its formation. It seems that this shape of dome requires a precise assessment in terms of design, mechanism of power transmission, and features of structural elements. This paper attempts to assess and analyze the powers transmission in bulbous domes and show the role of Avgun as an architectural structure in the bulbous domes, which is supposed to have just an aesthetic function.

In the present study, the bulbous dome of Shah Mosque (Timurid period) in Mashhad has been selected as a case study. The dome was first simulated using Abaqus software and then was tested in terms of its responses to the static loads (weight load) and dynamic loads (seismic load). In order to show the role of Avgun in maintaining the resistance of the building, this dome was compared with another dome without Avgun but with all similar architectural characteristics. This study showed that Avgun is not just an aesthetic feature and that there is a structural reason behind its prevalence; the dome directs some amount of thrust force to the inside where the dome and drum meet. Meanwhile, in this form of dome, the significant role of meridional stiffeners as architectural elements should not be neglected. In fact, it can be suggested that Avgun reduces the pressure caused by the dome's weight on bases of the dome chamber.

POORIYA ALIMORADI

On the Celestial Dragon and the Mouse-Witch in Zoroastrian Eschatology

The celestial dragon *Gaw-čīhr* <gwcyhl> whose head and tail represent two lunar nodes not only plays an astronomical role (in causing eclipses) but features prominently in Zoroastrian eschatology. According to the accounts in the *Bundahišn* and the *Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, at the End of Time, *Gaw-čīhr* falls from the sharp edge of the moon onto the earth and terrifies it. It then, together with the demon of Heresy (*ahlomōyīh*) slither off on earth while the Mazdā-worshippers are not able to withhold them through performing *yazišn*.

Finally, the Fire and the deity of healing (or, Šahrewar, one of the beneficent immortals and the protector of metals) melt the metals of the mountains to create a cleansing river, in which *Gaw-čīhr* burns and is eliminated from the creation as one of the last remnants of Evil, together the demon Greed (Āz) and the Arch-Demon (Ahreman). However, in the extensive account of the eschatological episodes, preserved in the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, *Gaw-čīhr* seems to be absent. The present research suggests an emendation to an eschatological passage in the New Persian version of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, already misinterpreted by Dhabhar, through which *Gaw-čīhr* appears at the time of the final saviour (Sōšāns) and is identified with *mūš-parīg* (the mouse-witch). In the Pahlavi literature, *mūš-parīg* usually represents comets and does not seem to have any eschatological role. The author argues that its appearance in the concerned passage, substituting the heretic as the expected companion of *Gaw-čīhr*, is due to the association of the mouse-witch with the Heretic in Y. 16.8. Additionally, the identification of *Gaw-čīhr* with *mūš-parīg* is owing to considering *Gaw-čīhr* a comet in some circles.

SALMAN ALIYARI

The "ill-done fortress wall" at Susa: New fragments of DSe from a Franco-Italian Project for the reconnaissance of the Achaemenid inscriptions at Louvre

KIUMARS ALIZADEH

From Arjān bowl to the world of Persepolis Archive: Elamites and Persians in Highlands

In 1982, during the construction of Mārūn Dam in Arjān (Behbahān town), a Neo-Elamite tomb was found by chance. It quickly became the object of studies focusing on acculturation between Elamites and Persians in highlands. These were aimed at, *inter alia*, analyzing one of the most significant and equivocal objects of the tomb, the Arjān bowl. Study of this object has taken place against the background of the ascending view that the Elamite highlands played a pivotal role in the transition to the Achaemenid world, albeit that this role was more of a new beginning than a conclusion. In this paper, analysis of the iconography of the Arjān bowl will be undertaken from a number of different angles, yet with the central question of how it elucidates the Elamite-Achaemenid transition. Issues of royal representation and the nomadic court will be evoked, but also parallels with the word documented by the Persepolis Fortification Archive.

BADROSADAT ALIZADEH MOGHADAM (NARGESH ASHTARI)

INVESTIGATING THE ARCHITECTURE, ELEMENTS AND EFFECTS OF ESFAHAN'S GHEYSARIE BAZAAR IN SAFAVID PERIOD

Gheysarie Bazar is one of the most beautiful bazars around the world. This bazar ages back to Shah Abbas the 1st period, when Esfahan was selected as the capital of Safavids. This bazar, Ali Qapu Palace, Sheikh Lotfollah Mosque, and Shah Mosque are all located in a beautiful and incredible complex called Naghsh-e Jahan Square. Building technique and importance of the architecture of this bazar has such unique elements and features that can hardly be found even in today's architecture of bazars. This study is structured under a descriptive and analytical method and seeks to answer the main question: What was the features of the architecture of Gheysarie Bazar and what was its roles in social and economic life of Iran. In a glance, observations show that, however the Gheysarie Bazar's architecture was following the style and pattern of Iranian traditional bazars, it comprised more elements compared to them. Moreover, it performed various functions such as facilitating internal and external trades, improving the social and economic connection of different classes of Iranians with domestic and foreign merchants, providing safety for merchants and their goods, and lastly, transforming Esfahan into Iran's business center. These all were some of the most important effects of Gheysarie Bazar of Esfahan in Safavid period.

YASAMIN ALKHANSA

(Dis)Continuities in the Official Historical Narrative as Taught in Schools: Analysis of History Textbooks Since the Islamic Revolution

Since the Revolution of 1979, school textbook research has claimed a central place in education studies in Iran, closely linked to the growing critique of the State's Islamization of the society. Understood primarily as "representational artefacts", textbooks' content and discourse have been analysed, in so far as they reflect the official narratives of history and, by extension, of national identities, which the Islamic order has sought to construct. Research into the education system – both schools and text books – is dominated by analyses of the politics of misrecognition/misrepresentation since the establishment of the Islamic Republic.

The present paper builds on this literature, and also critiques it both methodologically and conceptually to provide a nuanced understanding of the official historical account as an uneven and changing narrative. Arguing against the existing methodologies - that investigate the representational aspect of school textbooks exclusively- this paper calls for the adoption of a combined approach. It argues that employing discourse analysis is not enough. It should be combined with an examination of the pedagogical dimension of the text - that is, its form and style in teaching history - so that the particularities of the narrative are better revealed. As research findings demonstrate, the pedagogical dimension impacts the official narrative in important ways, without which its socio-cultural relevance cannot be understood fully. The paper also critiques the existing literature on account of its temporal narrowness. Very few studies have employed an historical review of the narrative as it has changed over time, hence they remain restricted in their debates over its (dis)continuities since the Revolution. This paper argues that these methodological short-comings result in a rather under-developed

conception/theorization of the official historical narrative that is constructed and taught in and through the schooling system. They thus portray it as unchanging and homogenized (read, essentialized) throughout the past 40 years, emptying it of complexities and paradoxes. Drawing on the findings of a research-in-progress, this paper brings the (dis)continuities to light, placing the analysis in the historical context that shaped the construction of the historical narrative after the Revolution. To do that it combines discourse analysis with an examination of the textbooks pedagogical dimension, that together construct an uneven official narrative of Iran's history.

MIGUEL ÁNGEL ANDRÉS-TOLEDO

The *baršnūm* ceremony in the Sanskrit *Wīdēwdād*

The *baršnūm*, the longest and most complex Zoroastrian ritual of purification, owes its name to the first part of the body to be cleansed therein: the head. The oldest version of this ceremony, performed to expel the most powerful demon of impurity, the corpse's demon or *nasu-*, is attested in the Avestan texts of the *Wīdēwdād*, "the Law to expel the demons." Although the various elements of the Avestan ceremony were mostly preserved unchanged during Sasanian times, as demonstrated by the Pahlavi translation of the *Wīdēwdād*, its Sanskrit version reveals some ritual changes that need to be explained.

KHALIL A. ARAB

Animal Ethics in Khalilullāh Khalili's novella *Zamarrode Hounin- Bloody Emerald* (1976)

The relationship between human and non-human animals in Afghanistan is complex and multidimensional. Sometimes, this relationship is portrayed in its most dramatic and brutal manner, while other times, it is an optimistic and promising portrayal of compassion, and hope for future peaceful cohabitation. Indeed, in the past few decades the treatment of animals has changed, and it continue to change, although slowly, however steadily, as a number of organizations and movements focused their attention on welfare and well-being of non-human animals. Hence, the human relations with their natural environment in general and with animals in particular, improved dramatically. Looking into Afghan contemporary literature, many prominent contemporary writers have tried to evaluate, challenge, negotiate, and to some extent change the dominant animal discourse within Afghan society. Prominent philosopherpoet Khalilullāh Khalili (1907–1987) is among those, whose prose writing is aiming at answering the difficult question of animal ethics and human moral duties toward animals. His novella *Zamarrode Hounin- Bloody Emerald* (1976) is a living example of his efforts in trying to tackle the ethical question of human and non-human animal relations.

In this paper, I wish to present Khalili's stance on animal ethics and his approach in dealing with moral and philosophical questions concerning animal ethics. Questions such as "what is our moral duty when it comes to animal ethics? Do animals have moral standing in their own right? And if so, what kind of duties do we have towards them? Does it matter whether animals are wild or domesticated? How should we balance our duties to animals against other kinds of duties" (Palmer and Sandøe 2011: p3). I will borrow new-criticism concept of "close reading" in order to reflect on plot, narration, point of view, settings, structures, characters, motives, images, and allegories. I will draw on four different animal ethics approaches, namely

“contractarian”, “utilitarian”, “animal right”, and “contextual” views to explain the approach taken by Khalilullah Khalili to address the ethical questions concerning animals. I am interested in his position on human’s moral duty toward animals, and if this position shifts or remains intact, when dealing with wild animals as opposed to domesticated animals. In the end, I hope this research can, as it is my aim to do so, draw attention to the study of human and non-human animals’ relation in Afghanistan.

TAHEREH ARABSAEIDI

“We’ll get used to it”: The female protagonism in modern Persian prose

Persian literature is known in the world for its richness in poetry and prose, where the image of women is, in most cases, symbolic and mythical. Up until a few decades ago, considerable part of the women presents in the Persian literary works, all produced by men, or were lovers described by their physical beauty or were witches and women of bad intentions. In the contemporary era and thanks to globalization and social changes, women have acquired their own voice and have begun to write their own stories. From a non-macho and more realistic perspective, women writers narrate the personal and social life of them and the problems and challenges they face today. Zoya Pirzad is an Iranian writer who breaks with the masculine protagonism in the Persian novels and focuses her works on the world of women and their actual concerns. The objective of this work is to study the representation of women in the novel *We’ll get used to it* (2004). For that, there will be used the theories about the paradigm of gender, as well as Hannah Arendt’s theory of “The active life” and the three fundamental conditions of human life: labor, work and action. As a result, it will be analyzed the new identity of the Iranian women, their effort to break with male chauvinism and gender clichés, and improve their social role.

VICTORIA ARAKELOVA

Language Affinity and Imagined Kinships in the Irano-Caucaso-Anatolian Region

The proposed term, “Imagined Kinship” is supposed to determine a phenomenon, when a language (and, in certain cases, other kind of) affinity becomes a basis for creating a genetic kinship theory on a popular level. Occurring under different historical-political circumstances, this phenomenon, among some ethnic groups, can become an essential part of a cultural discourse, and even contribute to the creation of a new ideology. In most cases, the mentioned process is a result of the vulgar perception of relevant academic knowledge.

The paper is an attempt to analyze the emergence of virtual “alliances” based on imagined kinship between some ethnic groups and peoples of the Irano-Caucaso-Anatolian region. It particularly focuses on the Talyshi-Zaza rapprochement—the idea spread rather among the Talyshis than the Zazas, which has been developed recently as a result of the penetration into wider social discourse and popular reinterpretation of the postulated theory of the Caspian-Aturpatakan language union, suggesting a close symbiosis of the ancestors of the present-day speakers of the several New Iranian dialects: Southern Tati, Gurani, Gilaki, Mazandarani, as well as Talyshi and Zazaki.

ALI ARFA

The Orientalist Portrayal of Mosaddegh in Kermit Roosevelt's "Countercoup: The Struggle for the Control of Iran"

The CIA engineered 1953 coup and its later ramifications had a huge impact on the US-Iran relations. The military and among them the intelligence, espionage services had an still have a major role in portraying a country and its people, for the US decision makers, and in turn forming a political strategy towards that country. However, after the intelligence are released for public, such portrayal could help form an image for the average American too. Hence, applying the theories of "Orientalism", this essay will try to find out whether orientalist features exist in creating an image of the Iranian Prime Minister Mosaddegh, in a book published in 1979 by the main engineer of the coup, K. Roosevelt.

DOROTHY ARMSTRONG

Appropriating the London Ardabil Carpet: The 'oriental' carpet as a tool for the invention of Persian cultural heritage

The 16th century Safavid carpet from the shrine at Ardabil, now held in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is the focus of this paper. Its arrival in London in 1892 ignited an intense imaginative engagement between the carpet and Euro- American curators, dealers, commentators and the general public. The paper suggests that this engagement gave rise to a process of appropriation of the Ardabil, which continued well into the 20th century, and has only recently begun to be replaced by more stringent analyses from the perspectives of history and material culture.

The paper proposes that the carpet was used in the early 20th century as a benchmark to define the West's required qualities in an 'oriental' carpet, and to help position 16th century Safavid carpets as the apotheosis and representative of Persian material culture. It goes on to describe how this western hierarchy of value underpinned the restoration of the London Ardabil, the cannibalization of its twin, the Los Angeles Ardabil, and stimulated an industry of replicas in the late 19th and 20th centuries.

The appropriation extended beyond the aesthetic, material and historical qualities of the carpet into the arena of national identity-formation. The paper will examine the two-way dynamic at work, suggesting that alongside the construction of an idea of Persia by non-Persians, there was a parallel construction of an idea of the West, particularly of Britain, through the stories told about the carpet. By making this dynamic transparent, the paper aims to help decolonize the narrative of the London Ardabil.

MEYSAM ASADI

How Dr. Mossadegh's Remarks on National Railroad Affected Iranians' Thoughts

The construction of the national railway in Iran is one of the issues that was raised during the Qajar period in the Nasir-DinShah's era but did not achieve the desired result in that period. The lack of adequate financial resources to build railways, competitions, and opposition of foreign countries such as Russia and Britain, the opposition of the traditionalist forces, who

were usually opposed to modernization in Iran, as well as the lack of determination of the rulers of that time, made this issue to remain unsolvable. After the Constitutional Revolution of 1906, the construction of the railroad was one of the arguments that always led the parliamentarians to a long debate. In the fifth National Consultative Assembly (1924-1922), when Reza Khan was the last prime minister (1923-1925) of the Qajar government, the law on the monopoly of sugar and tea was passed by the parliament. According to this law, it was decided to collect six Rials out of each three kilos of tea as tax, and two Rials out of each three kilos of sugar and the revenues to be spent on the construction of the national railway. Finally, in the Sixth Parliament (1928-1926) during the Pahlavi government, the national railway project was passed by the parliament and it was launched in 1938.

In the Second World War, despite the fact that Iran claimed its impartiality, the Allies occupied Iran (1941), and as a result, Reza Shah was forced to leave the monarchy in favor of his son Mohammad Reza Shah. The Allies through Iran were able to supply food and ammunition to Soviet troops against the German army. The Allies used to carry their goods in the same way that it had been built by Reza Shah, which connected the Persian Gulf in the south to the Caspian Sea in the north. Hence, after Reza Shah, his critics scorned and condemned Reza Shah's attempt to build a national railroad as a betrayal of Iran. As a result, after the occupation of Iran by the Allies, the prevailing negative view among Iranian historians, intellectuals, politicians, and clerics towards Reza Shah's attempts to build a south-to-north railroad started. These people seem to be more influenced by Dr. Mossaddegh's views. Therefore, this research answers the question how Dr. Mossaddegh's remarks on national railroad affected Iranians' thoughts. Dr. Mohammad Mossaddegh's speeches in the fifth and sixth National Consultative Assembly and, more importantly, his remarks in the Fourteenth Parliament (1966-1944) about the construction of the South-North Railway are one of the most important factors that have been affected by the views of historians, intellectuals, politicians, clerics, and scholars.

Reza Shah believed that the construction of the south-north Railway was one of the greatest achievements of his government. In this regard, there are various debates. Some, such as Dr. Mohammad Mossaddegh, generally considered the construction of a south-north railway in Iran as Reza Shah's treachery; for he believed that the railway line was made for serving the British government wills. And on the other hand, researchers such as Jalal Matini, while presenting important documents of the correspondents of the British Government with Reza Shah during the construction of the railway, denying the views of Dr. Mossaddegh, sought to criticize Dr. Mossaddegh's remarks and approved Reza Shah's action for the construction of the national railway. Dr. Mossaddegh's remarks in the Fifth Parliament on the government's plan about the construction of a national railway generally did not contradict with this plan, but the focus of his talk was on determining the route of the railway. In the Sixth parliament, after determining the direction of the south-to-north railroad, Dr. Mossaddegh expressed his opposition to the plan for economic reasons because he did not think it would be economical. At that time, the comments of Mossaddegh were not very noticeable. Firstly, because the intellectuals who were opposed to the Pahlavi government also favored the development of the national railroad line, and secondly, due to the lack of freedom in the media, so Mossaddegh's speeches wouldn't reach out to everyone, but after the occupation of Iran by the Allies, Dr. Mossaddegh, at another meeting in the 14th parliament, made another speech in this regard. He said, "The dictator built up a railroad with our money and at our expense, and provided twenty years' service to the Allies for the provision of ammunition". These words in the press of that time of Iran, which was a completely anti-Reza Shah, was very influential. In particular, during that period, Mossaddegh was known as a servant of the Iranian nation in the press and among the public, he was known to be against the people such as Seyyed Zia'eddin Tabatabaee, who was the symbol of traitors to the nation. When Iran was occupied by Allied forces and the Allied forces were present in Iran, and also because of the use that the Allies had made of this railway to help the Soviet Union, along with dissatisfaction with the dictatorship of Reza Shah and the

popularity of Dr. Mosaddegh among the people, the atmosphere of the Iranian press, which at that time was mainly against Reza Shah's government, got heavily influenced by his speeches. On the other hand, the National Front forces and later the Freedom Movement recognized Mossadegh as their leader. The Tudeh party and the traditional clergies also accepted Dr. Mossadegh's view because of the common dissatisfaction with the Pahlavi government, and on the other hand, historians such as Gholamreza Nejati, by recording such narrations of Dr. Mosaddegh about the construction of the railway, made Iran's history even more affected by this period of Iranian history. Therefore, most of the books that Iranian scholars and historians wrote about the Reza Shah era affirmed it without assessing Mossadegh's statements and even did not notice the contradictions that could be seen in Dr. Mossadegh's remarks on the construction of the south-to-north railroad. Surprisingly, even in some cases, we are confronted with the Iranian scholars who, even without mentioning Dr. Mossadegh, consider the construction of railways as a means to serve the purposes of the British government, and reiterate the same reasons of Dr. Mossadegh. Even after the Iranian Revolution in 1979, this matter was taken to educational history books of schools and universities, and the story of Dr. Mossadegh became the dominant narrative in the discussion of the construction of the south-north railroad by Reza Shah. Therefore, since Dr. Mossadegh was the first who spoke the parliament against the construction of the national railway and accused Reza Shah of betrayal because of the railway construction which was served the purposes of the British government, Mossadegh should be recognized as the most effective person in creating a negative atmosphere towards the construction of the national railway line in Iran after the collapse of Reza Shah Pahlavi among the scholars and intellectuals of the Pahlavi era and afterwards.

GARNIK S. ASATRIAN (GOHAR HAKOBIAN)

The “Etymological Dictionary of Persian” (EDP) Project

The report is a general presentation of the EDP Project (Brill, Leiden-Boston), realized by a group of scholars. The immediate work on the Dictionary was preceded by a two-year active scrutiny of almost all the available literature—from the early scholarly publications on NPers. vocabulary to the recently appeared researches.

As a result, a solid database including more than three thousand NPers. lexemes (of the genuine Iranian origin, borrowings from Indian, Greek, Aramaic, Caucasian, forms from urban vernaculars) provided with detailed bibliographical references, has been created. It incorporates essentially the whole relevant work on the Persian historical lexicology, done for the last century and a half, in various parts of the world.

This database itself, representing a separate contribution to the field, is nearly ready for print as a multi-volume bibliography of NPers. vocabulary. The Arabic and Turko-Mongolian loans, understandably, were excluded from the word-list. In terms of the word-list and the number of lemmas, it was initially supposed to be the same as that of the database. However, it was later radically reduced to primarily genuine forms. Providing respective illustrations, we will focus on the content and scope of the EDP, its concept, structure, etc.

ASYA ASBAGHI

Wer war Šams-e Tabrīzī und welchen Einfluß übte er auf Mowlānā Ġalāluddīn Rūmī aus?

Mowlānā Ġalāluddīn Rūmī und Šams-e Tabrīzī waren zwei unterschiedliche Persönlichkeiten, die jedoch einander fanden und eine fruchtbare symbiotische Beziehung entfalteten. Diese blieb jedoch bis heute rätselhaft. Fest steht, dass Šams auf Ġalāluddīn einen tragenden Einfluß ausübte, der zu einer grundlegenden Veränderung bei letzterem führte. Während Ġalāluddīn aus der Familie des Rechtsgelehrten Bahā‘addīn aus Balkh stammte, der 1220 aus seiner Heimatstadt vor den Mongolen geflohen war, wissen wir über die Herkunft Šams so gut wie nichts. Fest steht, dass Ġalāluddīn und seine Familie nach ihrer Flucht in die Stadt Nischapur kamen, wo sie den bekannten mystischen Dichter ‘Attār trafen, der bei Ġalāluddīn eine große spirituelle Gabe erkannte.

Ġalāluddīns Lebenslauf sollte jedoch zunächst in geregelten und vorgezeichneten Bahnen verlaufen. So schlug er, wie sein Vater, die Laufbahn eines Rechtsgelehrten ein und wurde nach dessen Tod Leiter der Madrasa in der Stadt Konya. Während eines Aufenthaltes in Damaskus kam es nun zu der rätselhaften Begegnung mit Šams-e Tabrīzī. Diese Begegnung sollte Ġalāluddīns bisheriges Leben als Rechtgelehrter, Theologe und Lehrer völlig auf dem Kopf stellen und den frommen orthodoxen Muslim in einen Sänger und Tänzer verwandeln.

Der Vortrag soll dieser rätselhaften Begegnung nachgehen und sich sowohl der Frage widmen, wer Šams-e Tabrīzī war als auch der Frage, welche Veränderungen diese Begegnung bei Ġalāluddīn hervorgerufen hat.

ASSEF ASHRAF

The Qajars: Kingship, Turco-Mongol Power, and the Ends of the Persianate World

The Qajars were the last Turkic dynasty to rule Iran. Like many other pre-modern dynasties of the Persian-speaking world, Qajar shahs were also profoundly influenced by ancient Persian notions of kingship and Islamic ideals of just rule. But Qajar monarchs also ruled at a time of European hegemony, pushing them to adopt, fitfully, Western models of government and administration often associated with modernity. These diverse influences — Turkic, Perso-Islamic, and Western — make the Qajar state both interesting and difficult to categorise. This paper will highlight some of the features of Qajar rule, especially during the reigns of its first two monarchs, before suggesting that another way to plot Iran’s transition to modernity is through a socially-oriented political history and by drawing attention to Qajar governance practices.

NARGESH ASHTARI (SEE: BADROSADAT ALIZADEH MOGHADAM)

BEHNAM ATAEI

“Place of the God Revisited” a short article on the late Sassanid glyphs in Bīstūn

Gropp's publication in 1970 was the first mention to the eight stone blocks which all carry an identical Middle Persian word. Gropp prepared a brief introduction and a drawing beside a primary translation. However, after about fifty years it remained as the unique reference of whole available information, we have about any MP testimony in Bīstūn. In this article, I tried to update our knowledge about the recent condition of those stone blocks and collect any other unpublished data, in accompany of newly found late Sassanid glyphs which one might interpret as MP testimonies.

METIN ATMACA

An Iranian Historiography of the Ottoman Empire from Safavids to Qajars

Turkey's archival and manuscript sources are abundant and well preserved despite wars, foreign occupations, and revolutions. This was not the case in Iran at all. Most of sources from Safavid period in Isfahan were sacked and destroyed when the city was raid by Afsharids in mideighteenth century. Iran witnessed similar attitude when violent mobs and revolutionaries took over Tehran and Tabriz during the Revolutionary period between 1905 and 1909. Therefore, historians of Iran relied on the accounts of court historians and other works as well as foreign sources instead of indigenous archival source when they wrote their history. This paper concentrates on these accounts with a focus on the Ottoman history. It argues that Iranian historiography on the Ottoman Empire changed over the time in the light of the political, military and diplomatic relations and sectarian difference through the eighteenth century, whereas its focus was diverted more towards the reformist ideas of the Ottoman intellectuals, the society, state structure and institutions in the nineteenth century.

ABBAS AZARANDAZ

Tarjomān, a Learned Word in Ferdowsi's Shahnameh

According to Shahnameh, Iranians during the reign of Manuchehr, for the first time stand against a foreign country. From this legendary period of the first kings to the historical Yazdgerd, the Iranians, besides the Turanians, have encountered other people that they need to communicate with them. In Shahnameh, there is sometimes a person called "Tajomān" who has the duty to translate the words of two sides for each other. It has been written in some dictionaries that the "Tajomān" is Arabicized word of Persian "Tarzaban" or "Tarzafan". In the Middle Iranian languages, this term has been written in Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian writings in the form of "Tarkumān" or "Targumān". The existence of this term in Iranian texts from the beginning of the Sassanid to Ferdowsi era, which includes a millennium period, represents a long-term career and a term with a great age. According to its Aramaic origin, it can be said that during the Achaemenid period, the term was entered into the languages of the Achaemenid countries through the Aramaic Dabirs, and then it was found in the works of Zoroastrians and Manicheans by Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian languages. In addition

to the Achaemenid administrative system and the Iranian dynasties after that, Manichaean's connection with Aramaic was also effective in survival of this word.

SAMRA AZARNOUCHE

Indian Medical Science within Zoroastrian Cosmology: the Case of Embryology

After depicting the mythical geography of the earth, the Zoroastrian cosmological text of the *Bundahišn* proceeds with the apparition of various species that inhabit in the continents and procreate. The beginning of the chapter XV provides very precise information about the embryogenesis, that shows striking parallels with the Buddhist texts and classical Indian medical literature such as *Garbhāvākṛāntisūtra* and *Carakasaṃhitā*. These parallels might also bring light to the introduction of the lost Middle Persian version of *Kalīla wa Dimna*, by Bozūya, the physician of the VIth century.

MOHAMMAD HOSSEIN AZIZI KHARANAGHI (MAHSA TAHERI)

The Interactions of the Persian Gulf northern coast during the fifth millennium BC based on the excavations in Chahr-Rustai Site

Very few pre-historic sites have been identified in Bushehr province and in general on the northern coast of Persian Gulf. In fact, most of the discoveries are more recent than Elam period, mostly historical and Islamic period. Chahr-Rustai site is located beside a village with the same name, in region of the Hayat Davood District, Genaveh county. The site is one of the few identified and studied prehistoric sites in Bushehr province. The first season of archeological excavations in this site was conducted in June 2012 in order to determine the frontages and stratigraphy, the results revealed a seasonal and temporary settlement of the fifth millennium BC and absolutely comparable with the middle Bakun culture on the Persian Gulf northern coast.

PIOTR BACHTIN

The feminine experience? Women pilgrims to Mecca in late Qajar Iran

Touching upon issues pertaining to the feminine aspects of women pilgrims' experience, this paper aims to discern the 'gender-specific' characteristics of the Hajj narratives written in the late Qajar period by the following high-born Iranian women: Mehrmâh Kānom 'Eṣmat al-Saltāne (1880-81), Hâjjīyye Kānom 'Alavīyye Kermanī (1892-94), and Sakīne Solṭān Vaqār al-Doule Eṣfahānī Kūčak (1899-1901). These accounts testify that women remained subject to control exerted over them by their male relatives also outside the domestic area. The fact that women were traditionally relegated to the private sphere and their travels were of unofficial character may explain, at least in part, why the female diarists confront us with quite a personal perspective focused on individual experience.

Moreover, a very significant aspect of these accounts is that their authors expose and define themselves in and through relation to others. It seems that while for men – who could freely

accomplish their subjectivity in the public sphere – the genre of travel diary, which gained popularity in 19th-century Iran, would rather serve for utilitarian (public and official) purposes, for the female diarists it created a possibility to ‘write about themselves.’ Perhaps, then, we could treat these accounts as ‘drafts’ in which women started to quest for their language and formulate their subjectivity – a beginning of the process that eventually led to the emergence of Iranian women’s fiction in the 20th century.

AKRAM BAGHIROV

The most important Tazkira in medieval Persian poetry

One of the most important sources in the study of classical Persian poetry is literary tazkiras. One of the most important sources is the poet and literary critic Taqiaddin Mahammad Avhadin (born 973/1040 -1565/1631) of Iranian origin and his tazkira which he wrote India “Arafat ulaşiqin and Arafat ul-arif”.

This source is considered to be one of the largest works in the Persian language. This work was used in almost all the tazkiras written after it. The scientific-critical text of this tazkira is based on three manuscripts. It was published in eight volumes in Iran in 1389 (2010) by Mirase-Letub Scientific Research Center. While preparing a critical text, the Iranian scholars Zabiollah Sahebkar and Amene Fakhr-Ahmad did not only have three copies of them, but used numerous historical and literary sources to prepare a complete text.

In this article for the first time are given a comprehensive and comprehensive overview about about its Iranian edition and the poets presented on this tazkira.

SAEED BAGHIZADEH

Iranian Central Plateau in The Second Half of Fourth Millenium B.C.

Iranian Central Plateau along with all environmental restrictions and capacities had a key role in Prehistoric time. During the Late Chalcolithic Period and with the increase of Complexity, the ancient societies had been connected with each other and traded the exotic and essential sources. The focus of this article, pottery evolution during the 4th millennium, for a long period of time has long been recognised as a significant factor in the emergence of complex societies in Iranian Central Plateau, however, archaeological research into the origins of complex societies and pottery specialisation in Iran for a short period of time. This recent research carried out in Tepe MeymanatAbad and Tepe Sofalin, studied the pottery sequence and evolution during Sialk III6-7 to more complex ones known as late Uruk and Proto Elamite. The authors suggested that the increasing pottery production complexity over time and variation in social complexity at any given point in time could be related to differential requirements of information processing and decision-making. Almost all of the data to be introduced come from Tepe MeymanatAbad, Tepe sofalin, Tepe Qabrestan, Tepe Ozbaki and Tepe Iyqerbolagh in northern ring of Iranian Central Plateau. Striking ceramic connections between Sialk III6-7 and western Iran (and ultimately south-western Iran) at some times, but not at others, were the main reason for writing this article.

The Importance and necessity of investigating the Ekhvani documents in understanding historical events of Safavid era

Different types of documents as raw materials have influential and important role in describing and expanding historical events. Basically historical research with mere approach of chronicling historical events would bring, for readers and critics, uncertainty about careful and scientific understanding and recognition of events. In other words, it is likely that the mere concentration on historical texts may lead the researcher toward superficial and unscientific results in the process of describing and explaining an event. Although the framework of author's claim in this research is of recognition type, it attempts to develop the belief that in addition to written texts, profound attention of researcher to the content of the historical documents in the mentioned process not only is a scientific necessity and inevitable but may lead the interpretation of historical events' signifier and signified toward right historical and scientific understanding. In this case study, the documents known as Ekhvaniyat, friendly and informal letters, have significant citation value in Safavid studies. These types of written texts that are scattered among the references and literature have considered valuable issues, directly and indirectly, about political, social, and cultural society and economics in Safavid era; since their writers were free of political and bureaucratic dependence and could write without any concern. These issues are hardly found in the formal chronicling of events. The current study, with similar approach and only based on a few manuscripts of analects, represents an analysis of the importance of study of Ekhvaniat in Safavid era and states the mentioned sources' features in cognition missing history of Safavid.

SARA BAKHTIARINASAB

How many Hāitis does have the Yasna?

Since the 19th century the formality of the division of the Yasna into 72 chapters or "hāitis" has been welcomed in the scientific round. Yet, a great deal of uncertainty dominates not only over the emergence of such a division but also over the definition of the term hāiti. Surveying Avestan sources, the term hāiti is not used for any subdivision of the Gāṇās, but only for some of them. Interestingly, Pahlavi sources present to us no clue of such a division in 72 hāt either. To add to the peculiarity of such a blur, the liturgy and liturgical manuscripts unfold another sort of division of Yasna, which are in parts, quite different to what we confront in Geldner's edition of the Yasna.

This article intends to trace back such a Yasna division in relevant sources, aiming specifically to meet the oldest attestation of it. The steps taken initiates with the survey of scientific works carried out by Karl Friedrich Geldner, Friedrich von Spiegel, Niels Ludvig Westergaard, and Anquetil-Duperron. In addition, manuscripts B3 (the oldest liturgical Indian manuscript), 400, 410 (the combined manuscripts) 3, 8, 15 (the Iranian Yasna Manuscripts) are being thoroughly studied. Last but not least, the Rivāyats will allocate our main focus to itself as well.

An analysis and investigation on three significant mythical characters based on old texts of ancient Iran

The texts of Avesta in Avestan script and language, and the middle Persian texts in Pahlavi script and language can be considered as the primary sources in order to study and identify Iranian myths. This research has looked for the position of the three significant mythical characters: Fereydūn, Keykāvoos, and Goštāsp in the literature of ancient Iran based on the evidence, sentences and phrases of original texts of Avesta in Avestan language and script and original middle Persian texts in Pahlavi language and script. Moreover, it has compared and matched them with some poems from Shahnameh which are compatible with the characteristics and deeds of these 3 characters in ancient texts. In these investigations it turned out that: A) The majority of these mythical characters of ancient Iranian literature had divine and supernatural duties and nature, and the background and original position of many of them can be found in old beliefs of the Indo-Iranians. B) Reasons and factors such as a tendency to rationalism has caused changes in the way of viewing mythical creatures somehow that the closer we get to the time of Ferdowsi from the ancient world, the smaller the surprising and supernatural dimensions of mythical creatures get and the wiser and more popular it becomes, and all incidents attributed to mythical creatures are measured by experimental criteria. C) Myth at its ultimate flexibility has adapted itself with intellectual and social conditions and requests of people in different times to guarantee its persistence and survival.

MARJAN BANIASADI

Selection of Persian carpet as a subject matter in Visual Arts

The subject matter of most of my works are Persian carpets. For me carpets are not only meant as commodities but also as living objects that are capable of recording time, besides the very incidents happening around them and later expose the perceived tales through every thread woven together.. The carpets have lived and suffered with their owners therefore each individual carpet hides and narrates a story of its own. The white threads on the loom; where they are being ready to be weaved are like beginning to record a life, story or a journey. The process of breaking or being broken into fragments is evident in the nature around us can also be seen in these carpets. My main concern lies on bringing those fragments together and then constructs a narrative and I have mostly tried to explore possible ways to deliver my perceptions in various mediums and contexts.

In this essay I shall describe the maturing journey I took from two of my very recent exhibitions, “Transition of Tradition” and “In Praise of Other Places” which both of them were built on a same subject matter each shaped in a different way. In Transition of Tradition I have explored the constant evolving nature of traditions and its transformative effect on those who practice it. The subject of the traditions in question, are particular to Eastern and Persian origins and therefore invoke the use of imagery from these regions. The paintings are an inquiry into the symbolic nature of the tangible and intangible traditions that a Persian artist is familiar with the most.

In In Praise of other Places I have displayed a new body of work where the carpet inspiration has evolved from carpets’ symbolism to Nature particularly. Hazy elements in the paintings express how our memories live in our head and the white lines which are inspired from the warps of carpets are trying to give strength to those memories by weaving and tying them

together in a much stronger solid body but in a reversed way where the image comes first and then the warp. Using watercolor in this series of paintings matches very well with the notion of vague memories and the flowing quality of nature which stands not and is constantly moving as the seasons pass by.

ANDRÁS BARATI

A study and comparison of the royal decrees of Nādir Shāh (1732–1747) and Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī (1747–1772)

In contrast with the Safavid and Qajar eras of Iranian history, the number of royal decrees from the interregnum period of the eighteenth century is rather scarce. The recurring destruction of entire records in the course of these decades was the result of the relatively frequent political upheavals and turbulences. Therefore, to this date, comprehensive study on the subject of post-Safavid diplomatics has not been written. Based on the available documents, as I will demonstrate, it is reasonable to come to the conclusion that during the reign of Nādir Shāh a simplified form of the Safavid chancellery practice continued to exist. In the aftermath of Nādir Shāh's demise, a new power had emerged in the form of the Durrānī Empire. I attempt to determine to what extent the formulary and characteristics of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī's decrees were influenced by the previous systems of the Safavids and Nādir Shāh's administration. In my presentation I wish to draw special attention to the unpublished decrees of Nādir Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, which are located in the library of the Āstān-i Quds-i Rażawī, Mashhad.

BEHROOZ BARJASTEH DELFOROOZ

An Introduction to the Petroglyphs of Gwargatan, Nikshahr, Iranian Baluchestan

Maybe it can be said that rock art is the first medium in the past by which mankind conveyed what he had in mind in an artistic way, before inventing writing system. Iranian Baluchestan is one of those regions where is very rich in Rock Art. From Taftan mountain southward, nearly in all main valleys of this part of Sistan and Baluchestan province, petroglyphs can be found. In Nikshahr county, and especially in Lashar mountainous area with abundant water resources, recently a lot of petroglyph assemblages have been observed and some of them were documented. The goal of this article is to introduce petroglyphs of Gwargatan in Gorgan area, Nikshahr for the first time, in order to open the site to the researchers for further study of the motifs. During the survey, five places, stretching for 4 kilometers along the Gwargatan valley, in the west-east direction, were investigated and documented. Although it seems that a lot of petroglyphs have been destroyed during the recent years' road construction and old activities in making terrace farming in hills, fortunately, what remained are in good conditions without being distorted by local people. From the chronological point of view, these engravings belong to different periods. The motifs consist of various human, animal and geometric patterns in different scenes. As we do not have access to modern technologies in dating rock art, some age estimation can be made according to stylistic features, and comparison with well-dated petroglyphs in other places.

Ein Hinweis zur Verwendung von Blumen und Blütenblättern in Zarathustrische Manuskripte in der Pahlavi Sprache

Die Geschichte der Iranistik in der Welt ist mehr als ein Jahrhundert alt. In diesen hundert Jahren wurde wichtige Arbeit zum Thema iranische Sprachen, künstlerisches Erbe und immaterielles Erbe (Geistig) im Iran geleistet. Zweifellos einer der wichtigsten und ältesten Erben, kehren zum Erbe der Sassaniden zurück. Das Erbe dieser Zeit, insbesondere das zoroastrische Erbe kann viel besser verstanden werden als die anderen prähistorische (/ die Zeiten vor dem Islam) Epochen. Zweifellos sollten die zarathustrische Manuskripte in der Pahlavi Sprache eine der größten Vermächtnisse der zoroastrischen Literatur ausdrücken (8/9 Jh. n. Chr.).

In den letzten hundert Jahren wurde viel über dieses Erbe gesprochen und geschrieben. Einige dieser Texte sind viele Male geschrieben, übersetzt, gesungen und interpretiert und wurden von verschiedenen Glossaren übernommen. Nichtsdestotrotz ist in dieser Hinsicht noch vieles unausgesprochen geblieben. Eine Besonderheit der herausragenden Kunst in die zarathustrische Manuskripte in der Pahlavi Sprache war die Verwendung von Blumen und Pflanzen während der Niederschrift des Textes durch den zarathustrischen Oberpriester. Die Oberpriester haben Blumen mit

mehrere Blättern anstatt Punkten verwendet. Laut der Anwendung von der Blumen, die Zahl von den Blättern sind sehr genau gewählt. Die Anzahl der Blütenblätter ändert sich von drei auf zwölf Blütenblättern. Diese Zahlen haben einen bedeutenden und heiligen Platz in der zoroastrischen Religion.

In diesem Artikel haben wir versucht, anhand von handschriftliche Notizen, diese Themen, Ms. D. 90 (19), Ms. D. 90 (20), Ms. T. 66, Ms. F. 11, zu untersuchen. Um die Anzahl und die Verwendung der Blütenblätter durch den Priester zu überprüfen, haben wir die gedruckten Exemplare der Schatzkammer verwendet, die von der zoroastrischen Pahlavi in Schiraz Universität (Pahlavi) handschriftlich verfasst wurden. Es wurde auch versucht, Beispiele für diese Arbeit in Islamische Zeit zu vermitteln.

GIAN PIETRO BASELLO (JULIEN CUNY, GÜNTER SCHWEIGER)

New results from the Louvre-Dariush project on Achaemenid royal inscriptions fragments

KHADIJEH BASERI

An Overview of Parthian Coins and their Iconography and Comparison with the Coins of the Dark Ages from Parthian Coins Gotarzes I (c. 95 – 90 B.C.) Phraates III (c. 70 – 57 B.C.)

Coins and seals are one of the few primary sources that provide important information about the Parthian period. The present discussion highlights some aspects of symbols that appear on Parthian coins in the collection of the National Museum. It is an attempt to gather some examples of coins that reveal Iranian art and culture and also influence from the west. These objects offer firm evidence of inter-cultural connections between the third century BC

and the beginning of the third century AD. In the pre-Hellenistic period, the royal mints of Achaemenid Iran were situated in the western part of the Persian empire, where- satraps appointed by the Great King also had the right to mint coins. Here we find some of the best examples of coin portraits. In addition, the Persian king minted darics and sigloi. After the conquest of the Persian empire by Alexander, coin portraits reached a new peak, when his successors, the diadochoi, divided up his realm and each ruler produced his own coinage. For example, coins in the name of Alexander show his portrait, sometimes wearing a lion's scalp or the horns of Zeus

Ammon. Seleucus, who inherited the eastern part of the former Achaemenid empire, appears wearing a helmet on his so-called trophy coins, some of which come from the David Stronach's excavations at Pasargadae in the 1960s.

In the Parthian period, coins were minted in silver and bronze. Iconographic details such as facial features, hair style and costumes are an essential tool for the attribution of the coins to the various kings. This is particularly important, as the majority of Parthian kings use the dynastic name "Arsaces" and personal names appear only occasionally and late. The legendary ancestor usually appears as a seated archer on the reverse of silver drachms, while the ruler's portrait is shown on the obverses. The language of the coin inscriptions is typically Greek, but occasionally from the first century BC onwards words and names appear in Parthian using the Aramaic script. Areas that were conquered by the Parthians from the Seleucids also produced coins, For example, Elymais and Characene first used Seleucid prototypes, which were soon replaced by Parthian-style iconography. The kings of Persis, who ruled in the heartland of the former Persian empire, seem to have minted coins already under the Seleucids. These coins show strong Achaemenid links, but after the Parthian conquest of Persis coin portraits began to show a remarkable similarity to with the Parthian royal image.

1. Greek and Iranian cultural relations during the Seleucid and Parthian periods (331 BC-224 AD)

After the collapse of the Achaemenid empire in 330 BC, Iranian traditions and various elements of the Greco- Macedonian culture of the conquerors were combined in the Hellenistic east. Alexander and his successors built many cities throughout the former Persian empire, and established new mints in their territories. The new rulers were attracted to the culture of the conquered regions and adopted many local traditions and encouraged intermarriage between Greeks and Persians. A result of the fusion of two cultures was the merging of features of western religions cults and local deities. Thus many Greek gods found Iranian parallels: Zeus and Ahura Mazda, Apollo and Mithra, Heracles and Verethragna, Artemis and Anahita. In the Iranian lands Resistance to the Seleucids started around 250 BCE, when the Parthians from eastern Iran rebelled against their overlords. this began a gradual push- westwards into Media, and in 148BC where ancient Ecbatana was conquered. By 140 BC, Mithradates I had conquered Mesopotamia and was crowned in Seleucia on the Tigris. The Parthians initially embraced Greek culture and described themselves on their coins as "Philhellene". The Greek language remained a predominant feature of Parthian coin, although in an increasingly corrupt form as time passed. Gradually the Greek influence declined and strong Iranian features emerged. Parthian coin iconography is a mixture of Greek and Iranian influences. The designs on Parthian coins suggest that there was Greek influence mixed with western Asian and Iranian traditions.

2. The Parthians

The victory of the Parthians did not happen at once. The founder of the Parthian dynasty, Arsaces I (Ashk), came to power in 247 BC. This marks the beginning of the Arsacid calendar. In addition, they also followed the Seleucid calendar, which starts in 312 BC. This Seleucid calendar was used for date inscriptions on Parthian tetradrachms. With the conquest of Ecbatana and Mesopotamia under Mithradates (Mehrdad) I, tetradrachms became a feature of Parthian coinage. These were minted in Seleucia on the Tigris from 140 BC onwards. Here Mithradates wears a diadem in the Hellenistic fashion and uses the title "Great King". In the first century

BC, the encounters between Parthia and Rome increased in frequency, and there is also historical evidence of direct contact between the two empires. For example, a slave called Musa was sent by the emperor Augustus to Phraates IV (Farhad). She became his queen and with the help of their son, she murdered him. She then married her son Phraataces and together they issued tetradrachms and drachms which bore the portrait of the king on the obverse and his queen on the reverse. Once again, the legends are in Greek and they describe the consort of Phraataces as *Thea Musa Urania*. Perhaps this was the result of the intense political situation in the second half of the first century BC when Rome and Parthia were fierce rivals.

PAVEL BASHARIN

Reconstruction of the Affricates in the Eastern Prakrits In the Light of Middle-Iranian Phonetics

There exist certain difficulties with the affricate system in the Prakrits *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh*. According to the description of the Indian grammars (Vararuchi and Markandeya), the affricates were pronounced as “clear” (*spaṣṭa*) in Magadhi and in the North-Western versus ‘unclear’ (*aspaṣṭa*) pronunciation in Maharashtra. In some Magadhi manuscripts the graphemes of akshara *ya* stand before these affricates (<yc>, <yeh>, <yj>, <yjh>, <yñ>, or reduced <y>, <yh>). On the basis of modern Magadhi pronunciation, A.C. Woolner supposed that this <y> should mark a specific pronunciation of *c* as a glide rather than as a certain phoneme like English *wh*, or Old English *hw* /*w*/. Two reasons corroborate this hypothesis. Firstly, there exists a process of weakening of intervocalic occlusive consonants in Magadhi and Shauraseni (*d* and *dh* turn to *ḍ* and *ḍh*). These consonants were lost in Maharashtra. Secondly, a similar mark for the fricative phoneme also occurs in some Iranian languages. For example, Khotan Saka language, written in Brahmi, uses <ys> writing for /*z*/, <js> for /*dz*/, <tc> for /*c*/, and <ts> for /*c'*/ (cf. Khot. /*z*/ > Kror. <jh>). But a turn of occlusive to fricative consonants did not connect with Brahmi. A combination of <ys> in non-Indo-Aryan Tokharian language, written in Brahmi, shows other processes (cf. A *ysār*, B *yāsar* ‘blood’ <PTokh. **yāsār* < PIE **eshar*/n, A *yśalām*, B *yśelme* ‘love’ < PIE **īgh*). Greek Bactrian <σ> and Manichaean Bactrian <c> derives from <*č and represents *ts*. /*Ts*/ may occur after palatal vowels. According to Sims-Williams, Manichaean <j> and <ž> (Greek <ζ>) may show *zj* or *ž* < *j. On the other hand, in Parthian we find a turn of occlusive *j to fricative <j> /*ž*/ along with *ž > <j> /*ž*/. In late Parthian <j> /*ž*/ dates back to *č in intervocalic, postvocalic position and after *r*. Also late Middle

Persian <c> /*z*/ dates back (possible through *j/ž?) to *č. On this basis, we can reconstruct a turn of occlusive *c*, *ch*, *j*, and *jh* to fricative, <yc> /*z*/, <yeh>, /*zh*/, <yj> /*ʃ*/, and <yjh> /*ʃh*/ for the Eastern Prakrits. The similar process occurs in some modern Aryan languages.

MARZIEH BASIRIZADEH (FARANAK KABIRI)

Thematic review of the royal hunt on the Sassanid Silver plates (Emphasizing the roundabout of the king’s head)

Metalworking is among the arts that have been considered for its unique features throughout history. Perhaps one of the most important reasons for using it a lot is its stamina and more durability than other materials. Another thing to consider about this is technology and the use of metals, which Iran has a valuable background in this regard. Lorestan bricks are a prominent

example of this. One of the most important periods in the use of metals is the Sassanid era, during which the period of art also flourishes. Sassanid art can be considered an important part of Iran and even the world. This art period is a bridge between pre-Islamic and post-Islamic periods in Iran. During the Sassanid Empire in Iran, many silver dishes have been made in Iran, some of which has still been remained. Many of these containers are made of precious metals to symbolize strength and credibility. One of the most important drawings used in these containers is the picture of hunting and its role and related topics. Hunting in the pre-Islamic era was one of the best works and honors of the kings, because one more thing in Sassanid art is the attempt to show the holiness and authority of the kings of this era; which has been shown in the use of designs such as the roundabout of the king's head or magnifying the king's image. In this paper, by presenting examples of silver dishes that includes the role of hunting of kings, it has been tried to introduce and examine these cases.

IGOR BAZILENKO

OUTLINE OF THE RUSSIAN-IRANIAN HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP

Russia and Iran for centuries were associated with each other not only on political views, but also on mystical unity of spirituality, inherent in the descendants of the Aryans. The idea of unity of the Aryans, the concept of common origin, hypothesis of similarity in developments, of the paths of evolution - all of these features of national characteristics and factors, at times, irrespective of the authenticity of the historical facts, are conceived as real by contemporaries, affecting all of the future developments and the fate of civilization. Consequently, the study on Russian-Iranian association has a special meaning and plays an important role in establishing our relationship.

The chronological framework of this paper is established on the following consideration: from the beginning of XVIII century Russia for the exterior politics, turned toward the West. Russia's policy in Iran was no exception. It was the orientation toward the West that dominated almost all of the Russian foreign policy, with the de facto recognition of the Oriental direction as being secondary from the end of 17th century. Without doubt, it can be concluded that such a policy was based on several historical reasons of objective and subjective background. One can take the liberty of asserting that during the last centuries the two-headed eagle of the Russian state emblem, willingly or unwillingly, kept both its heads facing the West, turning only occasionally to the East with one head. At the same time, Russia's neighbors to the West, for many centuries, had a difficult time in understanding Russia's policy regarding the East, for which restraint was essential. To a considerable extent under the influence of the Oriental policy of the West, almost all of, starting from belief in the "Western direction", at the end, determining and sustaining their interests, were obliged to pay more attention to the countries in the East. "Persia and Caucasus", in reference to the Russia's foreign policy, which with time became significant, and had to be considered within the framework of the well-known "Oriental Question", regarding the Ottoman inheritance. The struggle for the Caucasus assumed the center stage in the Russian-Iranian-Turkish relationships, as well as rivalry between Russia and European Powers for influence in the Middle East and Central Asian region.

At the same time, it should be noted that predominantly Russia's policy in the development of the Russian-Iranian relations, from the eighteenth century and later, was the desire of the Russian leadership to consider the states that emerged in the Iranian highlands and adjacent territories, as buffer zones, protecting the southern borders from encroachment by the British and Ottoman Empires.

In turn, the Iranian side, through its' various rulers, in a traditionally decentralized state, and in many ways relying on a complex system of balances and checks among the various religious, political, ethnic and social influences, used to its advantage the rivalry between the great powers. One provided an "open door policy", in which case dominance of one power was opposed by a multitude of others. The other, was based on the ethno-confessional considerations, which dictated establishment of isolationism, thus protecting the country and its population from the influence of all that was alien.

The Russian-Iranian relations, of the period under consideration, may be characterized as not comprehensive, due to the existence of a tangible external factor. During different periods, this factor was conditioned by the official representatives of regional or global magnitude (Ottoman Empire, Great Britain, France, Germany, United States of America etc.), either through the efforts of persons, representing the interests of international associations and organizations representing economic, political, and ideological specialization i.e. (The East India Co. (EIC), Baha'i Community, etc.). This external factor often was responsible for contradictions between Russia and Iran, or on the contrary helped to develop constructive interaction.

In the Russian-Iranian relations of XVIII - XX centuries, to a significant extent the subjective driving forces are noticeable. They were based either on the competence or on ignorance, were active or passive, toward other cultural traditions, introduced by the important personages of our country. Even more important, they were promoted by the ingeniousness of agents responsible for the introduction of the policy. Most of these actions depended on the vicissitudes or ups and downs in the relationships between Russia and Iran.

In the Russian-Iranian historical dialogue, in spite of some minor excesses, it is necessary to attribute a considerable share of respect to the neighbor-partner. Quite often, the attitude of Russians to Iranians stems from the fundamentals of the Russian national consciousness, breadth of the Russian nature, that allowed to see in the Iranians not only as natives but also equal to themselves in likeness. These qualities favorably distinguished Russians from pragmatic, and restrained Europeans in their utilitarian policy in the East. The Iranians learned very early the difference between "rus, rusi" (Russians) and the rest "farangi" or "hareji" (Europeans, foreigners). In many cases, this difference was felt in favor of Russians, at the social and at the public conscience levels.

In the opinion of the author of this paper, Russian-Iranian relations for almost five hundred years, too often, depended on the expectations of favorable or unfavorable developments in the global conditions, which were not attributable to the goodwill of the representatives and leaders of our two countries. For too long, the above-mentioned external factor, gained strength during hundreds of years, which was also supported by other countries. Every year, Russian-Iranian cooperation is getting stronger, in spite of the economic and cultural ties being far from ideal. This situation also existed in the past. From the XXI century, relations between Russia and Iran reflect the continuity of distinctive experience of the predecessors. An impartial view of Russian-Iranian relationship in the last centuries should help us to realize the responsibility that we are assuming vis-à-vis the past and future generations, in formulating a coherent and mutually acceptable paradigm for the development of Russian-Iranian ties in the future.

DANIEL BEBEN

The Shrine of Nasir-i Khusraw in the Sacred Geography of Ismailis of Central Asia

This paper will examine the place of the shrine of the 11th-century Ismaili Shi'i missionary Nasir-i Khusraw within the sacred geographical imagination of the Ismailis of the Badakhshan region of Central Asia. While Nasir is widely revered among the Ismailis of Badakhshan as the

founding figure of their tradition, his shrine historically played only a secondary role within the religious traditions of the Ismailis of the region. This was due to the fact that Nasir's shrine, located in the Yumgan district of the Badakhshan province of present-day Afghanistan, was for most of its history under the control of Sunni authorities, who provided patronage to the shrine but also simultaneously sought to obscure or deny Nasir's identity as an Ismaili. Accordingly, Ismailis were largely precluded from developing a shrine cult centered on Nasir's tomb.

While non-Ismaili devotees of Nasir-i Khusraw in the Badakhshan region appear to have cultivated a more traditional shrine cult centered on his figure, among the Ismailis of the region there emerged an alternative perspective on the place of Nasir's tomb within their tradition. Although shrines are typically considered a *sine qua non* for the establishment of saint cults, Nasir's shrine is in fact one of a series of such cases in which physical shrines have served only a secondary or more abstract role for communities centered on the legacy of a saint. Drawing upon a comparative examination of both Ismaili and non-Ismaili hagiographical accounts of Nasir-i Khusraw, I argue that the Ismaili narratives demonstrate a shift away from the depiction of the shrine as *axis mundi* that characterizes many traditional shrine cults, in which the tomb stands as a magnetic center and as an objective of pilgrimage, to one in which his burial place serves as a centrifugal force, marking the site from which Nasir carried out teaching and instruction in the years prior to his death, and from which his disciples radiated forth bearing the Ismaili *da'wa* or missionary summons throughout the territory of greater Badakhshan. In other words, it was not as a center or goal of pilgrimage, or what Victor Turner describes as the "center out there," but rather as a site of origin and commission that Nasir's burial place was envisioned by Ismailis. This narrative tradition entailed a shift from the liminal space often ascribed to shrines to a site marking an active intervention into the social realm. Likewise, I explore the manner in which Nasir's presence and didactic legacy become embodied within the landscape of greater Badakhshan in the form of *qadamgāhs* or "sacred stepping points," which serve as symbolic representations of Nasir's missionizing efforts on behalf of the Ismaili *da'wa* within Badakhshan.

THEODORE SAMUEL BEERS

The Rayhan-i nasta'liq (989/1581): A Little-Known Source on Calligraphers

One of the noteworthy trends in Persian studies in recent years has been a surge of interest in anthological texts, most commonly under the label of *tazkirahs*. These sources were long neglected in scholarship on Persian literary history, or they were used to the minimum extent required to collect biographical data about famous authors. As the field moves toward a better understanding of *tazkirahs*—both making use of them more resourcefully, and appreciating them as representing an important literary genre of their own—there are different levels of foundational work that need to be pursued. For example, a number of large and influential *tazkirahs* were not available in published editions until the last ten to fifteen years. (A few are still waiting to be edited...) Those major texts that have recently become easier to access, such as the *'Arafāt al-‘āshiqīn* (1024/1615) of Taqī al-Dīn Awḥadī, in turn demand in-depth study by researchers. But we have also reached a point at which it is worth exploring lesser-known Persian anthologies that were written during the early modern heyday of the genre. Hundreds of such works are catalogued in Aḥmad Gulchīn-i Ma‘ānī's monumental history of the *tazkirah*. Several decades after the appearance of that study, however, it remains the case that many of the texts described by Gulchīn-i Ma‘ānī have received no attention. It is, in fact, often difficult to determine whether a given *tazkirah* has survived into the present day.

This paper concerns one relatively obscure work, which seems not to have been mentioned in any European-language scholarship and has only been referred to incidentally in Persian. On the other hand, it is not only extant but was printed in lithograph in 1941—making this a source whose accessibility has had little impact on its use by researchers. The title of the text, which also encodes its year of composition through *abjad* numerals, is *Rayḥān-i nasta'liq* (989 AH, or 1581 CE). It can be described as a short treatise on Arabic-script calligraphy that also serves as a kind of *tazkirah* of famous calligraphers, some of whom are noted authors and poets in addition to their penmanship. (It was evidently the poetic material that led Gulchīn-i Ma'ānī to include the *Rayḥān* in his survey.) This text, which defies easy categorization, was written in India by an anonymous author. There are indications, however, that his family had its roots in Farāh. The goal of the current paper is mainly to provide an overview of the contents of the *Rayḥān*, so that a broader group of historians of Persian literature and art might become aware of its existence. One point that seems particularly important is that the vogue of anthological writing in Persian from the late ninth/fifteenth century onward was not limited to the realms of poetry and hagiography. Prominent figures in other arts became the subjects of *tazkirahs* (or quasi-*tazkirahs*) of their own—a development that is also reflected in the much more famous *Gulistān-i hunar* (ca. 1015/1606–7) of Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī, a sister text to the *Rayḥān-i nasta'liq*.

ALISHER BEGMATOV

Deictic Motion Verbs in Sogdian

In this paper, I will chiefly be concerned with the Sogdian deictic motion verbs which correspond to the English *come* and *go*, and their causative counterparts *bring* and *take*. The verbs *give* and *receive*, *come down* and *bring down* will also be used as comparison. As a source I will mainly use the Mt. Mugh documents. The Mt. Mugh documents found in modern-day Tajikistan are an exceptional source for understanding not only political, economical and social aspects of the Sogdians, but also certain linguistic features of the Sogdian language, as they are restricted to a certain region and period (i.e. early 8th century). The Mt. Mugh collection consists of approximately 80 documents (including fragments), written on paper, parchment and sticks. Livshits (1962 and 2008), Bogolyubov & Smirnova (1963) successfully deciphered these documents and made them available to a wider scholarly audience. However, some of the deictic motion verbs concerned here are likely not systematically understood by the authors, which can be found out from their corresponding translations. By systematically analyzing the use of prepositions/postpositions and articles which appear along with the verbs concerned in this paper, I have found out that there is a certain rule in the Mt. Mugh documents - the genitive-dative form of definite article is only used with the verbs that do not contain a motion, whereas prepositions/postpositions such as *to* or *toward* are as a general rule observed with the motion verbs. Furthermore, the Sogdian *take* which behaves as a nonmotion verb in other Sogdian materials, functions as a motion verb in the Mugh documents.

Old persian ditransitive constructions

Old Persian distinguishes two types of ditransitive constructions: the genitive ditransitive construction (see example 1) and the double accusative ditransitive construction (see example 2).

(1) The Genitive Ditransitive Construction

(a) *aṭta=maṭ yānam Auramazdā dadātu* (DPd22-24)
'this favour may Auramazdā grant me' (Schmitt 2000)

(b) *Auramazdā= maṭ upastām abara* (DB 1.55)
'Auramazdā brought me aid' (Schmitt 1991)

(2) The Double Accusative Ditransitive Construction

(a) *aṭta adam yānam jadyāmi Auramazdām* (DPd 20-21)
'This I pray as a favour of Auramazdā' (Schmitt 2000)

(b) *xšačam=šim adam adinam* (DB 1.59)
'I despoiled him of the kingship' (Schmitt 1991)

The differences between these constructions have been observed in previous studies (Meillet and Benveniste 1931; Kent 1953; Schmitt 2004), but they have not been explored in depth. This study considers the syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, morphological, and information structural restrictions on genitive ~ accusative alternation as the indirect object in order to understand the factors that condition the choice between the ditransitive constructions available. Due caution, however, should be exercised as far as OP material is concerned, since our understanding of OP linguistic features is dependent on a limited corpus.

Old Persian 'ditransitive' phenomena will be examined within the framework of construction grammar (CG). In particular, the present study will adopt a constructional approach in line with the work of Adele Goldberg (1995, 2006), arguing that the selection and realization of the argument of the verb are largely taken care of by the construction. A constructional analysis of OP data shows a alignment split ("different constructions under different conditions", cf. Haspelmath 2014): the two ditransitive constructions of OP can be regarded as two independent argument structure constructions characterized by distinct pragmatic profiles associated with somewhat different meanings. The ditransitive construction with genitive as Indirect Object represents the basic indirective alignment type of ditransitive (Malchukov *et al.* 2010) expressing transfer, while the double accusative construction features neutral alignment (cf. Malchukov *et al.* 2010) with a basic sense of *reversed transfer*. Indeed the double accusative construction involves the proposition of Indirect Object not possessing Direct Object after the verb event, i.e., having a sort of Maleficiary role.

The present paper is diachronic-comparative in scope, and seeks to establish a fundamental range of argument realization constructions that can be reconstructed for the Old Iranian genitive.

SIMON BERGER

The Mongol military system of government and its imposition in Iran as seen through the work of 'Alā ad-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik Juvaynī

The most widespread historiographical tradition is that the Mongols, as a nomadic and tribal force devoid of any state tradition, would have been essentially compelled to adopt the model of government of the defeated sedentary peoples in order to maintain their domination over the

newly conquered territories. Thus, the Mongol power in Iran is said to have quickly persianized and to have called on a predominantly Persian administrative staff. Following the recent developments in history and anthropology, this paper would aim to balance this vision by studying the picture of the Mongol administration drawn up by Juvaynī in his *Tārīkh-i Jahāngūsha*, one of the very first sources in Persian on the Mongol Empire.

First, I would like to present a reassessment of the vocabulary used by Juvaynī to describe the socio-political organization of the Mongols, which does not correspond to the tribal paradigm most often applied to them. I would then examine how, according to Juvaynī, the imposition of the Mongol order in Iran involved the establishment of a militarized administrative system encompassing the entire population, following the nomadic political tradition, and how the difficult and sometimes conflicting integration of Iranian administrative staff and traditions into this system was achieved. Thus I would like to show through this historical source that the Mongol imperial administration immediately consisted in importing a mainly military mode of government, based on a steppic tradition of the state.

HARALD BICHLMEIER

Bactrian umlaut

The goal of this contribution is to study the phonetically grounded diachronic phonological change known as ‘umlaut’ in Bactrian. In particular this regards the fronting (palatalizing) in Bactrian of *a* to *i* and of *ā* to *ē* before high front vowels, as well as the backing and rounding of *a* to *o* before *u*. Humbach (1960: 46) was among the first to note these phenomena, providing, among others, the following examples: Bactrian *πῖδο* ‘in, on, by, with’ compared with Avestan *paiti* ‘at, to’; Bactrian *πῶσο* ‘sheep’ compared with Avestan *pasu-* ‘sheep’. Other studies devoted to Bactrian phonology mention the *i*-umlaut labelled as palatalization, but disregard the *u*-umlaut (Morgenstierne 1970, Sims-Williams 1988, 1989). In Gholami (2014) both phenomena are described: the *i*-umlaut as palatalization (Gholami 2014: 34-35) and *u*-umlaut as sporadic vowel assimilation (Gholami 2014: 35). What has not yet been noticed is that while cases where the front vowels arise are context-free (i.e. without conditioning environments), the backing and rounding of *a* to *o* before *u* is context-sensitive, since it occurs only in a labial environment: see Bactrian *μῶλο* ‘wine’ < **madu-*, compared with Bactrian *κᾰσοκο* ‘little’ < **kasu-ka-*, Avestan *kasu-*.

More recently, apart from the contextual palatalization **a > i / _ya, _i*, as in *αγῖπο* ‘ineffective’ (< **a-karya-*), *κῖνο* ‘canal’ (< **kanyā-*), Golhami (2014: 65) has identified a second kind of palatalization triggered by the features of the adjacent coronal consonant, **a > i / _s, _z, _n*, as in *λῖστο* ‘hand’ < **dasta-*, *οῖζινδδῖγο* ‘current’ < **waz-antiya-ka-*, *οᾰνῖνδο* ‘victorious’ < **wananta-*. While there is general agreement on the first phenomenon, the second kind of palatalization is a particular issue raised by Gholami that is problematic in many respects. Indeed, upon closer examination, the second kind of palatalization is a fairly irregular phenomenon given that it is disregarded in many presumably typical contexts (see, for example, *αζδο* ‘knowledge’ < **azdā-*; *βαστο* past stem of ‘to behind’ < **basta-*; *βανδο* ‘bundle’ < **banda-*; *σωγανδο* ‘oath’ < **saukanta-*) and is applied conversely in untypical contexts: see, for example, *τοχμῖγο* ‘family’ < **tauxma-ka-*; *ζαδῖκο*, with its variant *ζαδακο* ‘child’, analyzed by Sims-Williams (2007: 210) as **zataka-* + ‘affectionate suffix’ with preserved **k*.

The aim of our paper is to re-examine Bactrian umlaut and to offer a systematic description of this sound change in a different positions.

SEBASTIAN BITSCH

Scorching heat, freezing cold or moon ? On the echo of Zoroastrian eschatological ideas in the Koran based on the case of *zamharīr*

Current research on the Babylonian Talmud increasingly focuses on intellectual dynamics between Jews and Zoroastrians during the Sāsānian epoch. As far as the Qur'ān is concerned, Zoroastrian texts have so far only been used to a very limited extent. The focus of those studies, concerned with the intellectual heritage of the Qur'ānic revelation, seems to lie on the much more influential and well documented traditions of Jewish and Christian provenance. However, locating the origins of the Qur'ān in the epistemic space of Late Antiquity seems to make it appropriate to include Zoroastrian religious texts in order to reconstruct the polyphonic religious sphere of discourse of the late sixth and beginning seventh centuries. In this context, however, Qur'ānic eschatology offers a highly promising field of research. The paper discusses possible Qur'ānic allusions to Zoroastrian eschatological conceptions on the basis of a case study, focusing on the Qur'ānic hapaxlegomenon *zamharīr* (Q 76:13). It is argued that *zamharīr* is not to be understood as the moon or a scorching heat, as some scholars have suggested, but, in the sense of the older Muslim exegesis, as a severe cold. While coldness in the sense of a punishment in hell is scarcely to be found in Jewish and Christian literature, this idea can be documented in Zoroastrian texts, which in turn may have influenced the Quranic prophecy or early exegetic literature. Beyond the study of *zamharīr*, other Qur'ānic allusions to Zoroastrian eschatological conceptions are highlighted, pleading for a systematic approach capable to integrate Zoroastrian texts into the corpus of relevant context literature of the Qur'ān.

ZUZANNA BLAJET

The snake in Pamiri folk prose narratives

A snake appears to be one of the most popular and ambiguous animal of the folk prose narratives of Pamiris from Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region (Tajikistan). The goal of the paper is to create the overall characterization of the snake literary figure which appears in Pamiri myths, legends and folktales. It focuses on the literal and symbolic layer of the text in order to determine Pamiris' ideas on the snake and the phenomena that the snake refers to. Text corpora consists of twenty two folk prose narratives collected during the field research and gathered from the collections of Tajik folklore. The semiotic analysis of each narrative was taken. The analysis focused on the characteristics features of the snake, the actions of the snake and the relations between the snake and the other elements of the narrative. It also attempted to establish the symbolic meaning of the snake. The result of the study indicates that in the collective imagination of Pamiris the snake is the symbol of the ambiguous phenomena: from the helpfulness and greatfullness to the ravangefulness and the demonic power. The vast majority of the distinguished features, actions, relations and the symbolic meanings of the snake seem to be common and recurring themes. Pamiri examples demonstrate the large similarity to those of different origins, which could indicate the unity of the human experience regardless the differences between people of the different cultures.

ENRICO BOCCACCINI

Advice literature of the Mediterranean: Persian Mirrors for Princes in a transcultural perspective

Advice literature of the Mediterranean: Persian Mirrors for Princes in a transcultural perspective
Throughout history, monocratic rulers all over the world were offered advice literature on rulership. The Persian-speaking rulers of the Abbasid period are no exception to this. However, this seemingly universal genre, often referred to as *Mirrors for Princes*, seldom receives a scholarly treatment that recognises its transcultural nature. This paper seeks to address this lacuna and re-instate Persian *Mirrors* from the 11th to 13th century, such as (pseudo-)al-Ghazālī's *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk* (c. early 12th century), the *Qābūs-nāma* (c. 1082–3) by the Ziyārid prince 'Unṣur al-Ma'ālī Kaykā'ūs b. Iskandar, and the *Siyāsat-nāma* attributed to the Saljūq vizier Nizām al-Mulk (d. 1092), into this transcultural genre by analysing the authors' construction and presentation of their advice to rulers and comparing it to other *Mirrors* (Arabic, Latin and Spanish) from around the Mediterranean.

The analysis will focus on how the authors of *Mirrors* employ various elements such as virtue catalogues, narratives about an idealised past and notions of paternal, quasi-paternal and female counsel to construct their advice, characterise its origins, equip it with authority and legitimacy, and indicate its fields of application and functions. Ultimately, the paper suggests that, building on a shared model of rulership that existed among the societies that could draw on the Late Antique heritage, authors of *Mirrors* developed comparable strategies to speak to power.

JOANNA BOCHENSKA

Ehmede Khani, Mem û Zîn and the Kurdish literary heritage.

Ehmede Khani (1651-1707) is certainly the most famous Kurdish classical poet and his works, especially the poem *Mem and Zin* (1695), written in Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish language, is the icon of the Kurdish literature. Ehmedê Xani's work has been often discussed in relation to the emergence of Kurdish nationalism. While many Kurdish intellectuals perceive it as an early example of the Kurdish national idea the other researchers criticized this approach as ideological rather than scientific.

The aim of my presentation is to look at Ehmede Khani's *Mem and Zin* through the lenses of the heritage and *heritageisation* theory. According to Harvey *heritageisation* is a practice of "shaping a contemporary product from history in order to make it meaningful and value-laden for the present and future generations". Though developed and scrutinised in the modern era, *heritageisation* is not a uniquely modern phenomena (2010). Accordingly, *Mem and Zin* can be perceived not only as a source of inspiration for the modern Kurdish ideology and literature, but can itself be an example of *heritageisation*. It is because Ehmede Khani reshaped the Kurdish legend filling it with the mystical context and thus made it meaningful in line of Islam and for the world he lived in.

Following Harvey's theory I am going to present Khani's *Mem and Zin* as a complex multi-layered heritage which is definitely not only a source of inspiration for the Kurdish nationalist ideology but provides a fascinating food for thought for modern Kurdish literature and contemporary ethics.

Ein Blick auf die dunkle Seite der Textüberlieferung: Zu religionspolitisch motivierter Varianz in Handschriften der Safavidenzeit

Texte, die vor Hunderten von Jahren verfasst wurden, liegen heutigen Forschern häufig durch Abschriften vor, die zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten und Orten kopiert wurden, insbesondere dann, wenn es keine kritische Edition eines Textes gibt oder frühe Handschriften verloren sind. In diesen Kopien gibt es immer wieder Abweichungen, die durch Fehler des Kopisten wie etwa mangelnde Kenntnis bestimmter Ausdrücke, abnehmende Konzentration oder anderweitige praktische Gründe bedingt sind. Einer anderen Art von Abweichungen zugrunde liegen ideologische, religionspolitische Aspekte, aufgrund derer ein Kopist den Text eines Werkes für eine bestimmte Leserschaft anpasste. Wie oft aber kam dies vor? War die bekannte „Korrektur“ des *Şafvat aş-şafā* unter Schah Tahmāsp in den 1530er Jahren eine Ausnahme oder steht sie beispielhaft für eine ganze Epoche? Aufbauend auf Forschung u.a. in den Sammlungen von St. Petersburg und Rom werden im Vortrag Handschriften von Werken der späten Timuridenzeit wie Mīrḥvānds (gest. 1498) *Rauzat aş-şafā*, Ḥvāndamīrs (gest. 1535–36) *Ḥulāṣat al-aḥbar* u.a. auf Veränderungen hin analysiert, die auf die veränderte religionspolitische Situation in Iran unter den Safaviden zurückzuführen sind und Einblicke in den Überlieferungsprozess von Texten im Handschriftenzeitalter erlauben.

A Comparative Study of the Architecture of Pigeon Towers: Iran's Outstanding Artistic Contribution

Pigeon towers or houses have existed and still exist worldwide. Domesticated, pigeons were not only a precious resource of income, but birds of sentiment and love. They served many aspects of the human compulsion: economy, joy, artistry and sensitivity. Rich in nitrogen, pigeon guano was used across Iran as a natural fertilizer for melon and cucumber fields. To gather this precious resource quite sumptuous homes were built for the pigeons. Often over six stories in height. These towering structures could hold as many as 14,000 pigeons. Pigeon towers numbered in the hundreds. Many are no longer operational and falling apart, due to the use of artificial fertilizers. The towers are also an amazing example of architectural theme and variation, yet unique in their particular form.

The paper will describe how the Iranian examples and contributions of the 16th and 17th centuries were very different and very superior both in design and technology.

Regionalism and Universalism in the Iranian Architecture at the Beginning of the 21st Century

The material culture of Persia (in architecture, design, arts) from Ancient and Middle Ages have been well known and deeply examined on a world level. However, this is far less true for the Iranian contemporary creative production. Therefore, the authors of the paper (historians of art and of architecture) are investigating some issues related to the visual and design features of

the latest Iranian architecture. Here, we are exploring samples representative of the beginning of the 21st century, including both public (cult, secular) and residential buildings. Although partly limited by the availability of information (existing publications, translations from Farsi, etc.), our selection is based on:

- the originality of their design concept;
- the final performance qualities;
- the expression of an attitude towards the traditional and the world-wide artistic heritage.

The analysis of the chosen examples is based on their stylistic-plastic character, most widely understood, including: their urban environment; the chosen volumes, proportions, silhouette, material, the play of colors, light and shadows, decorative elements, etc. The expected results are to illustrate the forms of interaction between the rich regional building environment and the universal architectural trends.

NEGAR HABIBI

Chehel Sotun and its Wall Paintings: A Window to Early-Modern Iranian Art and Society?

Chehel Sotun (lit. Forty Columns) Palace is the largest palace of Isfahan, the iconic capital of the Safavids (1501-1736). Completed in 1647 by Shah 'Abbās II (1642-66), the palace became the *lieu* of formal receptions for foreign ambassadors as well as for many Iranian festivities; wall paintings at the inside and outside of the palace constitute the most important part of the decoration. My paper focuses exclusively on the paintings of verandas, where more than 15 standing or seated figures represent the non-Iranian and non-Muslim women and men. One may wonder if these figurative paintings, including the naked or semi-naked women, should be considered as the pure decorations of the most prestigious royal palace. Could we consider these outside representations of non-Iranian princes and warriors or princesses and mothers, as the images of Europeans, women and minorities who had a non-central importance in the Safavid administration? Did they all have a non-central position? As the grand murals of the Chehel Sotun's Audience Hall represent some real events of the Safavid Court, one may wonder if the outdoor murals would also show some other social and political realities precisely tailored to the late seventeenth-century Iran.

The main purpose of this paper is to delve deeper into the history of Iranian art at the dawn of modernism. Describing and analyzing these paintings, we may focus particularly on two different aspects: their artistic techniques and iconographic significations. These paintings are neither dated nor signed. However, their styles drawn near what we would call as the so-called *Farangi Sāzi* style (lit. making in a European manner). Would these mural paintings be a larger example and primary model of the single-sheet *Farangi Sāzi* paintings, mostly dated between 1649 and 1694? We seek to know whether the wall paintings of the most important Safavid Royal Palace indicate in a purely artistic manner the seventeenth-century Iranian gaze to the Europeans. At the same time, we verify whether divers rang of female representations reflect the female identities in late Safavid Iran.

Cultural Relations between Iran and Germany at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century (Case Study: Mirza Hassan Moallem and teaching Persian Language at the University of Berlin)

The scientific and cultural relations of Iran and Germany have a long history and the teaching of Persian language and literature in German science centers and scientific exchanges in the field of philosophy, poetry and literature are among the important pillars of these historical relationships. Meanwhile, the role of non-state actors in the development and expansion of these historical relationships has always been important and serious. An example of these non-governmental cultural activists at the beginning of the 20th century is Mirza Hassan Moallem, a professor of Persian language teaching at the Eastern Languages School of the University of Berlin.

He was the son of a landowner in the Salmas area in northwestern Iran, who spent his youth years before the start of World War I in Istanbul. In this period, the relations between the Germans and the Ottomans grew, in ways unknown to us, the friendly relations between Mirza Hassan and the German ambassador to Istanbul were established and the German ambassador invited him to teach the Persian language at the Eastern Languages School of Berlin. Mirza Hasan had a high education but he did not study Persian language or Persian language teaching. However he accepted the invitation of the Ambassador and left for Berlin in November 1910, and from then on, for 25 years, attended the teaching of Farsi to the enthusiasts of this field in Germany. During this time he received salaries from the German government and his scientific and social services were remarkable, so that when the University of Berlin management in 1935, celebrates in honor of Mirza Hasan and for his efforts and long services, he was so well-known that this issue was reflected in prestigious and authentic newspapers of that time like *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. The strange thing is that apparently these events were without the knowledge of the government of Iran, because Mirza Hassan for informing its services in Germany to Iran government enthusiastically reported this celebration through a letter to Ali Asghar Hekmat, Minister of Education and Endowments of Iran. But Hekmat in his administrative note while pointing out the lack of knowledge about him and his work in Germany, asked the head of the Iranian Students' Directorate in Berlin to investigate his position and activities at the University of Berlin. In a written and brief report, he informed the activities of Mirza Hassan Moallem and stated that Mirza Hassan, in addition to teaching Persian at the school of oriental languages, is also referred to by Iranians living in Berlin for marriage and some Religious ceremonies and their funeral burials.

Therefore, Mirza Hassan is a non-governmental cultural activist at the beginning of the 20th century in Germany who, without any diplomatic and official support, spent more than a quarter of a century for expanding Persian culture and language in Berlin, and the scholars and cultural and scientific directors of that time in Berlin appreciated and celebrated him in addition to providing all the facilities for his activity.

JEREMEY BRADLEY (ANDRÁS CZENTNÁR, SAMPSA HOLOPAINEN, VERONIKA MILANOVA)

Iranian terms for siblings in the genealogical, areal, and typological perspectives

The Iranian branch of Indo-European (IE) lies on the boundary of several linguistic and cultural areas: West Asia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, South Asia, and East Asia. Individual

characteristics of each Iranian language dramatically depend on its proximity to these areas. Geographical position is especially indicative for vocabulary, including kinship terms.

We intend to analyse terms for siblings in Standard Farsi, Dari, Tajik, Ossetic, Yaghnobi, and Balochi from various perspectives, paying special attention on how geographical position influences semantics of inherited and borrowed terms. A point of particular interest is proliferation of relative age distinction (specific terms for older and younger siblings), a feature inherent to most languages of Central, South, and East Asia but originally not for Iranian (as for IE in general).

Further, we plan to compare the contact situation in Iranian with that in some Uralic languages: Udmurt, Mari, Hungarian. Here, sibling terminology was influenced by Turkic and shows fairly similar patterns as some Iranian languages, sometimes involving the same loanwords (Udm. *agay* and Jagh. *ako / aka* ‘elder brother’, Udm. *apay* and Jagh. *ap(p)a* ‘elder sister’). The appearance of this system in Udmurt (massive Turkic influence) but not in closely related Komi (limited Turkic influence) is a strong argument in favour of the Turkic origin of this system in Uralic as well.

GAY JENNIFER BREYLEY

Creating autonomous music spaces in contemporary Tehran: SET Festival and House no. 4

Tehran sound artist Sote (Ata Ebtekar) has observed that what the city’s artists are responding to when they create their work is ‘pollution’. Pollution, in its various forms, shapes Tehran’s creative spaces and intrudes on artists’ imaginative possibilities. However, Tehran is home to a broad range of active artistic communities that embrace their city’s complexities. Some of these communities are dedicated to the creation and maintenance of autonomous, collaborative spaces, in which artists, audiences and the city itself inspire each other. Drawing on Walter Benjamin’s notion of ‘experiment’, this paper examines two different examples of contemporary Tehran music spaces. SET, co-founded by Sote and nine other artists, is an artist-run festival that has provided opportunities for experimental musicians and audio-visual artists since 2014, holding events in various Tehran theatres and other venues. House no. 4 is both a physical space, a Central Tehran house, and an artist collective, which has held open mic and other musical events since 2013. Both SET and House no. 4 have productive collaborative relationships with fellow artists in Berlin. For SET, artistic quality and creative independence have been central. SET’s insistence on autonomy has resulted in financial challenges, but an improvisatory attitude, patience and collegial hard work have enabled its ongoing success and expansion. For House no. 4, openness to creative expression across genres, social classes and generations has been central. Through the collective, which contributes maintenance of the house, as well as social and creative support, House no. 4 operates as a welcoming space. Both SET and House no. 4 provide spaces where performers and audiences simultaneously escape Tehran’s pollution and transform it into sonic pleasure and experimentation.

I-Ir. *čaná and polarity in Old Iranian

Old Iranian displays an almost complete absence of negative polarity items (NPI) with the only exception of I-Ir. *čana > OAv. cinā, YAv. cina, OP cina, Ved. cana. NPIs are expressions with lexical semantic deficit whose distribution are restricted by the presence of an anti-veridical operator. In this paper I intend to present a full description of the negative polarity item (NPI) cina/cinā whose syntactic

distribution is limited to the presence of a negative marker in the sentence. It is attested up to six times in Avestan and only once in Old Persian. On the contrary, it is widely attested in Vedic where it displays a variety of functions such as reinforcement of negation (“at all”), as a marker of negative indefinites (kaś cana) and, even, as a negative marker (“not”) in the absence of a standard negative marker. Finally, I will connect this NPI with Gr. πω, whose syntactic distribution is similar and whose etymology must be traced back to same pronominal stem *kwe-.

DAVID BUYANER

125 Jahre Neupersische Etymologie: Vorbemerkungen zum Erscheinen eines zeitgenössischen etymologischen Wörterbuchs des Neupersischen

Die im Titel des Vortrages angeführte Zahlenangabe bezieht sich auf den Zeitraum, der seit der Herausgabe von Paul Horns *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie* vergangen ist. Horns ambitionierter Versuch, die bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts erreichten Ergebnisse zur persischen Wortgeschichte zu systematisieren, hatte trotz seiner allgemein bekannten Mängel alle Chancen, den Auftakt zu einer umfassenden Behandlung ihres Forschungsgegenstands zu bilden. Konnte doch selbst die heftigste Kritik, der sich das Werk ausgesetzt sah, dazu beitragen, das wissenschaftliche Interesse an persischen etymologischen Studien zu steigern und gegen deren offensichtliche methodologische Schwächen anzugehen. Leider haben sich diese Hoffnungen *höchstens vordergründig* erfüllt.

Wie seltsam es auch erscheinen mag, mehr als ein Jahrhundert nach Horns bahnbrechender Studie muß man feststellen, daß sich das methodologische und allgemeine theoretische Niveau der seither publizierten etymologischen Untersuchungen zum Neupersischen wenn überhaupt, dann nur marginal über die von den Kritikern und unmittelbaren Nachfolgern Horns ausgearbeitete Herangehensweise erhoben hat.

Der Vortrag verfolgt den Zweck, Ursachen dieses unbefriedigenden Zustands aufzudecken und neue Wege für die Lösung der damit zusammenhängenden Probleme zu skizzieren.

JOANNA BYSZUK (ALEXEY KHISMATULIN)

Attribution of an Anonymous Qasida Appended to the First Redaction of the Siyar al-muluk

The history of the modern study of the *Siyar al-muluk* exceeds 125 years. Since its first publication by Ch. Schefer (d. 1898) in 1891 up to the present time, the text has already passed through several critical editions, been translated into eleven languages at least, and republished

innumerable times in Iran, as the first political treatise written in Persian by Nizam al-Mulk (k. 485/1092), the great prime minister of the Saljuq dynasty. A retrospective critical review of the publication history of the *Siyar al-muluk* clearly shows that its editors did not distinguish two redactions of the text. The first one was compiled by Muhammad Maghribi, an unidentified copyist of the private correspondence addressed directly to the Sultan Malikshah (d. 485/1092). The second one was allegedly written by Nizam al-Mulk.

Here, we shall confine ourselves to just two key points: the origins of the first redaction of the *Siyar al-muluk* and an anonymous *qasida* which was appended to it and whose author is identified with the help of modern stylometry.

PIERFRANCESCO CALLIERI

The dating of the monumental gate at Tol-e Ajori, Fars: a comprehensive overview of the chronological evidence.

The Iranian-Italian Joint Archaeological Mission in Fars has carried out eight seasons of archaeological excavations at the site of Tol-e Ajori, 3.5 km to the west of the Persepolis Terrace, where a monumental gate built in mud- and baked bricks has come to light, giving access to the palace building known as Firuzi 5 and perhaps other structure further east. The Tol-e Ajori gate shows a striking similarity with the Babylon Ishtar Gate, partly reconstructed in the Berlin Pergamonmuseum: the similarity regards both plan and decoration. Even though none of the features obtained through excavation offers a secure and definitive dating, the critical discussion of the chronological implications of the whole archaeological, architectural, iconographical, epigraphical and historical evidence has made it possible to propose a tentative dating. Also in the light of the feedback got from the preliminary publications, the authors present a critical overview of this evidence, which acquires a fairly good degree of reliability thanks to its comprehensive approach.

ALESSANDRO CANCELAN

Apolitical who? Iranian Sufism and forms of resistance in post-revolutionary Iran

On the night of 19th of February 2018 dozens of demonstrators took to the street in Tehran, in an alley of a normally quiet residential neighborhood of north Tehran, Golestan-e Haftom. The crowd had come to defend at any cost the residence of Nur 'Ali Tabandeh, the leader of the Gonabadi branch of the Ni'matullahi order. This order has been targeted by the authorities of the IRR since 2006, based on a conflict of authority and that has its roots in the history of Twelver Shi'ism. This enmity appears to have reached a boiling point over the last decade, and the strategy of part of the Iranian political establishment seems one aimed to eradication. This aggressive policy seems to have brought to the surface the political element inherent to Iranian Sufism. Declaredly apolitical, since the 2009 presidential election, Gonabadi Sufis, in Iran and abroad, have become somehow vocals in backing the reformist agenda, notwithstanding the reiterated statements of equidistance.

In this paper, I will explore the modes and forms in which this political thrust becomes manifest, problematising the non-political official position of the order.

The example of the Mujahideen-e Khalq as an Islamist movement and their ideological transformations

The Mojahedin Khalq Organisation (MKO) was established in 1965 in order to fight the Iranian Shah and became an alternative government, to correct the injustices of the Shah's regime and become a response to Iran's economic and social needs. The MK was one of the major groups that overthrew the Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's monarchy and served as a catalyst to the Ayatollah Khomeini's rise. The Organization supported Khomeini at one time and later began a change of role from being an organization supportive of Khomeini's brand of Islamic governance. Its major activity centers against the Iranian regime were situated in Iraq, and its military bases were situated along the Iran-Iraq border.

For over three decades MKO has survived and operated against the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran supported by Saddam Hussein (in the eighties) and for several personalities of the U.S. and some European governments in nowadays under National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCRI). Up until 1986, France served as the organization's home base for its worldwide branches.

This article focuses mainly on the years 2010-2018 of MK and it will be answered shortly the following questions in this article: (i) What was the organization's alternative political view regarding Iran's future? (ii) What type of government strategy is following the MK during those years? (iii) What was the source of motivation and finances to fight against Islamic Republic for so long?

The rituals in Avestan language as system: their classification and representation

Despite the attempts (e.g. Ahmadi BSOAS 81 [2018]) to discredit the unitary conception of the main rituals in Avestan language, the starting point of the Corpus Avesticum Berolinense is that the text of each ritual is the basic textual unit. This textual unit is defined by formal features: it begins with a *frauarāne* and end with a *yasnəmca ... āfrināmi*. Each text defined in such a way is the result of historical compositional process and might show different chronological layers, but was treated by the ritual tradition in Avestan language as an independent textual and ritual unit. Thus in the Corpus Avesticum Berolinense.

We do not only believe on the unitary character of the ritual/textual units defined according to the above mentioned feature, but also that each unit cannot be understood independently, but as part of a complex ritual system. Our edition will try to emphasize the close interrelations between the different rituals. To this purpose, we have introduced a new classification of the rituals in Avestan language according to formal features. The main one is the presence or absence of "formalized litanies". They can be defined as the repetition of performative verb in which the objects of the verb follow a well-established pattern. Mostly, "formalized litanies" are combined in an ordered succession of litanies with different performative verbs. These "combined litanies" are the main ritual structure. The best-known example is provided by the Hōm Yašt.

The rituals in Avestan language can be divided first between rituals with and without "combined litanies". The latter ones are basically the rituals included in the manuscripts of the so-called Khordeh Avesta, although some rituals of this type were never included in such collections.

Most of them were, however, performed after the performance of a “combined letany”. This is clearly the case for some, if not all the Yašts.

Furthermore, the rituals with “combined litanies” can be divided in rituals including only a single or multiple “combined litanies”. The former ones are always performed for “all the gods” (*vīspa- yazata-*), whereas the latter ones are performed for “all the gods and all the ritual times” (*vīspa- yazata- vīspa- ratu-*). To the latter type, belong all the rituals that we usually ascribe to the Long Liturgy, except the Yasna ī Rapihwin.

MARIO CASARI

Geometry of the Spirit: Italo Calvino and Iran

Italo Calvino (1923-1985) is reputed to be the most read Italian writer in the world. After the posthumous publication of his *Six Memos for the Next Millennium*, his works – translated in innumerable languages – have met with sustained success and made him a reference point among intellectuals in the fields of literature and culture in numerous countries, each with its own motivations for being drawn to his work. In terms of the Persian language, most of Calvino’s narrative works and some of his essays have been translated for a growing readership that is attracted by specific aspects of his production: fable-like narrative; visionary clarity; spiritual afflatus.

However, Italo Calvino – who travelled to Iran in 1975 and wrote some accounts of his experience there – was himself interested in literary texts of Persian origin, whose traces are scattered among his works, his library, and his reading notes.

A comparison between these intersections – Calvino’s Iran and Calvino in Iran – may offer insights both into Calvino’s work and Iranian cultural attitudes towards classic contemporaneity; it further stimulates reflections on some central questions concerning the function of literary communication.

HUNTER CASPARIAN BANDY

Recovering the Marghūb al-qulūb of Šadr Jahān Ṭabasī: Iranian Sufism, Deccan Shī‘ism, and the Destiny of a Sultanate

The founding myth of the Deccan Sultanate of Golkonda in the 16th century attributes its political success to devotion to Imāmī Shī‘ism and the blessing of a Ni‘matullāhī Sufi master in Iran. Historians have presumed this myth arrived within a ‘lost’ historical work, yet literary analysis of new manuscript evidence demonstrates it was instead an exemplum contained in a *fürstenspiegel* dedicated to the third Quṭbshāhī ruler. Using unstudied chancery documents to elucidate this courtly context, I argue that the Imāmī-Ni‘matullāhī devotion of the author captures one dimension of fluid Shī‘ī and Sufi culture embracing the wider Deccan Muslim landscape. The reception of the myth later in the 17th century corroborates Sufi inflected Shī‘ism as an indigenized product of the Deccan and not an Iranian ‘export.’ This revisionist reading of new sources refutes the widely held opinion about categorical early-modern Shī‘ī antipathy towards Sufism, and it refutes the presumption that non-Šafavī orders ceased operation between Iran and its regional partners.

CARLO G. CERETI

Late Middle Persian Writing Tradition

The author intends to present specimens of late Middle Persian writing from the northern regions of historical Iran and discuss them both from the philological and from the historic point of view. More specifically, the paper aims at presenting a first reading of a selection of texts taken from the collection of ostraca belonging to the National Museum of Iran.

LUCIA CERULLO

Treasures from Iran. Technical-Stylistic characterization of the metallurgical production of Pre-Achaemenid period

The archaeological and historiographical interest towards the Medes increased very much in the 60s-70s of last century in relation to the discoveries of the charming treasures in the Iranian area (Hamadan, Ziwiye, Oxus). These treasures have provided the art-historical documentation with numerous artefacts rich of figurative decorations and handicraft complexity that has been, in time, considered by some scholars as the precursors of the Achaemenid figurative forms. However, at the same time this enthusiasm has encouraged - already following those discoveries - a market of fakes and antiques without control. More recently, the discovery of Arjan and Jubji (Khūzestān) tombs and Kalmakarra hoard (Lorestān) and its partial study have raised numerous other doubts and very few certainties, prompting some scholars to presume a precise cultural contact between Elamites and the Medes. This kind of contact, nevertheless, still lacks in general explicit and convincing historical and archaeological evidence. The style and technique of the objects of the Kalmakarra hoard and the inscriptions present on a limited number of objects there found, seem to hypothesize a date, according to Vallat, between 585-539 BC, and would give a confirmation of the Elamite-Iranian acculturation process, also evidenced by the objects from Arjan and Jubaji. Starting from these significant issues, this paper will analyse some objects of the mentioned Treasures, with their stylistic and iconographic contents, relating them to similar chronological and geographic contexts, without underestimating a study perspective based on an archaeometallurgical point of view. It will be also taken into the due consideration the techniques (fusion or repoussé) and decoration (chasing, soldering, filigree, granulation) processes used by the artisans, showing an increasing ability that could have been borrowed from culturally close realities.

NATALIA CHALISOVA

In the Age of Ḥāfiz: The Qur'anic story of Joseph retold by Persian ghazal poets

The Qur'anic story of Joseph, supplemented in *tafsīrs* and stories about the prophets, is among the productive resources of Persian poetry. Through the process of narrativisation at the hands of the authors of romantic epic, the story plotline gradually became complicated and enriched with details. The *ghazal* masters poetised the elements of the plot, and a specific “Yūsuf cluster” of conventional imagery was gradually formed. Common poetic formulas such as *pīrāhan-i Yūsuf*, “the shirt of Joseph,” *chāh-i Yūsuf*, “the well of Joseph,” *būy-i Yūsuf*, “the fragrance of

Joseph,” etc. were used in numerous contexts over the centuries and underwent semantic changes. In the “school of love” *ghazal* poetry (8th/14th century), this entire cluster of imagery is not only related to the original Qur’anic story, but also correlates with the romantic entanglements of the *ghazal*’s basic fiction. The *ghazal* poets of the 8th/14th century (Ḥāfiz, Salmān Sāvajī, Kamāl Khujandī and others) endowed formulas connected with Yūsuf with special meanings and used that cluster of imagery to allude to specific twists and turns on the path of love. The semantics of such formulas, in comparison with the Qur’anic story and the cases of “metamorphosis of meaning,” will be discussed in my presentation.

LEILA CHAMANKHAH

Persianization of Shaykhism: The Doctrine of the Fourth Pillar from Ahmad Aḥsā’ī to Karīm Khān Kermānī

Qajar Persia was witness to a number of intellectual turning points, which not only left their imprint on social and political developments of their time, but also surpassed the limit of time and influenced subsequent epochs. The juridico-theological school, which shaped around the teachings and charismatic personality of Aḥmad al-Aḥsā’ī (d. 1239 H/1823), has been the subject of lively debates since its emergence in the nineteenth century. Scholars were particularly interested in the question of authority and spiritual leadership in Shaykhism and its culmination in the doctrine of the Fourth Pillar (rukn-i rābi‘) which is elaborated by Aḥsā’ī’s student and the last influential leader of the school, Muḥammad Karīm Khān Kermānī (1288 H/1871). While there is abundant information about the doctrine of the Fourth Pillar in the writings of Kermānī, our knowledge about the nature of leadership as well as of the identity of the holder of the office of rukn-i rābi‘ in the writings of the preceding Shaykhī scholars is not sufficient. Although all the Shaykhī leaders prior to Kermānī discussed the issue, none contributed to it as Kermānī did. In fact, he turned rukn-i rābi‘ into the cornerstone of his philosophy. Moreover, he played an important role in Persianization of Shaykhism in different ways, from writing in Persian to engaging in political vicissitudes of the Qajar era.

In this paper, first I will discuss the conception of leadership in the key texts of Aḥsā’ī as well as other Shaykhī leaders. Second, I will analyze the doctrine of rukn-i rābi‘ in Kermānī’s texts to examine how it communicates with tradition regarding new questions and the quest for establishing a separate school with clear boundaries. Third, I will contextualize Kermānī’s attempts in Persianizing the Shaykhī creed and argue that they should be understood in the broader perspective of nationalistic aspirations of the mid nineteenth century.

CHAO-JUNG CHING

From Khotan to India: Traffics of merchants and Buddhist pilgrims on the Silk Road in the 5th century

The present paper shall discuss Khotan (Xinjiang, China) as a key intersection of the entire road network from China to India through a close reading of Chinese annals, Buddhist literatures and several documents unearthed from Chinese Turkestan. My analysis generally confirms the assumption of Rong Xinjiang made in 2007 that there seemed to be a severe interruption of the traffics between Chinese Turkestan and Northwestern India around the 470s CE due to the expansion of the Hephthalites in Central Asia. Henceforth, the 470s may be taken as the

terminus ante quem of the Sogdian inscriptions found around the Upper Indus Valley on this route.

GWENDOLYN COLLAÇO

Tracing Tied Traditions of Travel Literature: Qajar and Ottoman Cultural Exchange through the Manuscripts of Mehmed Münif Pasha's İran Risalesi

JAIMEE COMSTOCK-SKIPP

From the Khān to the Sultān: the Shaybānid *Shāhnāma* in the Topkapi (mss. H.1488)

Whereas many scholars have focused on *Shāhnāma* manuscripts from the Iranian heartland, limited attention has been given to the political and artistic connections between the regions flanking it: Ottoman-controlled Anatolia and the Shaybānid Uzbeks who ruled over Transoxiana (Central Asia). Scholarship up to now has held that the artists of Shaybānid-controlled Transoxiana seldom illustrated copies of Firdausī's *Shāhnāma*, thus the impact of Firdausī's *Shāhnāma* epic on the Shaybānids has by far received the least attention. The focus of this paper is on an isolated copy of the epic located today in the Topkapi library (H.1488). It was originally produced in Bukhara in 1564/65 and was gifted in 1594 by the Shaybānid ruler 'Abdallāh Khan Uzbek to the Ottoman Sultan Murād III. Presented in Istanbul by an embassy arriving from Bukhara, this paper will discuss both the art and politics at play in this offering. It will also present an overview of *Shāhnāma* productions from Shaybānid workshops that span the 16th century. By isolating copies of this one title and dwelling on the Topkapi copy (H.1488) in particular, I aim to show that interactions across the Ottoman realm and Transoxiana in the early modern period are richer than we have previously thought.

FERENCE CSIRKES

Fall from Office but not from Grace: Sadiqi Beg and the Persian literary canon

The paper will be a case study of why and how Sadiqi Beg (ca. 1533-1610) fell outside of the canon of Persian literature in the seventeenth century.

Sadiqi Beg was one of the most prominent painters of Safavid Persia in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, who was also a significant litterateur, writing in both Persian and Turkic. His literary output, however, has never been seriously studied, probably because his legacy was the subject of debate already in his own time, which severely damaged his literary legacy. Nevertheless, the meagerness of our present knowledge of his writings is in stark contrast with his frequent appearance in the biographical literature produced in both Mughal India and Safavid Iran.

The present paper is made up of two parts. On the one hand, I analyze the development of Sadiqi's reception as it is reflected in Safavid and Mughal biographical literature. On the other hand, I discuss two pamphlets that he wrote, one against Lisani, a poet of the early 16th century, and another one against Fayzi (d. 1595), the most important poet of Akbar's court in Mughal Delhi. Suggesting personal motifs for these pamphlets, contemporary biographical sources

suggest that Sadiqi was a highly cantankerous person who held grudges against many of his colleagues and rivals; these reports also depict him as a genius for a painter but mediocre as a poet.

While I deny neither the validity of their aesthetic judgments nor the dark sides of Sadiqi's personality, I argue that one of the main reasons for Sadiqi's tarnished legacy as a poet was the highly critical stance he took in the debate about *tazah-guyi* 'the fresh style' in Persian poetry, a standpoint most eloquently and expressly outlined in these pamphlets. Shedding light on an interesting episode connecting the Safavid and Mughal literary spheres, my analysis will tie in with discussions about Persian literary canon formation in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and more broadly, with sea changes in aesthetics and patronage, related in turn to profound shifts in early modern Iranian politics, religion and culture.

JULIEN CUNY (SEE: GIAN PIETRO BASELLO)

ANDRÁS CZENTNÁR (SEE: JEREMEY BRADLEY)

FARID DADKHAH (LEILA PEYGHAMBARZADEH)

Reading out the representing of Abul-Hasan Hojviri on “Hussain Ibn Mansur Al-Hallaj”

Texts are the product of social and linguistic forces. That's why we should not search the rules of the game in the discourse text but in the institutional functions that produce discourse. Among the scholarly and teaching texts that are revising the story of “Hallaj”, the “Kashf Al-Mahjub” has a special situation. This work after Tabaghat al-Sufiyah by Sulami (p. 415) is the second most influential work on the movement of “Hallaj” with a multidimensional approach. Reading of Hojviri representing on “Hallaj” with the approach of critical discourse analysis shows that the text which produced, reflected the set of dominant discourses in the Seljuk era. Relations of power and legitimacy that are characteristics of Seljuk era's discourse is reflected in this text as a generalized principle and reproduces certain aspects of social identity and shows that the author's valuation has been introduced in all his descriptions, and his propositions has an ideological orientation. So that various and sometimes contradictory narratives, as well as religious and political orientations about his opinions and ideas, allow readers to make numerous perusals which is the result of feedback from the cultural frameworks, classes, ideas and social structure of his era. In this paper, in order to study of components such as the context of speech, the purpose of communication and the formulation of discourse, three categories are considered: 1- Using of language 2- Communication between ideology 3- Interactions in social situations. The main objective of this research is to provide an integrated description of these three main dimensions.

The Portrayal of Adolescent Girls in Contemporary Cinema of Iran

The role of women in every cultural aspect in Iran has always been a subject of debate and their image in cinema has been no exception. The portrayal of women in Iranian cinema started from the early days of Iranian cinema. Although there were no women in the cast of first silent Iranian movie “Abi and Rabi”, the second movie “Haji Agha” included two women actors who were Armenian by origin. The first Persian sound film “Dokhtar-e-Lor” not only featured a woman in its cast, but also the woman was the star of the movie and she was 18 years old, an adolescent. Roohangiz Saminejad, later after the movie premiered in Iran was subject to sexual harassments and her life changed in a matter of few months when in a time of taboos she gained fame on the screens of cinema.

The representation of women in Iranian cinema continued by portraying women mainly in the role of lovers, when in 1930-40s directors made movies based on classic Iranian love stories. After 1940's a wave of *fime-farsi* started where men were falling in love with women who were objectified and sexualised during their portrayal in Iranian style gentlemen's clubs and few films can be mentioned, where women were portrayed as strong and independent individuals. After the revolution, during 1980-1990's, women were completely desexualised, they were either religious women waiting for their husbands to return from Iran-Iraq war or women who were portrayed as mothers, wives, teachers, mostly in a secondary roles. The shift came during 1990's and beyond, since then, there has been a major shift in portrayal of Iranian women. If, before they were just considered a mother, daughter or relative who was in charge of the family and her only concern was the matters of virginity, honour or praying for her husband and children, the new tendencies in Iranian cinema started to draw stronger images of women and raised social and political issues related to women and their problems in the society.

The focus of the film critics has always been mainly on portrayal of women in Iranian cinema, but not the adolescents. The proposed presentation, which covers a vast range of Iranian movies, focuses mainly on the portrayal of adolescent girls in contemporary cinema of Iran, Their contradicting roles, mainly as victims and rarely as empowered girls. There are movies, which deal mainly with teenage love, the despair and the family matters that come with the realisation of this love. These girls are not only bind by their inner problems of coming of age, but also by oppressions and limitations that surrounds them. The adolescent girls of these movies, mainly belong to a lower social class and are in fight with the patriarchal limitations, with early forced marriages, some of them are in the dead end of their life, in detention centre or prisons condemned to a life sentence or facing death penalty. They are also in a transition mode, in a clash with accepting modernity or keeping the traditions. This paper discusses the above-mentioned issues and how they are portrayed in Iranian movies.

FARZANEH DARGI (FARZANEH FARROKH FAR)

The congregation of library and artistic occupations related to it,during the Safavid period

Safavid era is one of the most important periods of Iranian history and often considered the beginning of modern Iranian history, due to its political stability and relative tranquility, economic growth and social interactions bring a describable intellectual flourishing.

The historical period chosen in this research, in addition to its unique features in the political and religious history of Iran, can be known as the period which was leading era for commercial

activities and cultural interactions with neighboring states. The same factors have contributed to the prosperity of the job market and the various occupations that are nowadays largely referred to as artistic occupations. The effects of this flourishing and the growth can be seen in different areas of society in this era. In the meantime, artistic activities, and especially for the occupations related to the congregation of the library, which is more prestigious and widespread than other occupations of that era, and reflects the state of the society in that era. The purpose of this paper is to identify the position of the congregation of the library and its associated artistic occupations in the Safavid era (in the tenth and eleventh centuries).

Despite the special importance and special status of studies in this field, the Safavid artistic professions have become less known due to the lack of documents and information resources. The reason for the lack of evidence is probably due to the reluctance of Iranian historians to provide a clear picture of this issue. Surly, it is a historiography aspect as a political subject. The searches of the writer seek to find resources related to the situation of the Safavid occupations and guilds, indicating the existence of minimal resources.

The least resources and pre-Safavid Tazkerah, the available information on the status of the occupations indicates the existence of diverse occupations. This study surveys to review the two authentic documents during this time period; the version of the Tohfeh-ye Sami (سامی تحفه) about poem and poets written by Prince Sam-Mirza Safavi who was an art lover and Tazkerat al-Muluk (الملوك تذكره), Persian manual from the transitional period, written by Mirza Sami'a, and analyze the Safavid artistic occupations and the position of the library's congregation. The research is designed to get an answer to this question: What are the congregation of the library and artistic occupations related to it in the Safavid era? And how to prove their position among other occupations of that time? The findings of the study indicate the desirable situation of artistic occupations, in particular, for the Safavid occupations related to the congregation of the library.

This research tries to retrieve all the artistic activities listed in these documents using these resources, then categorize and analyze them according to the types of the communities of the congregation. In this way, the focus is on identifying the position of the congregation of the library and its related artistic occupations. So, this study uses the analytical-comparative research method and the method of collecting information is the library's documents.

KERMAN DARUWALLA

The Kadimi priestly rituals in India: a continuation of the Iranian tradition of the long liturgy

The ritual directions in manuscripts of the long liturgy attest to two parallel priestly traditions in Iran and India. Among the Indian tradition, the ritual performed by the mainstream Shenshahi priestly faction has been described and studied in detail. However the breakaway Kadimi faction, formed in the eighteenth century chiefly due to the difference in the religious calendar, has hitherto received little attention. The Kadimi ritual, which traces its origins to the Iranian practice of the time, is presently performed very rarely and only at one Atashbehrām in Mumbai. By drawing a comparison between the Yasna ritual actions performed by Kadimi priests with those attested in the Iranian ritual manuscripts, this paper proposes that despite the discontinuation of the long liturgy within Iran after the mid-twentieth century, the Iranian tradition has been preserved up to the present day in the Indian Kadimi practice.

Ardaxšīr Pābagān and Early Sasanian Militant Piety

The establishment of the Sasanians Empire by Ardaxšīr Pābagān in the third century CE is a decisive moment in late antique and Eurasian political and religious history. This paper attempts to delineate the importance of Ardaxšīr's rise as a quasi-religious and political leader and its consequence for Iranian history.

While there have been important studies on Ardaxšīr's political career, far less is his mention in terms of the king's religious background and motivations. We do know about the religious connections of the house of Sāsān, namely their ties to the cult of Anahita and its fire-temple in Istakhr. This essay suggests that the cult of Lady Anahita was a militant manifestation of "Mazdaism," in late antiquity, whose militaristic nature is mentioned in Tabrī's narrative of Ardaxšīr's religious action vis-à-vis his opponents. Furthermore, the consequence of such Mazdean militant piety is clear from the survey of the Jewish, Mandaean, Christian and Buddhist archaeological and narratives, which point to a break in practices by Ardaxšīr from that of the Arsacid past.

Hence, it appears that with Ardaxšīr's rise we are facing a specific form of militant pious movement which became a recurrent pattern, later with Christianity, but also Sufi mystical movements in North Africa (Almoravids and the Almohads in the 12th and the 13th CE), and the Turkomens who took on the same role for the Ottomans in Anatolia, and for the case of Iran, the Qizilbash following the order of Shaykh Safi and Shah Islam'il of the Safavid order.

MATTEO DE CHIARA

Motif-Hunting in the Khotanese Sudhanāvadāna

The core of the Khotanese *Sudhanāvadāna*, a Buddhist text told in a tenth-century Late Khotanese poem, tells a previous life of the Buddha: the story of Sudhana and his wife, the fairy princess Manoharā. Even if probably intended for didactic and dogmatic purposes, this text is a folk-tale, which finds its close parallels in some Sanskrit texts and in the oral literatures of the Iranian languages. The tale consists of three main episodes — the Types ATU560, *The Magic Ring*, ATU313, *The Magic Flight*, and ATU400, *The Man on a Quest for His Lost Wife* —, but we can identify also a great number of Motifs. This paper will focus on some main Motifs and will provide a theoretical reflection on Thompson's approach in a comparative perspective.

BRUNO DE NICOLA

Production of manuscripts in Ilkhanid Iran: a case study of an Isfahani copyist

The arrival of the Mongols to Iran in the 13th century marks a turning point in the history of the region. Scholars have long highlighted the impact that the Mongols had in the political, economic and religious life of medieval Iran. The arrival of the Mongols also transformed some cultural aspects by introducing new architectural styles, propitiating the renaissance of Persian literature and especially promoting a burst in the production of Islamic manuscripts. Scholars have engaged with this 'Cultural Revolution' by concentrating their efforts in studying important works composed in Mongol Iran either for their scientific, literary or artistic value.

Yet, most of this research focuses on individual manuscripts (or works) or, alternatively, it centres on a reduced corpus of specific literary genres. For their restricted focus, these studies tell us little about the bigger picture of how literary production worked in Ilkhanid Iran. In recent years, libraries and research projects have made massive efforts in advancing cataloguing and the digitization of manuscripts. These cataloguing and dissemination efforts have made available to researchers and the public alike a large number of codices from the Ilkhanid period. Nevertheless, despite the numerous codices surviving from this time, little is known about the production, distribution and consumption of this vast amount of manuscripts. This paper is an attempt to work on one of these understudied aspects of Ilkhanid manuscripts by proposing a case study of six different manuscripts all copied by the same Isfahani copyist in 14th-century Iran. We aim to show that by looking at group of codices produced in the period, we can learn not only about the contents of the text but also about the society that was producing, distributing and consuming them.

ELEANOR LUCY DEACON

The Introduction of Non-Religious Characters to The Martyrdom of Imam Husain, the Climactic Play of the Iranian Ta'ziyeh Cycle

A vibrant period for the Iranian *ta'ziyeh* tradition, the 19th century saw the anonymous dramatists of this genre not only develop the verse of the central plays of the cycle but innovate new narrative content. This research investigates one such innovation, the curious appearance of two new characters in the climactic play, *The Martyrdom of Imam Husain*. They are the Dervish of Kabul and Sultan Qais of India, both of whom Husain encounters shortly before his martyrdom and neither of whom were previously mentioned in historical or religious literature relating to Karbala. Whilst the addition of these characters had previously been identified as belonging to the 19th century, neither the dating nor significance of their introduction had been subject to scholarly attention. Through analysis of 16 versions of the script dating from 1204/1789 to the 1950s, including rare manuscripts, my study provides a date window for the incorporation of these characters and confirms that they had become indispensable to this *ta'ziyeh* as played across Iran by c.1900. Furthermore, I argue that the encounters with the Dervish of Kabul and Sultan Qais were added to complete a trilogy of temptations faced by the Imam at Karbala thus allowing the dramatists to show Husain being tested and to demonstrate his resolve.

SOHEIL DELSHAD

The afterlife of the Achaemenid Royal Inscriptions: A Study on the Secondary Use of Achaemenid Epigraphs at Persepolis and Adjacent Regions

The afterlife of the royal inscriptions is always fascinating and at the same time a challenging issue.

Achaemenids, like other ancient Near Eastern dynasties, left numerous royal inscriptions on a variety of material supports. The fate of those royal epigraphs after the fall of the Achaemenid empire is one of the unique issues in the Achaemenid studies. Current research aims to discuss the afterlife of some royal inscriptions found in the heartland of Achaemenids (i.e., Persia). Archaeological evidence, as well as historical records, indicate that some royal inscriptions

were reused after the fall of the Achaemenids. Studies on those inscriptions are based on two different sources: archaeological evidence of Achaemenid royal inscriptions, and historical accounts on some inscriptions in Post-Achaemenid era. Generally, there are two types of Achaemenid royal inscriptions found in the secondary use: 1- royal epigraphs as simple building materials used for construction purposes; 2- inscribed objects as sacred objects bearing magic signs (i.e., cuneiform signs). After a brief review of the archaeological and historical evidence, it will be discussed that how the materiality of the inscriptions influenced the afterlife of those royal inscriptions.

TAMAR DEMETRASHVILI

Iranian Clothing Vocabulary in Georgian Language

Georgian and Iranian languages represent different systems, but these two languages have tightly interacted with each other through centuries. The words that Georgian language has adopted from Iranian languages are of various nature and periods and they derive from various dialectic groups. We meet all forms of borrowing, as a result of live linguistic communication or through literary channels.

Relations between Iran and Georgia intensified in the XVI-XVII centuries. Persian cultural influence increased and the clothing was one of the most evident expressions in this respect.

As a result of this influence, along with the Iranian clothing, Georgian language also adopted both Persian clothing lexical items and Arab and Turkish clothing vocabulary adopted by Persian language. For example: Qabā, Morasse', Lačak, Jīqā / Jeḡḡa and so on.

Objective of the research work is to carry out etymological research of the clothing vocabulary and identify their entrance in Georgian language.

Qabā 'Dressing for Women and Men' – this dress existed in Georgia in ancient times, however, the lexical item is met no earlier than the XII century, according to Georgian writing monuments. This word of Arab origin was borrowed immediately from Persian.

Lačak 'head scarf' – it is met as a head scarf in Georgia starting the XVII century and it was made of silver and golden threads, that is Mukaishis. Both Mukaishi and Lačak should have been entered Georgian language from Persian in the XVII century.

IURI DEMIN

Strategy and Tactics of the Soviet Diplomacy and the Comintern towards the Nationalist Movements in Iran in the 1920s

The period under investigation was marked by greater sociopolitical activism and the spread of nationalism inevitably impacting the strategy and tactics of the ruling circles in Moscow towards the neighboring country. The available studies on the subject, apart from modern researches on the so-called Soviet Republic of Gilan, largely focus on analyzing the Marxist-Leninist ideological dimensions of the Soviet policy towards the movements in question, primarily basing this research on the policy papers and resolutions of the Comintern's Congresses or decisions of the supreme authorities of the Bolshevik party. However, such an approach produces an overly simplistic picture of the actual decision-making processes. The existence of different centers of power within the ranks of the Bolshevik leadership during most of the 1920s, factionalism among the Iranian communists, remoteness of Iran, and the existence

of different channels of informing Moscow on the situation on the ground - all those made the process of policymaking multifactorial calling for different interpretations of the policy papers. The Soviet diplomats in Iran played an important role in the official policies' adaptation and implementation, especially in the first half of the 1920s. Largely due to the Soviet diplomacy ideology in the Moscow's position regarding nationalist movements in Iran followed political expediency, which is particularly evident in the dynamic nature of its position towards antigovernmental and separatist uprisings of ethnic minorities.

BIANCA DEVOS

Debating Iran's Literary Modernity in the 1920s

When, in first decades of the twentieth century, the Iranian intelligentsia and literati got involved in debates over literary modernity, periodicals provided a valid platform for their views. This presentation focuses on two significant periodicals in the first half of the 1920s, *Armaghan* and *Shafaq-e Sorkh*, and examines selected articles on new ways of writing Persian prose and poetry. Vahid Dastgerdi, editor the influential literary magazine *Armaghan*, expounded his ideas in his comprehensive, normative articles on literary renewal (*tajaddod-e adabi*) and addressed key aspects of the debate, such as the role of Iran's literary heritage, the contact with Europe and the conflicting factions of those who had enjoyed a traditional literary and poetological training and those who had not, i.e. the "newcomers". This conflict is also visible in a series of articles in the daily *Shafaq-e Sorkh*, well-known for its modernist orientation. Penned by other prominent figures of Iran's literary scene, for instance the poet Lotfali Suratgar, these articles on new modes of writing (*tarz-e negaresh-e farsi*) focused on different aspects of language and style in Persian prose literature and will be considered in comparison with *Armaghan's* essays on poetry.

LEYLI R. DODYKHUOEVA (VLADIMIR IVANOV)

Regarding the Problem of case in North-Western Iranian Languages

In various languages, the number and composition of case forms are presented differently (Rastorgueva, Edelman 1982, see also Miller 1953, Pirejko 1966; 1991; Kerimova, Rastorgueva 19752). In "Fundamentals of Iranian Linguistic Studies" it is mentioned that the general evolution in modern Iranian languages is to lose fleective elements. In general, Iranian languages are in the period of transition from the fleective to the agglutinative system of case. According to the classification given by A.A. Kerimova and V.S. Rastorgueva, there are four categories : three- and two-case systems on the fleective basis (e.g. Talyshi) ; the two-case system based on aggluti-native elements (e.g. Sangesari); the generation of innovative cases of agglutinative type (e.g. Gilaki, Mazandarani) ; and the analytical case system (e.g. Shughnani-Rushani group) (19752: 117-199). Case meanings can be expressed by forms having several structural levels: inflexive-agglutinative-synthetic forms, or analytical forms with postpositions/prepositions and their com-binations.

Traditionally, three cases have been postulated in Caspian languages for Mazandarani and Gilaki: Nominative, Genitive (marked by *-e/-ə*) and Accusative/Dative (marked by postposition *-re|-a ~ Pers. -rā*). Other postpositions are not included in the case system. In this paper, the case system in Mazandarani and Gilaki is revised and is linked to other grammatical

categories (congruence, head/dependent marking). (Direct) Ezafe, as it is known in Persian, (typical for southwestern Iranian languages), and the Ezafe marking in Mazandarani and Gilaki, known as reverse Ezafe marking, are unified into one overall system.

Following the same logic, we examine the attributive noun phrase in Talyshi and in particular the attributive marker *-a* which interposes between adjectives, and can be analysed as an attributive marker and is of the same origin as the Persian Ezafe suffix. According to Daniel Paul, it is optional in Masali, recalls the Persian-type Ezafe, and is presented as a reverse Ezafe in Asalemi: *səng-a ka* 'stone house', *ka-ye səngi* 'house stone', both with the meaning 'a stone house' (2011: 202-204).

In Russian scholarship regarding Talyshi, it is treated as an attributive construction (possessive) with noun, where the attributive noun precedes the nominal head: *pasi sa* 'head of the sheep', *doi bash* 'top of the tree', *kai ba* 'door of the house' (with stress on the linker *-i*), cf. *da-da ka* 'father's house'. In this case, the Genitive possessive and Genitive relative are expressed in the same way: *shah(a)ri potsho* 'king of the state', *vizi yailä* 'jam (made of) nut(s)', *nyni kano* 'bread crust' (Pirejko 1991; Vinogradova 1997: 94-95).

Thus, we may conclude that in contemporary Mazandarani and Gilaki there is no case system. The same applies to their closely related cognates Shamerzadi and Velatru. And even in the Talyshi language, the case system is in transition.

MOJTABA DOROODI (MOHAMMAD YAZDANPANAH)

یافته‌هایی نو از سہ‌تخت گزین (نقش برجسته و کتیبه‌ی اسلامی کوه استخر)

در اسناد و منابع مکتوب تاریخی از سہ کوهستان ناحیه استخر بسیار یاد شده است. سہ کوهستان منفرد در گوشه‌ی شمال‌خاوری دشت مرو دشت. که در یک راستا از حوالی نقش‌رستم تا روستای درودزن دیده می‌شوند. نام کنونی این سہ کوهستان به‌ترتیب کوه شکسته، کوه استخر و کوه شهرک ابرج است. وجود سیستم دفاعی مستحکم، سازه‌های مربوط به مدیریت آب و دیگر امکانات این کوهستان خود نشانی از اهمیت آن از عهد باستان تا دوران صفوی دارد. درباره‌ی این سہ کوهستان و قلعه‌های آنان مطالب بسیاری آورده شده است که داستانها و روایتهای اساطیری و نیز وقایع تاریخی را شامل می‌شود. حوادث تاریخی این کوهستانها دربردارنده‌ی رویدادهای عهد باستان تا دوران اسلامی است. وجود آثار پرشمار از کتیبه‌ی فارسی‌میانه (پهلوی ساسانی) گرفته تا قلعه و سازه‌های مربوط به نگهداری آب، روشهایی در ارتباط با تدفین باستانی و دیگر آثار به‌جای مانده این موضوع را پشتیبانی می‌کند. در این پژوهش که بر پایه‌ی جستجوی میدانی و اسنادی استوار است یافته‌های نوینی به‌ویژه در ارتباط با کوه استخر ارائه می‌گردد؛ از جمله کتیبه و نقش برجسته‌ی اسلامی موجود در این کوهستان که برای نخستین‌بار معرفی می‌گردند. همچنین کوشش گردیده است تاریخچه‌ی این سہ کوهستان در کهن‌ترین منابع تا جدیدترین آنها به بحث و بررسی نهاده شود.

FEDERICO DRAGONI

SOME PROBLEMS IN THE INTERPRETATION OF THE TUMSHUQESSE CONTRACTS

The Tumshuqese language, an Eastern Middle Iranian language showing close affinities with Khotanese, the language of the Iranian Buddhist kingdom of Khotan, is by now perhaps one of the less studied Iranian languages. This is mainly due to the scantiness of its remains, which nevertheless include quite a number of different genres, from Avadāna literature to Buddhist doctrinal texts. These are testimonies of the strong cultural contacts with the Tocharian speaking oases on the Northern branch of the Silk Road. The most important bulk of texts, however, is constituted by a series of official contracts dated to the 7th-8th century CE and first published

by S. Konow (1935). Recent findings (Ogihara and Ching 2017) have enlarged our corpus, so that now the decipherment has taken considerable steps forward. Following the fruitful comparative approach inaugurated by Ogihara and Ching 2017, the talk will shortly introduce the topic and suggest some new interpretations of items belonging to the official terminology of the contracts.

STÉPHANE DUDOIGNON

Holy Virgin Lands? Population Resettlement, Sacred Territories and Muslim Shrine Culture in the Former Soviet South

This study will focus on late-twentieth and early-twenty-first century processes of sacralisation of specific territories and communities created, in the South of the former USSR, by Soviet demographic engineering. Along the Wakhsh River Valley within the Tajik SSR, massive resettlements of rural manpower took place, from the 1920s onwards, from pre-Pamir uplands to cotton-growing farms. Accelerated just after WWII, these migrations have permitted the appearance of a number of new flatland localities. Often tragic, these wide population transfers have become a founding drama for the country's 'migrants' (Tajik *muhajir*) communities. New memories and histories have developed, exalting regional identities, closely connected with local and regional hagiographic processes focused on Hanafi Sunni Muslim saintly lineages active during the short twentieth century. During two decades between the late 1980s and the late 2000s, locally produced historiography and hagiography, combined with the development of new funerary complexes, have been legitimating hereditary (*intisabi*) spiritual leaders and community builders embodying 'traditional' Sunni Tajik-Persian Islam as opposed, simultaneously, to Soviet-time accredited clerics and to the now more popular figure of the professional (*iktisabi*) preacher. The present paper will question the place of the shrine culture linked with the cult of these new saints in the construction of specifically Soviet and post-Soviet Muslim sainthood (*waligi*).

Through fieldwork combining, since 1989, the collection of oral and written stories with the ethnographic observation of the evolution of architectural and ritual practice over three eventful decades, we shall see how Soviet modernisation, followed by the fall of the Wall, strengthened the place of twentieth-century saints among nowadays venerated heroes, providing them with a dual authority nourished by both modernism and tradition. We shall observe, through nascent pilgrimage practice among others, how the occultation of the figure of the martyr, in the post-civil war context peculiar to Tajikistan, and the valuation of local tradition aroused the popularity of such classic figures, within Central Asian Islam, as ascetic (Ar. *zahid*), possessed (*majdhub*), if not even antinomian (*ibahi*) men of God. Special interest will be dedicated to the impact, on this hagiography, of Soviet-time resettlements, from the viewpoint of the development of shrine culture and of new pilgrimages in the 'virgin lands' handed over to settlement in the Stalin and Khrushchev times. We shall see how the large-scale demographic transformation of this period has permitted the emergence of a typology of specifically male saints as community builders: source discoverers, canal drillers, knowhow bearers – of horticultural skills, notably, reflecting the legacy of highland agriculture. We shall study, too, how the demographic transformations of the short twentieth century, followed by mass labour emigration in the 2000s-10s, has affected the location, typology, attendance and symbolic system of new holy places. Such characteristics will help us identify the specificities of Soviet and post-Soviet sainthood from the cultures of holiness 1) in premodern Central Asia, 2) in the Iranian world at large, and 3) in past and present popular democracies.

DESMOND DURKIN-MEISTERERNST

Manichaen texts in Middle Iranian and in Coptic.

The publication of a part of Coptic Kephalaia by BeDuhn/Dilley/Gerdiner in 2018 gives an unique opportunity to studying text in Coptic and in Middle Iranian. I have prepared a part of it, using Sundermann's edition of the Parthian fragment of Gündēš (submitted for publishing). But I think there is more than that. Therefore I will present various Middle Iranian texts that seems to be interrelated and try to draw some conclusions based on them.

JULIE DUVIGNEAU

The Staging of the Book in the Novel of Esmâ'il Fasih

A writer widely read in the eighties, Esmâ'il Fasih is the author of one of the most interesting books

on the Iran-Iraq war: زمستان 62 [Winter 83]. This 1987 novel, which takes place in Ahvâz, follows two other texts that form a type of trilogy – درد سیاوش [The Pain of Siâvoch], published in 1985, and تریا در اغما [Sorayya in a coma], published in 1984.

This presentation intends to study the relations of intertextuality uniting these three books, but also a curious and repetitive phenomenon. In these three texts, our reading is paralleled by the reading of the main character inside the book. Reading a well-known text of foreign literature somehow colors the stories of Fasih.

Thus, *Winter 83*, narrative of several expectations combined, is placed under the aegis of one of the best known texts on waiting and its vanity: *Waiting for Godot* by Samuel Beckett. *The pain of Siâvoch* is accompanied by *L'Étranger*, by Albert Camus and *Sorayya in a coma* under that of Frederick Forsyth's

War Dogs.

Focus will be made primarily on the mechanisms of intertwining the main plot of Fasih's novel with that of the work read by his favorite character, Jalâl Ârian, throughout the text. This intermingling creates a dynamic movement in the text, both a 'mise en abyme' and a highlighting of certain elements of the narration.

It is this very particular dynamism that will be highlighted.

REHAB IBRAHIM AHMED ELSIEDY

"The Art of Prediction" A Study of The Panels of Fālnāma From Qajar Iran

Most of the People have the ambition to discover the future. For that, they go through many methods and practices to predict future. The art of prediction through texts was one of these methods which was used since the early Islamic period, using Qurān and some literature books. By the time, this practice was developed and was led to compose books for this purpose, as some of them began to be illustrated by painting like *Kitab al-bulhan* by Abu Ma'shar al-Balkhi, attributed to the Jālayir period (8-9 A.H./14-15 A.D). Flourish of the practice of the prediction was in the sixteenth century under of the Safavid dynasty in Iran, which help to such

composition of the *fālnāma* at that period. This phenomenon could be a result of the believe that the *fālnāma* attributed to Imam Ali, Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq two of the twelve Imams in the Shi'a ritual. Some of the *fālnāma* manuscripts are in the museums and private collection and most of them were published by Masumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı in “*Falnama the book of Omens*” (Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C, 2009). However, the previous study concentrated on the *fālnāma* and the prognostication practice until the Safavid period and through the manuscripts. That raises a question about the *fālnāma* practice after the Safavid period especially in the nineteenth century under the Qajar dynasty, as the subjects of the *fālnāma* were represented on Cardboard panels using colours and lacquer. This change of the material and medium from the Safavid to the Qajar may be as a result of many political, economic, and cultural aspects which changed and affected on many cultural practice and materials in Iran in the nineteenth century. So, this paper aims to reveal the development in the *fālnāma* production and practice in the Qajar period, and how it changed from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century according to the materials and subjects.

ALEKSANDER ENGESKAUG

What Did Sasanian Farms Look Like? Observations on the Physical Features of Farms and Estates in Sasanian Iran based on Textual Sources

Our knowledge about the built environment of Sasanian Iran (c. 224-651 CE) is slowly but steadily increasing year by year in line with new archaeological research and renewed investigations of old problems. However, to date very little attention has been given to rural settlements and architectural features of the countryside in the Sasanian empire. Although Sasanian Iran is often portrayed as a quintessential agrarian society, almost nothing is known about the physical configuration of farms, estates, or villages – in short, the very places in which the agricultural foundation of state and society was actually produced.

Based on textual sources, this paper examines the physical features of farms and estates in Sasanian Iran. What can we know about houses, utilitarian buildings, facilities and infrastructure, and the spatial organization of farmsteads? Of particular relevance for answering these questions are references to farms and estates in various Middle Persian texts such as Book VIII of the *Dēnkard* and the legal compendium *Hazār dādestān*. Additional sources of information are the incantation bowls from Late Sasanian Mesopotamia. In these texts, the buildings and properties that were to be protected by the magical incantations are often enumerated and specified. I will argue that these two very different categories of sources shed light upon the built environment in rural areas of the Sasanian empire. Given its emphasis on physical structures, the paper should be of interest to historians and archaeologists alike.

MARIANO ERRICHELLO

An esoteric interpretation of the Zoroastrian liturgy: the Khshnoomist perspective

Ilm-e-Khshnoom is an occult Zoroastrian movement that was started among the Parsis in India by Behramshah Shroff in 1907. The followers of Ilm-e-Khshnoom adopt a revivalist approach towards the Zoroastrian liturgy. They emphasise the importance of a conscious and disciplined practice in order to unleash the occult power dwelled in the practice their religion. By engaging with primary sources in English and Gujarati, this paper will introduce the Khshnoomist

interpretation of the Zoroastrian liturgy; explore the *Mithra-Manthra-Yasna* principles introduced by Ilm-e-Khshnoom as critical elements of the Zoroastrian rituals from an occult point of view; and describe how Khshnoomist practitioners apply the *Mithra-Manthra-Yasna* principles through the recitation of the Avesta and the use of the *alat*.

MOJGAN J ETEMAD

The Paradoxes of Kurdish Cinema: Films from East Kurdistan (Iran) and North Kurdistan (Turkey)

This paper explores the concept of ‘Kurdish cinema’ as a discursive subject, in paying attention to the Kurdish films made in East and North Kurdistan. My aim is to investigate the validity of the concept of Kurdish cinema - given its state-less nature, the contribution of ‘Kurdish cinema’ towards the Kurdish issue, the effect of the socio-political circumstances of the ‘host’ countries on the production and screening of films, and the stylistic and thematic similarities and differences between films from different parts of Kurdistan. According to Kazim Öz: ‘As the Kurds are spread over several cultures there is no such thing as Kurdish cinema, instead one can speak of a cinema that reflects the lives of the Kurdish people’ (interview, 2018).

The Kurdish films under the Islamic Republic of Iran are predominately concerned with the economic disparities of the Kurds, the border issue, and the genocide in Anfal and Halabji. The first Kurdish film was produced by government funding after the election of President Khatami in 1997. However, Kurdish films have to abide by severe censorship rules. In order to bypass these restrictions, filmmakers have to resort to allegories and metaphors. This stylistic approach, renders many Kurdish films stylistically similar to films made by non-Kurdish filmmakers. The selected films considered include films by Bahman Ghobadi, Taha Karimi, Ebrahim Saeedi, and Shahram Alidi.

In Turkey, Kurdish films are thematically more political - concerned with state atrocities against the Kurdish community and the PKK. The proliferation of politically charged themes may be traced to AKP policies – specifically after 2009. On the other hand, Kurdish films have been continuously subject to regulatory and supervisory rules in post-production and after screening - with the breakdown of peace negotiations in 2015 the situation has worsened. The films under study include Kazim Öz, Miraz Bezar, Özcan Alper, Gürçan Keltek and Haşim Aydemir.

FATEMEH FARAHANI (SEE: SIMA ABBASI)

SHAHPARAK FARAHA KHSH ESFAHAN

A review to provide scientific solutions to gain identity in young adults with emphasis on ericson’s identity doctrine

One of the main concerns of today’s generation is the identity crisis. The author aims to provide scientific solutions to identity achievement, remove identity crisis & identity moratorium & identity foreclosure & identity diffusion. Persian literature enjoys an ancient history & offers suitable, beneficial & scientific solutions on self-awareness & enhancement of the spiritual intelligence. I have been observing & conducting research on the students of the Islamic Azad

University since 2005, which lead to the understanding of the need for special assistance to those at this age. This has not been suitably addressed for the people at this age which has resulted in the waste of time, cost & life of these youngsters. This solution is based on the research conducted on the four basic elements. Based on this ancient science in Iran, each person's nature has different physical & spiritual features. In this study, we first informed the students of their personal nature, inclination & existing elements based on this traditional science & then started training them using the concepts & words existing in the Iranian theosophy. These ancient concepts, which are mentioned in the Iranian theosophy literature since the fourth century, are known as spiritual wisdom in the academic psychology literature of the west.

The educational programme for these theosophy concepts was conducted in seven sessions. In each session, the concepts were explained & the students were asked to write these words on their water bottles & drink eight glasses of this water every day & report the results. They were asked to continue until the sixth session & from the seventh session were divided into four groups based on their existing elements & instructed to write the emphasizing words based on their elements & natures. This method has also been used to stop smoking, leave drugs addiction, remove depression & family disputes & suitable results have been obtained.

KHASHAYAR FARAMARZI

Investigating the Evolution of the Sasanian Army from the Kingdom of Khosrow II to the Fall of Ctesiphon, Based on Archaeological Data and Historical Texts

The complex structure of the Sasanian Army, which consisted of various social groups (nobles, vassals, peasants, etc.), frequently evolved over the course of the 3rd to the 7th centuries AD. The Sasanian wars with the Byzantine Empire on the western, and the Heptalians on the eastern borders caused a transformation in which basic elements of the army, such as division of armies, positions, military weapons and even combat tactics, experienced fundamental alterations. In an effort to answer the question of what changes the Sasanian Army experienced through the kingdom of Khosrow II to the fall of Ctesiphon by Arabs invasions, the author has investigated the archaeological data (reliefs, paintings, seals, weapons, coins, etc.) and historical texts (reports of Roman, Arabic, and Persian historians). What this study has achieved, reveals changes in the structure of the army, military divisions, and ammunitions. Based on the present research, the changes made by Khosrow II (Khosrow Parviz) in the Sasanian army and ignoring the military reforms of Khosrow I (Khosrow Anushirvan) as well as the expansionist and unjustified wars with the Byzantine Empire were among the major factors behind the successive defeats of the Arabian Army and the fall of Ctesiphon.

SHERVIN FARRIDNEJAD

Persian Zoroastrian *Revāyāt* and the knowledge of Rituals of late medieval and pre-modern Zoroastrianism

As the primary literary language of Iranian Zoroastrians for almost 750 years, and in use among Indian Zoroastrians for three centuries, the Persian corpus of Zoroastrian texts and specially the Persian *Revāyāt* (written between 1478-1773 CE) are quite significant in their extent and documenting the history of Zoroastrian communities of Iran and India during an under- studied period. Many of the *Revāyāt* were written and copied by the most famous scribes of Avestan liturgical manuscripts and were frequently sent with attached manuscripts to answer the recurrent questions on ritual matters asked by the Parsees.

Thus, they aim to provide also complementary information to the Avestan manuscripts for the celebration of the Zoroastrian rituals in the Avestan language, which does not appear in the manuscripts themselves. Accordingly, they are one of the fundamental tools for the edition of the Avestan texts in their performative context. Beside the value of *Rēvāyāt* for the reconstruction of the theological thoughts and rituals for the whole period of Zoroastrian history between the Mongol conquest of Iran and the Qajar Period, they also contains invaluable information about the production of the Zoroastrian manuscripts, social and historical issues regarding the life and evolution of the Zoroastrian communities in Iran and India.

FARZANEH FARROKH FAR (SEE: FARZANEH DARGI)

MARYAM FARSHAD FAR

A historical overview of Persian piano practice

Piano, a western musical instrument has a unique historical position in Persian music. Iran has its own music as part of its culture, a classical canon with an enduring repertoire and characteristic techniques handed down for generations with some improvements along the way. When the first keys were played on a piano in Tehran in the 1870s, the members of the imperial court were the exclusive audience. This paper studies the art of Persian piano in Iran from its introduction in the 1880s until the Revolution of 1979.

Based on original research into the piano music distinctive to Iran, I analyze the notable repertory created there. I explore the techniques, forms and melodies of the country and delve into the history of the Persian piano masters who tuned their pianos in accord with Persian microtone intervals, and who designed a different tuning for each set of *Dastgah*. The paper concludes with the vast modernization movement of the Pahlavi regime, when piano and its Iranian practitioners took their place on the international scene, winning competitions, studying, and playing in far flung corners of the Earth. The role of women, from courtesan performers to worldwide luminaries is given full weight.

A new generation's efforts to awaken interest, and to train a group of performers in Persian piano practice means that this unique form of piano art will be known and played alongside other pianistic trends on into the future. It is my hope that this paper contributes toward that end.

SIMIN FASIHI

A Reflection on the Language of Petitions: The Dialectic of Plea and Threat

Examining petitions, in terms of content or linguistic form, can shed some light on particular hidden aspects of social history. Studying these documents as historical texts displays a language that, though resembling other historical texts, is also distinct from them in certain respects. The petitions from the Qajar era, especially the constitutional period are the written voices of those, from different social backgrounds, who have written to the higher institutions and authorities, in particular the National Assembly, in search of their rights. This article, while emphasising the significance of petitions in the field of social history, has scrutinised their language as a historical text. It has explored their structure in terms of the rules of writing used, the relationship between the sender and the receiver of the petition,

the position of speech, and the types of metaphors and words employed. The aim is to show how the language of these documents reflects the content of the text, and how it distinguishes between masculine and feminine tones.

Research shows that petitions are often official-administrative letters with a standard structure consisting of two main parts. The two parts include the complaint and the appeal, which are written by the low-status petitioner and are addressed to the superior respondent. The class based structure of these letters, and the status of the petitioner and the respondent have generally imposed a special form and language on these letters. The language of these petitions manifests the multiple and multi-layered power dynamics between the King or the higher institution and the people, between the people as claimants and defendants, and between people and the legal and judicial systems. Investigating the language of petitions in the Nasir al-Din Shah era, and later when new institutions were established, and also during the constitutional period, clearly portrays a linguistic transformation. This transformation is itself a consequence of changes in power relations.

The language of these complaints is that of modesty and plea, and includes a rich collection of pleading phrases, metaphors of weakness and humbleness, and words of defeat and obedience. However, this pleading language simultaneously displays a degree of confidence and authority, which sometimes takes the form of protest, criticism and threat. This feature exhibits a dialectic of plea and threat, which is more prominent in women's petitions. In these petitions, women cleverly follow along with the rules of the male-dominated culture, which considered women as weak. By presenting the loneliness of widowhood, the hardship of motherhood and communicating a weak, fragile and even physically and mentally inferior image of themselves, women have attempted to evoke maximum sympathy in their petitions. This language is at the same time used to mock and show contempt for the addressee and criticise power relations. The petitions provide women with the opportunity to gain both linguistic and political experience.

SHIVAN FAZIL SABR

Islamic Secularism: The Evolution of Iran's Religious Doctrine in Response to Social, Economic and Political Forces

The Iranian Revolution of 1979 marked the end of the Pahlavi dynasty and its eventual replacement with the Islamic Republic under the grand Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the charismatic leader of the revolution, supported by various secular and Islamist factions and student movements. The subsequent "revolutionary crisis mode" allowed Khomeini and his supporters to crush their rivals, consolidate power, and establish a theocratic state one that conforms with the basic tenets and principles of Islam. However, while the clerics dominated powerful positions, the Islamic Republic of Iran never became the state it was envisioned. Over the years, secular considerations often preceded over religious reasoning, and contrary to the Islamists' original project for religion to guide politics, and for the state and the legal system to be solely organised based on Sharia, a closer look at the outcome suggests Iran has in fact progressed towards the opposite direction. This research will explore the evolution and the retreat of Iran's religious doctrine in the face of changing socioeconomic and political forces. By demonstrating the emergence of separate religious and political spheres, I argue that although the Islamists first sought to establish an Islamic state, religious principles and dogma have often been subverted and replaced according to pragmatic socioeconomic and political considerations. Hence, contrary to the Islamists' vision, contemporary Iran is a state that is largely ruled by secular reasoning as opposed to religious dogma.

ELA FILIPPONE

The words of divine and political power in the royal Achaemenid inscriptions: An interlinguistic analysis

AIDA FOROUTAN

Censorship as Restriction and Stimulus in Tehran

This paper stems from my postdoctoral project on the subject of surrealism and censorship. Surrealism in Iran is a graphic example of a phenomenon that occurs in other areas where culture is restricted and controlled by the authorities. How do artists in Tehran push the boundaries of their art? Artistic development is often brought about by necessity and practical considerations: in this regard, the reciprocal relationship between artist and censor is of key importance. Although the existence of censorship is officially denied in Iran, it operates under the euphemism of ‘guidance’ (*ershād*). I discuss actual examples of subjects that were taboo before the Revolution and which became de rigueur after it, and vice versa.

Censorship and subversive art have constantly changing parameters according to political circumstances. Surrealism has been hybridised and indigenised in the strongly censorious culture of Iran: it plays a particularly strong role in artists’ strategies of censorship avoidance. State censorship results in the phenomenon of its evasion, and techniques of circumvention. Censorship has unwittingly promoted artistic innovation: ironically, Iranian authorities have nurtured the growth of artistic expression, as artists need new ‘codes’ to out-manoeuvre the censor. I discuss the interplay between censor, artist and the mediating role of cultural taboos and norms in Iranian society.

UTE FRANKE (KATHARINA KUNTZ)

Takht-e Suleyman, Iran - PRODUCTION AND PROVENANCE OF GLAZED ISLAMIC POTTERY

Takht-e Suleyman is one of the most iconic archaeological sites in Iran. Research activities of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI, 1959 until 1977) exposed a large Sasanian fire temple complex, identified with the royal pilgrimage *Atur-e Goshnasp*, and the remains of an Ilkhanid summer palace built by Abaqa Khan c. 1265. Much less spectacular but nevertheless important is an intermediate 9th-early 13th CE occupation which links the site to a supra-regional cultural context. These archaeological remains illustrate the dimensions of royal patronage and local prosperity at a remote location.

Thanks to find-sharing policy, the Museum für Islamische Kunst holds a large number of objects from the Islamic periods, transferred by the DAI. The objects, mostly architectural decoration and pottery vessels, are now documented and prepared for publication by the Museum für Islamische Kunst and the Eurasien Abteilung of the DAI.

Following an overview, the paper focusses on a PhD project which examines typology, technology, and production of glazed pottery from the Islamic period (9th--15th CE). A major issue is provenance: kiln remains, furniture and wasters indicate an on-site production. This hypothesis is expected to be substantiated by the identification of a geochemical fingerprint: based on typology and macroscopic fabric classification representative fragments are analyzed with MGR-analysis, WD-XRF and microscopic petrography. The combined analytical

approach allows the discrimination between various fabric provenances and the determination of a geochemical fingerprint. Further, characteristic glazes are chemically analyzed with ED-XRF to define the regional material culture, while cross-sections reveal technical aspects of production.

The archaeometric identification of local production, combined with the comprehensive data collection and comparisons with other relevant sites, allows for a supra-regional perspective on the movement of goods and the transfer of style and technology.

IRENE FUERTES CID

The editorial problems of the *āfrīns*: the *āfrīn ī Gāhānbār*

The *āfrīns*, small blessings usually recited at the end of some of the Zoroastrian rituals, have received little attention in the studies of Zoroastrianism. Although the term seemingly denotes one group of texts, neither the structure of the texts nor the language of composition or the contents are homogeneous. While one *āfrīn* is in Avestan (*āfrīn ī Zardušt*), others are in Pāzand with Avestan quotations, or only in Pāzand. Moreover, a quick overview of the manuscripts transmitting *āfrīns* reveals different versions of these texts.

In this paper, I will analyse these small benedictions, focusing on constituting a text for an edition, and on the performative information contained in the different sources such as the *Rewāyats*, and their relevance for an edition. In order to accomplish this task, I have chosen the *āfrīn ī Gāhāmbār*, held in the Kāma Bohra *Rewāyat* (896 AY.) as the principal example. I hope to define the place of these small prayers of the Xorde Avesta according to the methodological criteria of the edition carried out by the project *Corpus Avesticum Berolinense*.

CLAUDINE GAUTHIER

Zoroastrian holy shrines and eschatology

According to a Zoroastrian living tradition in Iran, Yazdgird III's wife, along with their five daughters, their maid and one of their sons succeeded in escaping the Arab invaders finding refugee inside of the mountains of the Yazd province. Those different places are remembered today as holy shrines, whose foundation is associated to a single narrative structure cofounding in the end those characters with the natural elements.

Therefore, the story of Pir-e sabz, which is certainly the most famous among these holy Zoroastrian shrines, says that the drops of water falling from the top of its cave are Nikbanu's tears (who was one of Yazdgird's daughters), and that the tree enclosed in this shrine grew up from her cane. We won't intend here to focus on the close parallel between these Zoroastrian narratives and the legend associated to Shahrbānu in the Shiism. Instead, we will aim to draw an anthropological analysis, within the Zoroastrian tradition, of the eschatological component of these narratives.

ZISHAN GHAFAR

The Roman-Persian war at the beginning of the seventh century and the Quranic response to Byzantine war-propaganda

The confrontation between the Sasanian and Byzantine empires at the beginning of the seventh century was the climax of a conflict which lasted for centuries. The heavy defeats of the Roman Empire culminated in the conquest of Jerusalem by Khosrow II in 614 CE and this event is described in dramatic words by historians of that time. Nevertheless, the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius managed to change the fortune in the following decade and to ultimately claim victory over the Sasanian Empire. This paper tries to show how the major events of the Byzantine-Sasanian war and especially the Byzantine war-propaganda are reflected in the Quran and have shaped the Quranic view on eschatology.

SEYED MOHAMMADREZA GHARAZI (ZAHRA GOLMOHAMADI, MEHRDAD MALEKZADEH)

Interaction between beliefs at the late Iron Age in Iranian Central Plateau: Some evidence from Tappe Qabrestān-e Zārbolāq, Ali-Abad, Qom

It is said that the main task of archeology is reconstruction of cultures and ancient beliefs. In this case, in the history of Religious Studies & Comparative Theology of Iranian Religions, archeology has been beside the researchers. There are lots of documents and evidences about changes in religious beliefs of Iranian world, which has been offered to historical theology by archeologists. Here we plan to recreate the interactions among the people with various beliefs and sometimes opposite, at the late Iron Age in Iranian Central Plateau as it has been reflected in their graves by means of some evidences related to “burial ritual” and “ritual burial” in Tappe Qabrestān (cemetery), in Zārbolāq, Ali-Abad, Qom.

There are lots of researches in the history of Iranian religions which proves endless interactions. Challenges among Zoroastrians (Mazdayasnān) and those who weren't the followers, but were accused of being the Daevas-worshippers (Devyasnān). Recent archeological surveys & excavations in today Qom, specially researches on stony structure Zārbolāq and Tappe Qabrestan near that, of the Iron Age III (c. a. 850-550 BCE) or “Median period” beside some comparisons with findings in Qoli-Darvish-e Jamkaran and stony structure in Vāsūn-e Kahak, southern parts of Qom province, from Iron Age III, helps the researchers to recreate the religious changes from Old Indo-Iranian beliefs to Iranian Mazdayasna (and its further reflects on Devyasna), in the present article we are going to investigate on these issues.

GOULIA GHARDASHKHANI-OTTER

Narrative Geometry and the Representation of War in ‘Ali Reza Gholami’s Divar (The Wall)

Narrative literature about the Iran-Iraq war produced in Iran has been immensely instrumentalized by the regime to promulgate, strengthen, and justify the ideology of the war and the so-called Holy Defense culture. Despite the highly administered print policies of the Islamic Republic, however, alternative war narratives have been written and officially published. This is partly due to the occasional tolerance of the supervising institutions and partly due to the narrative qualities of the works and their success in aptly circumventing the regulations.

One of the recent examples of alternative war narratives is the novel *Divar* (The Wall) (2015) by 'Ali Reza Gholami. Related through a homodiegetic unreliable narrator, the novel *Divar* goes beyond the printed text and the story told, offering a poignant narrative of wartime calamities. In this paper, it is argued that the narrative technicalities of Gholami's novel force the reader to engage in a constant struggle to bend the angular setting of the novel into a more flexible narrative space. The reader's engagement with the text is encouraged through an objective but half-informed narration of the events that leaves out much for the reader to add for the destabilizing final gestalt.

ELAHEH GHASEMPOUR

Imposed Famine, Declaration of an Armless War

Iran famine of 1917-1919 has hardly been examined by the historians. The Iran Famine was one of the many traumas imposed on the Iranian nation by the British army before the second World War. Though only a few historians have touched upon this catastrophe, literary artists being the most sensible recorders of historical events, vis a vis human predicament; have gathered some evidences in their literary works.

In the book *Savushan* published in 1969 by Simin Daneshvar, the very first paragraph she highlights without hesitation the hunger struck society of Shiraz. Though later in the novel the author bring forth numerous other aspects of this outsider's occupation but hunger as a subject of concern looms large on most of the narrative. The fight and struggle over *naan* (bread) with the depiction of the Qashghai nomads, Indian soldiers and British officers in this chaos are instances which clearly refer to this choreographed catastrophe. The writer depicts as to how the imposed hunger tore the rubric of the society by the way of leading to fights over food. This becomes a sort of armless war in which men die of hunger and diseases.

This kind of man made famines have been used as a colonial policy in many other colonial contexts. Many theorists for instance believe that in British India, the Bengal famine of the 1943 which claimed about 2-3 million lives was man made and was a part of the colonial policy. Ebrahim Golestan in his letter to Daneshvar titled "Letter to Simin" mentions that "Ireland is the oldest colony that has gone deep to the colonizer's throat."

In his essay "Heathcliff and the Great Hunger" the Irish literary theorist and critic Terry Eagleton brings to light the case of power mutilating policy of the England on Ireland by way of inducing an intentional man made famine.

Though Eagleton's text came in much later than *Savushan*, it can be helpful in investigating Daneshvar's text.

The paper aims to bring to light the concept and policy of a guiltless genocide and mass killings by England in Ireland that can by extension be applied to Iran and to India as well.

ALI GHEISSARI

Fruits of Gardens: Faith, Philosophy, and Textual Pleasures in late Qajar Iran

This paper will introduce and to some extent analyze a previously unknown miscellany in Arabic and Persian, titled *Fawākah al-Basātin* (Fruits of Gardens), written by Hājī Mirzā Mohammad Tehrāni (d. sometime between 1914 and 1923), and transcribed c. 1914. The author

was a sugar merchant who also dealt in books and was well versed in Persian classics and had good command of Arabic.

[Note: This manuscript was originally among family papers; following considerable editorial effort a print edition complete with an introduction and full range of indexing has just been released from press. See Ali Gheissari (ed.), “Fruits of Gardens by Hājī Mirzā Mohammad Tehrāni: A Philosophical Miscellany in Arabic and Persian in late Qajar Iran, c. 1914” (“Fawāka al-Basātin: Montakhabāti Falsafī, E’teqādi, Revā’i dar Avākher-e Qājāriyeh, asar-e Hājī Mirzā Mohammad Tehrāni, Complete Arabic and Persian Text, in collaboration with Ali-Reza Abāzari, with an Introduction by Ali Gheissari, Qom: Nashr-e Movarreh, 2019, 431pp.)] Although this volume was produced during one of the more eventful periods of Iran’s modern history, there is no reference in the text to socio-political or business issues, nor to the author’s personal, educational, or family backgrounds. Instead, it is entirely given to a broad range of topics on matters of faith, philosophy, and ethical advice. It also includes certain literary topics such as classification of Arabic poetic metrics (by including, for example, a short *resāleh* on *badi’*), some historical stories (relating to the early Abbasid period), and a wide range of colorful anecdotes. The text regularly draws on the Quran and the Prophetic Traditions and also on some Stoic ethical proverbs (most likely from Marcus Aurelius who was particularly well received in Persian advice literature), to graphic parables from the *One Thousand and One Nights* that were perhaps meant to work as aphrodisiac (it is likely that the author had access to the uncensored *Bulāq* edition, in 2 vols., Cairo, 1835). There are also additional sections on modern science, such as electricity, some basic observations on gas laws and liquid physics, and a theory of colors which offers to explain rainbow.

The book does not follow a specific structure or logical framework, yet with effortless ease the text moves between Arabic and Persian. In presenting its various topics the text draws on a diverse body of sources, some of them are acknowledged and some are not. These sources include *Khazā’in* by Mollā Ahmad Narāqi (d. 1829), *Kashkul* of Sheikh Bahā’i (d. 1621), *al-Insān al-Kāmil* by ‘Abd al-Karīm Jili (d. 1424), and *Kalimāt al-Maknunah* by Mollā Mohsen Fayz Kāshāni (d. 1680), among others.

The paper will argue that by taking into account such diverse body of sources together with the text’s overall style and syntax and its intermittent use of Arabic together with Persian, we would be able to better map the textual canvas and the literary capital of a generation of Persian learned society during the late Qajar period. A tradition that, during the ensuing periods, to some extent faded away, if not disappeared altogether.

SALOUMEH GHOLAMI

Minority languages as a device of reconstruction - the example of Hamedani

It can be assumed that people living in a number of cities such as Isfahan, Kashan, Yazd and Kerman must have spoken in a so-called “Median dialect”, before they adopted Persian. This is suggested by the Median dialects that are still spoken in some remote areas, villages or small towns around these cities. The term “Median dialect” was used for the first time by Yarshater (1974) and later by Stilo (2003) and Borjian (2015).

In Hamedan, the topic of the present paper, inside the city, the dominant language is Persian. Moreover, none of its surrounding villages and small towns preserved a Median dialect, and it seems that all localities in the province Hamedan, in which Median dialects were spoken, have lost their original language. The dialect spoken by the Jews of Hamadān belongs to the

Central Plateau Dialect group of Northwestern Iranian languages (Stilo 2003). Several studies have mentioned that, the Jews preserved the old local language of Hamedan, but there is still insufficient data for this estimation. This paper will review the research conducted on this topic and aimed to address the following research questions: Does the minority language of Jews represent actually a remnant of the old local dialect of Hamedan? Is the language of Jews in Hamedan suitable to reconstruct an "Urhamedani"?

Besides local dialects, there are a few literal sources, such as Fahlavīyāt, are of particular importance for the present study. However, many features regarding their language have yet to be identified.

The main purpose of this study is to shine new light on "Urhamedani" through an examination of Judeo-Hamedani and Fahlavīyāt.

FATEMEH GHOLAMREZAEI KOHAN

A Study on Khajooy-e Kermani's treaties and manuscripts

After being on a 20-year journey, "Khajooy-e Kermani" (the 18th century legendary poet) returned to Kerman in 740 Anno Hegira (AH) when Amir Mobarez-al-din Mohammad, a descendant from the Mozaffarids dynasty was the ruler of Kerman. "Khajooy-e Kermani" stayed in Kerman for 8 years during which he created manuscripts containing his treaties in form of verse and also prose that was combined with poetry. Within these manuscripts, he eloquently stated his literary and moral thoughts. His four treatises are as follows: "Sham'-o Shamshir", "Shams-o Sahab", "Namad-o Bouriya", Serajiyeh"

At the moment, there are four valuable manuscripts of him in Tehran, which contain the abovementioned poetics. There is a manuscript at the "Malik" Library, one at the "Majlis" Library, and two others at the library of "Golestan Palace Museum".

- The manuscript at "Malik" Library

This manuscript, recorded under the property number 5963, has been dedicated to The Astan Quds Razavi and contains poetry, Rozeh Anvaar, Homa va Homayoun, Gohar Naameh, Mafatih-ol Gholoub, and Namd-o Bouriya and Sham'-o Shamshir treatises and half of the "Shams-o Sahab. This manuscript was created in 829 AH by "Muhamad-ibn-e Mottahar-ibn-e Joseph-ibn-e Abi Saied", who was a judge from Neishabur.

- The manuscript at "Majlis" Library

This manuscript used to be a book in the Senate Library and recorded under the property number 352, but it was later transferred to the "Majlis" library. It contains poetry, Kamaal Naameh, Rozeh Anvaar, Homa va Homayoun, Go-o Norouz, and Mafatih-ol Gholoub. In addition, it contains all four prose treatises of Khajoo as well. "Ismail-ibn-e Ibrahim-ibn-e Abdullah" wrote this manuscript in 820 AH.

- The manuscript at the library of "Golestan Palace Museum" – A:

This manuscript used to be a book at the Royal Library but it is currently kept at the library of the Golestan Palace Museum under the property number 335. It contains all Khajoo's works, including his poetry and prose treatises. It was recorded by "Mohammed-ibn Ibrahim Sahhaf" I in 824 AH.

- The manuscript in the library of "Golestan Palace Museum" – B:

This manuscript is called the "Rozeh Anvaar" and is recorded under the property number 336. It is kept at the library of Golestan Palace Museum. "Caliph Safar Shah" recorded it in 927 AH.

In this manuscript, all prose treatises are recorded in the main body or center of the text and Gol-o Norouz and Homa va Homayoun couplets are written on the margins.

In this article, the author attempts to introduce the four valuable prose manuscripts of Khajoooy-e Kermani and explicate all important items researchers and editors are required to recognize about them.

HELEN GIUNASHVILI

Iranian Elements in the Speech of Fereydanian Georgians

Iranian Georgians are the descendants of Georgians, who were moved by force during the seventeenth century from the Caucasus into the territory of contemporary Iran. The main wave of this migration occurred in the period of Shah Abbas I's (1587-1629) reign. The Georgian community of modern-day Iran is relatively small (about 61, 000 persons), inhabiting Fereydunshahr and its vicinity in the county of Fereydan, 150 kilometers to the west of the seventeenth-century Iranian capital of Esfahan.

Notwithstanding such a long exposure to foreign environment, the Fereydanian Georgians have preserved through the centuries the Georgian language, self-awareness, geographical nomenclature and customs.

Modern stage of Fereydanian studies permits systematic investigation of Iranian (Persian, Persian-Arabic, Kurdish, Bakhtiari, Lor) borrowings in this dialect, revealing dynamism of their penetration, morpho-phonological adaptations, grammatical shaping as well as semantic alternations.

Among Iranian lexical loans, complex (two-component) verbal structural-semantic models are mostly distinguished in Fereydanian. These phraseological calques were incorporated in the dialect at the very early stage. Their several examples are already attested at the beginning 20th century in colloquial speech: Fereyd. *emat miqures* – lit. “they looked after me” – they respect me” < Pers. *negāh kardan* “to take care of smb, pay attention” (*negāh* – “attention”, *kardan* – “to do, make”), Fereyd. *mzem ro hk'ra* – lit. “when the Sun stroke” – “when the Sun raised” < Pers. *ču āftāb zad* (verb *zadan* “to strike, to hit”) Fereyd. *tambakos zidva* lit. – “tobacco carrying”, i. e. “tobacco smoking” < Pers. *tambaku kešidan* – “to smoke” (verb *kešidan* “to carry, bear”); Verbal semi-calques, where the nominal component is Persian are mostly frequent in the speech: Fereyd. *bena kna* – “to begin” < Pers. *banā kardan* – “to begin” (*banā* “beginning”, *kardan* “to do, make”), Fereyd. *ejaze aighe* – “do take a permission” < Pers. *ejaze gereftan* “to get a permission” (*gereftan* “to take, to get”) Fereyd. *xedmati vknat* – “let do a service” < Pers. *xedmat kardan* “to make a service”.

The paper presents for the first time a systematic analysis of all kind of verbal calques and semi-calques in the corpus of Fereydanian texts, with an attempt of showing their semantic and structural parallels in late Medieval Georgian literary and historical sources.

LEON GOLDMAN

Shifting Zands: The Hermeneutics of the Zoroastrian Ritual Tradition in Sanskrit

This paper examines aspects of the priestly interpretation of Zoroastrian ritual in India, where the Sanskrit language was employed in learned priestly discourse. With a particular focus on the Yasna, it will detail the process by which Parsi scholiasts composed and associated a

Sanskrit commentary with a Sanskrit translation of the text. The talk will also explore the interplay between Indian and Iranian hermeneutic practices within the Zoroastrian tradition.

HAMASEH GOLESTANEH

Cultic activities in ancient Iran: the evidence from the administrative archives of Persepolis

The religious beliefs and practices of the Achaemenids are, like many other aspects of this empire, a matter of much debate. Although many believe Achaemenid kings to be (newly converted) Zoroastrians who tolerated 'pagan' Elamite rites, the evidence about the cultic activities from the administrative texts of the Persepolis Fortification Archive shows a rather varied acculturated atmosphere in which Indo-Iranian, Elamite, and Mesopotamian elements can be traced. For instance, the terms used in these documents in relation to the funerary cult of members of the royal family do not reveal a Zoroastrian or Avestan, but rather a Mesopotamian and Elamite background. Another significant example is Šetrabattiš, “Lord of the dwelling”, whose name is not an epithet of Auramazdā (as in the *Avesta*), who has cognates in Vedic Sanskrit and in later Indo-European traditions, and who may have been a field god. In similar context, one finds numerous sacrifices to/at storage places, such as *hapidanuš*, *balum*, etc., which show a cultic focus on agrarian production. At the very least, we are looking at a ritualistic setting more diverse than models based on the assumption of a more or less pure Achaemenid Zoroastrianism have predicted.

ZAHRA GOLMOHAMADI (SEE: SEYED MOHAMMADREZA GHARAZI)

SÉBASTIAN GONDET (KOUROSH MOHAMMADKHANI)

Current research of the current Iranian-French project at Pasargadae: new data on the occupation history of the site and its surrounding territory in the longue durée

After a first phase between 1999 and 2009, an Iranian-French project has resumed archaeological fieldwork on the World Heritage site of Pasargadae since the fall 2015. Thanks to the combined support and collaboration of several Iranian and French institutions, four research campaigns were already carried out on the site and its surrounding territory between 2015 and 2018. Since the beginning of the project and given the large size of the site, several kilometres square, the work has focused on the large scale mapping of the archaeological remains by implementing several complementary survey methods. While one of the main results of the first phase of the project was to reveal parts of the layout of the large park that encompassed all the known Achaemenid monuments built during the reign of Cyrus the Great, data from current fieldwork allow us to complete the proposed reconstruction of the Pasargadae past landscape. As an example, fieldwork revealed traces of several settled areas distributed around the royal building, probably hosting a part of the permanent population living at Pasargadae during the second half of the 1st millennium BC. Moreover, we can now ascertain that the Achaemenid foundation period was the first stage of a longer occupation history of Pasargadae. Archaeological evidences tend to demonstrate that the site remained an important

centre until the medieval times, the different occupation phases matching with deep changes in the settlement layout. The Pasargadae long term development was supported by a thorough territorial management especially of water resources as highlighted by numerous remains of hydraulic infrastructures that are systematically surveyed.

TED GOOD

Mardānfarrox's Proof of God and early Islamic Theology

Mardānfarrox ī Ohrmazddādān was a 9th century Zoroastrian theologian working in Zoroastrianism's philosophical tradition, and he is only known through his apologetic and polemical treatise: *Škand-Gumānīg Wizār* (ŠGW; 'the Doubt-Shattering Analysis'). His treatise explicates the tenets of Zoroastrians as well as critiques the tenets of rival faiths. The first group so critiqued is — strictly speaking — not a faith, but atheism, and in this portion of the treatise (ŠGW 5 – 10), Mardānfarrox produces a long and continuous argument with several movements: first, he argues that a creator exists (ŠGW 5), which he uses to critique atheists directly (ŠGW 6); second, he extracts from his proof the necessity of the creator's free will (ŠGW 7), from which he derives the interesting corollary that a second spiritual principle must also exist (ŠGW 8). Having established the existence of two spiritual principles, he cites a chapter of the *Dēnkard* as support (ŠGW 9). Finally, he closes this polemic against atheists by transitioning to his polemic against various theists (ŠGW 10).

The first movement of this argument is its foundation, since the following five chapters all depend on that proof for a creator god. The importance of his argument for a creator is all the more striking, since it is curiously close to one given by a near contemporary Islamic theologian: al-Nazzām (d. ca. 836). Abū Ishāq al-Nazzām was one of the early Mu'tazila living during the early 'Abbāsīd period. This creation account of his is reported by the later Mu'tazila al-Khayyāt in his *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* ('Book of Triumph'). Although most of al-Nazzām's works are lost or fragmentary, the wealth of existing quotations and other fragments allows a relatively complete picture of his thought.

This presentation attempts to situate Mardānfarrox and his polemic against the atheists by analyzing his argument in light of these developments of early Islamic theology; the views of Mardānfarrox will be juxtaposed to al-Nazzām with the further argument that Mardānfarrox's very similar argument is given in terms of Indian logic, and specifically the philosophical school (Skt. *darśana*) known as Nyāya. In this way, it will be clear that this Zoroastrian theologian was combining Indian, Islamic, as well as native Iranian ideas in order to argue for specifically Zoroastrian conclusions.

NIGAR GOZALOVA

BRITAIN'S QAJAR IRAN CONNECTION 1826-1828

Since the end of the XVIII century, the Middle East has played a special role in international politics. The European powers considered the states located here as potential allies or adversaries in their diplomatic, military and political struggle for influence and domination in this region.

The failure of the talks between the Qajar Iran and Russia on the delimitation of the border line, as well as the ongoing hostilities on the borders of the two states, led to the beginning of the

second Russo-Iranian war in July 1826. The main object of the Russo-Iranian contradictions in the first half of the XIX century was the South Caucasus. Since the beginning of the XIX century, Iranian-British ties have been intertwined with Iranian-Russian relations. During this period, Britain's relations with Russia are ambiguous and contradictory: there is not just rivalry and hostility between Britain and Russia, but also clear interaction and even cooperation.

The article reviews the prerequisites for the beginning of the second Russo-Iranian war (1826-1828) and the official position of the British Foreign Ministry on the eve and during the second Russian-Iranian war. In this article, we will try to consider the following questions: 1. Is it possible to consider Britain as the culprit or the instigator of the second Russian-Iranian war, as alleged in virtually all Soviet and Russian historiography? 2. Why didn't Britain provide the promised assistance to the Qajar Iran under the Tehran Treaty of 1814 during the second Russian-Iranian war?

The aim of British diplomacy in Qajar Iran was to keep the shaky barrier - the Qajar throne - between Russia and India with all its might. The British position, aimed at peace on any terms to save the Qajar dynasty, played an important role in the conduct of peace negotiations in Turkmanchay. Officially British diplomats did not participate in peace negotiations in the category of intermediaries but took part in the negotiations in the status of personal and unofficial advisors of Abbas Mirza. The conclusion of the Turkmanchay Treaty, caused changes in the mutual relations between Qajar Iran and Great Britain. Based on an archival document, the British policy impacted on the course of negotiations and the conclusion of the Turkmanchay Treaty. The paper relies on official and semi-official Caucasian and Russian historiography, contemporary British accounts, as well some secondary sources.

LEONARDO GREGORATTI

All The Great King's Men: How to make friends and control Parthia

Recently the new research on Parthian coins has forced the scholars to put into discussion the traditional idea of the Parthian empire as a state chronically affected by civic strife and bitter competition for the throne. It seems probable that until now our point of view on local sources like Arsacid coinage, has been too deeply influenced by the accounts of western ancient historians. These sources in fact offer a rich and detailed documentation regarding cases of pretenders to the royal throne trying to conquer the Arsacid state with military force or struggles between princes and their followers to get control of the whole kingdom. Aim of this paper is to analyse the information provided by the literary sources about these episodes in order to illustrate which men and officers were fundamental in order to achieve or maintain a solid control over the Parthian kingdom. In other words what role client kings, noble lords, army generals and played in the capacity of the Great King to control such a vast and multicultural empire. A particular attention will be given to a category of administrative officers so far neglected: the province governors.

JO-ANN GROSS

The Shrinescapes and Narrative Traditions of Khoja Ishaq Khuttalani

This paper will explore the literary and physical dimensions of the interrelated processes of the memorialization of Sufi figures, specifically, how textual and oral traditions about Sufi saints

overlap and intersect and are formed and re-formed over time, and the associated transformation of saints' burial places (real or imagined) into shrines, forming shrinescapes that incorporate a combination of Islamic and mythic motifs. I use the term "shrinescape" to refer an acknowledged, sacralized landscape comprising the natural and built environment associated with a holy figure. To explore these questions, I employ a case study of Khoja Ishāq Khuttalānī (d. 826/1423), the disciple of the renowned Kubravī Sufi shaykh, Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī, and the *pīr* of Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (d. 1392/1464), founder of the Nūrbakhshiya. Khwāja Ishāq is perhaps best known for his recognition of his disciple Nurbakhsh's messianic claim in 1423 and his proclamation of Nurbakhsh as *mahdī*, which led both to a split within the Kubraviya, and to Khwāja Ishāq's martyrdom, as he was killed by the army of the Timurid ruler, Shāh Rukh.

There are multiple narrative traditions about Khwāja Ishāq's life and death, although the most well-known and widely accepted of them is Karbalāī's *Rawzāt al-jinān va jannt al-janān*, written in the late 16th century, which locates his burial place in Khuttalān, where his officially acknowledged shrine exists today. A second source, a 19th century pilgrimage guide to Samarqand, Abū Tāhir Khwāja Samarqandī's *Samariyya*, written in 1251/1835/6, describes "Hazrat-i Khwāja Ishāq" as having been buried in a cave in the Fan Mountains in today's Soghd region. A third previously unstudied source, *Ruznomai Safari Iskandarkul* by Abdurahmon Mustajir, also known as *The Diary of the Iskandarkul Expedition*, records a Russian scientific expedition in 1870, ostensibly with military goals. The diary is written in Samarqandi Persian and was published in 1970 in Tajiki (Cyrillic script). The entry of 15 June 1870 records a visit to Makhshevat to a cave (again in the Fan Mountains) in which "Hazrat-i Khoja Ishāq Valī's mummified skeleton remains buried and is visible from the waist up. A fourth unstudied, unpublished local hagiographical source is the *Manaqib-i Sayyid Ishāq Khulābādī*, which adds yet another hagiographical dimension, since it is an Islamization narrative of holy war that describes the martyrdom of "Sayyid Ishāq" and his burial by his murids in the mountain cave shrine in Makhshevat. Finally, there is a body of Soviet and post-Soviet secondary literature from Tajikistan, in the form of published pamphlets, book chapters, and articles, which address Khwāja Ishāq Khuttalānī's biography, hagiographical traditions, and shrines. This study accepts, rather than calls into question, the multiplicity of textual genres and narrative traditions of Khwāja Ishāq Khuttalānī, investigates the linkages between the natural and built environment of his shrines and the texts that seek to explain them, and offers historical perspectives on issues of interpretation with regard to the study of sacred landscapes in Central Asia and the wider Islamicate world.

SELIM GÜNGÖRÜRLER

The Ottoman-Safavid Revolution in Middle Eastern Diplomacy (1688-1698) A comparative study of the Subject in the art of photography as practiced by Nāṣiriddīn Shāh and Antoin Sevruguin

This paper focuses on the culminating phase of the diplomatic harmony between the Sublime Porte and the Safavid government (1688-1698). This unique convergence materialized primarily due to third-party factors, such as the political circumstances prevailing in Europe and the overthrow of governmental authority in parts of Iraq by rebellious tribes.

Grateful to the shah for his rejection of the offers to join the Holy League (the alliance between the Holy Roman Empire, Poland-Lithuania, Venice, the Papacy, and later Russia) and capture Iraq, the Sublime Porte elevated the shah's international diplomatic rank from royal to junior-imperial, while the sultan remained supreme. The parties also declared the peace to be

permanent from now on. Although the efforts to form a military coalition against the European powers remained fruitless, diplomacy between the courts of Adrianople-Baghdad and Isfahan furthered the rapprochement. In the meantime, rebellions broke out in Ottoman Kurdistan and Basra, quickly spreading to Iranian Kurdistan and Persian Gulf area. However, even Ottoman responsibility for the damage caused to Iran by these rebellions could not disrupt this peaceful trend, since both states promoted this newly-found convergence of interests through the exchange of four ambassadors, one envoy, one emissary as well as dozens of letters. As much as the Safavids' patient respect for the Ottoman Empire's rebel-ridden borders, it was also the Safavids' conformity with the principle of Ottoman superiority that contributed to the building of mutual trust. The sultan's entrusting his own eastern borders to the shah and the Safavids' moral support for the Ottomans' war effort in Europe soon resulted in the parties' proclamation of their *brotherhood*, *perpetual peace*, and ultimately *alliance*. The present paper will shed light not only on the diplomatic events of this decade but also on the origin and meaning of the diplomatic terminology employed by the two sides.

ROXANE HAAG-HIGUCHI

Literary Evolution: The Case of Iran

The discussion of how literature is related to society was a crucial issue in the discussions about literary modernity that took place in Iran in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. There is a general consensus that literature was not only reflective of the changes in society, but played an important active role in bringing them about. In contemporary Iranian literary criticism, some authors called for an abrupt and forceful break with tradition, while others voted for a more cautious and gradual transition. The most powerful voice in the latter camp of literary critics was the poet, literary historian and cultural policy maker Mohammad Taqi Bahar (1886-1951). His arguments evolved from a perception of European trends that closely linked cultural manifestations to laws of nature, namely evolutionary theory. Bahar probably adopted the evolutionary theory developed by Darwin's precursor Jean Baptiste de Lamarck (1744-1829). The Lamarckian concept is characterized by a teleological and deterministic approach to evolution and the theorem of heritability of acquired characteristics. While later disproved and abandoned, this concept was seminal in the early 20th century and continued to be dominant in Iran in Bahar's times. The paper explores how Bahar applied his perception of evolutionary theory to the Iranian case of development in literature.

NEGAR HABIBI

Chehel Sotun and its Wall Paintings: A Window to Early-Modern Iranian Art and Society?

Chehel Sotun (lit. Forty Columns) Palace is the largest palace of Isfahan, the iconic capital of the Safavids (1501-1736). Completed in 1647 by Shah 'Abbās II (1642-66), the palace became the *lieu* of formal receptions for foreign ambassadors as well as for many Iranian festivities; wall paintings at the inside and outside of the palace constitute the most important part of the decoration. My paper focuses exclusively on the paintings of verandas, where more than 15 standing or seated figures represent the non-Iranian and non-Muslim women and men. One may wonder if these figurative paintings, including the naked or semi-naked women, should be

considered as the pure decorations of the most prestigious royal palace. Could we consider these outside representations of non-Iranian princes and warriors or princesses and mothers, as the images of Europeans, women and minorities who had a non-central importance in the Safavid administration? Did they all have a non-central position? As the grand murals of the Chehel Sotun's Audience Hall represent some real events of the Safavid Court, one may wonder if the outdoor murals would also show some other social and political realities precisely tailored to the late seventeenth-century Iran.

The main purpose of this paper is to delve deeper into the history of Iranian art at the dawn of modernism. Describing and analyzing these paintings, we may focus particularly on two different aspects: their artistic techniques and iconographic significations. These paintings are neither dated nor signed. However, their styles drawn near what we would call as the so-called *Farangi Sāzi* style (lit. making in a European manner). Would these mural paintings be a larger example and primary model of the single-sheet *Farangi Sāzi* paintings, mostly dated between 1649 and 1694? We seek to know whether the wall paintings of the most important Safavid Royal Palace indicate in a purely artistic manner the seventeenth-century Iranian gaze to the Europeans. At the same time, we verify whether divers rang of female representations reflect the female identities in late Safavid Iran.

ALI HADJI-HOSSEINI

Some etymological and dialectical aspects of two Judeo-Persian manuscripts

It is generally known that Iranian Jews, like their coreligionists in other countries, lived in their communities and so their language, specially the language of their Holy Books was not so affected by the relatively fast changes of the spoken Persian language in the other parts of the country. The local dialects of the Persian language, spoken in a Because of this the Judeo-Persian literature has a tremendous importance for the lexical, dialectical and etymological studies of the Persian language.

GOHAR HAKOBIAN (SEE: GARNIK S. ASATRIAN)

JAAKKO HAMEEN-ANTTILA

Zarathustra in Islamic sources

The paper will discuss the image of Zarathustra in Islamic sources, especially in Arabic and Persian historical works from the 10th to the 17th century. Briefly going through Zarathustra's life as it was known to Muslim authors before modern times, it shows how a background history was created for Zarathustra, often attaching him through an intellectual genealogy either to Israelite prophets or to Greek philosophers.

The paper also shows how in different genres of literature Zarathustra was seen through three different paradigms. For some, he was a prophet, for many others an ancient sage, whereas the image of Zarathustra as an impostor was rather rare. Most sources are shown to have been positive toward him, some even accepting him as a prophet sent by God, at least implicitly.

STEFAN HÄRTEL

The Composition of the Rabatak Inscription

A close examination of the Bactrian inscription of Rabatak is undertaken to reveal the inscriptional and literary traditions from which it is sourced, the history of its composition and the individual layers of text which underlie its final form. Comparisons with other inscriptions from ancient Iranian history indicate a limited understanding of the Kušān authors of Iranian literary tradition and formula. A comparison especially with other Kušān Bactrian inscriptions as well as semantic and etymological analysis demonstrates that the Rabatak inscription cites a proclamation by Kaniška I which can be reconstructed to a certain extent, but also that other sources for and layers of the composition of the inscription exist. This becomes apparent most prominently in a comparison with the silver bowl inscription of Nukunzuk, which cites the same proclamation. It is argued that the proclamation was made by Kaniška in Greek language, but also that it possesses parallels in ancient Iranian inscriptions which may indicate Iranian traditions present in the text. Other cases of literary sources and traditions are less specific but still possess some weight especially in the use of certain words, phrases and grammatical structures. This analysis will help place the Rabatak Inscription, and by extension the early Kušān Empire, in the broader context of ancient Iranian history.

SEIRO HARUTA

Neo-Elamite, Middle Iranian and related inscriptions in metalware kept in Japan

In Japan, there are a number of inscriptions on metalware written in Neo-Elamite, Aramaic (in Iran or Central Asia) and Middle Iranian languages. Few of them, however, have been fully investigated so far; some of them are still unpublished at all. The author will report these less known inscriptions. They are: 1) four Neo-Elamite inscriptions on silverware; 2) Aramaic(?) inscriptions on a silver rhyton; 3) an Early (=Arsacid) Middle Persian inscription on the rim of a silver dish; 4) a Sasanian Parthian inscription on a silver bowl.

1) The Neo-Elamite inscriptions are similar to those on the so-called "Cave Treasure"; but some new spelling or new words are attested.

2) There are two very short inscriptions, almost the same, in Aramaic script on a silver rhyton with the protome of a desert lynx catching a fowl. The inscriptions only tell the weight with the units k(arshas) and s(taters).

3) The Early Middle Persian inscription were already studied and published by Skjærvø, but the dish itself has not been studied closely so far.

4) The Parthian inscription shows the owner's name, which seems to be Semitic.

RAMIN HASSANZADEH NODEHI

Folk poetry in Western Gilaki

The definitions of folklore are as numerous and as distinctive as the various schools of folklore studies. Folklore has been divided and subdivided and the divisions and their parts defined and

redefined as a new aspects of origins, diffusion, motivation and orientation have appeared. In this research, my major aim is to analyze the conceptual and structural folk poetry in Western Gilaki (Fuman, Shaft). Folk song implies the use of music and musical tradition varies greatly from one to another. In some places, the words of songs are of little importance and seem to be used primarily as support for the music. Frequently, there are meaningless and much repetition to accompany the voices or the musical instruments. The vast amount of songs for this research were collected in 2017 from a cluster adjoining villages in Fuman and Shaft. According to my research, many of the songs are used in rice field (bijarsar), tea field (chayi baq) and diverse celebration and ceremony. Generally, there can be classified in three category: 1) Labour songs 2) Celebration songs 3) Lover and beloved songs.

SEBASTIAN HEINE

Zur epischen Literatur im Pashto

Epische Stoffe gehören zu den wichtigsten Bestandteilen sowohl der mündlichen Überlieferung als auch der klassischen Literatur des Pashto.

Während die frühen Anfänge episch-kriegerischer Dichtung im Pashto ihre Ursprünge im Abwehrkampf gegen Mongolen und andere Invasoren haben, stammt die uns bekannte epische Dichtung der klassischen Literatur aus dem 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Im Mittelpunkt stehen die historischen Feldzüge der paschtunischen Dynastien der Hōtak (Anfang des 18. Jh.) im Iran und der Durrānī (ab 1747) in Indien.

Das Epos als Propagandamittel zur Fundamentierung der eigenen dynastischen Ansprüche führte zur Entstehung von einer Reihe von Werken, die uns z.T. nur bruchstückhaft überliefert sind, was im Falle der Hōtak dem jähen Ende der Dynastie in der Anfangsphase ihrer Konsolidierung geschuldet ist (1707-1729).

Der Vortrag soll die wichtigsten Vertreter und Werke der epischen Dichtung des Pashto vorstellen, wobei das Hōtaknāma des Dichters Abdulyaffār Hōtak (nach 1750) besonders berücksichtigt werden soll. Es stellt den einzigen bisher bekannten Quellentext zum Falle Isfahans 1722 aus paschtunischer Sicht dar.

Dies ermöglicht es, die epische Literatur des Pashto auch als historische Quelle zu nutzen. Ein Überblick über die existierenden Handschriften, Vorarbeiten und geplanten Forschungen soll den Vortrag abschließen.

ELAHE HELBIG

Tracing Blueprints: Persian Cultural Revivification through Photographs

This paper focusses on a set of photographs of archaeological sites, bas-reliefs and inscriptions from the pre-Islamic Achaemenid (ca. 559-330 BCE) and Sasanian dynasties (224-651 BCE). In question are photographic reproductions with motifs from Persepolis, Pasargade and Persian rock tombs made in between 1904 and 1934 by the German archaeologist Ernst Herzfeld. As a leading figure in ancient Near Eastern and Iranian studies during the first half of the twentieth century Ernst Herzfeld produced these images for purposes of further studies, research and publications. Just like most of the 3850 glass negatives that constitute the centrepiece of Herzfeld's photographic collection these images have been reprinted and replicated using the blueprint method. The discovery of cyanotype (blueprint) in 1842 commenced the third

practical means of lasting image production after daguerreotype in 1839 and calotype in 1840. The increasing commodification and commercialisation of light-sensitive papers for blueprints during the 1870s advanced cyanotype to the first reprographic process. As such it was not merely a method for drawing copies but in fact became a crucial means of replicating photographs over the course of the coming decades. For its simplicity and low material costs the cyanotype printing process was also Herzfeld's reproductive choice for his extensive glass negatives and cut films that documented prehistoric artefacts, monuments and archaeological sites of the Near East, including Iran. Elaborating on the historical framework and distinctive particularities of the cyanotype process this paper discusses the significance of cyanotype in the replication of photographs of ancient Persian cultural sites, specifically focusing on the blueprints of Herzfeld's collection. Against this backdrop this paper further addresses the extent to which the dispersion of the discussed cyanotypes and Herzfeld's photographic heritage at large enabled, promoted and accelerated the revivification of Persian cultural awareness and thus the formation of a national identity.

ANNA HELLER

Saviors of the Iranian Nation and her Men: Images of Strong Women in Early 20th Century Dramatic Literature

The education and unveiling of Iran's women has been subject to intellectual and journalistic treatises since mid-19th century, but it was not until Reza Shah Pahlavi (1926-1941) that this topic became a matter of state-policy. Still, while encouraging women to take off the veil and enter "suitable professions", government propaganda always reminded them of their duties as "companionate wives" and "mothers of future patriots": The reformist program was aiming at the creation of an educated woman to support her modern patriotic husband.

During the same period, theatre increasingly gained influence as a part of public entertainment as well as an instrument of transfer of ideas. Dramatic texts of that time reflect how the new image of "the modern Iranian woman" has been discussed in the public yet casual sphere of theatre. This paper compares four plays by playwrights of diverse political and artistic backgrounds and pursues the question how their intentions to model Iranian society brought strong female characters on stage: Ali Nasr's *Ābgī-ye 'Abol* and Abdol-Hoseyn Noushin's *Zan-e vazīfe-šenās* discuss the reasons for and virtues of marriage. Reza Kamal's *Abbāse* is a romantic parable of social justice from 1001 Nights, and Reypour's *Hifdah-e Dey* serves as an example of an educational school play celebrating the anniversary of Reza Shah's decree of banning the veil with quite feminist undertones. The focus is on the question of which societal values of an ideal society do these new female role models represent?

WOUTER HENKELMAN

Introduction

The last two decades of scholarship on the Achaemenid period have witnessed an increased emphasis on a (re-)contextualization of the Persian empire. The Elamite background of some major elements of Achaemenid culture has been explored; new work on the Neo-Elamite period as such has enhanced its significance for the genesis of Persian identity and culture. Another major development in Achaemenid studies is a renewed focus on the Persepolis archives,

notably on the Persepolis Fortification archive, with its thousands of Elamite cuneiform tablets and iconographic richness in the form of seal impressions. Intensified study of the archive has fueled the debate on Elamite-Iranian continuities, but it has also brought many new insights on Achaemenid life and society. Thanks to the granular view offered by the tablets, we know much more about the status of craftsmen and dependent workers, but also about Persian élites and members of the royal family. The papers presented in this panel inscribe themselves into these current trends of scholarship in Achaemenid studies.

ANNETTE HERKENRATH

Causality and thematic flow in Kurmanji: From morphosyntax to discourse context

This paper looks at phenomena of causal connectivity in Kurmanji, analysing two types of data: a corpus of academic, mostly sociolinguistic, publications and a growing corpus of oral conversations.

The linguistic means for expressing causality in Kurmanji can largely be characterised as derived from spatial concepts. A previous morphosyntactic study analyses how employments of *ber* ‘front etc.’, on its own and in combination with additional elements, cover a semantic range from spatial via instrumental to causal, in a hierarchy of syntactic contexts (Herkenrath, to appear). The present study goes one step further in applying methodological steps of Pragmatic Corpus Analysis (PCA, Herkenrath & Rehbein 2012). It uses *ji ber (ku)* as a searched-for item in order to identify larger passages of text or discourse that contain this expression – and to qualitatively analyse them from discourse-analytical perspectives.

The study draws on research traditions pertaining to comparative academic writing and discoursethematic ‘flow’ (Chafe 1994). In a larger analytical scheme of academic language *Ausbau*, Thielmann (2009: 191-199) recapitulates philosophical concepts that have formed the basis of causality from Antiquity to modern times. His comparative study models ‘causality’ as the purposefully connected introduction of new and potentially controversial thoughts into contexts in which other thoughts have already been accepted as shared knowledge. The causal status of a thought (or fact) is based on its being constructed as the material, origin, basic component, agent, or underlying principle of the new knowledge element in question. While Thielmann’s concept of causality centers on sentencelevel phenomena, he views these within larger textual – and research-contextual – structures. The clausal level therefore contains traces of reference to this larger context (Blommaert 2005).

With an eye on the Kurmanji data, the following questions will be addressed: what cross-linguistic definition of ‘cause’ and ‘causality’ can be applied that goes beyond a morphosyntactic identification of causal connectors (Kurdo 1991 [1984 [1973]]: 281f)? How are given thoughts or facts constructed as causes to form the argumentative basis of new ones to be introduced into the thematic flow? How is a potentially causal connector employed in a larger range of semantic and textual functions? How are everyday semantic concepts rearranged in order to fulfill communicative purposes specific to academic writing? What are, at the thematic level, the specific thoughts that have to be argumentatively processed in order to become acceptable knowledge for a readership?

Since academic writing in a given language derives its communicative patterns not only from an international tradition, but also from its own everyday spoken varieties, the present study also looks at oral discourse data (Ehlich 1991 for a principled distinction between ‘text’ and ‘discourse’). The speaker in example (1), from an oral interview, justifies his own cultural and social work by mentioning the estimated number of Kurds in his country. This number, it seems, is taken as a basis from which to derive some needs and rights, which the informant proceeds

to address by means of his mentioned activities. In the given larger context, obviously, these activities cannot go without an argumentative basis:

(1) MEMO_003_Meded, HIAT transcript, 00:09:02:

[63]

Med *Ji ber ku • hêjmara kurda mîlyonek û dused, sêsed*

because number-EZF.F Kurd-OBL.PL million-one and two-hundred three-hundred

Because • the number of Kurds, one million and two hundred, three hundred

[64]

Med *hezara li Almayayê • • • ehm... • • Kurd wek/ • bi nasnama xwe*

thousand-OBL.PL PRP Germany-OBL.F Kurd as PRP identity-EZF.F RFL

thousand in Germany • • • ehm... • • for Kurds to be (accepted) as/ • with

[65]

Med *werin (pamûr) kirin, mafên biyaniyê • yê(n) ku*

SBJ.come.PRS-PL (acceptance) do.VN right-EZF.PL foreigner.status-OBL.F EZF.PL COMP

their identity, foreigners' rights • that they grant •

[66]

Med *bidin • yê(n) ku hene. Eh, kurtî bibin, (xwêdî) wan*

SBJ.give.PRS-PL EZF.PL COMP exist.PRS.PL (=) SBJ.become.PRS.PL ownership
DEI.OBL.PL

those that exist. Eh, (in short, that they be taken care of)...

[67]

Med *ma... Ji bo vê, • • eh, • • piçek xebata rûbî dikim. • • Eh,*

(=) for DEI.F.OBL a.little work-EFZ.F encounter ASP-do.PRS-1SG

To achieve this • • eh, • • I do a little cultural work. • • Eh,

Med [k] *louder*

[68]

Med *piçekî xebata sosyal • • • dimeşînim, • • eeehmm...*

a.little work-EZF.F social ASP-initiate.PRS-1SG

I • • initiate a little social work, • • eeehmm...

ALMUT HINTZE

Word, sound and action in the Zoroastrian ritual

A well-known feature of Zoroastrian ritual is that a fixed recitation text accompanies the performance of precisely prescribed ritual actions. Using new visual source material, this paper examines the relationship between words and actions in the Yasna ritual with regard to the position of the words within the recitation text and that of the actions in the sequence of ritual events.

OGIHARA HIROTOSHI

Tumshuqese material preserved in the French collection

Since S. Konow founded the basis for the philological study of Tumshuqese in 1935, H. W. Bailey, R. E. Emmerick, D. Hitch, P. O. Skjærvø, D. Maue and others have dedicated much

effort to interpret its grammatical structure. However, Tumshuqese as one of Middle Iranian languages has not yet received the attention of scholarly world that it deserves.

In his Handlist published in 2009, D. Maue listed seven paper fragments and one inscription photographed by the French expedition under the French collection. In addition to them, one more paper fragment kept in the Pelliot koutchéen, nouvelle série was identified to this language and published by me in 2015. In total, eight paper fragments and one inscription have been known in the French collection. Among them, only the “Tumshuqese *Karmavācanā*” published by S. Konow in 1942, the inscription discovered at Subashi in Kucha, and the fragment kept in the Pelliot koutchéen were published with philological comments and translation, although other fragments have also been available in the transliteration published by D. Maue. In this presentation, I will give a brief overview on all the Tumshuqese material in this collection based on my own research, and an attempt will be made to interpret some forms that have not yet been treated in the previous studies.

SAMPSA HOLOPAINEN (SEE: JEREMEY BRADLEY)

PHILIP O. HOPKINS

H.B. Dehqani-Tafti and Iranian Christian Ideology

H.B. Dehqani-Tafti was the first Anglican bishop of Persian origin in Iran, serving in that position from 1960 to 1990 with the last 10 years in exile. BDehqani-Tafti desired to see Iranian Muslims convert to Christianity and to make Christianity in Iran more ‘Iranian’. His education and interaction in the West helped him utilize Western ideas to make them more culturally acceptable. He is widely respected in Iranian Christian circles, ethnic and indigenous, theologically conservative and theologically liberal, Western missionary and Iranian Christian. Orn to a Muslim father and a Christian mother near Yazd, Iran, he converted to Christianity before adulthood, received his education at Cambridge University, and wrote numerous pieces in both Persian and English.

Dehqani-Tafti stressed the importance of the compatibility of Iranian Christianity within the context of Persian culture. He struggled with what being Persian meant, and how being Iranian related to Islam and to Westernisation. Dehqani-Tafti understood that one should not have to ‘sacrifice’ one’s identity after becoming a Christian. Because of Iranian Christians’ place in Iranian society, he believed they had the ability to ‘interpret’ the West and East in ways that other Iranians were incapable of doing.

This proposed paper outlines his thought and suggests he could be considered the father of modern Iranian Christian ideology.

SOMAYE S. HOSEINY

Ashura Rituals in Iran, Reflection of the Iranian Culture

Ashura mourning rituals in Iran are thought to be representative of the Shiite culture and rooted in Arabic culture. By the way, further studies show that components of these rituals, which are held in various regions of Iran, are rooted in the ancient Iranian culture, rather than Arabic or

Shiite culture. The main core of these rituals are based on the historical tragedy of the martyrdom of Hussain-Bin-Ali, and further details are added to them in the course of time and based on the so called hadiths and citations. In the present article we will show that according to the historical studies and field observations based on communication science theories and hermeneutic theories, form of these rituals have adopted a completely Iranian identity in Iran, and Ashura mourning rituals can be introduced as representative of diverse Iranian cultures, and not merely the Shiite-Arabic culture.

ELHAM HOSNIEH

Reproduction of Religious Concepts in Contemporary Secular Iranian Prose

The idea that modern era is uniquely secular and that Novel is a secular genre has been put into question by more recent scholarly works. In agreement with this new attitude, this research aims to look at how “the sacred” is projected in contemporary Iranian “secular” literature, proposing that religious concepts may have been reproduced in literary works written by some contemporary Iranian secular writers.

By “religious concepts”, I do not mean critical assessments of religion or purely aesthetic engagements with it. Instead, I will try to focus on indirect or vague religious expressions, or nostalgic longings for a lost religious world. Ultimately, I may probe into the possible existing ties between my case-study and Iranian-Islamic mysticism or Shi’ism.

The period under study will be 21st century onward. This period is especially interesting because of the emergence of new trends of religiosity among an emerging generation of young middle-class Iranians, rise and the perceived fall of the reformist movement, and continues efforts of religious intellectuals to show the compatibility of Islam and secularism.

To elaborate, while during the last few decades, the emergence of “secular tendencies” among the Iranians has been a serious topic, increasing interest in neo-mysticism is evident among some groups of the society, and a noticeable number of Iranian novelists are also exploring abstract realities and even vague mysticism and religiosity. The way out of this seemingly paradoxical situation, is to go beyond the dichotomy of secular/religious- as it has been suggested by scholars such as Pericles Lewis, and explore into what literature can tell us about complexities that the emerging “secularism” in Iran is about.

XIAODAN HU

A study on the composition and transformation of the Manichaean Middle Iranian abecedarian hymns in Central Asia and China

Abecedarian hymn (i.e. alphabetical acrostic) is a literary genre with a long history. Besides of the abecedarian hymns in the Bible, there are also three Hebrew hymns in the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran, dating back to the 1st century CE. Later on, this literary form was applied to the Manichaean religious literature, and spread eastward along the Silk Road, together with the Manichaean writing system (i.e. Manichaean script).

It accounts for a large proportion of the Manichaean Middle Iranian texts unearthed in the Turfan Oasis in Northwest China. Up to 2017, more than 220 Middle Iranian (Middle Persian and Parthian) abecedarian hymns have been published from the Berlin Turfan Collection and other smaller collections housed in Russia, Japan, France etc. These hymns have various themes

and different linguistic features, and should have been composed in different time and places. The commemorative hymns for the famous historical figures and church leaders shed light on the historical background of the composition activities within the Manichaean community. Two vivid examples are the Parthian hymn M6 in Berlin Turfan Collection for Mār Zaku (an important figure in early church history), which was composed around 300 CE, and the Middle Persian hymn MIK III 8259 I kept at Museum für Asiatische Kunst, written for the church leader in Turfan. On the other hand, the linguistic features also indicate the date of these hymns. Through a systematic analysis on the themes and linguistic features, the chronological sequence of these hymns can be built up, which will lay a foundation for further studies on the history of Middle Iranian literature in Central Asia.

In 694 CE, Manichaeism was brought into the Tang court. As an essential part of the missionary activity, the Middle Iranian hymns started to be translated into Chinese. However, the Chinese writing system is logographic, but not alphabetic. It was a big challenge for the Manichaean community to adapt their theory on the holy alphabet and the abecedarian hymn to the Chinese writing culture. On the other hand, Tang Dynasty witnessed the heyday of classical Chinese poetry, when regulated verse developed into the mainstream literature form and even became a subject of the Imperial Examination. Was there a chance that the Manichees could combine these two literary traditions? There are 6 remarkable hymns preserved in line 184-260 of the Chinese Manichaean Hymn-scroll found in Dunhuang. Based on the Middle Iranian hymns from Turfan, the abecedarian scheme of the originals of these hymns can be reconstructed. Thus it was proved that the Middle Iranian abecedarian hymns were translated and transformed into Chinese poems, which share many similarities with regulated verses. However, their metrical features are different from contemporary regulated verses. Are these features related to their Middle Iranian originals? This paper will try to answer this question.

SAID REZA HUSEINI

The Idea and Practice of Justice in Eastern Iranian World in Late Antiquity :The Case of Bactria/Tukharistan

This paper discusses several Bactrian documents in order to understand the idea and practice of justice in Bactria/Tukharistan. The documents are written in Bactrian, the only Middle Iranian language written in cursive Greek script, and cover a period from 312 to 772 CE. The themes of these documents are varied from administrative, economic and legal documents, to private letters. These documents present original Bactrian "compositions" produced in Bactria/Tukharistan and reflect the socio-political situation, in which justice had been understood and practiced.

This paper focuses on the protection of individuals or a group of people, intercession, guarantees of safety given in peace contract, and promises to protect the rights of buyers or freed slaves. The contextual analysis of relevant documents suggests that justice was understood as providing security for people's lives, properties, social positions, women and their chastity by the government. It was expected to be performed at all levels of society by the authorities. It was practiced within the political structure through a complicated bureaucratic procedure, and continued throughout this period. Similarly, a morphological analysis of these documents shows a variety of forms and structures which shaped the mechanism of justice, and which were unique to Bactria/Tukharistan in the eastern Iranian world. This analysis provide a more nuanced background to our understanding the entry of Muslim rule and the development of Islamic law in this region.

MANFRED HUTTER

Getting to know the Bible in Middle Persian: Quotations and Allusions in Zoroastrian Texts

It is well known that Christian authors refer to the existence of translations of the Bible into Middle Persian, but the “Pahlavi Psalter” from Xinjiang is the only surviving fragmentary text. The aim of my paper is to present some observations of a – in case of positive acceptance by the audience – proposed research project to collect “quotations” of and “allusions” to Biblical texts in Zoroastrianism. Of course, sharp distinction between “quotations” and “allusions” will not be possible in any case, so at the moment this distinction only will mark different levels of taking account of Biblical passages. In case of quotations one can also ask for the source language: Can we detect if the source text was Hebrew (and that means a Jewish text of the Tanach) or Syriac or Greek (both languages might indicate that the source was a “Christian” Bible). Starting with two or three – well known – examples from the ŠGW, the paper will discuss some other (possible) references to the Bible in Zoroastrian texts.

CAMILLA INSOM

The blade play: patterns of continuity and change in self-mutilation practices of the Kurdish Qadiriyya

‘Blade play’ (*tîghbâzî*), this how the Qadiris of Iraqi Kurdistan refer to a set of self-mutilation practices that range from cutting and piercing oneself with knife and skewers, eating glasses or stones, to getting electric shocks. In their accounts, the establishment of such practices is traced back to ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (1077-1166) and often grounded on an alternative narrative of Ibrahim's Sacrifice of his son Ishmael. The *murid* (disciple) can engage in *tîghbâzî*, during the weekly gathering (*majlis*) under the specific authorization (*ijâza*) of their shaykhs, whose *karâmât* - special graces, the ability to perform ‘wonders’ - ensure they come to no harm. In the recent years, self-mutilation practices have been strongly questioned in the public discourse by both imams and secular public figures, so defined either as a persistent and intentional prohibited act or the reminiscence of past ignorance. Yet, it is still practiced. The present paper will explore the different responds to such allegation implemented in three *takya* (Sufi lodge) of the Barzinji, the larger family of hereditary shaykhs in Iraqi Kurdistan, that eventually lead to reassert, redefine or entirely withdraw the *tîghbâzî*. The ethnographic data analysed in this paper were collected during fieldwork research carried out in the Sulaymaniyah Governorate, Iraqi Kurdistan, between 2013 and 2018.

VLADIMIR IVANOV (SEE: LEYLI R. DODYKHDOEVA)

TAKAMASA IWASAKI

Current situation of the double oblique constructions in Roshani and Khufi

Roshani and Khufi language belong to the Shughni-Roshani group of the Pamir languages, eastern Iranian. These languages have double-oblique constructions in past tenses, where A and P show the same case marking (oblique), while S has a different case (direct).

(A and P are the subject and object of a transitive sentence respectively, whereas S is the subject of an intransitive sentence.)

Payne (1980: 182) describes Roshani as “the only one to preserve to any great extent the double-oblique case-marking system.” At the same time, it is reported that the double-oblique construction is beginning to shift to an accusative construction among the younger generations. However, the shift has not been fully researched since 1980. The research that has been done since does not reflect the current situation of the double-oblique construction and its shift.

I conducted fieldwork for about a month in Tajikistan in 2018 and collected the data by means of elicitation and grammaticality tests.

As a result, we can draw the following two conclusions:

(1) In elder generations, double-oblique constructions are dominant, but nominative-accusative constructions in past transitive sentences are considered grammatical as well.

(2) Younger generations (up to about 40 years of age) often use accusative constructions, but also consider double-oblique constructions grammatical. The verbs *luvdōw* ‘to say’, *pawstōw* ‘to ask’, or *žīwǰ* ‘to love’ often take oblique A.

MAHMOUD JAAFARI-DEHAGHI

Historical Changes in Sound System of Central Talishi

The historical changes in sound system of Talishi dialect distinguishes it from other new Iranian dialects. Talishi is spoken by the inhabitants of Caspian sea region, the province of Lankaran in the Republic of Azarbayjan, Astara, Vizana, Tularoud, Asalem, Pare sar, Masal, Masule, Zide, Shnderman etc... It belongs to the north-west group of the Western New Iranian dialects. Central Talish is different from north and south Talish. It includes the city of Asalem and Paresar of Talish and Rezvanshar regularly occupying an area of about 950 kilo square meters. Talishi dialect has often preserved its sound system from Old Iranian, although it sometimes has changed. for example:

Old Iranian “*v” is preserved in Central Talishi:

Old Iranian Talishi Farsi

*varg- vag gorg

*vi-šā-ta- vəša gošād

Old Iranian “*dv-” is changed to “b” in Central Talishi:

Old Iranian Talishi Farsi

*dvar- bar dar

Old Iranian “*fr-” is changed to “h-” in Central Talishi:

Old Iranian Talishi Farsi

*fra-māta- hamue farmudan

Old Iranian “*-fr-” is changed to “-r-” in Central Talishi:

Old Iranian Talishi Farsi

*vafra- var barf

Old Iranian “*rz” is preserved in Central Talishi:

Old Iranian Talishi Farsi

*barza- barz buland

Old Iranian “*xš-” is changed to “-š-” in Central Talishi:

Od Iranian Talishi Farsi

*xšab- šav šab

The aim of this article is firstly to find out other historical changes in sound system of Central Talishi dialect and secondly to find out whether it belongs to an independent Middle Iranian Language other than Middle Persian.

YOUNES JALALI

Taghi Erani — Impact of German Intellectual Life on Worldview of an Iranian Political Actor of Interwar Years

I propose to focus on the 1922-1928 period when Taghi Erani lived in Berlin and engaged in studies in fundamental science, psychology, and orientalism. This brought him in contact with notables such as Planck, Nernst, Kohler, Rosen, Mittwoch and others. I describe how these fields of study and encounters led him to the concept of "existential modernization" for Iran, largely influenced by Germany's strides on the scientific and technological front and state-led industrial policy (a la Rathenau's New Economy). I conclude by a survey of 1929-1937, set in motion by the 1929 world economic collapse, when he got engaged in political activity in Iran, triggered by his observations of Pahlavi rule, the Third Reich (1934 and 1935 Berlin visits), and the Pahlavi-Reich rapprochement. I close by brief remarks about the legacy of his worldview and its relevance to the understanding of contemporary history of Iran.

STANISŁAW ADAM JAŚKOWSKI

Minutes of the First National Consultative Assembly as a Historical Source and Literary Work

One of the main sources to the history of Iranian parliamentarism is *Majles* newspaper, especially due to its publication of the minutes of the meetings of the National Consultative Assembly (*Majles-e Showra-ye Melli*). Yet, while these minutes have been to this day quite extensively used as a historical source, virtually no study has been dedicated to them, i.e. the way they were prepared, who wrote them, what was their style, to what extent they can be deemed accurate. The purpose of this paper is to present the preliminary results of the research into this subject.

This is achieved chiefly by the in-depth analysis of the protocols themselves, as well as comparing their style with that of the earlier newspapers, official writings, memoirs etc. Thus it is possible to trace the main roots of minutes as a "literary genre" both in Iranian or Persianate official tradition of the *divan* (such as *majles-nevisi* or *vaqe'e-nevisi*) and the Western style of publishing proceedings of various bodies. It also allows for the classification of several styles of minutes – and thus several authors – during the first term of the Assembly, evolution of said styles, as well as the possible bias against the various deputies. Due to the brevity of especially earlier minutes what can be inferred about the language of the early parliamentary debate is largely limited, although some observations can be made.

On the Virtues of Silence: The Question of Esoteric Writing in Saadi's *Golestan*

Saadi's *Golestan* is considered by most of the scholars as a species of *andarznameh*. Accordingly, *Golestan*'s Saadi also considered as traditional moralist trying to exhort the prince towards justice or a better conduct towards his subjects. Whether the tradition in question considered as a kind of Islamic religious morality or a pre-Islamic Persian politics and morality, *Golestan* remains a traditional work and Saadi appears as a spokesperson for tradition, not to say as an incarnation of the decline of philosophical reason. In my presentation, I don't intend to refute such an image of Saadi and his *Golestan* directly. Instead, I shall raise the question regarding the possibility of Saadi's "esoteric writing" in *Golestan*; that is, whether *Golestan* should be read as a work with two distinct teachings: one exoteric or external teaching for the vulgar (including religious and political authorities), and one esoteric or internal teaching intended for the wise or those who can understand by themselves. Despite the historical and contextual evidence of religious and political persecution which made such a manner of writing highly likely, I shall concentrate exclusively on the textual evidences. In order to do so, I shall provide a close reading of the first story of the first book "The Manner of the Kings", and attempt to argue that the Idea of preferring "a falsehood [i.e., a lie] resulting in conciliation" to "a truth producing trouble" at the very beginning of *Golestan* can be considered as a significant indication on the part of Saadi regarding the necessity of reading his book "between the lines", i.e., to look for "a truth producing trouble." Finally, I shall argue that since Saadi's traditional beliefs in *Golestan* are by all means exoteric (external), then the possibility of the existence of an esoteric teaching between the lines (which by definition must be anti-traditional), may seriously undermine his commonly assumed identity as a spokesperson for tradition or as a traditional moralist. In other words, the possibility of the existence of trouble-producing truths in *Golestan* can serve as a basis for reading that work not as a traditional *andarznameh*, but as a proper work of political philosophy disguised in the garb of poetry.

TOBIAS JOCHAM

Dating of manuscripts by measuring radiocarbon in parchment, paper and papyrus

The determination of the age of historical artefacts can be done by many means: The usual way for written material is to examine the script, marginal notes et cetera. In case of older Qur'ānic manuscripts we are mostly limited to script only and therefore the use of radiocarbon analysis seemed to be an interesting way to go. This method is not without problems, but could also provide new insight for manuscript studies in Iranian collections.

TOBIAS JONES

Loyalty, Punishment and Violence in the Ilkhanate

Loyalty as a concept in parts of Turco-Mongol world has been analysed to some extent, but not yet with specific focus on the Mongol Empire and its successor khanates, in this case the Ilkhanate. The relationship between loyalty and punishment is a crucial marker of differences in identity, as certain groups were punished in different ways to others, even if they acted

together in their disloyalty. Violence to extreme degrees is often associated with the Mongols, and analysing how they used violence in their punishments can help us to understand both their conceptions of loyalty and their political tactics for inducing loyal subjects.

It is crucial to this paper, as well as to the understanding of the Mongol world as a whole, to understand who is meant by ‘the Mongols’, and who was truly part of the ruling class of Mongol Persia. The relationship between Mongol ideas of loyalty and punishment and those of their Perso-Islamic subjects will be considered, as well as how this dynamic changed over time with the conversion of the Ilkhans to Islam. The transfer of loyalty in the Ilkhanate from the broader Chinggisid dynasty to a more specifically Toluid/Hulegud family line will also be considered.

ABBAS JONG

Iranian Long-distance Nationalism: The case of Iranian Nationalists Committee in Berlin (1916-1919)

The paper employs the idea of ‘long-distance nationalism’ in relation to the idea of ‘social imaginary’ as a conceptual tool to investigate the Iranian nationalists between 1916 to 1919 in Berlin. It aims to explore the descriptive categories of this nationalism which was shaped by this group through the transformation from exile nationalism to an Iranian diaspora nationalism in a triple bond and categories:

between homeland, host country (transnational categories), and their diaspora group in Germany.

Through the process of Iranian national state building, nationalist exclusion and political conflict, become an inevitable outcome which set the ground for mass political migration. The new structural context in exile brought novel group formations, and new ideology and identity constructions for migrants. The Iranian Nationalists Committee was established by a group of exiled and malcontent Iranian intellectuals and activists who had been excluded after the failure of the Iranian constitutional revolution. They could (re-)articulate a novel nationalism through a political diasporic formation. The new or reformed categories and their attached meaning and relations in the nationalism are extracted by using political discourse analysis, focusing on the first edition of Kaveh magazine, which was published as the official journal of the committee in a period between 1916 and 1919. Reading Kaveh,

one can find modernization, the Orient and the West, colonialism, race and ethnicity, Islam, the idea of progress, modern science and technology, nostalgia for the Iran of pre-Islam and the world order as categories constructed the Iranian long-distance nationalism in Germany.

JUDITH JOSEPHSON

Ohrmazd's Law in the Third Book of the Denkard

Discussion of the law (*dād*) in the third book of the *Dēnkard* is complex and pervasive. In the particular style of this book, the law is described over and over again in relation to different sets of concepts which give a comprehensive view of how it was conceived. It is the hypothesis of this paper that this discussion reveals a good deal about the redactor's view of his contemporary world.

In section one it is said that the law (*dād*) and the *hādamānsrīg* make manifest the Gathas in the world. From a different point of view it is also said that there is a progression of the law

from that of the here and now (*gētīy*) to the law of the spiritual (*mēnōy*) judgment of the soul to the law of the *frašgird*.

The law figures prominently in the second section of Dk 3, which treats of how to live in the material world. The law, established by Jam and Iranian by nature, is first defined in relation to the concrete fields in which it acts i.e. against violence, etc. From there the moral basis of the law is related to the principle of the right measure (*paymān*) which has its roots in wisdom and knowledge. These are then connected to Wahman who imparts *āsnxrad* (innate wisdom), the source of these virtues, to men and especially to the good king.

The third section of Dk 3 brings together all of these lines of thought and continues to develop them in relation to a separate cluster of concepts in which good periods in history, dominated by just kings who promote Ohrmazd's law, are contrasted with evil periods led by evil rulers who further the law of ignorance in which violence and greed predominate. The final victory of Ohrmazd's law will become manifest in the *frašgird* at the end of the world.

FARANAK KABIRI (SEE: MARZIEH BASIRIZADEH)

YUKA KADOI

Ex Libris Demotte: The Great Mongol Shahhama and its Provenance

The Great Mongol *Shahnama* is widely considered as one of the finest surviving illustrated copies of the *Shahnama* of Firdausi from the time of Ilkhanid rulership in Northwest Iran. In the past decades, a number of studies has been conducted in order to understand the art historical significance of some fifty illustrations that were detached from the manuscript at the beginning of the twentieth century. Yet lack of information on their physical condition before and after the possession of the Belgian dealer Georges Demotte (1877–1923) remains the major obstacle for tracking down the degree of their physical alteration and subsequent aesthetical transformation.

This paper intends to offer an alternative view to the art history and historiography of the Great Mongol *Shahnama*, with the focus on its modern provenance. By analysing the course of ownership change, it is possible to reconstruct, to some extent, the physiognomy of each manuscript page, as well as the psychology of the dealer and his clients who added a new dimension to the connoisseurship of Persian painting.

MAJID KALANOORI (HOSSEIN MORADI, HOSSEIN SARHADDI DADIAN)

Preliminary Report of Excavation on External wall of Kooh-e Khajeh in Sistan, Eastern Iran

Exploration for making readable the external wall of Kooh-e Khajeh with the aim of making readable the architectural remnants was begun in August 2018. Due to the climatic factors the external fort has been almost totally destroyed and only parts of it with a length of 500 meters have remained in the eastern western sides. In the last season of the exploration in this part 5 Cone-shaped tower were identified throughout the fence. Although it seems that the total number of the watchtowers had been more than the identified ones, only the remnants of these

five towers were discovered and the rest of towers were destroyed in the course of time. The structure of these towers is uniform and they have been built not based on a determinate order in the external part of the fort with a semicircular plan and in a conical shape. The tower number 1 is the most perfect discovered tower and from the other four towers only parts of the structure remain which generally include the foundation of the tower. In the natural waterway part and in the eastern side of the wall more ancient pieces have been discovered. All pottery shards are simple and made of a red stuff and some of them have buff surface. The samples include pitcher, jug, vat and bowl which in some cases have handles. The form of pottery follows the common forms of Parthian and Sassanid eras in Sistan.

CHRISTINE KÄMPFER

Sorcery, cannibals and murder: Khvājū Kermānī and the post-Mongol Persian romance

In the 14th century, the Persian romantic epic is in a state of transition from secular to mystic that gives room for experiments and a redefinition of the epic framework. In the aftermath of the Mongol conquest the poet Khvājū Kermānī (1290 – ca. 1350) revives the Persian epic tradition by compiling five narrative epics in a *khamseh*, and therefore continuing an epic tradition that was defined 200 years before by Nezāmī. Among Khvājū' epics "Homāy-o Homāyūn" is the most remarkable one, narrating the love story of the Syrian prince Homāy who sets out on a journey to find his beloved Homāyūn, the daughter of the Chinese emperor. Although the epic contains a strong mystical tone, the plot is far more adventurous than in earlier or later epics of medieval literature. This salience of adventurous elements is usually ascribed to matters of audience and taste, but it is a more complex phenomenon that should be regarded in the larger context of the Persian epic tradition. Since adventure is not a core element in previous epics it must occupy a special function, and this arouses the question of how it defines the post-Mongol Persian epic, especially in relation to the growing influence of mysticism. The paper will illustrate the role and function of adventure in "Homāy-o Homāyūn" and how it contributes to the study of Persian medieval epics.

FATEMEH KARAMNEZHAD

A comparative study of Daena and Glory maiden in Zoroastrian and Manichean mythology

Mythology, overflowing with holy events, over-the-top and often strange, is about heroes and characters who are often honored by people and sometimes scary or fearful of them. These myths have features that are quite different in terms of the quality of our time, and their occurrence may have originated at the beginning of the creation or occur in an unknown time in the future. Myths are, in fact, an interface between humans and phenomena that might not be able to find a reason for it. The mythology of Iran has various dimensions that have developed in a vast territory during different periods of the formation of culture and civilization. Most of these myths have religious, social, epic and family forms. Sometimes myths are transformed, and their modifications may change. The Zoroastrian mythology is full of angels, gods and goddesses who were largely praised by the people. Thus, in Manichean mythology, we see characters who, in their own image and even in appearance, have similarities with Zoroastrian gods and goddesses. Daena is the goddess of religion and conscience in the Zoroastrian religion,

and the Glory maiden, one of the goddesses of the Manichean religion, is among these characters. In this research, the coexistence of these two gods, their similarities and differences are investigated.

KATAYOON KATIBEH

An Investigation on the development history of the application of the holy names of God in mystical contexts written in the fourth and the sixth century A.H. (Case Study on the books: Kashf al-Mahjub and Rawh al-Arwah)

In mystic/gnostic contexts and in theosophists' doctrines, the topic of God's names holds a special place, particularly broader and more important than all other mystic themes. The discussion about the attributes of Allah or the beautiful names of Allah, their resplendence and the characteristic effects of each on the human soul has covered a wide part of the mystical written works, in which sophists have proposed their thoughts on these matters.

In this research, firstly a brief literature review on the topic of God's names has been brought forward and then, in the main part of the study, two of the most prominent written works in the field of Sufism, namely the "Kashf al-Mahjub" or the "Revelation of the Veiled" by Ali Hujwiri and the "Rawh al-Arwah" by Ahmad Sam'ani, have been thoroughly investigated, in an effort to recognize the dominance of God's names, such as al-Lateef (The All-Subtle), ar-Rahman (The Most Gracious), al-Jameel (The Most Beautiful), on the devotee's conscience, and their practical differences and similarities from these two mystic writers' points of view. Lastly, the writers' reflection methods and the literary arts they have used throughout the writing of their books have been deliberated.

SEPIDEH KHAKSAR

Narrative of different scales in Iranian Music and its presence at Academy

Iranian music has been studied and taught as "Martial music" in Dar ul-Funun around 1868 by Lemaire to provide a novel and different musical comprehension to Iranian people.

This idea of music and its public role has been pursued further only by two different musical conservatoires, namely national conservatoire and excellence conservatoire which have both been engaged mostly with the western classical musical concepts.

As a different initiative the department of music was founded by Dr. Mehdi Barkeshli in 1965 at Tehran University. It provided a focused study of Iranian-historical music as the main field of interest and also included the researches by Dr Mohammad Taghi Massoudieh about Iran ethnical music. After the Islamic Revolution in 1979, the department's work has been stopped. During the Cultural Revolution (1980–1983) music and its related departments were purged because of their alleged non-Islamic influences. Academic musicological research recommenced in 1988, but with an almost exclusive focus on the "Radif" system based on oral tradition, hence in contrast with the system introduced by Ali-Naqi Vāsiri.

In more recent years, the inspiring presence and approaches of Dr Barkeshli and Dr Moulana led to the establishment of the acoustical study method. Their theoretical foundations were in the physics and mathematics of music and their aim was a broader understanding of the history and scope of the Radif from the eighth through the 13th century AD. Their main effort was

directed toward understanding the possible but different musical scales or intervals as evidenced in a number of Iranian traditional treatises (Zalzal, Alkendi, Farabi, Urmawi, Shirazi, etc). This approach was supported by musicians like Dariush Talai; it lead deepened understanding of Iranian/Middle Eastern music and its possible life/dispersion in modern Iran. This paper synthesis current views, while critiquing some of these with particular emphasis on different scales in Iranian written music history.

ALI KHAVANINZADEH

Presentation of the volume: *1400 sāl pādešāhī dar ‘Arabestān pīš az Eslām* (1400 Years of Kingdom in Pre-Islamic Arabia), Tehran 2019: Hekmat Publishers

The book *1400 sāl pādešāhī dar ‘Arabestān pīš az Eslām* (transl. M.A. Khavaninzadeh, Tehran 2019: Hekmat Publishers) is the first volume of a Persian series in entitled “Late Antiquity and Islam” edited by Ali Aghaei, Mohammad Ali Khavanin Zadeh and Michael Marx. The first volume, a translation of articles by Christian J. Robin (Paris) with introductions, discusses Arabian archaeology, the relationship between Arabia and the Persian Empire, and the possible benefit of archaeology and epigraphy for Qur’ānic studies. It presents selected inscriptions, relevant for political, cultural, and religious history in Arabia. These epigraphic documents, written between the 8th (BCE) and the 6th centuries, describe ancient South-Arabian kingdoms up to the emergence of the kingdom of Ḥimyar (and its role in the conflict between Byzantium and Persia); also inscriptions about the massacre of the Christians of Naḡrān (523) are presented. Judaism as the religion of nobility from the 4th onwards and the conflict between Ḥimyar and Aksūm are discussed, out of which Abraha became king of Himyar. A total of 71 inscriptions are given in transcription and Persian translation. The fact that epigraphic sources about Arabian history have only recently been introduced into historical research about the emergence of Islam, led the editors to prepare this first volume. By targeting a Persian speaking world, the new series “Late Antiquity and Islam” aims at widening the discussion of historical research, especially with Iranian academia.

D.R. KHAYRUTDINOV (S.A. KIRILLINA, RAMIL VALEEV, R.Z. VALEEVA, OKSANA VASYLYUK)

Letters from Persia (correspondence between Vladimir Minorsky and Agathangel Krymsky from archives in Ukraine and Russia)

The life and academic legacy of the outstanding representatives of the classical Oriental studies of Russia, Ukraine and Europe – teacher, Agathangel Krymsky (1871–1942) and his student, Vladimir Minorsky (1877–1966) reflect the personal events in the biographies of the two scholars and landmarks in the history of the research of the Islamic East from all over the world. During the periods when they lived in Russia, Ukraine, Iran, France and Britain, the two researchers held correspondence with each other. The letters, written by Vladimir Minorsky during his diplomatic work in Persia require specific attention.

It goes without saying that Vladimir Minorsky was one of the favorite students of Agahtangel Krymsky at the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages in Moscow. When the former became a renowned scholar, he kept on listening to the Krymsky’s advice.

Vladimir Minorsky’s funds (Fund 134) of the Orientalists’ Archives of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg store several letters from

Agathangel Krymsky. The total of 8 letters and 1 postcard has survived. These are mostly autographs and typewritten messages. The epistles were dated between 1910 and 1925.

The Institute of Manuscript of the V. Vernadsky at the National Library of Ukraine in Kiev contains a collection of letters from Vladimir Minorsky to Agathangel Krymsky (fund XXXVI). It includes 23 letters, which were written during the period from 1904 to 1911.

Fund 1 also contains 16 postcards and photos, which Minorsky sent to Krymsky from the East (Persepolis, Tabriz, Agra, Makkah). Some of them are signed by Minorky on the back. It is not known, how these photos were made. It is likely, that Vladimir Minorsky sent them to his brother Nicolas, who later became a marine officer and famous scholar. Several letters, addressed to Koke (Nicolas) can also be found in Fund I. These letters from Maku and Tabriz (1905) were typewritten. In 28 letters Vladimir Minorsky described his visits to Kurdistan in details. Later Krymsky got the letters and photos and they were preserved in his archive.

In his letters from Persia Vladimir Minorsky describes various aspects of the diplomatic work, his trips to Iran and Kurdistan, his colleagues of the mission and people, he met. He also shares his thoughts and feelings with Agathangel Krymsky and often asks him for advice. He is also interested in the teacher's opinion about his scientific work, which he did not stop during his diplomatic service. Several letters are devoted to the discussion of "Liudi Istiny" (Ahl-I Hakk), a monograph, that was going to be printed. The correspondence carried out between a teacher and a student, keeps the warmth of their relationship.

DINA KHAZAI

The Emergence of Persian Rap and the Production of Female Sexuality

Iran, like many other oriental countries, has been facing the waves of westernization under the form of modernity for over two centuries. The encounters between modernity and traditions in arts have been studied from different angles; however, certain contemporary and societal phenomena remain academically unexplored. Persian Rap, as one of the most popular musical genres in Iran's contemporary society, especially among the young generations, is one of the subjects whose birth, language and functions are still unstudied. Having had its serious debut around the year 2000, its popularity followed a prolonged silence in the domains of music and controversial concepts. This silence, resulting in the vulgarization of musical production, provided the genre with a variety of discourses open to exploration. Among them, the sexuality discourse has always been predominant. In fact, the return of the sexuality discourse after its political suppression, in a genre targeting the young generation, is both liberating and educating: it serves to limit and reproduce the sexual frustrations and dogmas as well as providing representations of sex and women, contributing to the production of a new female sexuality. Given the usage and the influence of the Persian Rap's language on the young generation's vernacular, the study of the sexuality discourse is an important issue; since the imagery of the songs both generate and reflect the dynamics of sexual imagination among the youth. In this article, the focus will be on the liberating and restraining traits of the newly produced female sexuality through Persian Rap's lyrics. Initially, the "Sexualization of Women" will be discussed, followed by the "Affirmation of Female Sexual Libido and Desire" and finally, it will finish with the "Gender Equality and the Return to the Masculine Order".

SORAYA KHODAMORADI

Chakra and Mantra in Medieval Sufi Mindset

During the period of the eleventh to twelfth centuries, Islamic mysticism arrived in India at a time when Indian ascetics practicing Yoga – a technique-based system for achieving spiritual freedom, mystical union and salvation – assumed importance among Indian religions. Apart from reports recording tales of Sufi-Yogi encounters, a considerable amount of texts, written mostly in Persian, demonstrate Sufis dealing with the Yogic subjects of mantra (statement or principle being repeated during meditation) and chakra (any of the seven major energy centres in the body). Some examples of such earlier texts are *Kamaru Panchasika (The Fifty Verses of Kamaru)* composed in the fourteenth century, that contains chakra meditation along with other Yogic practices such as the summoning of sixty-four Yoginis, and the Arabic version of *Amrtakunda (The Pool of Nectar)* in the sixteenth century, translated into Persian, under the title of *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt (The Ocean of Life)*, containing Yogic mantras, as well as other Yogic Subjects such as breathing techniques and postures for meditation.

One of the earliest medieval texts dealing with the Subject of chakra and mantra is *Risāla-yi Shaṭṭāriyya*, written by a Qādirī Shattārī Sufī, Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Aṭā' Allah al-Anṣārī (d. 1515/16), from the Indian subcontinent. *Risāla-yi Shaṭṭāriyya* presents a highly-organized appropriation of Yogic elements by a Muslim in the early phase of Muslim-Hindu interaction. This paper deals with a practice of visualisation recorded in this Sufi treatise, which according to its author should be done along with a certain posture which has the benefit and quality of all the eighty-four postures of Yoga. It studies and analyses Ansari's selected posture that equates most probably with (*siddhāsana*), in which the practitioner is recommended to contemplate on certain places (*maḥal*/ equivalent to the term chakra) in the body, and to visualise specific words (*kalima*/ equivalent to the term mantra). Moreover, it argues that unlike Sufis such as 'Abd al-Quddūs Ganguhī (d. 1537), who introduced Yogic teachings into Islamic discourse while clothing them with Quranic verses, stories from the Islamic tradition and Sufi poetry, Ansari, who has been mostly ignored in Sufi hagiographies, transfers concepts and practices from Yoga into the Islamic context in a much more explicit manner.

KHOSRO KHONSARI (SHAHRAM TAGHIZADEH ANSARI)

An Austrian Scholar and Adventurer's Travels to the Deserts: A Study on Alfons Gabriel's Journeys to Iran

This article focuses on the travels of Alfons Gabriel in Iran and his discoveries of the unknown regions of Iran.

Alfons Gabriel (1894-1976), who was a Viennese physician, geographer, explorer, desert researcher and travel writer, was among the few scholars who visited the central deserts of Iran. He visited regions which the Europeans had not seen before. He and his wife, Agnes, made several trips to the deserts of Iran during 1927-8, 1933 and 1937, and travelled through the almost inaccessible desert regions. His journeys led to many discoveries and resulted in the publication of numerous books and articles. These works form a valuable source of information about the deserts of Iran. Gabriel also produced anthropological studies on the inhabitants of

the desert regions and their cultures. In these studies, he revealed a considerable amount of historical data.

He gave special attention to the explorers who have previously crossed the desert. Among these travelers, he became interested in Marco Polo's journeys to the extent that, in 1963, he published the book "*Marco Polo in Iran*". He was also influenced by the Swedish traveler, Sven Hedin, who motivated young Gabriel to make his exploration journeys and had been a role model and an outstanding figure for Alfons Gabriel.

He experienced many dangers during the course of his journeys through the driest deserts and wildernesses. He travelled from the lowest valleys to the highest sand hills on the earth and studied the ruins of the towns in the Lut desert. He was the first European explorer to visit Bashagird region and Jazmoorian swamp (Hamoon-E-Jazmoorian).

After making three long fruitful journeys to Iran, he finally settled in Vienna for the rest of his life where he taught at several universities. Alfons Gabriel was one of the pioneers of modern desert studies, and importance of his research must be considered.

RHYNE KING

Categorizing and Feeding Subjects at Persepolis

Dating to the reign of Darius I, the Persepolis Fortification Archive provides insight into the mechanisms of Achaemenid statecraft in the imperial core. Analysis of these texts in bulk allows us to understand how the Achaemenid Empire created and maintained hierarchies among its subjects. The ration disbursement texts of the Persepolis Fortification Archive document an interplay between differential nutrition and labels of hierarchical status. Different subject groups were given different labels, and the Persepolitan administration reinforced these differences through the provisioning of varying amounts of food. Differential nutrition, in turn, manifested itself in the very body of subject groups. This paper will investigate this relationship between labeling and provisioning at Persepolis.

HASMIK KIRAKOSYAN (ANI SARGSYAN)

PERSIAN- TURKISH BILINGUAL DICTIONARIES AND SUFISM TRANSMISSION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (15-16 CENTURIES)

Being aware of studies focused on situation of Persian knowledge in the Ottoman Empire in the examined period (for example Hagen 2003, Darling 2012, Krstić 2012, Woodhead 2012, etc.), we deal in this contribution only with the Persian – Ottoman Turkish bilingual *farhangs* written during 15- 16th centuries which can also be used as a desideratum performing wide function of transferring Persian knowledge in the Ottoman realm. It is noteworthy the fact, that knowledge of Persian in high level was not only an impetus for people to be integrated in Ottoman administrative institution, but also paved the way to becoming Sufi poets and to making their crucial steps in the Ottoman cultural life. Circulation of Sufi literature as well as vital integration of Sufi followers in it mainly linked with knowledge of Persian. During 15-16th centuries the growth of Ottoman state power established advantageous environment for the representatives of an “institutionalized” Sufism. Persian in the examined period was a colloquial language for the followers of Sufi orders; the importance of Persian as an eloquent language of the time and a language of wide collected poems and famous treatises was especially circulated in the

prefaces of the farhangs: *Luġat-i Manẓūme* (H933/ CE1527), *Miftaḥ al-Luġat*. (CE1491), *Vasīlat-ul-maqāṣid ilā aḥsan-il-marāṣid* (CE1498), *Tuhfe-i Šāhidī* (CE1515). The authors (*Maḥmūd b. ‘Osmān b. ‘Alī al-naqqāṣ b. Ilyās*, known as *Lāmi ‘ī Çelebi*, *Ḥatīb Rüstem Dede b. Abdullah el-Mevlevî*, *Maḥmūd b. Edhem*, *Ibrāhīm Dede Šāhidī*) were considered to be Sufi masters (Naqšbandi, Mevlevi) and one of the main questions in our contribution is to inquire that via above mentioned dictionaries these cultural intermediaries emphasized the importance of Persian attractively implementing transmission and diffusion of Persian knowledge and enabling the dissemination of Sufi ideas.

S.A. KIRILLINA (SEE: D.R. KHAYRUTDINOV)

SARAH KIYANRAD

When history becomes literature: historical epics from early Safavid Iran

Historical epics are versified historical accounts (i.e. in masnavī) that share in both the Persian epic and the historiographical traditions. The material at our disposal shows that the first specimens date from the Saljuq period; since then, the epic tradition was to flourish for centuries to come. However, many historical epics remain understudied. In my talk, I focus on historical epics penned in the early 16th century, that is, the early days of Safavid rule. Apparently, the first Safavid historical epic was commissioned by Shah Ismā‘īl in the first decade of his rule, i.e. at a time when no Safavid chronicle had yet been written. Under his son and successor, at least five further historical epics were composed. This demonstrates the importance ascribed to the genre. Next to generic markers, questions of commissioning, audience, the underlying aim of composition, and the issue of literacy vs. orality will be addressed.

MATEUSZ M. KŁAGISZ

A Man and Two Oxen. An Odd Riddle Presented in the Mādīgān-ī Yōšt-ī Fr(i)yān

Among 30 questions of Axt to be found in the Middle Persian *Mādīgān-ī Yōšt-ī Fr(i)yān*—one of the most interesting pieces of Zoroastrian literature—one can find a riddle about a multi-limb monster representing, in fact, a man and two oxen. The *MYF* is perceived as a basic sources of information regarding Zoroastrianism, nevertheless, this Axt’s question can be placed on the fringes of orthodox Sasanian religiousness as no mention of such a fantastic figure can be found in Zoroastrian texts. Interestingly, it is Afghan/Tajik folk poetry, local sets of beliefs and rituals practised by Afghan/Tajik peasants that help us to understand that a pair of one man and two oxen is an ancient representation of *Bābā-ye Dehqān*—an Islamic, but non-Quranic, patron of agricultural activities. Being a popular and, apparently, geographically limited figure, *BD* is a non-orthodox combination of orthodox ideas of Gayōmard, Gāw-ī ēwdāda or Gamšid with unknown local ones. In my paper I discuss other, mostly Sogdian and Indian, examples to present *BD* as a specialised agricultural divinity of pre-Islamic origins. Using Slavic data and referring to Dumézil’s trifunctionalism, I analyse to what extent *BD* is a non-central divinity that represents the spiritualness of the Indo-European common people (3rd function—productivity).

GÖTZ KÖNIG

The so-called “Xorde Awestā” revisited

Most of the performative Avestan texts that were not or no longer part of (the variants of) the Long Liturgy gathered from the beginning of the second millennium AD onward (if not earlier) in a broad variety of manuscripts. Despite the fact that no general and strict form (however, in many cases, a loose structure) of this area of texts existed in that early period, and despite the great permeability of the borders of this area, an intensified effort towards its ‘canonization’ can be observed in India since the 17th century.

In European research, this text area was conceptualized very differently in the late 18th and 19th century, and the translations/editions of Anquetil and Westergaard, in particular, are in sharp contrast with each other. Little more they have in common than the fact that they do not use a term “Xorde Avesta”. Around the middle of the 19th century it is Spiegel’s translation of the Avesta by which this term was established in Europe; in the edition of Geldner and translation of Darmesteter ‘the Xorde Avesta’ got its definitive form and concept at the end of the 19th century. Since then, any scholarly contribution to and even any fundamental reflection of the text area called “Xorde Awestā” was led by the famous works of Geldner and Darmesteter.

In view of the new edition of the entire text area of the so-called “Xorde Awestā” in CAB, and in consequence of a re-vision of its entire material and a review of its research history, the paper puts some considerations up for discussion concerning the changed editorial guidelines of this text area.

NICHOLAS KONTOVAS

The Middle Turkic Suffix *-(A)GAn*: In Pursuit of Persian-like Participial Perfects

The purpose of this study is to explore the change in function of the suffix *-(A)GAn* in Eastern Middle Turkic from an agent verbal noun/adjective underspecified for tense to a participle-like element with specifically non-future tense employed extensively in the creation of analytic perfects. Specifically, it proposes that the changes in meaning of this suffix can be accounted for by a series of language contact situations, both between varieties of Turkic with divergent verbal systems and between some of those varieties and Persian. Evidence for intermediate forms suggesting the contact induced origins of this shift is gathered from various historical periods: First, a distinct preference for predicate over attributive position from the Qarakhanid Turkic of the *Divānu l-Luġāti t-Turk*; second, an association with the Early New Persian *-da/ta* in trilingual Qarakhanid Qur’ān translations; and third, alternation between *-(A)GAn* forms and other native forms in *-mİš* and *-DUK* from mixed-dialect texts in Khwarezmian & Middle Qıpčaq contexts. The proposed contact situations reflect probable patterns of settlement, migration, and demographic shift associated with the movement of the Qarakhanids into majority Persophone Transoxiana, the dialect mixing of the Mongol Period, and the subsequent prestige of their new mixed varieties under the Timurids.

AGNES KORN

A multidimensional cline of post-verbal arguments in Balochi and Bashkardi

This paper builds on HAIG 2014, who shows that the post-verbal position of “goal” arguments (goals of verbs of motion; recipients of “give”-verbs; addressees of speech verbs) is very common in Kurdish, and regular in varieties in the sphere of contact with Semitic. I will contrast these findings with those from two other Western Ir. languages to assess to which extent post-verbal arguments are triggered by language contact, confirming the main point of HAIG’s argument and contributing precisions on some part of it.

As noted by (Haig 2015:408), languages that share the combination of

(1) OV word order, prepositions and noun-genitive order

are very rare cross-linguistically. Only eight among the 1142 languages in the sample of (Dryer 2013) show this configuration, of which three belong to the Western Iranian group (viz. Persian, Tajik and Central Kurdish), and one is an Aramaic variety under strong Iranian influence. HAIG concludes that Western Iranian is an “outlier” of an (otherwise) “OV/postposition/GN block” and the configuration in (1) is likely to be due to language contact (Haig 2015:410), Kurdish and NENA (Northeastern Neo-Aramaic) being the cases in point that he studies. Haig proceeds to argue that Kurdish (and some more closely related Ir. varieties) and NENA developed the combination of OV and post-verbal goals under strong mutual influence, yielding a pattern that is unusual for both (otherwise head-initial) Semitic and (head-final) Iranian.

I argue that Bashkardi (a group of dialects spoken in the province of Hormozgan) and Balochi (spoken in the far south-east of the Ir. sphere) represent cases of contrast that might shed some light on Haig’s results. Differently from Kurmanji or NENA, both are not in an area of strong contact with Semitic and Turkic languages. Crucially, Bashkardi shares the features in (1). Balochi, on the other hand, is largely a member of the “OV/postposition/GN block”, although the dialects of Sistan, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan have moved towards the Persian model. Differently from what Haig observes for Kurmanji, the post-verbal position is not grammaticalised for goals in these two languages, but it is the most frequent position for goals of verbs of motion and occurs with and without adpositions. Lower on the frequency scale are other post-verbal goals, viz. indirect objects. These overlap with direct objects that, contrary to Haig’s findings, are likewise not infrequently found in this position. Another type of arguments that is frequently postposed are other types of movements (e.g. coming from somewhere) and other types of location (non-directional) and related metaphoric expressions, suggesting that goal-related patterns might not be the only types of argument for which there is maybe a cognitive reason to be placed post-verbally.

While the post-verbal position of goal arguments “could be seen as an iconic reflection of Goals as natural endpoints of events” (Haig 2015:414), it seems difficult to accommodate other arguments likewise occurring post-verbally into this perspective. I will therefore suggest a multidimensional cline of “post-verbality” that could be seen as operating in Balochi and Bashkardi.

MIKIYA KOYAGI

The Transnational mobility of the Trans-Iranian Railway

The Trans-Iranian Railway is remembered as a quintessential state-led modernization project during the Reza Shah period. In fact, it is closely associated with Reza Shah himself, as one historian has called it the shah’s “pet project.” Much of scholarship discusses the railway project in the context of centralization in Reza Shah’s Iran and assumes its role in the subsequent

creation of a political community with an integrated national economy and a homogeneous national culture. But once we shift attention from the claims made by the Pahlavi state to the practices of mobility produced by the railway, we can see that the railway reorganized mobility locally, nationally, and transnationally. In other words, movement that fostered national integration was only one kind of the mobilities produced by the Trans-Iranian Railway. Using archival sources, travelogues, memoirs, and railway industry publications, this paper discusses the cases of labor migration and railway journeys once sections of the Trans-Iranian Railway began to operate in the 1930s. It shows that early operators of the railway were Indians and Iraqis as well as Iranians who had gained railway experience in the Soviet Union and Anatolia. It also shows that most railway passengers before the 1950s were pilgrims who visited shrine cities such as Najaf and Karbala. In short, the Trans-Iranian Railway fostered transnational mobilities of ordinary people.

ANNA KRASNOWOLSKA

Ferdowsi's retrospective passages

Throughout the whole text of the *Shāhnāme* one comes across recapitulations of the events from the earlier parts of the poem, put in the mouths of its protagonists. Such retrospective passages grant continuity and compactness to the narrative, not only by strengthening its linear sequence, but also by highlighting typological parallels between the characters and stories, distant from one another in the text. References to past events help to build a dense, multi-dimensional structure of the text. Moreover, the retrospective utterances of epic characters reveal the poet's consciousness of the regular narrative patterns ruling his inherited epic material. The aim of the present paper is to find out what is Ferdowsi's own understanding of the structural regularities and parallelisms in his epic material and what sort of creative use does he make of them.

RATKO KRVAVAC

"Moving Societies – Multivariate Analysis on the Graveyard of Shahr-i Sokhta"

The Graveyard of Shahr-i Sokhta, located in Sistan, is one of the biggest of the Ancient Near East with estimated undisturbed 30,000 mostly individual graves. Averagely 7 findings, mainly pottery, are common up to 50 for special burials. Over 1,000 graves were excavated since 1972 and mainly published. International Archaeological Collaboration under Dr. S.M.S. Sajjadi and Dr. E. Ascalone is taking place, where I took part in the Season 2018 concentrating on 3D-Modelling.

The main goal of the PhD-Thesis is using multivariate/statistical analysis to show inlaying groupings within the graves and the findings. Various ceramic categories show a development in their forms and Decoration Motifs like the local Pear-Shaped-Beakers or Truncated Conical Bowls as well as imported Emir Grey or Namazga Ware. There are thousands of findings from the occupation time 3.200-1.800 B.C. Not only the findings, their relative position, the skeletal position, the distance of the graves is information displayed as vectors in a multidimensional universe. These calculated groupings can be interpreted whether chronologically, chorologically or sociologically. The funeral behavior represents the living society and the movement of individuals in an interregional sphere.

To handle such immense data sets from different Campaigns a proper digitalization of the mapped excavated squares is essential. Programs as AutoCAD, Agisoft or GIS are giving the possibility for visualizing the results.

SARA KUEHN

On the Visual Materiality of Practice of Alevi-Bektashi Communities in Germany

Within the Islamic mystical tradition, a powerful symbolic visual language was cultivated in order to convey important teachings. The paper will focus on Alevi-Bektashi visual-material culture which combines elements of Shiism and Sufism and will investigate the role that vision and the image play in the pious behaviour and imagination of Alevi-Bektashi communities in Germany. It will ask how this visual materiality negotiates meaning with regard to aspects of religious and mystic imagery marked by new patterns of engagement with both tradition ('routinization') and modernity. It will focus specifically on forms of Alevi- Bektashi devotional arts that have previously been neglected, such as paintings, posters, banners, photographs, and wall hangings, as well as crafted objects and dress with the aim of elucidating both Alevi-Bektashi visual materiality in general and contemporary European mystical Islamic culture in particular. These forms will be examined in the context of Alevi- Bektashi gathering places, of related websites, and through participant-observational casestudies. The data is investigated in the context of the everyday vernacular religion of transnational Alevi-Bektashi networks, master-disciple relationships, ritual performances, religious disciplines, and beliefs. The paper suggests that the visual materiality of Alevi- Bektashi practice also involves a common conceptual vocabulary, a shared 'text' around which different 'interpretative communities' of Shiite colouring have evolved, thereby forming a kind of visual-material 'lingua franca' in the widest sense.

KATHARINA KUNTZ (SEE: UTE FRANKE)

GENNADY KURIN

How Much Did the Qajars Know about the Deifiers of 'Alī?

Despite over a century of research by European and Russian scholars on the 'Alī Ilahīs (or Ahl-i Ḥaqq), our knowledge and understanding of their history and religion remain fairly rudimentary. In fact, most of the scholarship on this religious community is based on and largely an outgrowth of the pioneering works by Arthur de Gobineau (d. 1882), Valentin Jukovsky (d. 1918) and of course Vladimir Minorsky (d. 1966), whose "Notes sur la Secte des Ahle-Haqq," published ninety nine years ago in Paris, still remains the most authoritative monograph on the subject in a European language. What is less known is that the Qajars, much like the inquisitive foreigners, were also mindful of this religious group and throughout the nineteenth century made various efforts to understand who these mysterious 'Deifiers of 'Alī' actually were. These efforts resulted in a number of works of different length, most important of which is a research paper by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Adīb Iṣfahānī Zūkā al-Mulk (d. 1907) completed in 1884 and unambiguously titled *Taḥqīq dar maḏhab va ṭarīqeh-yi 'Alī Ilahī kih bih Nuṣayrī va Ghālī va*

Ahl-i ḥaqq nīz ma'rūf mībāshand ('Research on the Religion and Ways of the 'Alī Ilahīs, also known as Nuṣayrīs, Ghālī, and Ahl-i Ḥaqq'). What then are these sources and what can be gleaned from them in order to widen our purview of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq history in this period? These two questions will be at the center of this paper which will offer a survey of the sources produced by people affiliated with the Qajar dynasty, major actors as well as religious and political trends within the Ahl-i Ḥaqq community in nineteenth century Iran. Finally, this paper will attempt to address a seemingly simple yet fundamentally important question of how much the Qajar authorities and intellectuals knew, or at least thought they knew, about the 'Alī Ilahīs.

LEILA KVELIDZE (NATIA SVINTRADZE)

Perspective of development of “Women’s Prose” in Persian and Arabian literature

In the essay we shall consider the concept of “women’s literature” in details, as well as the issue of the place of women writers in the Persian and Arabian literature. On the example of experience of women poets and writers of the mentioned period, we shall reveal the difficulties, which they had to overcome and which are to be overcome by women authors even now, on their way for gaining of their identity. We shall discuss the opinions dealing with the concepts of “women’s literature” and “female writer”, we shall emphasize the factors playing significant role for the negative attitude towards the mentioned concepts.

The issue of identification of women authors is directly related to formation of the concept of “women’s Literature”. Concept of “women’s literature” implies studying of the themes, genres, literary structures created by women. Perspective of development of women’s literature is related to the issue of determining of the place of woman in the society and in art; and this is directly associated with the level of women’s emancipation. In Eastern countries, the issue of emancipation is associated with the processes of Europeanization. Significant outcome of this process is existence of feminist practices. Though many writers reject any relations with feminism, this was the women’s movement, feminist theory and practice, what has formed the significant “idea”, around of which women authors are unified. Object of study in their work is a woman and the issues related to her.

JUSTINE LANDAU

Future perfect: the proper tense for praise

Royal births and enthronements, festivals and construction projects, dynastic alliances and military campaigns, all such events punctuate the life of medieval courts, at times engaging the destiny of the nation. They are memorialized by historians and chroniclers, and celebrated by panegyrists. Yet, the treatment of a single event may differ greatly, depending on whether it is recorded in prose or verse. Drawing on a corpus of panegyric *qaṣīda*-s from the Ghaznavid and Seljuk periods, this paper investigates one particular mode in which court poets eulogize their patron’s deeds: by transcribing past feats in the future tense. Projected into the future, the acclaimed conquest or recent act of bravery is dislocated from the linear sequence of events; instead, it becomes inscribed within a providential temporality for which the poet is the sole interpreter. As we will see, the temporal versatility specific to the rhetoric of praise has a bearing at once on the truth-value of poetic discourse and on the pragmatics of eulogy.

TEO LEE KEN (AFSANEH TAVASSOLI)

The expansion and limitations of the political: religious intellectualism and the feminist discourse in contemporary Iran

The late 1980s and particularly the 1990s witnessed the emergence and development of a vibrant intellectual movement in Iran. This intellectual movement espoused a critical religious intellectual discourse, impacting significantly the cultural, intellectual, political and civil society landscape of Iranian society. Accompanying this religious intellectual discourse, was also the rise and development of a pivotal and diverse feminist discourse. In conjunction, the religious intellectual and feminist discourse have made important gains in the intellectual sphere, espousing and deepening the meanings of the intellectual-political ideals of social justice, gender equality and democracy. Conceptually, we may term this as an expansion of *the political*. The French historian, Pierre Rosanvallon, identifies politics 'as that terrain where society transforms itself'. He further defines *the political* as 'the set of procedures out of which springs the social order'. The religious intellectual and feminist discourse has therefore expanded *the political*, thus altering the cultural, political and intellectual order of Iran. This development of *the political* however has seen its limitations particularly post early 2000s. Guided by a history of the political approach, this paper discusses the significance and key characteristics of the religious intellectual and feminist discourse focusing on the 1990s and after. It then explains how this discourse movement can be observed as an expansion of *the political*. The paper concludes by examining the weaknesses of the religious intellectual, and feminist, discourse, and explains how this has in turn limited the scope and growth of *the political* in contemporary Iranian society.

MICHIEL LEEZENBERG

Literary Domination and Vernacular Literatures: The Transformation of the Persianate Cultural Realm

Iranian Studies may yet benefit from a more systematic transcendence of the national lines and limitations that still largely shape the study of literature. One fashionable way of transcending this 'methodological nationalism' is postcolonialism; but this perspective seems inadequate to capture the dynamics specific to the early modern and modern Persianate cultural sphere. This sphere was characterized by the centuries-long literary domination of Persian, followed by a wave of vernacularizations in the 17th and 18th centuries, in which various authors started using spoken vernaculars for new literate, literary, and learned purposes. Although vernacularization (cf. Pollock 2000) paves the way for the emergence of national literatures, it should not be equated with cultural (let alone political) nationalism. Early modern vernacular authors, like Ehmedê Khanî (d. 1695) in Kurdish and Nezim Frakulla (d. 1760) in Albanian, were very aware of the domination of Persian, just as Franz Kafka was aware that Czech and Yiddish were dominated by German, and hence were destined to produce 'small' (*kleine*), or as Deleuze & Guattari famously call them, 'minor' literatures.

Here, I will explore to what extent the patterns of vernacularization in the Persianate realm may be usefully studied from a perspective of minor literatures and literary domination (cf. Casanova 2004). I will do so by sketching the rise of Kurdish divan literature and Albanian bejtexhi poetry. The Persian loan elements that initially pervaded these vernacular literatures were only

gradually purged in the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Thus, it will appear that a literary domination and vernacularization perspective may help redirecting our attention to changing conceptions of language, nationality, territoriality, and politics.

TAMAR LEKVEISHVILI

From the History of the Iranian-Georgian Cultural Interactions: Frescoes of Georgian Nobles from the Georgian Churches (XVII Century)

In the paper are studied less-known, less-explored aspects of the Iranian-Georgian cultural Interactions, namely Iranian influence on the clothes of the Georgian nobility of the 17th c. on the basis of the analyze of several frescoes from Georgian Orthodox churches.

The history of Georgian clothing remains as the most relevant issue in the context of Georgian-Iranian cultural interactions. It's impossible to explore this issue without considering analogues from Iran. Consequently, the qualitative and comparative methods are used. These interactions were especially intensive during the Safavid period when Iran dominated on the Eastern part of Georgia. The Western part of the country was under Ottoman political influence but even here Iranian cultural influence was much stronger than Turkish. Consequently, in that period Georgian Kings and Nobles used to wear Iranian clothes and adornments predominantly, or their clothes had evident traces of Iranian influence. In the presented paper are discussed peculiarities of several frescoes of Georgian Churches of the 17th century with depicted families of Kings and Nobles (for example, Frescoes of Katsia Chikvani and Giorgi Lipartiani - Martvili church, Western Georgia; Queen Mariam Dadiani and her son-Svetitskhoveli church, Eastern Georgia, etc.). The historical environment that had preconditioned strengthening such tendencies in clothing is discussed. Emphasis is made on distinct details of clothing and their symbolic importance.

AGNES LENEPVEU-HOTZ

Rāst-Raušan, the misunderstood vizier or how to be the victim of a phonological problem?

The final consonant cluster *-šn* is used in the Middle Persian action nouns in *-išn*, but no longer exists in Contemporary Persian. In Early New Persian (10th -11th c.), there are occurrences of *-išn* and they seem to be dialectal features. The present paper will focus on the word *ravišn* "manner", especially the proper noun of the vizier Rāst-Ravišn / Rāst-Raušan in the *Siyāsat-nāma* by Nizām al-Mulk. By comparing different manuscripts of this text, there is some evidence that the word *ravišn* is misunderstood by copyists. It appeared for the first time as *rvšn* in three different manuscripts, and as *rvš* (for *raviš* "manner") in the manuscript of Paris, which is the oldest one for this text. These three manuscripts further display a meaningful variant when the author plays with the name of the vizier, in comparing *rāst-raušan* "right-bright" to *durōg-tārīk* "falsehood-dark", while the Paris manuscript draws a parallel with *durōg-o kaš* "falsehood and curved".

Reasons for this misunderstanding will be investigated following the phonological, syntactical and lexicological view points. From this regard, this paper will further study the occurrences of other nouns ending in *-iš*, *-išn* and *-išt*, in Early New Persian and Early Judaeo-Persian, in the attempt to determine their dialectology and semantics rules of distribution. Indeed, Early

Judaeo-Persian presents a significant number of words ending in *-išn* and *-išť* some of which are vocalized in *-išən*, thus giving a clue to the presence of a true phonological problem.

GEORG LEUBE

Imagining Unbelief: References to the Jāhiliyya in 15th Century Western Iran

The *jāhiliyya* or *period of ignorance in pre-Islamic Arabia* arguably forms the most influential and abiding negative episode in Islamic cultural memory. In my contribution, I will combine a close-reading of Afḍal al-Dīn Iṣfahānī Turka's 15th Century translation of the chapter on the *jāhiliyya* in the "Book of communities and sects" of al-Shahrastānī with a discussion of references to this period in Aqqyunlu court historiography to show how this particular strand of collective Islamic memory was narratively deployed in this period.

PAUL LOSENSKY

Imam 'Ali as Poetic Muse: The Manāqebāt of Sedqi Astarābādi

Little is known of the life of Sedqi Astrābādi (d. 952/1545), but his few surviving poems show that he was aware of the latest literary trends in early sixteenth-century Persia and partake in the development of two genres closely associated with the reign of Shah Tahmāsp. Sedqi's *sāqi-nāma* ('cupbearer's song') is one of the earliest works of its kind and meditates on the relationship between the pursuit of transcendental knowledge and political power in early Safavid ideology. Sedqi also composed numerous poems in praise of the Shi'ite imams, helping to give the ancient tradition of *manāqeb* poetry a new prominence in the Safavid literary system. His poems dedicated to Imam 'Ali mostly utilize the *qasida* form and turn the conventions of royal panegyric toward the religious realm. As a corpus, Sedqi's *manāqebāt* expound the three major aspects of the legendary figure of Imam 'Ali: his prowess as a warrior, his esoteric knowledge of the divine, and his mastery of language. In this paper, I will focus on the last of these—'Ali as the "summit of eloquence" (*nahj al-bālagha*). Sedqi's poems frequently conclude with selfreflective and meta-poetic comments on the poem itself. 'Ali is invoked as a kind of poetic muse who is not only the descriptive object of the poem, but the subjective force that enables the act of literary creation itself. Although *manāqeb* poetry is often dismissed as merely a propagandistic reflex of Safavid political ideology (and even a sign of literary decline), Sedqi shows how the figure of 'Ali serves to sacralize the tradition of panegyric poetry and give divine sanction to poetic discourse and creativity.

OLGA LOUCHAKOVA-SCHWARTZ

Outstanding Contributions of Iranian Philosophy to World Philosophy: Suhrawardi's Solution to the Transcendental Problem

For a long time, Iranian Philosophy has been interpreted as a religious philosophy concerned exclusively by the matters of theological and existential nature. In the paper, I argue that Iranian tradition of theoretical reflection offers some original solutions to general philosophical

questions. As an example, I will demonstrate the argument of transcendental unity made by the medieval Iranian thinker Yahyā ibn Habash Suhrawardī. This argument presents a solution to the problem of perception, or better stated, the transcendental problem which until now remains at the core of philosophy and is often reinterpreted as the problem of consciousness, or the mind-body problem. This is a question of how consciousness, which is “encapsulated” within the human body, perceives the outside world.

Different from other philosophers who subsume visibility under the general problem of perception, Suhrawardī constructs his argument around visibility, and only afterwards, around perception and knowledge. I demonstrate that his original solution to the situation of “disconnect” between the knowing mind and the world comes from recentering the argument on evidentiality which he believes to be the foundational metaphysical property of the universe. Instead of being caught in subject –object opposition, Suhrawardī demonstrates the unity by essence between self-awareness and visual light. From here, he proceeds to explicate the nature of this foundational essence, and shows that due to its self-luminous, self-evident, i.e., alive character, this essence is fully available in human knowledge. Against the phenomenological philosophy (Husserl, Merleau-Ponty, and Henry), Suhrawardī’s solution closes an important gap in understanding of viscosity and of the unity of perception.

THOMAS LOY

Struggling with Modernities, Struggling with the Past. Central Asian Persian Literatures between the 1910s and 1930s.

In this paper I am going to present various modern literary concepts and their relation towards the changing socio-political environment in early 20th century Central Asia. During this period, Central Asian literatures were radically reshaped and modernized. The so-called Jadids introduced new genres, adapted old ones and redefined literary standards in general. According to their understanding, literature was a tool to shape reality and the awareness of reality. Literature should help to modernize their “backward” Muslim societies and make them fit for competition with European powers. Inspired by contemporary Western enlightenment and Islamic reformist ideas, authors like Abdurrauf Fitrat, Sadriddin Ayni, Mahmud Khoja Behbudi, Hoji Mu’in and many lesser known intellectuals developed new concepts of literature, community, and society. They further questioned the ability of the traditional ruling elites and techniques in Bukhara and Turkestan. In the 1920s, the new Soviet rulers, initially welcomed by local reformers, also relied on literature as a weapon. The creation of national Soviet literatures went hand in hand with the abolition of competing sociopolitical models. Central Asian Persian literature, henceforth called Tajik literature, was assigned “new” tasks. It was not to reform but affirm the only recognized form of society and praise the socialist reality and Soviet superiority.

ANDREA LUIGI CORSI

A Dynamic History: The Small Mosque in Buzan (Isfahan) over Time

The events related to the monument of Buzan (Isfahan) are somehow curious. Since its discovery, the scholarly discussion about this peculiar building was highly discordant and still today a definite answer to the questions this monument arises has not been reached/obtained.

It is clear that, after its discovery in 1930s, this building revealed itself to be a good example of continuous renovations since the Early Islamic times extending to the Modern era. Its stucco revetment is today exhibited in a newly arranged hall in the Islamic Museum in Tehran.

This paper aims at tracing the later events which marked the history of this building from the removal of its stucco decoration to the restoration of the latter, most likely dating to the last century. Emphasis will be given to these restorations, which in some cases partially modified the nature of this important artefact. We may define the last event regarding the decorative apparatus as the final (or maybe not?) adventure of this monument throughout history.

IRENE MADREITER

Female literacy in Achaemenid Persia – a phantom?

The proposed paper examines (once again) the place of female literacy within general literacy in the Achaemenid period. Whereas the Achaemenid heartland lacks of sources written by women, we have abundant private correspondence from the other satrapies of the empire (Babylonia, Egypt, Bactria etc.). Therefore the lacuna from the Persis-region is not coincidental but resulting from the specific social structure of the empire with its dominant hegemonic manliness. This prevented a wider spread of literacy and the Achaemenid heartland remained an orally dominated culture with a functional literacy limited to the elite and higher levels of society.

MOHSEN MAHMOUDI

Iconography of Ancient Divinities in Iranian Nomadic Carpets

Nowadays there are few people who are not familiar with Persian carpets; These beautiful handwoven pieces, decorate the living environment of many people around the world, however there may be few who pay attention to the various designs and symbols of these works and even think about deciphering the mysteries behind these designs. Even the specialists are sometimes incapable of understanding the correctness of some of these motifs, because their information is limited to art history and does not provide accurate information on ancient texts and archaeologicalmythological data, therefore their information is superficial and indirect and can be easily mistaken. Considering the fact that nomadic carpets of Iran have preserved ancient designs better than other Persian carpets, they are a more reliable sample for such research. Here, by placing these data along with texts from the ancient book of the ancient religion of Iran (Avesta), a trace of the ancient Persian divinities such as Mithra and Anahita and their iconography are obtained, which shows the importance of examining ancient texts in the interpretation of carpet motifs and symbols, hence can be more helpful in concluding research, which illustrates the importance of examining ancient texts in the interpretation of carpet motifs and symbols, and can help in more precise conclusions about our research.

EWA MAJ

Poland's double game strategy during the U.S.-Iranian crises (1979-1988)

My paper is going to be devoted to the Polish authorities' perspective towards the United States actions undertaken during the crises in Iran and examine the manner in which Warsaw flexibly responded to political tensions between Washington and Teheran in the last years of the Cold War (1979–1988): the Islamic Revolution, the Iranian Hostage Crisis and the Iran-Iraq War. Polish government pragmatically maneuvered between Iran and superpowers for economic gain and yet carefully maintained the veneer of neutrality for both political and economic ends, in spite of Moscow's noose ever-tightening on Warsaw's neck. I am going to demonstrate how and why smaller, isolated nations in the late Cold War era were able to build relationship regardless challenges and obstacles they faced.

ALI AKBAR MALEKIRAD (SEE: SIMA ABBASI)

ELHAM MALEKZADEH

An Essay on Establishment und Function of Vocational Schools Affiliated to Imperia Organization for Social Services in Pahlavi II Period (1959-1979)

In line with the Iran's development programs during 1947 - 1979, and the effects within the framework of actions by the White Revolution, a number of technical schools affiliated with the Imperial community service were established. The purpose of the establishment of these schools was the continuation of Iran's industrialization project, which began with the Reza Shah era. The questions of the present research are as follows:

1. What was the reason behind the organization's establishment of these schools by Imperial Social Services?
2. What kind of functions Technical and professional industrial institutes in the Pahlavi period (1950-1970) had and what were the results of their actions?

The methodology of this research is based on descriptive-analytical method and using archival documents, library resources and the remaining reports of the above schools. The result of this study confirms the hypothesis that the establishment of technical and vocational schools in the major cities of Iran, while striving to expand Iran's industrialization, seeks to train skilled and semi-skilled industrial and technical workers for employment in industrial centers at existing centers of the cities of Iran.

MEHRDAD MALEKZADEH (SEYED MOHAMMADREZA GHARAZI)

MARCO MANCINI

Morphonology of Proto-Middle Persian in Late Old Persian cuneiform inscriptions

Refuting the Representation of ‘Hinduism’ in Persian Sources: Kṛpa Rām’s *Madīnat at-Taḥqīq*

Persian flourished in Kashmir during many centuries as one of the literary languages of this region, which can thus be considered part of the “Persianate realm”. The language also served for administrative records and official purposes such as communication with the surrounding environment. Up to the second half of the 19th century, Persian was used by Kashmīrī authors for various purposes. Recent research has demonstrated that Persian in the multi-lingual South Asian context should not be regarded only as a language imposed on the Indian environment by a ruling elite, but that especially from the 2nd half of the 16th century onwards, Indian authors used Persian for a wide variety of purposes as one of the many literary languages of that region.

Interestingly, polemic texts on the “refutation of Islam” (*radd-i islām* by Kṛpa Rām) and apologetic treatises criticizing the representation of ‘Hinduism’ in Persian sources came up during the 19th century written in Persian by Indian authors. One of them was Kṛpa Rām (1832-1877), prime minister of the Dogra ruler Ranbīr Singh (r. 1857-1885), a prolific writer in Persian. He authored an extensive biography of Ranbīr Singh’s predecessor, Mahārāja Gulāb Singh (*Gulābnāma*) and a history of Kashmir (*Gulzār-i Kashmir*). His treatise entitled “Site of verifying” (*Madīnat at-taḥqīq*) was printed in Sialkot in 1877 and is described by Edward Edwards as “a short polemic in defense of certain Hindu rites impugned by Moslems, with some criticisms of the practices of the latter”.

This paper presents Kṛpa Rām’s *Madīnat at-Taḥqīq* as an example for a Persian treatise reflecting polemic debates in 19th century India and addresses the question of Kṛpa Rām’s intended audience. Eventually, it will discuss the relevance of this work for adding new aspects on the understanding of the uses of Persian in 19th century Kashmir.

JAIME MARTÍNEZ PORRO

The variation in the Drōn within the Zoroastrian ceremonies of intercalation

At the beginning of the different ceremonies of the Zoroastrian Long Liturgy, namely Yasna, Visperad, Vidēvdād and Vištāsp Yašt, the different “ratus” to be celebrated in each one are introduced with a series of different letanies (ñiuuaēdaiemi haṅkāriemi, āiiese yešti, etc.). These are a compendium of temporal divisions (āiira, asñiia, māhiia, yāiriia and sarōda) bound to the periods when the ceremonies should be celebrated, as well as textual divisions introducing the texts (the staōta yesñiia) appearing in the ceremonies themselves later on their performance.

In the case of the Vidēvdād and Vištāsp Yašt ceremonies, both of them present a especial “ratu” introducing the ceremony, which is actually a ceremony marker: the haḍa.dāta for the Vidēvdād and the haḍa.maṭra for the Vištāsp Yašt. These ceremony-markers determine an important variation on the displaying of the first and the second Drōn, where after the ceremony marker the detailed mention of the other temporal “ratus” is skipped. This has several consequences:

The Vidēvdād and Vištāsp Yašt differ at this point from Visperad. Thus, the edition of the ceremonies of intercalation, although they are similar in a 90% of the text (exceptuating the intercalations themselves) to the Visperad, should present this important variation in the performance.

An edition of the Drōn itself should present all the variants, including this of the ceremonies of intercalation.

One further question must be solved: why does this abbreviation of the temporal "ratus" happen?

MANDANA MANGELI

Poets of Jupiter in the Jaweed Namah

Iqbal's Persian poetry is one of the priceless gems in the treasure trove of Asian literature. *Jawaid Nama* is considered as the magnum opus of Iqbal in which he has discussed the universal conflict between virtue and vice. He has prophesied that good would prevail over evil in the long run. Iqbal has undertaken a long journey of seven planets: Moon; Mercury; Venus; Mars; Jupiter; Saturn and the Trans -Heaven in the pleasant company of Rumi. He meets illustrious men of history in the planets and he talks with them over a wide range of issues related virtue and vice. He meets Hallaj, Ghalib and Qurratul Ain Tahireh in the planet Jupiter or Birjis or Mushtari as they are called in Arabic and Persian. His meeting with the poets in Jupiter has been beautifully versified by him and he shows that they prefer to live in Jupiter rather than Paradise in order to enjoy the fruits of FREEDOM. Hallaj, Ghalib and Tahireh stand for human LOVE, SOCIETAL CHANGE and DEVELOPMENT OF SELF. These virtues are enshrined in the epic poem and the poet philosopher tries to inculcate them in his readers. My paper titled Iqbal's *Tryst with the Poets in Jupiter* shall replay this poetic dialogue at Jupiter in the *Jawaid Nama*.

MICHAEL MARX

Introduction: Iranian Documents and the History of the Qur'ān

Compared to Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, Ancient Arabic, Ancient Ethiopian and Sabaic (Ancient South Arabian), Iranian literature seems to have limited relevance for the study of the Qur'ān. However, some key concepts of eschatology (paper of S. Bitsch) or monastic tradition (A. Pirtea) seem to be reflected in the Qur'ān. The defeat of Byzantium in 614 by the Sasanians and apocalyptical receptions of that crucial event (Z. Ghaffar) is apparently the only historical event reflected in the Qur'ān (Q 30, 1-5). The panel presents observations on links in between Iranian and Qur'anic studies. Following Gignoux, the prehistory of the *Basmala* ("In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate" Q 1,1) seems to echo the Sasanian invocation formulas. Furthermore the socio-linguistic background of Qur'ānic vocabulary like the term *rizq* ("daily portion for the army") seems to point to a current Sasanian military term (Berlin Pahlavi Documents). In textual history, Iranian collections (in Esfahan, Mashhad, Tehran, Qum...) contain so far unknown manuscripts, of the 9th and 8th centuries (A. Aghaei: "Irankoran"), of which some have previously been kept in the Safavid shrine of Ardabil and are now to be found in Tehran and Saint-Petersburg. For the digital catalogue of Iranian Qur'ān manuscripts currently under preparation, carbon dating plays an important role (benefits and limits of this method are discussed by Tobias J. Jocham). Since its beginnings, Corpus

Coranicum (2007-2024) has been in close contact with Iranian scholars. One result of these encounters is the translation of recent European scholarship (articles by Christian Robin) about Arabian history in “Late Antiquity” (Tehran 2019. Hekmat publishers, prepared by Ali Khavaninzadeh, Kharazmi University Tehran).

FARNAZ MASOUMZADEH JOUZDANI

THE IRANIAN DECLINE THROUGH THEIR INSCRIPTIONS IN LIGHT OF CULTURAL GRAPHOLOGY

One of the key criteria of Iran's civilization, writing would have had a significant role in recording the Iranian culture both in the form of literature and art form. Although, as Derrida indeed pointed out, the latter remains intact since it has always already been considered as a subsidiary alternative form of speech. He, thus, called for a cultural graphology, a handwriting's analytical method renewed by sociology, ethnology and psychoanalysis, etc., to make untold stories of letterforms accessible. To provide a synthesis framework of cultural graphology, this paper is based on Tabatabai's theory of Iran's decline for interpreting the development of Islamic inscriptional heritage of Iran. The following questions arise here:

Q1: In comparison to the theory of decline in Iran, according to Javad Tabatabai (b. 1945), what can be implied from the formation of calligraphy styles throughout the Islamic period?

Q2: In light of cultural graphology, in what ways the digitalization of Perso-Arabic letters will make opportunity to stand against the decline of political thoughts in Iran? Briefly speaking, H1) graphological signs of Iran's Islamic inscriptions represent evidence of visual culture attempting to overcome individual freedom in thinking. Back into the contemporary time, H2) the opportunities of digitalization of Perso-Arabic letterforms (such as proportion, geometric forms, limited height of letters, etc) can be a retreat or even a reformation to the challenges recognized from graphological reading of Islamic inscriptions.

It goes without saying that cultural graphological viewpoint shed the light on Islamic Inscriptions of Iran in a way that we will never see them in the same way again.

NINA MAZHJOO

Persia in the Roman Imagination: A New Approach to the Roman Cult of Mithras

Scholars of Mithraic studies disagree on the origins of the Roman mystery cult of Mithras. Iranologists have largely insisted on a Persian origin of the cult while Roman historians emphasize the separation between the Persian Yazāt Miθra and the Roman Mystery cult of Mithras. These latter scholars interpret the cult of Mithras as a Roman production informed by ancient astrology and Neoplatonic philosophy. However, recent scholarship suggests an element of Greco-Roman appropriation of the god Miθra in terms of “Persianism” – that is, a process of selection and instrumentalisation of the god Miθra that allowed the Roman Mithraists to develop a novel religious expression and cultic practice. Building on this recent approach that attests to the complex dynamics of cultural transmission, this research argues that the Greek reception of the god Miθra, coupled with the Roman ideal of Persia, can be traced in Mithraic art and ritual language. It argues that this cultural transmission and borrowing on the part of the Romans should be understood in relation to Rome's imperial ideology and in the context of cultural and political interactions between Rome and Persia.

By examining specific examples of extant Mithraic archeological artefacts as well as some specific passages of Greek historiography, I will demonstrate how Mithraic art and imagery are indicative of the Greek imagination of the “handsome Oriental” and Persians in particular. The main goal here is to argue how the Mithraic Mystagogues embraced the Greek depictions of Zoroastrian Mithra and applied the Greek imagination of “handsome Oriental” to stress the Persian provenance of their god and to invent an esoteric visual language for their novel cult in the Roman cultural milieu. Additionally, I will examine the cultural transmission of the god Mithra in relation to the notion of “ancient wisdom” and in the broader context of Rome’s imperial ideology and enthusiasm in the Orient, and Persia in particular.

SAHAR MAZIAR

Dynamics of “Misandry” in Persian Post-Revolutionary Fiction by Women

Modern literary scholars investigating the field of modern Persian prose literature or feminist literature have mostly limited their studies to how men and women writers depicted the female protagonist in the process of narration in their novels. The quality of the presence of men and the way, through which men are represented in the novels, however, has been less considered and examined.

This paper attempts to investigate how men are represented and depicted in the post-revolutionary novels written by women. In the stories written by women, men, frequently, are portrayed as father and husband and play the main role in the process of narration. Examining novels written by women after the revolution, we notice a drastic change in the manner of narration of male characters in the novels.

Examining the prose literature produced by women I found two prominent trends towards their manners of narration of men figures in their works. I would like to identify the first trend as “the paradigm of *miso-paterism* (the hatred of father)”, for instance in the works of Shahrnush Parsipur and Moniru Ravanipur whereas to identify the second one as “the paradigm of *miso-syzigos* (the hatred of husband)” in the works of Sepideh Shamlu, Fariba Vafi and Farkhondeh Aqayi.

Giving some examples from the novels, I will show how the representation of “overbearing father” in the works written by the first literary trend (1979-1990) gave its place to the “oppressed father” in the second one (1990-2015). Besides, I will discuss how a black and white or sometimes neutral representation of husbands in the novels written by the first trend has been replaced with harmful, guilty and irresponsible husbands in the second one.

JAFAR MEHR KIAN (VITO MESSINA)

Research of the Iranian-Italian Joint Expedition in Khuzestan at Kal-e Chendar (Shami)

Since 2012 the Iranian-Italian Joint Expedition in Khuzestan conducts research at Kal-e Chendar, in the valley of Shami, the site in which the most important bronze statues of ancient Iran were accidentally discovered, and where the famous Aurel Stein did work for few days with Bahman Karimi.

The aim of this paper is to present the results of the last year of survey and excavation at the site, where the monumental remains of a terraced sanctuary and a huge cemetery have been discovered by our expedition.

The type and layout of the terraces there recognized find comparison with the very well-known samples already discovered at Majed-e Sulayman and Bard-e Neshanda by the French Expedition conducted by Roman Ghirshman, while the tombs brought to light testify to the high status and social level of the people buried there at least since a given moment in the Parthian era.

The most interesting features of the site are the co-existence of the religious and funerary functions in the same context, and also the fact that, at least basing on the ground surveys conducted up to present day, no settlement was identified in the area.

It seems thus that the wealthy plutocracy of the entire region (the area of modern Izeh, the core of highland Elymais) did choose this remote sanctuary as the place for one of their most reputed cemetery.

AYDA MELIKA

Socio-Spatial Re-Creation Through Urban Recreation in Contemporary Tehran

Examining the transformation of urban open spaces in Tehran, I aim to illuminate the legitimizing role of urban park (re)design and recreation in the modern history of Iran. In this paper, I examine the history of *Pârk-e Laleh*, focusing particularly on its transformation from Jalalieh hippodrome, used as a military parade ground; to *Pârk-e Farah*, one of Tehran's largest recreational parks named after Iran's last Queen *Farah Diba* in 1966; to its current Islamized state renamed *Pârk-e Laleh* in memory of martyrs of the Islamic Revolution in 1979.

Studying various examples of environmental design and architectural projects in this park, I demonstrate the political intentions of the builders and users manifested in these sites to create new forms of political socialization and spaces of resistance. In this paper, I argue that in Iran top-down urban park planning has been utilized to disseminate regime goals into public spheres in order to socialize people into desired cultures promoting structures of power.

Illuminating the pre and post-revolutionary purpose of park planning as spaces of reform and control, I argue that *Pârk-e Farah* was a design strategy for urban modernization and cultural westernization, while its current reformed version, *Pârk-e Laleh*, aims at large scale Islamization. In this paper I demonstrate how the political leaders in the Pahlavi Era created and used park settings to assimilate people into the regime's political and military culture. Similarly, I show how the leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran utilize similar techniques to design and build spaces complying with and socializing users into Islamic military and martyrdom culture. Examples are provided to demonstrate how political leaders shape and reshape urban parks as part of a power struggle.

CHARLES MELVILLE

Uzbek Khans in Safavid Iran: Reception and Perception

Several khans of the ruling Uzbek confederation in Transoxania visited Iran during the Safavid period, whether as exiles, pilgrims or seekers of military support against their rivals at home. This paper recounts the main elements of these events, with a focus on how the khans were received and how their visits were viewed and recorded in contemporary Safavid sources and, so far as is possible, how these episodes were reported by the Central Asian historians. The paper will pay particular attention to the embassy of Vali Muhammad Khan in 1611 and its

reception by Shah ‘Abbas. Apart from the potential strategic and political benefits to be gained from involvement in Central Asian affairs, the Uzbeks’ Chinggisid ancestry continued to inspire respect and hold significance for their Safavid hosts.

VITO MESSINA (SEE: JAFAR MEHR KIAN)

MIROSLAW MICHALAK

A Patchwork Narrative in Asadi’s Garshāspnāmeḥ: the Case of Revolted Ruler of Sarandib.

One of the distinct features of Asadi’s Garshāspnāmeḥ is its complex narrative structure in many aspects, the very personage of its hero being the most striking example thereof. The spectrum of mythical characters lying behind pahlavān Garshāsp of Asadi’s masterpiece is per se a puzzling conundrum. The same is true as far as most of Garshāspnāmeḥ narratives are concerned.

The account of Behu, ruler of Sarandib on behalf of Indian king Mehrāj, and a rebellion led by him against his lord, has many characteristics representative of Asadi’s narrative throughout the epic. Its perplexity mostly results of confusion of narrative components and orders regarding the two distinct realms of myth and history, and covering a vast geographical space spanning from Iran and Northern India to Indonesia and Indochina. Overlapping orders of this entirely anachronistic account comes to light only after the thorough research of its data. Thus, in Asadi’s epic, two famous personages of the Iranian myth, Zakhāk and Garshāsp, have become contemporary of Bhoja I, a mighty king of Northern India of 9th century with his capital city in Kannauj. Even some of events of Mahmud of Ghazni’s invasions in India are incorporated into the narrative of Garshāspnāmeḥ. On the other hand, in this story Garshāsp supports one of rulers of the Srivijaya Empire of Indonesia of 8th or 9th century, bearing the title of Maharaja. Furthermore, the whole story of Behu’s revolt against Mehrāj as told in Garshāspnāmeḥ, has probably been drawn upon an Indonesian legend of a Khmer king who defied the power of the Maharaja of Srivijaya.

The objective of this paper is to cast light on a number of historical events, places, and personages lying behind the story of Behu and Mehrāj in Garshāspnāmeḥ.

LESLEE MICHELSEN

From Tehran to Honolulu: Persian Tilework on the Move

Although much attention has been paid to Doris Duke’s acquisition of the spectacular lusterware mihrab from Veramin, there has been less study on the dozens of Iranian tile panels in her collection. This paper considers the relationships among makers, dealers, and collectors of tilework from the early Pahlavi period in Iran, focusing on seven pairs of ceramic tile panels for spandrels commissioned by Doris Duke for her home in Honolulu, Hawaii – now the Shangri La Museum of Islamic Art, Culture & Design. These panels, crafted in the 1930s under the direction of Ayoub Rabenou, joined the collection in Honolulu alongside four pairs of

Safavid and Qajar-era ceramic panels for spandrels that Duke had purchased previously, most via the dealer Hagop Kevorkian.

The dynamic between the composed Pahlavi assemblages - custom-made for Duke and later adapted by her - and the Safavid and Qajar artworks speaks to a conversation between conceptions of both “Persia” and contemporaneity in the United States and Iran in the early 20th century. Examining this collection of both Safavid and, arguably, “Safavid revival” artworks, points not only to shifting notions of cultural and national identity but also to international networks of craft, commodification of “Persian” aesthetics, and the role of private patronage as both an economic and cultural contact zone. More than merely “copies”, this paper will posit that the commissioned panels were instead analogous creations, not only of the past but also looking to (and constructing) the present.

SHIVA MIHAN

Paper Reliefs: Three-dimensional calligraphy in Qajari Albums

Fingernail calligraphy was first employed in the late Safavid era and reached its pinnacle in nineteenth-century Iran in the Qajar period. Fingernail art (*ṣanʿat-i nakhun*) was usually executed using nail pressure of the thumb and ring or middle finger, from both sides of the paper in order to make an embossed effect. The most eminent masters of fingernail art in both calligraphy and painting were Muhammad Husayn Shirazi and Malek Aqlami, working in the 19th century. This neglected art is found sparsely in albums of the Qajar period, one of which belongs to the collection of the late Ezzat- Malek Soudavar, now on loan to the Harvard Art Museums. It contains figural compositions and calligraphic specimens in the scripts *nastaʿlīq*, *thulth*, *naskh*, *shikasta* and even *siyaq* (used in accounting). On the first flyleaf of the Harvard album 30.2015 there is a note providing the date Jumada II 1284/October 1867, which chronologically is close to the time the master of fingernail art Muhammad Husayn Shīrāzī was active (fl. 1279).

This paper surveys the art of fingernail calligraphy and painting in this 19-folio album and discusses the identity of the artist. I also compare it with the exquisite albums of fingernail art in the Golestan Palace Library, Cambridge University Library and elsewhere, which have never been published.

VERONIKA MILANOVA (SEE: JEREMEY BRADLEY)

SARA MIRAHMADI

The role of poetry in Persian historiography during the reigns of the Seljuqs and the Ilkhanids

Persian historiography has been always in transformation in terms of genres, concepts and applying various rhetorical figures and methods of conveying message, since the emergence of its first examples during the ninth century. One aspect of this transformation is the usage of poetry in historiography, which peaked during the reigns of Turco-Mongolian dynasties in Iran. In this study, I will seek to investigate the role of poetry in Persian historiography under the

rule the Seljuqs, as a Turkic dynasty, and the Ilkhanids, as a Mongolian dynasty. To limit the scope of this survey, I have chosen two important historiographical works, one from the Seljuqs, namely *Rāḥat al-Šudūr*, and one from the Ilkhanids, namely *Jāmi‘ al-Tawārīkh*. The former book was written by Rāvandī in the early 13th century and it was dedicated to Sultan Kaykhusraw I of the Rum Sultanate. The second book, written in 14th century, was intended as a world history commissioned by two Ilkhanid rulers, Ghazan and Uljeitu. In the present survey, I will analyze the verses which were interpolated in these books to learn about the poets from whom the authors cited, in which contexts the verses were used, and what the possible reasons were behind the authors' choices.

SEYEDKEYVAN MIRMOHAMMADI

The Myth of the Solitary Man: A Gendered Study of the history of Iranian Art Cinema

Despite all the differences in the contents and forms, Iranian art and intellectual cinema share a particular juncture from which all the stories have emerged. Based on gender studies, the article examines this shared juncture in the history of Iranian art cinema and concludes that The Myth of the Solitary Man has been the prevailing narrative pattern in the whole Iranian art cinema. In The Myth of the Solitary Man model, the story revolves around a masculine leading character who suffers from solitude and isolation caused by the society and his wife. The article reveals that despite being the pioneer, how Iranian intellectual cinema reproduces the predominant masculine image of its era in which the women were/are depicted inferior and second sex. Contrary to the commercial cinema, where all male heroes crave a woman, in intellectual cinema, the woman is an antagonist that the male protagonist must refrain from.

Iranian art and intellectual cinema, from which most directors are men, has always had a misogynistic attitude from its commencement with the so-called "New Wave". By concentrating on the solitude and isolation of the male protagonist, the Iranian artistic art cinema has not only failed to fracture the anti-woman depiction of commercial cinema, but also features it as an intellectual, philosophical, revolutionary and idealistic practice. The "New Wave" films such as *Brick and Mirror* (Ebrahim Golestan, 1964), *The Cow* (Dariush Mehrjui, 1969), *Qeysar* (Masoud Kimiai, 1969), *The Postman* (Dariush Mehrjui, 1970), *Downpour* (Bahram Beyzai, 1971), *Sadehg the Kurdish* (Naser Taghvai, 1972), *Tangsir* (Amir Naderi, 1973), *The Deer* (Masoud Kimiai, 1974) and *The Report* (Abbas Kiarostami, 1977) established a tradition in which the male protagonist is depicted as a sacrificial victim whose two main adversaries are

the society and his wife. The tradition has been followed after the Islamic revolution. In conclusion, pre and post-revolutionary Iranian art and intellectual cinema with a misogynistic nature celebrate the Oedipal myth which gives the protagonist the power to satisfy male desire.

BEHNAZ MIRZAI

Slavery and the Liberation of Female Slaves in Iran

Various contemporary sources allow us to consider the circumstances of life before full emancipation was achieved in 1929. Cultural tradition and Islamic law justifying the liberation of individual enslaved person had existed in Iran for centuries, long before the British inaugurated an abolitionist process that was not only limited and conditional, but racially

oriented in that it focused on Africans. In Iran, the liberation process that began with the freeing of the enslaved Africans in 1851 did not extend to include the status of other enslaved peoples. As has been shown, this racially based legislation actually made indigenous Iranians more vulnerable, given that demand for enslaved people throughout the region remained strong. For this reason, the circumstances that led to the enslavement of Iranians became a keenly felt national issue. This paper explores the country's transformation from a society accommodating slavery to one that embraced full emancipation. It represents the voices of enslaved people who fought to escape enslavement, the difficult situations enslaved women encountered and the various methods they employed to gain their freedom as well as the legal implications.

COLIN MITCHELL

“Corporeal Sovereignty in 16th-century Safavid Iran”

In recent years, there has been a developing paradigm shift amongst historians with regard to Timurid conceptions of sovereignty, millenarianism, and Perso-Islamic cosmology (Bashir, Binbaş, Moin, Melvin-Koushki, Markiewicz). Examining the Timurid dynastic narrative from the period of Shah Rukh (r. 1405-47) to Sultan-Husain Baiqara (r. 1478-1506), scholars have, in particular, highlighted the degree to which courtly historians, belle-lettrists, poets, and scholars in general increasingly profiled sovereignty with notions, vocabulary, and key words which were normally associated with Sufi and Shi'ite cosmologies. As this notion of sacral kingship was increasingly popularized in the 15th century, the model Perso-Islamic ruler was far beyond the classical Muslim juridical idea of the caliphate; indeed, Timurid mystical ideas about kingship and its corporeal manifestation was strikingly reminiscent of late Roman and Byzantine ideas of imperium (Aziz al-Azmeh).

This paper seeks to examine how these scholarly trends inform our current understanding of the Safavid dynasty during the 16th century, and the degree to which Timurid discourse on sovereignty was invoked by courtiers, poets, and scholar-bureaucrats serving Shah Isma'il (r. 1501-24) and Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524-76). By examining chronicles, poetry, epistolary material (*insha*), and other sources, this paper will examine how the Safavid shahs and their princely family members conceived of their sovereignty in terms of embodiment and corporeality. In doing so, this paper hopes to re-orient our traditional conceptions of Safavid royal identity as a crude and rushed amalgam of *ghuluww* Sufism and Twelver Shi'ism. Rather, Safavid dynastic presentations were part and parcel of a much larger and pervasive dialogue in Perso-Islamic societies since the advent of the Mongols in the early 14th century.

MOHAMMAD MEHDI MOGHIMIZADEH

Political Metaphors in the Iranian Press of the Persian Constitution Era

Media has always employed metaphors to represent political concepts. For instance, metaphor is used to depict political atmosphere and the confrontation of the opposite political forces. The Persian Constitution era was a key period in the Iran's history and a turning point in the political life of Iranians, where press played an important role. Any study in the domain of employment political metaphors in the contemporary Iran, which a new and original subject, should start with the Persian Constitution era and study the press of that era. This study looks into the

political metaphors used in the important press of the Persian Constitution era and attempts to classify them to render an analysis.

SHAHROUZ MOHAJER

The genesis and development of historiography and critique of Iranian modern art

This research aims to study the first efforts of Iranian researchers, in confronting with the modern Iranian visual art. In fact, the first texts and critiques concerning the first wave of Persian modern art were written by the literary critics and the art history scholars in the 1940s. The historiography of visual art before the modern era can be followed by a variety of sources, such as the travelogues, the books of general history or the court reports. These scattered references begin almost from the fourteenth century, but the first independent Iranian book on art history and artists appears in the sixteenth century. In the late nineteenth century, traditional Persian painting or miniature, transform to the naturalistic tendencies. In fact, this is a newborn classicism that will soon lead to Persian modern painting. In parallel with the development of modern art, the intellectuals and literary critics who are affected by the atmosphere after the Iranian constitutional revolution, try to write about this modern Iranian visual art. It should be kept in mind that at this time, the definition of intellectualism is largely equal to having socialist ideas. Hence, most critics of modern art have been written in a socialist approach, including some important articles by Taghi Arrāni (1903- 1940), Ehsān Tabari (1917-1989), Khalil Maleki (1901-1969), Bozorg Alavi (1904-1997) and Fātemeh Sayāh (1902-1948).

For instance, Taghi Arrāni (left-wing Iranian political activist, and the founder and editor of the Marxist magazine *Donyā*), in two articles titled: *history-making in art* and *Art in New Iran*, tries to familiarize the Iranian reader with the concepts of contemporary art, such as art and society or social and aesthetic functions of art. The 1940s coincided with a series of important cultural and political events that dramatically transform the characteristics of visual arts in Iran. Due to the change of government and establishing the faculty of fine arts, the evolutions of fine arts and the styles of art historiography, accelerate in a short time. In 1945, the first independent art expo in Iran entitled "exposition of fine arts" is experienced and subsequently some authors write about it, specifically Fātemeh Sayāh who writes a detailed critique of the exhibition in the magazine of the association of cultural relations of Iran and the Soviet Union (*Payāmeḥ No*). This article can be considered one of the first important texts on modern Iranian art.

To conclude this article, the author will also discuss, how do the social and cultural changes affect the historiography and critique of visual art in Iran. It should be noted that until the 1970s, the history of Iranian visual art has been documented in a dispersed manner by the critics, the historians and also the artists. But these efforts in the following decades, lead to the formation of modern Iranian art history.

DARYOUSH MOHAMMAD POOR

Akhundzada- Dislocative nationalism and misrepresentations of Nizārī Ismaili Doctrines

The history and doctrines of Nizārī Ismailis have been the subject of endless speculations and frequent misrepresentations, stretching from their contemporaries to many later generations who either found an echo of their own wishes in their doctrines or considered their beliefs to be heretical and blasphemous. The doctrine of *qiyāmat* is at the centre of such misunderstandings.

Despite an unprecedented increase in the literature available on this episode of Ismaili history, the topic still remains to be ambiguous and a source of unfounded speculations and gross fantasies.

Mīrzā Fath-‘Alī Ākhūndzāda (1812-78), a radical secularist Iranian playwright of early Qājār period and ‘one of the earliest and most outspoken atheists to appear in the Islamic world’ (Algar, 1985), devoted a massive part of one of his letters, the *Maktūbāt*, to giving a narrative of Nizārī Ismaili doctrine of *qiyāmat* as not only the precursor but also founder of ‘Protestantism’ in the world, predating European Christianity and the reformation by several centuries. In short, Ākhūndzāda equates Protestantism, reforms, modernity, Ismaili esoteric doctrine of *qiyāmat* as pure and simple antinomianism. Ākhūndzāda’s reconstruction of the doctrine of *qiyāmat*, and more generally of Ismaili doctrines, is a reiteration of the accusations of their detractors but this time in an approving manner, for which he seems to praise Ismailis. This is particularly evident in a fictional narrative he gives of an alleged letter written by Ḥasan II, known as ‘*Alā dhikrihi al-salām*’, to a certain Ismaili *dā‘ī* that he has named as Najm al-Dīn Rūdbārī. The terminology used in Ākhūndzāda’s reconstructed fictitious letter and the kind of references used in it clearly demonstrate how he had wished to voice his own desires and expectation through the tongue of Nizārī Ismailis.

This paper will examine and challenge Ākhūndzāda’s misrepresentations as ‘dislocative nationalism’ (Zia-Ebrahimi, 2016) and anachronistic modernity, arguing that his narratives of Nizārī Ismailis are based on fantasies and lack any solid historical and doctrinal evidence in primary sources. In this paper, newly published primary sources and unpublished fragments of manuscripts from Nizārī Ismaili literature of the Alamūt period will be compared with the fantasied descriptions of Ākhūndzāda to demonstrate how he digresses from the primary sources into utter imagination and fantasy.

ZAHRA MOHAMMADGANJEE (SOMAYYEH SHAHHOSEINY)

Studying the “Meta” Properties of Iranian Ancient Handmade Products Resulted from the Designer’s Worldview

The world of design is the world of artifacts which based on the common definition of nature, is in front of that. The continuous diminishing of the facts and increasing of artifacts have caused serious problems for the world and brought great responsibility to the designer. But in some ancient cultures, man-made products led to less inconsistency and the root of this can be found in the artist-craftsman’s worldview. In this article, the philosophy behind the ancient Iranian handmade products such as metal works, tiles and ceramics has been revisited. Since in Iranian tradition, in addition to technical and aesthetic aspects, the special training on a worldview and an attitude towards the man’s place in the universe in a master-disciple form of relation were also transmitted, artisans were able to perceive the symbolic and metaphoric language of nature and transfer it by using abstraction, which can be seen in the unity-oriented compositions, regrowing the motifs from each other like fractals, using calligraphy in design, and even in the particular way of signing the work. “Fotovatnameh” is of written examples of this “meta” perspective of Iranian traditional craftsmen that in this article has been studied to extract the “meta” properties of their works. To this aim, investigating their worldviews with a comparative description of contemporary philosophies and also studying their special language of abstraction have been considered.

MARJAN MOHAMMADI

Post World War II Persian Fiction: Mourning Salvation

The years that followed the Second World War were a critical period for the development of modern fiction in Iran. The Anglo-Soviet invasion (1941) and occupation of Iran (1941-1946) created a period of political and economic upheaval. Iran was called “the bridge to victory” for the allies. Through the Persian Corridor, they could provide supplies to the Soviet Union and also secure the control of the British Petroleum over the Iranian oil fields. This paper investigates how the forceful use of Iranian territory and the chain of events it unleashed have provided the ground for Persian fiction to rethink the question of salvation. More specifically, it studies WWII and the development of Persian fiction in its aftermath. Pervaded with multiple political and social defeats, these years leading to the CIA coup of 1953 were perhaps the most melancholic in the modern Iranian history. The period is marked by the effort of Iranian writers to comprehend social reality and its relationship to literature. This paper studies Simin Danishvar’s novel *Savūshūn* (1969), reflecting back on the events of this period and portraying the sense of failure and mourning that haunted the Iranian intellectuals. It questions how the narrative interweaves and subverts the existing salvational narratives based on the Shi’a and old Iranian mythic discourses. It discusses the relationship of the idea of salvation to language, narration, and politics in the decades that followed World War II and which transformed the Iranian literary landscape. It explores to what extent the post World War II representations of salvation that are being formed in the Iranian narratives can be studied as a response to the effects of the war, violence, and the rise of the new world order.

SHEKOUFEH MOHAMMADI SHIRMAHALEH

New Insights into the Story of Jamšīd, Žahāk and Fereydūn from the Shahnameh: A Hermeneutic Approach

This paper focuses on three of the passages of Ferdowsi’s *Shahnameh*: the stories of Jamšīd, Žahāk and Fereydūn. Although these passages of the mythical cycle of the book have been studied by numerous researchers, especially from a mythological point of view, there is no published work that analyses all the dimensions of the mentioned passages besides its mythological aspects. As a result of a three-year investigation, I will try to present a more inclusive view of these stories in which various layers of them are revealed and put together: two mythical layers, one religious layer and five historical layers supported by archeological research.

The aim of this paper is to offer a more complete context for the interpretation of the mentioned passages by discovering how these different layers coexist and interact in the *Shahnameh* and how Ferdowsi’s book works as a puzzle capable of joining together places, timelines and ontologies dispersed through history. As a last part, I will refer some of the philological consequences of this knowledge as reflected in Ferdowsi’s poetic work.

KOUROSH MOHAMMADKHANI (SEE: SÉBASTIAN GONDET)

The Meaning and Realm of Homecountry in Iranian Mystics - Point of View

It seems that “Homecountry or Homeland” is amongst those new social and cultural term. specially after the Renaissance, but it is not right and this term applied by other nations and cultures. For example, one of the most attractive and significant views of Homeland meaning in oriental history, is the Iranian mystics’ point of view or Sufism. On the one hand, these mystics(= Sufi or Aref or Saint) have been seeking cosmopolitanism and abolition of natural and political frontiers so that they can find boundless Gospel and on the other hand, they internally and naturally loved their Fatherland or homeland and this is why they have been behaving differently and sometimes paradoxically. For example, a group of them, had to ignore their internal needs for homeland and country, and some others unconsciously got in a tangle with their holy and mystical ideals. And some of them lived in a painful paradox since they obviously scolded homeland and inwardly loved it.

Overall, Iranian mystics faced with the meaning and realm of homeland in four ways:

Total contravention of homeland

Proving and moderating homeland

Contradiction in terms and entanglement

Trying to coordinate propensities and mystical believes.

The most significant theoreticians on homeland concept were amongst those Iranian mystics who were living in 9-12 centuries. Since these centuries are, the most brilliant era in Iranian mystic and most of mystics have been living in 2 realm:

Eastern part of Iran (Khorasan, Ma wara an- nahr, Torkestan)

Western part of Iran (Beino Al-nahrain, Jebal, Fars)

Both groups have expressed their ideas in verse and prose.

Homecountry or Homeland amongst mystical schools is Theosophy. In this view, world is divided into western homesickness and eastern homelike (jabolqa& Jabolsa) which is not in applicable with geographical division of the world.

Since “homeland” and evolution of its meaning and the way, they are viewed today, are one of the most important discussions in oriental studies and can solve many of conceptual, linguistic and social problems and approaches the views.

It has been attempted in this article to present a clear and precise image of this term and define the Iranian mystics’ favorite image, the mystics who had an important role in unification of cultural life of eastern nations ,Iranian and, Muslim nations specially in their relationship with the western country in the modern world.

ESMAT MOMENI (SEE: MOJTABA ABBASNEJAD MATANKOLAEI)

MAHROO MOOSAVI

Micropolitics of Shaykh Lutfullah Mosque: Symbiotic Mechanisms of Architecture and State Power in Safavid Isfahan

Shah ‘Abbās I (r. 1588-1629) was particularly interested in the construction of public buildings and urban spaces in the Safavid capital city of Isfahan. While this may lead to a conclusive comment that the synthesis of architectural and urban forms in Safavid Isfahan accords with

the imperial state ideologies, this paper argues that the symbiosis of architecture/urbanism and religious state power during the reign of Shah ‘Abbās I, is not as straightforward as might be assumed. This point is elaborated in the paper via an examination of possible hidden motivations behind the construction and function of Shaykh Lutfullah mosque.

Shaykh Lutfullah mosque (1603-1619), one of the first buildings constructed on the new Naqsh-e Jahān *maydān* and as a part of the relocation plan of the Old city to the New city of Isfahan, is the point of focus in this paper. The paper illustrates that irregular shape and architectural characteristics of Shaykh Lutfullah mosque which do not conform with the classic *four-iwani* Persian mosque typology might be the consequence of socio-political conflicts between the Safavid government and the middle-class society reactionary resistance during the process of relocation of the Old city of Isfahan. Focusing on ‘Risāla-yi I’tikāfiya’, a text written by Shaykh Lutfullāh Maysī al-‘Āmilī, a Shi‘i cleric for whom the mosque was built, it is suggested that the odd morphological characteristics of Shaykh Lutfullah mosque could be interpreted as architectural *tactics* by Shah ‘Abbās I to blur the boundaries between the imperial power and unofficial political voices; A point that showcases the intricacy rather than directness of the relationship between political discourses and urban realm.

HOSSEIN MORADI (SEE: MAJID KALANOORI)

YOUSEF MORADI (ALMUT HINTZE)

A Collection of Sasanian Clay Bullae Found in Taḳt-e Solaymān: An Interim Report

From 2002 to 2008, an Iranian expedition, under the auspices of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization, conducted seven seasons of archaeological excavations at the World Heritage Site of Taḳt-e Solaymān located in the Western Azerbaijan Province of Iran. The site consists of a spectacular complex of religious and non-religious buildings within a fortified, oval-shaped enclosure. On the basis of the literary sources and the inscriptions on the clay bullae that were recovered during the excavations, the religious complex is identified as the temple of Ādur Gušnasp—the Fire of the warriors—which was one of the three most sacred Zoroastrian fire temples of the Sasanian Empire. The excavation at the site yielded an extraordinary collection of 824 Sasanian bullae with nearly 2000 seal impressions that were once affixed to a cord binding different types of documents, commodities, containers of merchandise, and packages, so as to guarantee the authenticity of the documents, and to both identify or safeguard the goods. This collection is of great value from the art historical point of view due to its rich and varied iconography. The typology and style of images offer not only chronological indicators concerning the history of this art, but also provides an insight into the culture that produced them. This paper sets out to devise a stylistic classification of the bullae and seal impressions based on sets of shared attributes of content and composition. It also discusses the physical and technical characteristics of the bullae and interprets some of the symbols and iconographic motifs on the seal impressions. In addition, the paper aims to provide some information on the archaeological context in which the bullae were found.

ENRICO MORANO

Towards a Catalogue-Edition of the Sogdian Texts in Manichaean Script of the Berlin Turfan Collection: a Work in Progress

Within the Turfan texts housed in Berlin there are approximately 590 fragments written in Sogdian in Manichaean script. Although the most significant ones have already been published since their discovery in the beginning of the last century, yet more than a half are still unpublished, and beg elucidation. My project is to give a catalogue-edition of all the Berlin Sogdian fragments written in Manichaean script, both published and unpublished. The paper will survey these fragments, give some examples of unpublished texts, and show different possible ways of cataloguing and editing them.

TOMOKO MORIKAWA

Abgar Valijanlian and his life as a Jadīd al-Islām: A Shi'ite Armenian in the late seventeenth century

Abgar, who was born in mid-seventeenth century at the Armenian district of New Julfa in Isfahan, has *Memoires* of his eventful life. The book was written in Persian with a simple style in 1119/1707 and its edition was published by Professor M. Sefatgol under the name of *I'tirāfnāma* or *The Book of Confession*. Despite coming from an ardent and rich Armenian merchant family of New Julfa, in his youth, Abgar converted to Islam. After his drastic conversion, he was forced to wander for the remaining 30 years of his life. As a new Muslim convert (*Jadīd al-Islām*), Abgar set out for Christian countries of Europe to join his family business trade, especially to Italy via Izmir. Then he moved to the Sunni Ottoman lands, such as Yanbol in Bulgaria, Istanbul, Batumi, Trabzon and he finally settled in Yerevan under the Safavids. He expressed his sincere belief and loneliness of a *Jadīd al-Islām* throughout his sojourn abroad. When he found himself a firm convinced Shi'ite Muslim, he returned to his native country, Iran.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, along with the Safavid strict religious policy under Shah 'Abbas II and the grand vizier of Shah Sulayman, Shaykh 'Ali Khan Zangana, religious minorities in Iran were compelled to convert to Islam. By tracing the life and the wavering faith of a new Muslim convert of the time, who traveled to Europe via Sunni Ottoman Turkey, we can see the 'religious' sphere of Safavid Iran, which came to represent Shi'ite Islam as a 'regional' sect.

ABOLFAZL MOSHIRI

The Devil Undistorted: 'Ayn al-Quzat Hamadani and the Exegesis of Hallajian Iblisology

The enigmatic essays composed by Husayn ibn Mansur Hallaj (d. 922) in his work *Kitab al-Tawasin* in defense of Iblis are considered one of the most esoteric and controversial treatises in the history of Persian Sufism. There is a pervasive assumption that the first Persian exegete of Hallaj's esoteric writings on Iblis was Ruzbihan Baqli (d. 1209) who first categorized them as ecstatic utterances (*shathiyyat*) and then, through his apologetic texts such as *Sharh-i shathiyyat*, tried to tone them down and bring them in conformity with the mainstream Sufism.

This process of intentional misinterpretation or redaction created a corrupt and distorted understanding of Hallaj's Iblisology, stripped of its heretical overtone and extreme antinomianism.

This paper will argue that it was not Ruzbihan Baqli but the Persian martyr Sufi 'Ayn al-Quzat Hamadani (d. 1139), who provided the first and most reliable interpretation of Hallaj's discourses in defense of Iblis in the Persian language, free of any distortion or apologia. This argument is primarily based on two Persian works of 'Ayn al-Quzat, namely the *Tamhidat*, as well as the collection of his letters. This paper proposes that these two works provide an authoritative framework for a hermeneutical approach in solving some of the cryptic essays of *Kitab al-Tawasin* regarding Hallaj's infatuation with Iblis. In these two works 'Ayn al-Quzat not only produces the most comprehensive exegesis ever written in the Persian language in defense of Iblis but also, in the process, untangles and interprets some of the esoteric and often enigmatic intricacies of Hallajian Iblisology.

MAHGOL MOTALEBI

Iranian Immigrant's sense of belonging to their new home: Berlin

"Sense of belonging" is identified as one of the basic human needs which determines how we define who we are. "Home" is the notion which comes to mind as the first impression of the concept of belonging. We belong to the place which our family and friends are, where we have roots and where our people live.

For immigrants, the notion of "Home" is translocated and the place of being is separated from where their roots are (Ahmed, 1999). In this case, "Home" could carry a more practical rather than cognitive meaning, "Home is where we feel we belong" (Hedetoft, 2002).

Germany as a country which became an ultimate destination to many Iranian immigrants in recent years holds a special position in regards to the notion of "Belonging". Although there are many positive perceptions regarding the settlement conditions in Germany such as having a reliable social and health insurance, high rank and almost free educational institution, the existence of social welfare state programs and many job opportunities, there are still antiforeigner prejudice, racial and cultural intolerance and also citizens with immigration roots perceiving as "not a real German" that conditioned German national identity on having blood routes, which all will jeopardize the "Sense of Belonging".

Through the use of in-depth interviews with Iranian immigrants who had immigrated to Berlin during the past ten years in order to study and eventually reside to work, this research is an attempt to portrays the level of "Sense of belonging" and the struggles of Iranians to make Berlin their new "Home".

MAHDI MOTAMEDMANESH

Ernst Herzfeld and Achaemenid Studies: The Need for a Paradigm Shift in Scholarly Viewpoints

Scholarship on Persian architecture is indebted to the Western scholars; their theories laid the foundation upon which the current body of knowledge relies. Unfortunately, a prevailing Hellenocentric approach, lack of proper academic studies of some archaeologists, outdated methods of excavation, and specifically unpublished results challenge the early studies on the

architecture of ancient Iran. Such shortcomings intensify the need for new studies that would read the preceding arguments through the lens of new discoveries.

The sudden emergence in Pasargadae of an advanced architecture that owed nothing to the local traditions of the Achaemenids' heartland, rather exhibited a broad use of the architectural symbols of

the nations conquered by the Achaemenids caused Achaemenid architecture to be labeled 'eclectic'. Eclecticism connotes an architecture that sought to create symbolic forms simply by combining the art forms and techniques of other civilizations. Such a categorization, as well as scholarly effort at drawing parallels with other ancient traditions has impeded a fuller understanding of Achaemenid architectural

culture. Given the innovative engineering achievements of the Achaemenids in constructing the tallest

and widest spanned spaces of the Antiquity, this paper underlines the benefits of interpreting architectural elements from a technical viewpoint.

The evolution of construction technology during the Achaemenid Empire will be briefly discussed here. The focus will be on two cubic-form stone monuments named the Zendān-e Soleymān and Ka'be-ye Zartosht, which seem to be quite similar at first glance. Investigating the constructional details of these structures, this paper demonstrates how these monuments dramatically differed from each other. By doing so, the Achaemenids' attention to the rationality, efficiency, and functionality of construction will be discussed. As a matter of interest, the notion of this paper opposes Herzfeld, who believed that "the function never ruled the shape in Persian masonry".

MOHAMMAD MOTEVALLI

Analysis of the Combinative Motifs in Scythian Golden Treasures in the Russian Hermitage Museum

The Scythians (Saka) were nomadic migrants and warriors who mentioned by the literate peoples to their south as inhabiting large areas of the western and central Eurasian Steppe from about the 9th century BC up until the 4th century AD. The classical Scythians known to ancient Greek historians, agreed to be mainly Iranian in origin, were located in the northern Black Sea and fore-Caucasus region. Other Scythian groups documented by Assyrian, Achaemenid and Chinese sources show that they also existed in Central Asia. The language of the Scythians, which is not attested by authentic continuous texts, but only in a quite fragmentary manner indirectly and chiefly by a variety of names, is one of the idioms spoken by the nomadic tribes of the Eurasian steppelands along the northern edge of the home of the Iranian peoples in the Old Iranian period.

Scythian culture and arts were in accordance with their kind of life, primarily decorative objects, such as jewellery, produced by the nomadic tribes. Most of the creators were in the field of metalworking, and in particular the construction of golden treasures, which included jewelry, Warrior tools, everyday items and horse riding equipment. The type of decorations, the technique of making and the form of these works, in comparison with other states and their civilizations, have certain characteristics, and they are very precise and beautiful. One of these features is the use of Combinative motifs, such as Griffins, Lamassu, and Sphinx, which have greatly influenced the art of other societies, especially Achaemenid art, and greatly increases the importance of studying these designs. Scythian art especially Scythian gold jewellery is highly valued by museums and many of the most valuable artefacts are in the Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg; whose images have recently been published. In this paper, we are

looking to find out what the initial visual features of these works have been. The question is: What are the qualities of the Combinative Motifs in Scythian Golden Treasures in the Russian Hermitage Museum? What are the types of these motifs? And what impact did they have on the neighboring territories and civilizations? The statistical population of this study is the number of twenty-two golden objects in the Scythian Golden Treasures in Russian Hermitage Museum during the period from 700 to 300 BC in the spatial region of the West Caspian Sea to the Black Sea coast of Ukraine and today's Ukraine. The results show that the technique of making figurines is very precise and has been circulating from realism to symbolism and abstraction, but in general, it shows the exact knowledge of anatomy by designers and their creators. This research has been carried out in a historical-analytical way and based on library resources and interviews with experts in this field as well as observation and analysis of motifs.

MARYAM MUSHARRAF OLMOLK

A Who is Who: Saam and Rostam's Dynasty in History and Shahnameh (A Debate on the Origins of Saam Family in Shahnameh)

The Ancient history of Iranian people is reflected in various sources among them one can mention detailed accounts written by Tabary, Tha'lebi, Mas'udi, and other books which are derived partly from the ancient Khodaynamah, which has not come down to us. In all these books, monographs from royal dynasties of ancient Iran can be surveyed. At the same time the stories of the dynasty of Rostam and his family, i.e. Saam and Zaal and Soharab are reflected. Members of the family of Rostam are the most popular heroes of Shahname. However their historical origins is still under debate. Who was Rostam actually? Why unlike famous rulers of Kiany dynasty like Kaykhosrow and Kaykaws, the name of Rostam and members of his family is not mentioned in Avesta? What is their political status in history? What was the roots of the dispute between Kianis and Saam- family, a dispute which is revealed in old sources as well as in Shahnameh. In this paper I will refer to the original sources and documents about Saam's dynasty and will try to offer a more accurate picture of them, which would be closer to real facts. To achieve this aim, we need to find out the historical figure of Saam dynasty members in compare to their fictional appearance. At the same time, I would need to make clear the roots of hostility between this group of local rulers of Sistaan and the central Iranian kingdom of Kianis.

TAYEBE NADERABADI

Remembering Ctesiphon: Art, History and Archeology

In the context of early and mid-twentieth century Iran, intense negotiations on 'nau' (equivalent to 'modern') and 'Kuhnih' (equivalent to 'old') in artistic and literary works are of crucial significance for an understanding of experiencing modern in the space of culture. Access to historical knowledge produced mainly through vast archaeological activities as well as philological achievements in deciphering old languages, created dynamics in the way artists, poets and authors positioned themselves in relation towards objects of 'past' in Iran. These dynamics fostered highly negotiated orientations towards the past that occurred within a (trans-) cultural space where artists, poets and writers (as historical figures) experimented with new literary and artistic forms. This paper looks closely into historical materials (artworks and

literary magazines) from early and mid-twentieth century Iran, that specifically image Tāq-e Kasrā. It tries to explain how authors (artists, poets, writers) image this historical site? In what (trans-)cultural relations these images were created? And, how in these works archaeological knowledge is transformed into aesthetic-linguistic forms.

This study uses transculturality as its analytical tool and is conducted based on an interdisciplinary approach.

ELHAM NAEIJ

Forough Farrokhzad and the Female Desire in Contemporary Iranian Romance Novels

Contemporary Iranian romance novels are often dismissed as formulaic, misogynist and lacking literary merit. This paper is going to read this genre with a focus on a very contrasting icon in Persian literature, namely Forough Farrokhzad who is praised for her iconoclastic character and feminist and powerful poetry. Forough frequently reappears in contemporary Iranian romance novels and this paper studies the influence of this symbol of rebellion and feminine desire on this genre. Going through some of these novels, like Morteza Moaddabpour's *Yalda*, Parinoush Saniee's *Sahme Man*, Maryam Riahi's *Hamkhuneh*, Soheila Bamian's *Zibaye Arab* and Zoya Pirzad's *Cheraghha ra Man Khamush Mikonam*, this paper argues that using Forough's poetry allows readers to immerse in the vast romantic and sensual world that is built around her poetry and also Forough has become a coded language for Iranian romance writers to rupture the patriarchal and ideological order by expressing the inexpressible.

AMIR NAJAFI

Difference between Ta'zieh in Iran and in India

Ta'zieh went to India during the time of Amir Timur, and until now, among Indian Shiites, a structure is being constructed called " Ta'zieh " and people carry it as a religious symbol in a procession. The first historical reports of Ta'zieh in Iran The first recorded public *dasta* observing the death of Ḥosayn took place in Baghdad in the year 963 AD are very similar to the one which is now being performed in India The ta'zia passion play was born in the middle of the 18th century (although many scholars believe it occurred as early as in the end of the 17th century. It can be concluded that the ritual of mourning for Imam Hossein which at first was transferred from Iran, has remained more or less unchanged in India. But in Iran, it has underwent a transformation and acquired a theatrical form. In this article, we are looking for the fundamental causes of the difference between Ta'zieh in Iran and India. The factors to be discussed here are: The Shiites being a minority in India and its impact on their self-esteem and their behavior, versus the majoritarian status of Shiites in Iran; the variety of religions, sects and rituals in India, in contrast to the relative unity of religion in Iran; the lack of dramatic texts in Iran versus a literary dramatic tradition in India. At the end, the most important reason for this difference is the long period of Shi'a rule in Iran contrary to India and we have pointed to the high role of politics in the formation of rituals.

Representation of Alienating Effects of Persian Language in Modern Iranian Novels

As the nation-state was being formed in the early years of the twentieth century Iran, social, cultural, and literary homogenizing policies led to the dominance of Persian Language and thus, many local languages and dialects were interdicted from the educational and scientific spheres. In the same period and later on, many novelists who were from ethnic origins different from Persian speaking regions had to produce and publish in Persian. This noble genre of novel created its own outcasts and alienated figures, alienated languages, and hybrid images. This paper will study the ways some novelists such as Hedayat, Behrangi, Sa'edi, Darvishian, and Ravanipour employ Persian language but will adapt it according to their own indigenous and personal needs and ethnicities. Each author attempts a different strategy in resisting the dominance of the established and official language. Hedayat does not follow the officially correct grammar and diction of the Persian language in either its narration of the story or representations of events and characters. Behrangi uses Azarbayjani folklore and myths and re-constructs them within another language; his stories are filled with images and words adapted to be told in Persian. Darvishian does not translate some very common Kurdish words in his novels and leaves it to the reader to figure out the meanings and connotations for themselves. Ravanipour brings in many of the indigenous folklore, images, superstitions and characters from her hometown, south Iran. One common element relating these novels and strategies is the subtle dissidence the authors portray through the refusal of Persian as the established literary language.

The Debate on the Authenticity of al-Ghazali's *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*: An Evaluation

Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk, al-Ghazali's Persian treatise, is his most famous political writing. There has been, however, a vigorous debate about the authenticity of this treatise among scholars. The treatise contains two parts and while all scholars agree on the authenticity of the first there is a growing consensus about the inauthenticity of the second part. My presentation will introduce the major aspects of this debate by following its historical background and provides a critical discussion of the arguments advanced by scholars who question the authenticity of the treatise. Discussing the general principles of authentication of writings by referring to similar discussions on the authenticity of classical Western works, it will be argued that the arguments advanced to prove the inauthenticity of al-Ghazali's treatise do not satisfy the criteria of historical exactitude and the authenticity of *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* remains a viable possibility. As the doubts about the authorship of this treatise has led to a devaluation of the content of this unique work and because the views stated in this treatise are very different from the views commonly attributed to al-Ghazali, my conclusion would lead to a considerable reevaluation of al-Ghazali's theologico-political positions.

Urban Household Structure in 19th century Iran: The Case of Tabriz

This study attempts to examine the household structure, occupations, and social background of inhabitants in an Iranian city during the 19th century by focusing on Dar al-Saltane-ye Tabriz, the second largest city in Qajar Iran. Issues on population and household structure in Pre-Pahlavi Iranian society still remain understudied dimensions. On the other hand, the family history and the history of women in the other locations of the Middle East reveal many important aspects related to families, households, and women. For example, specialists in Arab history, such as J. Tucker and M. Meriwether, have indicated that polygyny occurred much less frequently than supposed and they added that the polygyny was closely related to the class of the family in historical Syria.

C. Behar and A. Duben also mentioned this trend and stated that only 2.29 percent of all married men were married polygynously in early 20th century Istanbul.

I will investigate the registers from four quarters of Tabriz through a quantitative approach to show the basic data of household structure and social background of the inhabitants. In addition, how many of these households appear to be polygynous will be mentioned. This research will hence present another dimension of Iranian urban history and also contribute to a comparative analysis of family and households in the Middle East.

A research on the concept and types of “Var” in ancient Iran

This research investigates “Var” ceremony (experiment/divine judgement) based on old Iranian texts. A type of judgement that had many applications in Iranian legal and jurisprudential system especially in the one of Sasanian era is in the form of an examination which was performed by a person to prove his word and deed and also his innocence and if the person wasn't hurt during the test his rightfulness would be proved to everyone. This method of judgement shows an attention to trueness and establishing justice as one of the old and main religious characteristics and it was done when both sides of a fight didn't have evidence to prove their rightfulness and the guilty person wouldn't confess

either, so they had to do “Var” ceremony. In Avestan and Pahlavi texts, different types of “Var” were mentioned but unfortunately it's not possible to present comprehensive and complete information about this tradition since much of the evidence was destroyed. In this research, with collecting some existing Avestan and Pahlavi texts in which “Var” topic and its types, also its conditions, its uses and every other mentioned topic related to it were mentioned, these questions were responded: Since some of “Var” types were so severe, how much applicable was this examination in the society of that time? Was this examination only mentioned in mythical stories and some types of it were not applicable? Can one divide “Var” based on the four elements of creation apart from classifying it to cold and hot types and if yes, based on which belief in ancient Iran was it?

Tāq -e Bostān: ‘The arch of garden’ or ‘The arch of Bīstūn’?

Bisotun or *Bīstūn* is probably the most renowned mount in Iranian history and Persian literature. This mount was also well known to the Greek historians as well as the Arab scholars. In the Islamic period, the mount had two different titles: *Sin Sumayra* and *Bīstūn* (and its variants as *Behīstūn*, *Vehīstūn*). The former title may root in the Greek story of the legendary queen of Assyria, *Semiramis*. However, the later Arab writers tried to find a justification for the newly Arabized name of *Sumayra*. As a result, they attributed this new name to a woman from *Bani Daba* who was famous for her projecting teeth, thus *Sin Sumayra*, i.e., 'the tooth of *Sumayra*.' *Sin Sumayra* was mostly attested in the works of the Muslim geographers who followed the geographical school of Iraq (e.g., Ibn Khordadbeh and Ibn Faqih and others). While, *Bīstūn* and its variants, mentioned in two Middle Persian books of *Bundahišn* and *Šahristānīhā i Ērānšahr*, was mostly used by the followers of the geographical school of Balkh (e.g., Estakhri, Ibn Ḥawqal, and others). In most cases, the scholars of the school of Balkh, in description of mount *Bīstūn*, talk about the figures of *Shirin* and *Khosrow* riding his horse *Shabdiz* which stand in *Bīstūn*. In the first look, one might consider that they erroneously intermingled *Bīstūn* with *Tāq Bostān* (a monument in the city of Kermanshah dated back to the time of Sasanians). However, a closer inspection would reveal that, it is more than a simple mistake. Seemingly, for those writers *Tāq Bostān* might mean 'The arch of *Bīstūn*' (Which is different from the New Persian interpretation 'the arch of the garden'). The paper aims to investigate the sources, in order to find out connection between two titles of *Bīstūn* and *Bostān* (in the title of *Tāq Bostān*).

ALI NIROUMAND

Mapping Diasporic Iranian Nationalism

This presentation discusses the emergence, (re)production, and dissemination of Iranian diasporic nationalism and its relevance for both the future of Iran and the future geopolitical landscape of the Middle East at large. It focuses on Iranian diaspora in the Anglosphere as the major site of Iranian diasporic nationalism and uses specific examples drawn from Iranian diasporic mediasphere, a contested site for the articulation of the national. Investigating both bottom-up and top-down processes of (re)imagining the nation in diaspora, the presentation highlights also the heterogeneity of the phenomenon of Iranian diasporic nationalism by demonstrating how competing discourses of nationalism in diaspora draw on and mobilize different discourses (race, religion, national interest, etc.) or a combination of them to win the hegemonic struggle.

Given the recent worldwide revival of nationalism, there is an urgent need for a critical re-engagement with this concept. Moreover, recent developments in the socio-political landscape of Iran call for scholarly attention to the phenomenon of Iranian diasporic nationalism. These developments include, to name a few, the (re)emergence of nationalistic sentiments in Iran, popular expression of nostalgia for pre-revolutionary Iran, intensification of internal and external crises that threaten the existence of the Islamic Republic, and the emergence of a particular branch of diasporic Iranian nationalism as a powerful oppositional force to the current regime. This provided, the presentation is designed to provide a timely critical engagement with the phenomenon of post-revolutionary Iranian diasporic nationalism as a significant factor in contemporary Iranian political landscape.

ERIN HYDE NOLAN

Photographic land surveys in late-nineteenth century Ottoman and Persian courts

CHRISTINE NÖLLE-KARIMI

The chicken or the egg? Afghan models of the literary milieu

In the early twentieth century, the Afghan authors Maḥmūd Ṭarzī (1865-1933), Mīr Gholām Moḥammad Ghobār (1896-1978), Moḥyī al-Dīn Anīs (d. 1938), and Gholām Jailānī A‘zamī (1898-1956) postulated an immediate connection between literature (both poetry and prose), social circumstances and national political requirements. My paper treats the models they used to explain this dynamic and analyzes their notions of modernity. Ṭarzī resorted to a circular model and cast modern literature in terms reminiscent of an immunization: the evolving social and technological environment stimulated the emergence of a new kind of literature that served to produce new, morally fortified readers, who in turn were ready to take on the challenges of the time. In a similar vein, Ghobār and A‘zamī described modern literature at once as a product of the environment and as a tool for shaping it. While the milieu engenders a specific state of literature, it is the task of the literati of the time to ensure its purity and to render it a means of improving society. Anīs added the dimension of time. Positing a dialectic process between literature and the formation of a specific collective and individual constitution, he assumed a vertical path through time and a lateral trajectory that reaches across all segments of society and fosters a common discourse.

NAHID NOROZI

Traces of Gorgāni's Vis and Rāmin in Homāy and Homāyun by Khwāju Kermāni

The article investigates the permanence of some topoi and narrative elements of Gorgāni's *Vis and Rāmin* (11th century) in the later romance *Homāy and Homāyun* by Khwāju Kermāni (14th century). The research focuses on two categories of intertextuality: in the first are grouped the Gorganian elements that penetrate the romance of Khwāju through the mediation of Neẓāmī's *Khosrow and Shirin* and *Leylā and Majnun*; the second category, on which the article focuses more, is that in which are grouped the common elements between the two above mentioned mathnavis of Gorgāni and Khwāju not mediated by the work of Neẓāmī. In this second category, the following elements are analyzed among others: the pretext of the disease by the protagonist to escape the battle or hunting in order to reach his beloved; the ways of falling in love with the female protagonist; the segregation of the heroine; the role of the characters mediating between the lovers; the ways of invitation to love.

MARYAM NOURZAEI

Tradition of mamabies (songs for a newly mother and her baby) in Afro-Balochi communities along the coast in Iran.

The aim of the present paper is to analyse the content of mamabiessongs typically after giving birth as an endangered genre of songs among Afro-Baloch communities.

In Balochistan, Afro-Baloch live along the coast and as far north as Iran Shahr and Sarawan. They have lost their ancestral languages in favour of Balochi. Their African origin can be guessed by their physical appearance but no feature of an African language has been identified in their dialect yet (cf. Korn and Nourzaei in press).

In contrast to Baloch communities, Afro-Baloch communities are rich in oral traditions and more specifically in traditional practices regarding pregnancy and giving birth, for instance mamabies. Unlike lullabies, mamabies are only attested in the Afro-Baloch community along the coast in Iran and there has been no research on the phenomenon. The mamabies are recited throughout different stages of pregnancy by a group consisting of a proficient female singer and seven ordinary women. The women recite songs with the same melody without playing a musical instrument. This tradition has been spread to other communities in this region for instance Baloch and Jadgal. The singers receive gifts when performing for non-Afro-Baloch women. The main content of these songs is: praise to God, the Prophets, his followers, the newly mother and her baby. The gender of the baby has an important role in duration of these songs.

The data for the present talk has been collected from five famous singers in the Bahukalat, Chabahar and Nobandiyan regions in southeastern Iran in March 2014 and November 2017. The paper concludes that, this tradition along with healing ceremonies (gwāt) was brought by the African slaves to Balochistan. Although communities of African origin have lost their original language, they have kept these traditions to reconstruct their identity and use them as a source of income in these regions.

LUBOMÍR NOVÁK

Sogdian Language(s) and Tajik Dialects

The Sogdian language was once the lingua franca of the Silk Road. After the Arab invasion to Central Asia the language lost its prestige status and slowly diminished. Since the Samanid Empire Persian became the prestigious language and later became a new lingua franca of the region. Sogdian or its dialects, however, did not disappear completely – at first it was an adstrate language in former Sogdiana, later it transformed into a substrate language, that was replaced by local Persian/Tajik vernacular(s) – these varieties of Persian are to be met in the Upper Zarafshon region North-Western Tajikistan. The Upper Zarafshon (or Central) dialects of Tajik reflect many Eastern Iranian linguistic features that can be connected with vernaculars of Sogdiana such as Sogdian and its dialects and Yaghnobi, a language closely related to Sogdian. Eastern Iranian loans in the Central Tajik dialects show rather complicated linguistic situation in the mountainous parts of Sogdiana. It seems, that the Upper Zarafshon Tajik dialects reflect a lost Sogdian dialect related to Yaghnobi, but having features of its own. The paper will show possibilities of study of the lost Sogdian dialect of the old Sogdian region of pyttm'n/Buttamān.

BAHAR OGHALAI

Hijab and its ambiguities - perspectives of the Iranian diaspora in Germany

This study deals with positions of German-Iranian women on Hijab. The participants of this study are confronted with the fact that Hijab in Germany is often equated with the oppression of women. Furthermore, they are active members of German society and may even be affected by anti-Muslim discrimination themselves. On the other hand, this particular group is familiar with the situation in Iran, where Hijab is compulsory for female subjects by the law of the Islamic Republic: they are involved in the Iranian context through family ties as well as their own experiences with compulsory Hijab in Iran.

The study examines how German-Iranian women position themselves on Hijab, and asks which arguments they use for their positions. This work finds new approaches for a more differentiated discourse on Hijab by making the unique positions of German-Iranian women on this topic visible. The involvement of the sample in an ambivalent situation, between Iran and Germany, between compulsory Hijab and its prohibition (or rejection), between having a Muslim and an anti-Muslim 'Persian' background, underlines the elaboration of the ambiguous character of Hijab. It is argued that Hijab opens perspectives through which political and social events can be investigated. Positions on Hijab and discussions around the subject reveal more about their respective contexts than about Hijab as such. While in today's post-migrant German society topics such as migration, gender and identity are negotiated through Hijab, in Iran it serves the Islamic republic as a performative tool to make its domination visible.

KHANNA OMARKHALI

Questions of Authority in Yezidism. The Impact of the Print and Digital Media

The use of writing and digital technologies to preserve and transmit religious knowledge, which was traditionally the exclusive preserve of a special group of trained people, is a crucial development in the Yezidi religious tradition that leads not only to formulation of explicit 'orthodox' teachings and other transformations, but also to significant changes in the field of religious authority. The changes in Yezidi society, which were caused by such factors as an increase in literacy, intensified inter- and intra-religious contacts, several migration waves, globalisation, individualisation and the increased role of the media, have given rise to new forms of transmission of religious knowledge, and so to a new understanding of religious and spiritual authority among Yezidis, insofar as the traditional religious leaders, whose knowledge was mainly based on oral transmission, are gradually replaced by intellectuals and others who are particularly adept at dealing with written works; these are often members of the laity.

The use of electronic mass media, including radio and television, as well as the Internet with its far-reaching Yezidi networks, created a space for active interaction about religion for Yezidis throughout the world, so that (primarily young) Yezidis could bond in '*cyber-êzdîxane*', i.e. a virtual Yezidi community. The majority of traditional experts and religious authorities tend to remain outside 'virtual space' and other media sources and discussions, and it is primarily young men, often *Mirîds* (laymen), who are creating a new Yezidi religious discourse and participate in the transmission of the flow of knowledge.

EVA ORTHMANN

Notions of kingship in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*

The *Ā'in-i Akbarī* is one of the most important books from the period of the Mughal emperor Akbar. Written by his chief ideologue Abū l-Faḡl 'Allāmī (d. 1602), the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* constitutes the third part of the *Akbarnāma*, the central historiographical work commissioned by the ruler. While the first two volumes describe Akbar's rule in a chronological order, the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* deals with the organization of empire, provides information on the different provinces of India and also describes Indian cosmology, religion, philosophy etc. One chapter of this section deals with notions of kingship and rule. Abū l-Faḡl here describes Indian concepts of good rule and sovereignty. The chapter can both be compared with Indian sources to ask for the texts used by Abū l-Faḡl, as well as with Islamic *adab* literature and mirrors for princes. A third point of comparison is provided by the introductory chapter of the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, in which Abū l-Faḡl describes his own ideal of kingship.

GÜNEL ORUJOVA

About the Public Law of Turkic Lexicon in Medieval Persian Dictionaries

Numerous turkic words have been specified in the medieval period Persian-language dictionaries and a group of them especially draws attention. These words express “governess, servitor, old servant” and actually they are the words concerning the names of people, family members. One of such words is دادو (dadu) adapted to Persian. This word was mainly defined as “old servant, servitor, regulator”. H. Zarinazadeh states that the above mentioned word is used in two ways: “regulator, governess of the Safavid princes” and “maid”. Except the meaning “father” there are other meanings – “master, master ashug” in the semantics of the word “dadu”. At the same time calling master ashugs “dadu” among the people express appointment of an old title: in the family and in the society, as well as in the state. Hence the meanings of wisdom, generosity, giving advice for the “dadu”. apprentice caused it using as anthroponyms. It is possible to assume that the meaning of “servant” defined in the Persian sources was formed later.

Another word expressing “turk servitor” was also determined in the dictionary “Farhang-i Rashidi” compiled in the XVII century: وشاق (vashag). At “Burhan-i Gate” it is stated that this word means the same as اوشاق and refers to poor servicemen, dervishes.

کاکا means “brother”, however it is elucidated as “servitor, governess” in the dictionaries. The word *kaka* stored in the Persian dialects carry different meanings. In the Shiraz dialect the word means “brother” and in Tehran it expresses “thanksgiving, gratitude”. Jamalzadeh states that this word is not only used to justify the meaning of gratitude, nevertheless the word *kaka* can be used in this sense in order to please the other party at certain circumstances. For instance, when someone doubts whether the money is enough for certain work, the 3rd person informed about it says: “of course, enough, he/she will take and will say *kaka* as well, i.e. he/she will be grateful to you” (p. 427). The word *kaka* is repeatedly used in the famous work “Dash Akol” by S. Jamalzadeh.

There appears such a question: “Why do these turkic words (mean the people who serve) virtually become expressions of kinship? Can we call these words euphemism? Above mentioned and other words like this express the second meaning and it is due to public reasons. For example, Parviz Natel Khanlary clarified the reason that the word خادم (khadem) means “servant”, however literally it means “castrated man”. Parviz Natel Khanlar stated: “In ancient times the abominable habit was common - the men serving in the harem were castrated, but the expression of this point was considered insult and humiliation for those people, hence any other

substitute word was used and that word did not contain the proper meaning of the attribute". Thus, to comply with the public law past slaves, servants were called by different names expressing love (kinship).

L. Peysikov specified *ruspi* euphemism used in the Persian language and he stated that in the history of Persian lexicon the word means "immoral woman" (it comes from Persian, *ruspik*, *ruspet*) and it is boomerang euphemism, literally the mentioned word means 'black', i.e. "bad reputation" and is considered to be "dirty", "lost". Instead of *ruspi* archaism *marufe* is used in modern languages (literally: popular) and *nashme* is also used, (so it seems that Arabic *nashe*, *nashme* are a modified form of the word *nashe* (being drunk, enjoying, and so on.); in colloquial the verb *nashmidan* is used, means "to enjoy the pleasure") (p. 125). Thus, we observe that *ruspi* euphemism coincide with *khadem* (literally: slave), *kaka* "servitor" (literally: brother), *dadu* (servant) (literally: sister), *nana* "maid" (literally: a girl), *khaje* (*khaje* -ye harem-the owner of the harem).

The words mentioned can be called euphemism, as well as historicism. Investigating such words in dictionaries can be considered as a source of information about the public relations at that time. Moreover, in terms of watching the development of words contain interesting material.

SHOLEH PAKNEJAD SAHNEH

Dūnādūn and Resurrection in the Belief of Ahl-e Haqq (Yārsān) Based on the Words of Sheikh Amir

Verbal books of Ahl-e Haqq (Yārsān) cult – that are mainly living in the west of Iran and Iraq and that are the followers of one of the most famous characters of this congregation named Sultan Sahak - are among the most important works of this religious group and one of the most prestigious sources of research for the researchers in this field in which are recorded the most important religious beliefs and attitudes as well as religious foundations and pillars specified to Yārsān. One of these famous sources is "The Divan of Poems of Sheikh Amir" living in Mosul, Iraq and Kermanshah, Iran almost four centuries ago in the second half of the eleventh century AH. The version of his Divan used in this article was originally compiled and translated by Seyed Amrollah Shah Ebrahimi – one of the Sadats of Ahl-e Haqq in the city of Sahne-Kermanshah, Iran and the author has copied some parts of the same manuscript. The lyrics of this Divan include 220 clauses and each one of them is named based on a ritual theme. The words of Sheikh Amir include cultural concepts, customs and ethics of succor (Yari), attributes of God, as well as faithful, moral, mystical, and philosophical issues. In this article, we try to study one of the main principles of the beliefs of Ahl-e Haqq people namely "Dūnādūn" based on Sheikh Amir's Divan of Poems. In fact, since it is generally believed that people of Ahl-e Haqq are believers in "Reincarnation" and usually consider it the same as the concept of "Dūnādūn", this article tries to show the difference between this concept and reincarnation with the help of Sheikh Amir's works. From the point of view of Sheikh Amir, evolution or Dūnādūn is the movement of soul in different times and places to achieve perfection and ultimate destination or, according to the people of Ahl-e Haqq, from God to God. In Dūnādūn, the origin and destination and the time of the soul movement are in accordance with divine names, while the soul accepts several bodies according to the doctrine of reincarnation in order to be refined from devils and enter the paradise. A very important point to be dealt with in this article is that, according to the words of Sheikh Amir, when human beings die at any stage, they will be reincarnated at a higher stage, so that by accepting numerous bodies they will be able to perceive all divine names and attributes. The second important point that is clearly referred to in the

words of Sheikh Amir and that we will examine in detail in this article is the firm belief of Ahl-e Haqq in "Resurrection"; the belief that certainly challenges the concept of reincarnation among Ahl-e Haqq believers or, to be more precise, rejects it. Therefore, we are trying to answer this important historical issue that according to one of the authentic texts of Ahl-e Haqq - words of Sheikh Amir- the soul evolution process known as "Dūnādūn" is clearly different from the popular "Reincarnation". All the evidence in this article is taken from "Sheikh Amir's Divan".

MARTINA PALLADINO

Zoroastrian Rituals on Indian Soil: The Sanskrit Yasna in India

This paper discusses the Sanskrit version of the *Yasna* in its historical setting within Indian society. It explores the purpose lying behind the production of a Sanskrit translation, the audiences for which it was produced, and the overall significance of the Sanskrit and Gujarati versions and ritual instructions for our understanding of the *Yasna* ritual on Indian soil.

ABBAS PANAH (MARYAM SHADMOHAMMADI)

The German travel writers' approach to Persia's social and cultural traits in the Qajar era

Photographs and the art of photography, as a form of art for capturing visual events, made inroads into the social, historical and human world rapidly. Since photography is a tool in depicting historical events, 'oral history' utilizes images as an historical document to study history. Nāṣiriddīn Shāh's reign coincided with the introduction of technology into Persia's intellectual and cultural life. His approach to the art of photography was instigated by both his curiosity and his interest in capturing scenery, royal palaces and the courtiers – especially his women in his harem. (Photographers did, however, face some limitations when it came to taking photos of the women in the harem.) With the advent of photography in Persia during the Qajar era, the art quickly gained in popularity, and two craftsmen – Nāṣiriddīn Shāh and Antoin Sevruguin – produced a lot of works in a variety of areas and genres which sometimes resembled each other and sometimes differed widely. Their works of art encapsulate historical layers: delineating the social concepts and meaning inside them can unearth the contemporaneous photographers' approach and their interpretation of photography in terms of the objective or vision underlying their practices. The earlier photographs taken by Nāṣiriddīn Shāh mostly depicted his person, women in the harem, daily affairs of the royal palace and some political figures at the court. Sevruguin also took some photographs which would be secured a permanent place in Iran. Despite being contemporary, they had different approaches to the subjects they captured. Interested in depicting events, the Russian craftsman produced photos of his period, which are of great import today; he is, moreover, to be considered the first photojournalist in Persia, who photographed the events of the Constitutional Revolution after joining the movement.

Given the function of photography, the Persian photographers of the Qajar era fall into three categories: the first one consisted of photographers who worked for the European institutions of, say, science and geography, researching into the cultural and natural differences across various ethnic groups; the second consisted of the indigenous photographers who tried a hands-on experience of the new technological advancements for entertainment, without any

certain objective whatsoever; and the third group is comprised of professional photographers who secured a livelihood by taking photographs. Since the advent of camera in Persia, the subjects revolved around portrait photographique (portraiture), which was a practice copying the European fashion; later decades, however, saw the introduction of the art into the daily life of the people, after it ceased to be the prerogative of the court. As a result, documentary, journalistic and familial photography rapidly gained currency. Social traditions and oldfashioned life-style of the time can be deduced from these photographs. In view of what was said above, the current research aims to look into Nāṣiriddīn Shāh's and Sevruguin's take on photography through categorizing photos into various genres, including daily events, portraiture, architecture, and ceremonies, among others.

The research questions are as follows: Can these photographs be used as historical evidence for rejecting or substantiating a claim? Or, is it possible to study the social elements of the time the photos were captured at? What differences are there in the subjects Nāṣiriddīn Shāh and Sevruguin chose for photography? The main issue in examining a work of art can be the world, subject, the artisan, or the audience; as well, the subject of photography varies according to the photographer, whether the work is to be presented to the general or specialized audience, and the audience's biases rooted in class, race, beliefs and sex. The other hypothesis is that the Shah's social status caused him to choose subjects concerned with the court and the royal palace; Sevruguin, nonetheless, chose variegated subjects, for he was more in contact with all strata of the society. His participation in Persia's social movements has also made him the first photo journalist in Persian history.

In view of the findings about photography in the Qajar era and the nature of these two photographers' work, it may be concluded that capturing the daily affairs, ample examples of which can be found in their works, was one of the most popular genres of photography back then. Nāṣiriddīn Shāh's subjects include but is not limited to the following: many photos of Salam Ceremony in Gulestan Palace (Kākh-i Gulistān), general court ceremonies, the courtiers' party in Gulestan Palace, festivals in Gulestan Palace, wedding ceremony of 'Azīz al-Dawla and Malījāk, and Akhtar al-Dawla – Nāṣiriddīn's daughter; these photos are somehow historical documents and indicative of the social events of the time in which they were embedded, making it possible to categorize them both as news and social documentary. A reason why the Russian photographer's work is interesting for us is that his subjects were the commoners and the social developments at the time of the Constitutional Revolution, when he took photographs of the events and figures of the revolution. These photographs can be considered both as portraiture and social history documentary of an event in which he participated. Architecture and historical monuments are more ubiquitous in Sevruguin's photography than in the Shah's. The difference rises from the Russian photographer's interpretation of the profession – it is based on his sociocultural approach to registering moments of historical documentary, which made him research into the cultural and natural differences across various ethnicities. On the contrary, the Shah – as an indigenous photographer – used the new technology for entertainment without any certain objective in mind. The second period of Nāṣiriddīn's photography practice sees many works containing various ceremonies, parties, military expeditions, horse-racing and his travels – which reflect the social history of the time. An important reason behind the differences between the two is, therefore, their social status.

The method of this research is historical and descriptive-analytical, citing the documents found in this regard.

Natural elements in Zoroastrian tradition and its relation to sasanian Chahar Taqs

Chahar Taqs (generally known as Zoroastrian fire temples), are of the most important building types that have remained from late antiquity in Iran (mostly from the Sasanian era, i.e. 224- 651 CE). Aside from being architecturally important and easily recognizable sites, their locations give us important information about locational preferences of their founders. The landscape setting of these monuments has not been studied comprehensively previously.

According to written sources, we know that in the Sasanian era, when Zoroastrianism became the state religion of the empire, many fire temples were built throughout Persia. While there are few contemporary written documents about particularities of ritual life, traditions (Avesta, Bundahishn and other religious texts) give us a good sense of Zoroastrian values and beliefs. In my contribution, I will use indications from Zoroastrian written tradition to identify specific values and meanings bestowed upon landscape features such as mountains, water, etc. From such a reading, I derive idealized locational attributes for fire temples. I will put these results in relation to field research about the real positions and architecture of Chahar Taqs in the province of Fars in south Iran, to see if any relationship between the ideal image of fire temples and these structures can be found.

AZADEH PASHOOTANIZADEH

Three symbols of Venus/ Nahid goddess: “Koje or Kowže” and “Jāme čehel kelid” and “Zardenjān female dolls”

Belief in evil eye is one of common and old beliefs throughout the world including Asia; although this belief is weakened these days, it can still be observed and found in folk culture. Iranians call bad eyes and evil eyes,” češm-zaxm or češ-zaxm”. In the religious literature of Zoroastrians, the evil eyes is known as “Daš čašm”. “Daš čašm” means the owner of the red eyes. Red eyes, a term used to describe the spirit of evil and the devil and the scarlet red is opposite to the turquoise blue color. The evil eyes are the one who, by looking at something or someone, injures or damages it. There are tools to eliminate the risk and damage. The construction of such equipment was carried out by artists. Qom Turquoise Cowrie or “xarmohre” are known in Isfahan called “Koje or Kowže”. “xarmohre” or “Koje or Kowže” is a tool that removes bad events from humans. Bad eyes cause bad events and the meaning of “Koje or Kowže” is devastating to the foul eyes.

Among other artistic instruments that cancel spells are the “A cup with forty keys” or “Jāme čehel kelid” and the “Zardenjān female doll”. Each of these devices is used in fertility and birth. For example, “Jāme čehel kelid” is used for the first time to baby wash that is similar to Christian baptism. “Jāme čehel kelid” is a brass metal cup in the middle of which there are forty keys around the wrist with five fingers. Sometimes there's a circle sign on the palm of the hand that looks like an open eye or a shining sun. “Jāme čehel kelid” is associated with water and a symbol of birth. Iranians believe the fertility goddess is pouring water on the baby's body. “Zardenjān female dolls” are used for women's fertility and fruitfulness of agricultural products and livestock. This doll has a fictitious and mythical character. Zardenjān people believe in this doll as a fertility goddess. The same assumption is found in the blue tone in “Koje or Kowže”. Its turquoise color is a symbol of water, rain and fertility goddess. The Iranian fertility goddess is Venus/ Nāhid. Iranians believe that the fertility goddess is destroying the effects of the evil

eyes. “Kojeh or Kowže”, “Jāme čehel kelid” and “Zardenjān female dolls” are the symbols of the goddess of Venus/ Nahid.

ELENA PASKALEVA

On the concept of monumentality in Timurid architecture

The architectural legacy of Timurid Samarqand remains largely unstudied. Although most of the constructions in the city have been attributed to Timur (r. 1370-1405), the monumental architecture of Samarqand must have been completed during the reign of his grandson Ulugh Beg (r. 1409-1449). The paper will compare ensembles erected before the end of the fourteenth century with large-scale urbanization projects initiated in the first half of the fifteenth century. I will discuss their scale, plans and tile revetments. The analysis is based on archaeological reports, drawings, photographs and maps by Vasilii L. Viatkin (1869-1932), Boris N. Zasyrkin (1891-1955) and Mikhail E. Masson (1897-1986). According to them, the urban fabric of Samarqand was drastically transformed in the first half of the fifteenth century. The presentation will focus on the artistic qualities of the monuments and will draw parallels with other Timurid ensembles in Shahr-i Sabz and Turkestan. Viatkin, Zasyrkin and Masson worked at the sites and their detailed archaeological reports shed light on the cultural production of Timurid Samarqand in the first half of the 15th century.

BOAZ PAZ

Archaeometric analysis of Iranian Ceramics from the Bumiller Collection

BENEDEK PÉRI

Nahang-āsā dar-āb-i dāda mardān-i balā-parvar/ Nihāda rū bi-sūy-i qulzum-i ‘ashq-at zi sāhil-hā: Imitation ghazals by Sultan Selim I (1512–1520)

The proposed paper presents the interim results of an ongoing project aiming at a new critical edition of Sultan Selim’s Persian divan. During the research project several unknown copies of the divan containing more than 200 hitherto unpublished poems were discovered in various libraries throughout the Middle East.

Sultan Selim’s Persian ghazals are interesting first of all because they were composed in a period when almost all Ottoman poets were trying to flow with the current trends and composed poetry relying on the newly established imperial Ottoman literary tradition. Selim’s decision to write poetry only in Persian might have been part of his political strategy and might have been meant to use as a propaganda tool in the ongoing Ottoman–Safavid propaganda war. Besides its political implications Selim’s Persian poetry is important from a literary point of view as well as an analysis of his poetic replies (*javābs*) can reveal who were the Persian poets whose works Ottoman authors considered part of the canon of ghazal poetry and at the same time it can show how deeply Ottomans were fascinated and influenced by the Timurid literary milieu.

The proposed paper aims at giving an overview of these topics and through select examples it tries to showcase the Sultan's various imitation strategies.

BENEDIKT PESCHL

Yasna 28.11, Yašt 1 and the Warštmānsar Nask: untangling an intertextual network in the Zoroastrian textual tradition

Quotations from the Old Avesta in later Avestan texts have recently been the subject of no less than three articles which were published in the memorial volume for J. Duchesne-Guillemin (Hintze, Tucker, Skjærvø 2013). Against the background of these broader surveys, my talk will focus on how one particular Gāthic verse line (Yasna 28.11c) is taken up in a section of the Young Avestan *Ohrmazd Yašt* (Yašt 1.26). In particular, I propose to investigate the question what the context of Yašt 1.26 may reveal about the interpretation of Yasna 28.11c in YAv. times.

Moreover, I will examine the Middle Persian exegetical tradition which subsequently evolved around both Avestan passages by discussing their respective Pahlavi versions and a reference to the Gāthic passage in the *Warštmānsar Nask*, an ancient commentary on the Gāthās of which a summary is preserved in the 9th book of the Middle Persian *Dēnkard*. In general the *Warštmānsar Nask* clearly follows the progression of the Gāthic text, regularly echoing its Pahlavi version in the form of numerous quotations of variable length. However, at the point where we expect an allusion to the Pahlavi version of Yasna 28.11, the *Warštmānsar Nask* in fact corresponds to the quotation of Yasna 28.11 in the Young Avestan Yašt rather than to the Gāthic text or its Pahlavi version itself.

Building on these observations, I will explore the possibility that Yašt 1.26 could in fact represent a fragment of the lost Young Avestan commentary on Yasna 28 on which the summary in the *Dēnkard* is ultimately based.

LEILA PEYGHAMBARZADEH (SEE: FARID DADKHAH)

ÉRIC PIRART

La métamorphose avestique

La mythologie avestique fait état de métamorphoses, le plus souvent animales, avec lesquelles les dieux feraient étalage de leurs pouvoirs ou de leurs rôles. La traduction linguistique de ces métamorphoses nous révèle l'étymologie du nom pāzand de l'officiant qui, dans les cérémonies sacrificielles, change de fonction, le rāspī.

ELYAS PIRASTEH

State Islam in pre-revolutionary Iran: Religious policy under Mohammad Reza Shah rule (1941-1979)

Modernization and nationalism are both the main characteristics of Pahlavi dynasty (1925-1979) in Iran and like other countries in the Middle East, they encountered with the challenges and consequences of the aforementioned efforts. In Pahlavi's era, while modernization was more accompanied by westernization, nationalism emphasized more on the identity of ancient Iran. Under Mohammad Reza Shah (1941-1979) rule, the state's level of power and relations between the state and clerics went through some changes and they either compromised or opposed one another. Since a religious state came after the Pahlavi dynasty, many scholars focused on religious factors, along with other political and economic factors which led to the Revolution (1979). Nevertheless, in most of these research, religious policies and official Islam under Mohammad Reza Shah's rule have not been studied as an independent subject regardless of its contribution to the revolution. Therefore, the purpose of an ongoing research project funded by the Gerda Henkel Stiftung is to challenge the dominant perception of the Pahlavi state as an anti-religious state. This presentation will outline the religious policies, employed by the state, in order to facilitate the desired religious situation in the country.

ADRIAN PIRTEA

Between Byzantium, Sasanian Iran and the Qur'ān: Greek and Syriac Hagiography in the 7th Century

The last five decades have witnessed an increased scholarly awareness of Christian hagiography as an essential source for reconstructing the religious, social, and political history of Late Antiquity. This interest has not been restricted to Greek and Latin Vitae and their relevance for the history of the Later Roman Empire, but has also led to a better appreciation of the vast potential of East and West Syriac hagiography to illuminate the socio-political history of the Sasanian Empire and of Pre-Islamic Arabia. Building on these fundamental insights, this paper will study the extent to which Greek and Syriac hagiography can also be relevant for understanding the historical and literary context of the Qur'ān. Aside from the historical and geographical information they provide, 6th and 7th century hagiographic sources may shed light on (a) the religious discourses (prophetic, apocalyptic, or otherwise) prevalent in the period – and on the Qur'ānic reaction to them; and (b) on the literary background of the Qur'ānic text. In order to exemplify these aspects, I will present two case studies: first, the Greek and Syriac Lives written during the Byzantine-Sasanian war (602-628) and second, the hagiographic dossier related to the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus which forms the background of Surah 18.

ANJA PISTOR-HATAM

Human Dignity and Shiite Islam in the Islamic Republic of Iran

According to article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." Considering the equality of human rights and human dignity, the declaration expresses a universal claim valid for all human beings, regardless of

their origin, sex, religion or conviction. As the Universal Declaration's entitlement to universal validity has been contested since it was first announced – by Muslim individuals, organisations and states among others –, Muslim and non-Muslim thinkers have long been discussing if its prerogatives are compatible with Islam, i.e. the sharia. Some of them consider the concept of human dignity a chance for a consensus in the human rights debate, hoping that it “might facilitate a critical mediation between the normative requirements of human rights on the one hand and various religious or cultural traditions on the other” (Heiner Bielefeldt).

In my paper I will show that as far as the debate of high ranking religious scholars in the IRI is concerned, an “overlapping consensus” (John Rawls) between the concept of human dignity as stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the idea of human dignity as defined by Shiite scholars in Iran is not achievable. “Dignity” is translated into Persian (and Arabic) as *karāmat*, a qur’anic term implying a sense of honour that is not compatible with the secular understanding of dignity as the essential equality of all human beings. Additionally, Shiite scholars declare dignity to be directly connected to piety, which, again, is considered an individual, personal merit. An even greater deviation from the concept of “dignity” as propagated in the Declaration of Human Rights is the Iranian Shiite scholars’ belief that the inborn, and in this case God-given, dignity can be forfeited if a person does not fulfil his/her religious obligations.

OSKAR PODLASIŃSKI

Parθava > Pahlava. Dating the sound change based on the evidence from Mahābhārata

The paper concerns the possibility of establishing a closer periodic frame for the change *rθ > hl*, one of the characteristics of the shift from Old- to Middle Persian. From the end of Achaemenid empire in 4th century BC and the beginning of Sasanid dynasty in 3rd century AD for more than five hundred years the texts written in any variant Persian or Parthian are very scarce. Ameliorating the understanding of the changes pertaining shift from Old- to Middle Persian can be based on the comparison of data preserved in languages close to the Iranian habitat, e.g. Aramaic, Armenian, Greek, Latin and Sanskrit.

The aim of this paper is to narrow the five century gap between Old Persian form *Parθava* and Middle Persian *Pahlava* by providing a word denoting an Iranian tribe in *Mahābhārata*, which at the time of its composition is attested as *pahlava*. By the means of internal comparison of various fragments of the Sanskrit epic a closer timeframe can be established, which provides an answer to the question: what is the *terminus post quem* for the form *Parθava* to be no longer in use.

DELPHINE POINSOT

Animals of Persia – the bestiary on Sasanian glyptic (224 – 651)

This paper presents the main results of a Ph. D. work lead between 2013 and 2018 at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes – Paris Sciences et Lettres (supervisor Frantz Grenet, Collège de France; tutor Samra Azarnouche EPHE-PSL). This work focused on the bestiary on Sasanian glyptic, two corpora that lead us at the heart of the sasanian culture.

Sasanian glyptic has been studied through fundamental works (R. Gyselen) and studies (N. Ritter) while animals' iconography were essentially interpreted using an analytical grid based

on Zoroastrian orthodoxy (V. G. Lukonin). But those two corpora have never been reunited in a long study forging links between the particular frame of seals and bullae and the animals' iconography.

This long study allowed for maximum datas collection, both iconographic and sigillographic, and an exhaustive comparison with textual and iconographical sources as well as with the archaeozoological datas. That approach offers an updated interpretation of the bestiary on Sasanian glyptic of which we will present the main results. For example, we will show how a systematic identification of species opens the door to some correction and how statistical analyses help us to understand the bestiary's modalities of representation.

This paper proposes to go as close as possible to Iran's civilization in late antiquity by proposing a renewed analysis of the relationship between man and animals showed by the corpus of sasanian glyptic.

FLAVIA POMPEO

The two faces of Old Persian *duruj*:- remarks on the coexistence of the constructions of the verb 'to lie'

This study focuses on two Old Persian constructions of the verbal root *draug-* (Indo-Iranian **d(h)raugh-* '(be)lügen'), which in Old Persian only occurs in the present stem *duruj-*, and is usually translated as 'to lie, to deceive' (cf. Kent 1953: 191; Schmitt 2014: 170, '(be)lügen, trügen'). In the entire Old Persian corpus, only in the Bīsotūn inscription we find 25 occurrences of the verb *duruj-*. Interestingly, despite the relatively small number of occurrences, three different constructions are documented for this verb: a) Nominative (18 occurrences; example 1); b) Nominative- Genitive (2 occurrences; example 2), where the genitive, which in Old Persian is a syncretic case, has a dative function; c) Nominative-Accusative (2 occurrences; examples 3a and 3b).

(1) *haṇ adurujiya avaθā aθanha*

'he lied; thus he said' (Schmitt 1991: DB 4.8);

(2) *haṇ kārahyāgen avaθā adurujiya*

'He lied to the people thus' (Schmitt 1991: DB 3.80);

(3a) *kāramacc avaθā adurujiya*

'To the people thus he lied' (Schmitt 1991: DB 1.78),

cf. Kent (1953: 120), 'thus he deceived the people';

(3b) *taya imaj kāramacc adurujiyaša*

'because these (men) lied to the people' (Schmitt 1991: DB 4.34-35),

cf. Kent (1953: 131), 'so that these (men) deceive the people'.

Both the genitive(dative) and the accusative express the entity to whom one lies or who is deceived. The three remaining occurrences are forms of the participle in *-ta-* (example 4), which are not strictly relevant for the purposes of the present study.

(4) *naṣim ima vṛnavātaṣ, duruxtam maniyātaṣ*

'(and) this should not convince him, (but) he regard it as false' (Schmitt 1991: DB 4.49-50).

Thus, from a semantic perspective, we can initially classify the verb *duruj-* as a verb of communication or, more generally, of 'interaction' (see Blume 1998) that usually involves two animate entities and is characterized by a low degree of semantic transitivity.

While the absolute use of the verb *draug-* has not attracted the attention of scholars, the coexistence of the construction with the accusative and with the genitive(dative) has been of greater interest, even though a convincing explanation for this data has not yet been provided. Indeed, the various scholars who have considered this issue have either limited themselves to

labelling the different constructions as ‘transitive’ or ‘intransitive’, without giving a detailed account for the phenomenon, or interpreted this alternation as a case of stylistic variation, without considering either the morphosyntactic level proper, or the semantic one, whether in synchrony or diachrony. This latter reading has been mainly based on information provided by the Elamite and Babylonian versions.

The aim of this paper is to propose that the alternation between Nominative-Genitive(Dative) and Nominative-Accusative constructions is not a mere stylistic variation, but has a valid linguistic basis, and that the two expressions need to be considered as two different argument structure patterns. Various elements seem to lead to this interpretation, although the scarcity of Old Persian documentation in this case does not allow us to formulate a robust hypothesis – or even posit that there is just one plausible hypothesis. Nonetheless, it seems quite reasonable to start from the assumption that the verb semantics and the low degree of transitivity may have played a role in the production of the alternation between the genitive(dative) and the accusative as second argument. This has often been recognised, both at a synchronic and a diachronic level, by typological studies and research on transitivity (see, among others, Tsunoda 1981 and 1985; Næss 2007).

Interestingly, on the genealogical side, comparable constructions in Young Avestan and Vedic evidence a second argument encoded by the accusative (example 5) and the dative (example 6) respectively, suggesting the possibility that the alternation of genitive(dative) and accusative for this verb developed in the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European languages, but was preserved only in Old Persian.

(5) *yōi [pauruua] miθrāmac [družinti]* (Yt. 10.45)

‘who [betrayed] Miθra [before]’ (cf. Skjærvø 2009: 127);

(6) *tābhyah sā nīr rcchād, yāh ||I||*

nah prathamò ’nyò ’nyāsmāi dat drūhyāt (TS 6.2.2.1-2)

‘He who first among us will be deceitful to another will suffer loss of these [bodies]’ (cf. Kulikov 2012: 565).

Finally, from an internal diachronic perspective, the various Middle Persian developments from the Old Persian *draug-* are classified as transitive or intransitive.

STEPHAN BERNHARD POPP

The development of rhetoric strategies in Mughal epistolography

While chronicles and material arts from the Mughal Empire have been given much coverage in research already, the vast corpus of letters still needs more attention to offer us insights into Mughal society. Authors examining them still complain about their ‘florid’ nature, but the question why their style looks convoluted to us has not been posed. Except for Abul Fażl’s new revolutionary style, not much has been written on its development either.

This lecture will clarify the development of letter styles, with ‘style’ defined as the use of vocabulary, imagery, semantic structure, topic-comment-progression, traditional stylistic devices, and recognizable rhetoric innovations. It will show how letters display the requirements of official and private letters and the changing tradition that the letters are part of on the one hand, and the writer’s character (*tab* ‘) on the other hand that letters had to display. We will therefore see how an individual interacts with society from late Timurid to Aurangzeb’s times, and the changes that occur.

Commentaries on the Metaphysics of Avicenna's *Shifā'*: From Ghiyāth al-Dīn Dashtakī to Mīr Dāmād

Safavid philosophers showed significant interest in two major philosophical works of Avicenna, namely *al-Shifā'* (*The Cure*) and *al-Ishārāt wa-ltanbīhāt* (*Pointer and Reminders*). Writing commentaries on Avicenna's *Ishārāt* was already an established tradition, which had developed since the 12th century. Avicenna's *Shifā'*, however, was not a philosophical text, commonly used for exegetical practice. A new exegetical approach to the text emerged sometime in the last decades of the 15th century and continued throughout the Safavid period. Whereas in the early Safavid period, studies of the Metaphysics of Avicenna's *Shifā'* were selective and question oriented, in the later period we witness more comprehensive and systematic studies of this work. This paper addresses Avicennan studies in the 16th century Iran. It deals, in particular, with the studies of *al-Shifā'* in this period. Those Safavid philosophers who played a role in the promotion of Avicennan philosophy and particularly *al-Shifā'* will be introduced. The commentaries of the Metaphysics of the *al-Shifā'* by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Dashtakī (d. 949/1542), Mīrzā Jān Bāghnawī (d. 995/1587), Rafī' al-Dīn Hamadānī (d. 1026/1616), and Mīr Dāmād (d. 1041/1631) will be discussed. Moreover, the paper deals with those subjects, which the Safavid scholars found Avicenna's elaboration in his *al-Shifā'* crucial in understanding his metaphysics as a whole.

PARVANEH POURSHARIATI

THE PARTHIAN EPIC OF SAMAK-E 'AYYAR: THE LITERARY HOLY GRAIL OF MITHRAIC STUDIES EAST AND WEST

During the past century, studies of Roman Mithraism have proceeded apace and have engendered one of the most fascinating and enigmatic fields of enquiry. A host of erudite colleagues have produced a rather substantial body of literature, in an attempt at explicating the possible contours of the Roman "mystery" religion of Mithras, the Mithraic associations, and their purported origins. To date, however, the dearth of any substantive Mithraic literature has rather debilitated the field of Roman Mithraism. As Professor Hinnells has put it, one of the major dilemmas of the field is the "acute problem" of having "...no extant literature from within the cult to interpret the art..." [Hinnells, 1975, 1994. Emphasis added.] The present paper argues that in their various efforts to explain the Tauroctony and Roman Mithraic Associations, scholars of Roman Mithraism as well as those of Iranian Mithra and Mihr worship, have in fact missed what might be the Holy literary grail for understanding not only the Roman Mithraic "mysteries," and brotherhoods, but also the Iranian Mithraic brotherhoods (and sisterhoods), in this case of the "'ayyārs." This literary grail is the little-known, multi-volume, epic-size, originally probably mythic, Persian "romance," of Samak-e 'Ayyār, composed, as the text itself maintains, during the Parthian period (247 BC – 228 CE), and finally recorded during the Seljuk period (1037-circa 1200). Searching for material evidence of Tauroctony in Iran while ignoring Iranian literary and cultural traditions, has been an unfortunate legacy of nineteenth century positivism in Mithraic studies of the West. In the present paper, I will argue against this school of positivism, and shall set forth the theory that the epic of Samak portrays, graphically, not only the Mithraic "brotherhoods" and "sisterhoods" of Mihr worship in Iran, their rituals,

initiation rites, praxis and hierarchy, but also, and perhaps even more significantly, those of Roman Mithraism.

PRANAV PRAKASH.

Weaving Indian Tales in Persian Genres: The *Gardens of Fondness* of Akhsitān Dihlavī

The *Basātīn al-Uns* (*Gardens of Fondness*, 1325-26) is the sole surviving literary work of an erudite courtier, diplomat and secretary named Akhsitān Dihlavī (1301-1351) who spent all of his adult life in the service of Sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq (1320-1324) and his son Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh (r. 1324-1351). This book was conceived when Akhsitān Dihlavī accompanied Sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq on the latter's military expedition to Sunargoan, Lakhauti and Tirhut in east India. On their return journey, he had fallen sick due to the extreme heat of Tirhut. While he was convalescing under the watchful eyes of the famed physician Muḥammad Khujandī, his friends narrated several Sanskrit love stories for his amusement. Although he was moved by the plot of their stories, he was quite disappointed by the literary style of their Persian translation and narration. Consequently, he decided to recast these romances in an elegant and charming style in his *Gardens of Fondness*. Alongside the fictional tales of kings and queens from Kalyan, Sarandīp (Ceylon), Ujjain, Kashmir, Kannauj and China, Akhsitān Dihlavī narrates the political events and military campaigns of his Tughluq patrons and delineates the social and cultural conditions prevailing in early modern India. The *Gardens of Fondness* thus exemplifies one of the earliest efforts by an Indian writer to interweave history (*tārīkh*), autobiography (*zindagīnāma*), eulogy (*qasida*) and fiction (*qiṣṣa*) in a prose genre (*nasr*). Against this backdrop, my paper reexamines the fictional stories of the *Gardens of Fondness* in order to elucidate how Akhsitān Dihlavī connected with Indic literary traditions and South Asian folklore and how he re-envisioned the nature and scope of Persian genres. It will subsequently reflect on the modalities of literary translation and cultural exchange that underscored the emergence of Persian prose writing in South Asia.

NILS PURWINS

Social Climbers in Ērānšahr and how Ardāšīr I. invented the gloriosi of Justinian I.

This lecture is about the detailed Iranian aristocratic rank system of the society of Ērānšahr (Sasanian Empire 3rd-7th century) reconstructed by primary evidence and various literary traditions. The Iranian rank system is compared with the nobility of the senatorial aristocracy of the Imperium Romanum (Eastern Roman Empire 3rd-7th century). It furthermore aims to evaluate the impact of that rank systems on the Center-Border-People (Syriac, Arab, Armenian and Georgian communities).

GABRIELE PUSCHNIGG

Revisiting the ‘Partho-Sasanian’ dilemma: first evidence from a new project in Sirvan

Transitional periods of the past tend to pose a challenge to archaeologists, specifically as they seek to determine, whether their observations or data still belong to an outgoing era or pertain already to a new regime. Parts of the problem relate to the conflicting parameters of political histories and the material world explored in archaeology. Changes in these two spheres occur at various rates and follow a different rationale, yet both are interwoven through their implications. Another issue concerns the very perception of transformations, of how we define the point of departure or the final ‘canonical’ product at the end of this process.

A new project undertaken by the Austrian Academy of Sciences in collaboration with the Iranian RICHT explores these questions in a diachronic study of the micro-region Sirvan, a river landscape in the central Zagros area. Drawing on the preliminary findings of the first seasons, this paper will examine how we can approach the dilemma of the transitional phase between the Parthian and Sasanian period in archaeology using multidisciplinary methodology.

URSZULA PYTKOWSKA-JAKIMCZYK

Does the Great Bear Roar or... Murmur? How the Iranian Secret Services During the Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Reign Viewed Soviet Communist Propaganda.

To say that in 20th century Soviet Russia tried to gain significance in Iran is to say nothing. Their constant aim at influencing diverse Iranian groups, from illiterate workers to intelligentsia circles was weariless. Soviets never refrained from shedding an inspiration over anyone, since everyone could be of use. We can trace direct Soviet activities among the clandestine revolutionary groups, as well as political and literary circles. The precisely designed chain of influence consisted of secret service and subversive activities, official cultural institutions as soft power actions and last but not least the regular propaganda.

This research focuses on the last one, but not from the Russian perspective but the Iranian one. It tries to answer a question how Iranian secret services perceived Soviet propaganda activities. Which actions were considered a propaganda? What kind of Soviet activities raised Iranian secret services’ anxiety? What was considered as a threat to national security of the Iranian Empire and finally what kind of actions were undertaken in order to diminish communist propaganda?

The research mostly draws upon counterintelligence sources published by the Iranian Centre of the Historical Documents (Markaz-e barresi-ye asnad-e tarikhi).

ENRICO RAFFAELLI

Cosmology and Sacred Numbers in the Avestan Yašt 19

Yašt 19 (commonly titled *Zamyad Yašt*) is an Avestan hymn that is peculiarly divided into two sections of distinct subject: they contain, respectively, a list of the first mountains that rose from the earth at the beginning of history, and a review of the history of humanity from its origin to the end of time. This presentation proposes some considerations on the possible chronology of

the *Zamyad Yašt*, and analyzes its contents. It focuses in particular on the numerical patterns found in the text, and highlights how these strengthen its structural and thematic consistency. The presentation analyzes more in depth the patterns encountered in the more extensive section of the hymn, the second one. It highlights how the number three (or its multiples), and the number seven, underlie the structure of this part of the text, and recur in various passages of it. After analyzing the levels of significance of the numbers three and seven in the Zoroastrian tradition, the presentation investigates whether their recurrence in *Yašt* 19 might have had a specific significance in the context of this text's narration of cosmic history. Finally, based on the contents of the hymn, the presentation investigates which ritual function this text might have had when, in pre-Islamic times, it was intercalated in the Zoroastrian "long liturgy."

POUPAK RAFII NEJAD

Projets Institutionnels et « Initiatives Populaires » d'études iraniennes en Humanités numériques (Digital Humanities)

À travers plusieurs exemples représentatifs des projets de recherche numériques institutionnels et initiatives populaires numériques, j'essaierai de mettre en relief la spécificité et la complémentarité de ces deux types de ressources électroniques, d'objets de recherche et d'étude, développés pour être accessibles en ligne. La présentation s'intéresse aux domaines d'études sur le monde iranien.

Les projets institutionnels offrent une validation scientifique, et un cadre normalisé (en édition, documentation, données, métadonnées, etc.). Mais parfois l'« impact » de ces projets très érudits, semble rester plus ou moins flou, en dehors de la communauté scientifique. Les « initiatives populaires » emploient souvent les médias et les outils accessibles au grand public pour mettre en place des groupes d'intérêt. Certaines de ces initiatives deviennent des vrais outils pour la recherche et l'enseignement. Elles rejoignent, par la base, la pyramide de recherche et de l'érudition.

Des projets institutionnels (Archivage, publication, production et analyse des données) évoluent vers le tout numérique. En plus des opérations de sauvegarde et d'archivage des sources et données existantes, les projets de recherche sont de plus en plus conçus avec un volet en « DH ». La diffusion, la publication et la valorisation de la recherche et de ses résultats n'sont pas concevable sans le numérique. En quelques exemples (de projets sur le monde iranien) j'essaierai de mettre en avant la spécificité de ce type de projets. L'exigence du respect des normes FAIR (accessible, pérenne, interopérable, réutilisable) en devient l'élément principal. Par ailleurs le numérique offre aux « Initiatives populaires » la possibilité d'atteindre un niveau de performance technique et structurel. L'utilisation des médias et réseaux sociaux par le grand nombre, permet à certaines initiatives (canaux, applications ou sites), hors cadre institutionnel, de gagner une popularité tout en répondant à quelques exigences de l'érudition. La capacité de mettre en place un espace d'échange, ouvre la voie pour la prise en compte de ces « initiatives populaires » sous d'autres aspects. Orientés par centre d'intérêt, la particularité de ces « objets numériques » est dans un premier temps leurs utilités. Ceci introduit souvent une dimension participative à ce type d'initiative. Et dans certains cas, par la qualité du produit, il faut mettre l'accent sur cet aspect participatif (collaboratif) dans une perspective d'éducation, d'érudition et de validation scientifique.

LEILA RAHIMI BAHMANY

Narrative Fiction in Azeri Turkish in Iran

Azeri Turkish of Iran has often been regarded as an oral language and its literature mainly poesy. The present paper will address the works of narrative fiction published in Azeri in Perso-Arabic script beginning in the second half of the Twentieth Century. The early works of Azeri fiction draw heavily on folkloric material and 'Āshiq tradition to compose their stories. It seems that these authors, who could probably write with more ease and dexterity in Persian and for a wider audience, chose to write in Azeri with a mission to keep the transmission of folklore, though through a modern medium, in operation. It was also used to promote the pan-Turkist ideas which had already emerged about seven decades earlier in the 1880s.

Though the publication of Azeri prose fiction came to a complete halt during the Iran-Iraq war. It started with a new life after the war. This time the authors did not limit their works to the transmission of local folklores or the ideas of Turkish identity and brotherhood. Their works reveal that they have managed to come out of those limiting confines. More and more these works not only deal with other various personal, local and historical aspects but also relate to a wider audience by appealing to more universal issues. The study will focus on some of these shifts which have taken place in literary concerns.

DARIUSH RAHMANIAN

مفهوم زوال و انحطاط در شاهنامه فردوسی

مقاله حاضر به بررسی مفهوم زوال و انحطاط در شاهنامه فردوسی میپردازد. پرسش کانونی نوشته حاضر این است: درباره علل و عوامل زوال و انحطاط عمومی جامعه و به ویژه علل و عوامل فروافتادن حکومتها در شاهنامه فردوسی چه دیدگاهی مطرح شده و آشخورهای آن کدامند؟ این مقاله ضمن پاسخگویی به این پرسش؛ تأثیرات دیدگاههای مندرج در شاهنامه را نیز در سنت زوالشناسی قدیم ایران مورد بحث قرار خواهد داد. در این باره نمونههایی از متون و منابع ادب و اندیشه ایران در سدههای پس از فردوسی نقل خواهد شد. یافته یا مدعای این پژوهش به طور خلاصه این است که دیدگاههای - مندرج در شاهنامه درباره زوال و انحطاط عمدتاً ریشه در فرهنگ و اندیشه دینی ایران باستان دارند. برای نمونه تأثیرات هزارهباوری به روشنی در شاهنامه قابل ردیابیست. چنان که توجه و تأکید بر نقش علل و عوامل سیاسی (خودکامگی و ستم و بیداد) و شرایط اخلاقی و فرهنگی (شیوع و رواج دروغ و خرافه و...) نیز پیش و بیش از این که تأثیرات باورها و آموزههای اسلامی را نشان دهند، حاکی از تأثیر بنیادین فرهنگ و باورهای کهن ایرانی در ذهن و زبان حکیم توس هستند.

OLIVIA RAMBLE

Kerdir's bun-xānag and funding foundations in Sasanian Iran

The exact meaning of the problematic expression bun-xānag, appearing once in each of Kerdir's inscriptions at Naqš-e Rostam (KKZ, 3; KNRm, 7), has been a matter of debate since W. Henning's first discussion of the compound in his introduction to the photographic edition of Šāpur I's monumental ŠKZ (Henning 1957). His literal interpretation of the term as 'foundation-house', which he understood as referring to the physical building on which Kerdir's inscription is engraved (the Ka'ba-ye Zardušt), was called into question namely by M. Shaki,

who showed that in the context of the specialised expression *pad wāspuhragān pāymār*, the phrase *bun-xānag* takes on the meaning of ‘property’ or ‘capital’ (Shaki 1974). More recently N. Sims-Williams and Ph. Huyse confirmed this interpretation by comparing *bun-xānag* to the Bactrian legal term *bono kadgo*, “estate” (Sims-Williams 1997, Huyse 1998).

The aim of this presentation is twofold. First, S. Azarnouche’s seminar at the EPHE on the Bundahišn (Azarnouche, *Religions du monde iranien ancien*, 2017-2018) was the opportunity to note two previously overlooked occurrences of the phrase (*bun-xān* and *bun-kadag*, respectively GBd. 21a, 1 and 21b, 4), in addition to GBd. 25, 11 and 16, that have already been pointed out (Humbach 1974 and Huyse 1998). I would also like to consider another piece of evidence for the use of the term *xānag* as (financial) property in a Middle Persian private inscription: on his Bišāpur votive ensemble dedicated to Šāpur I, Apsāy the scribe specifies that it was built *az xwēš xānag*, an expression which could be contrasted for instance with Mihr Narseh’s *az xīr ī xwēš* in a more private *pad ruwān* foundation at Firuzābād.

This paper will be an opportunity to think more generally about the funding of public and private foundations in Sasanian Iran (the complex financial mechanism of *pad ruwān* foundations is detailed in the *Mātiḡān ī hazār datistān*) and consider KKZ in the context of Šāpur I’s *pad ruwān* foundation at Naqš-e Rostam.

ZAHRA RAMEZANI

To investigate the Thematic Structure in advisable texts in Middle Persian, based on Halliday’s Functional approach

This study aims to investigate the Thematic structure of the same sensed texts in Middle Persian, based on Textual Meta Function of Halliday’s Functional approach; therefore, this leads to distinguishing the different features of these texts and then better understanding, interpreting and categorizing of ideas. According to this information, it could be possible to analyze the sorting of the message and the possible changes in conveying meaning in Language process to Farsi. This opens a way for cognitive studies. Halliday and Mathiessen (2014) claim that language is a social phenomenon. In this approach, the basic unit to understand meaning is “clause”, which is examined in three meta-functions. In addition, they introduce Logical metafunction which examines the relations between clauses. These meta-functions are:

Experiential meta-function, Interpersonal meta-function Textual meta-function.

In Textual meta-function, which is the basis of this research, we are trying to see how speakers construct their messages in a way that makes them fit smoothly into the unfolding language event and elements are important within the text. On this basis, there are Theme and Rheme which together represent Theme-Rheme system. The Theme is the element that serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that which locates and orients the clause within its context. The speaker chooses the Theme as his or her point of departure to guide the addressee in developing an interpretation of the message; by making part of the message prominent as Theme, the speaker enables the addressee to process the message (Halliday-Mathiessen, 2014:88). As a general guide the Theme of a clause is the first group or phrase that has some function in the experiential structure of the clause i.e. that functions as a participant, a circumstance or the process. Theme is divided into two groups:

Simple Theme, Multiple Theme.

Themes follow the unmarked structure of sentences, whenever the elements are moved within a sentence the theme is marked. Therefore, we have two kinds of theme in this regard:

Marked theme, Unmarked theme.

So far, various studies have been done on this Meta function. Most of them focused on second language teaching, translation studies and the use of theme in discourse.

In order to do this study, two texts of *dinkard šašom* and *pōryōtkēšān*, both with advisable sense, were chosen. *Dinkard šašom* is the greatest advisable texts in Middle Persian and worthy to mention that there is some doubt that probably *dinkard šašom* is translation from *Avēstā*. *Pōryōtkēšān* is one of the most important advisable texts in Middle Persian and belongs to this period.

The results suggest that the highest percentage of occurrence in both texts belongs to Multiple and Unmarked themes, and then with the pattern of “Conjunction + Topical theme” (60.83% and 56.08% in *dinkard šašom* and *pōryōtkēšān* respectively). Among various textual (conjunction) themes, “ud” has the highest occurrence. Furthermore; this indicates that there is no difference in the initial elements of *dinkard šašom* with the other one; hence the doubt of being translated couldn’t impair the quality of data. According to this information, it could be claimed that in that period (middle Persian) these types of themes were used in advisable sense texts. However, great difference exists between two. In *dinkard šašom* the occurrence of modal adjunct was prominent (39.16%) but it was very low in *pōryōtkēšān* (6.081%). Modal adjunct shows the personal opinions. Therefore it could be considered in interpreting the contents. Moreover; this finding opens a window to understand the way of thinking. Marked Themes in *dinkard*, which happened almost at the beginning of the text, often dealt with fundamental concepts. It could be claimed that it is the style of writing to persuade the reader to follow the text. Nevertheless; this style doesn’t happen in *pōryōtkēšān*. Something worthy to mention is that these marked themes are marked in other advisable texts too, for example in *pōryōtkēšān*, with exactly same format. Another striking point, most themes in *dinkard* are discrete themes, i.e. some part of the themes sit at the beginning, then other elements of the sentence, and at the end, the rest of the theme. However this layout doesn’t exist in *pōryōtkēšān*.

This information could open the way to know the texts and ideas behind them more precise, which this lead to investigation of language change. In addition, it could be possible to investigate various styles for conveying meaning and ideas.

SIYAVUSH RANDJBAR DAEMI

An Invested Observer: The Tudeh Party of Iran and the White Revolution

This paper will provide an overview of the Tudeh Party of Iran’s reaction to the White Revolution and the sequence of events leading to the exile of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in 1964. Based on a variety of hitherto unused primary sources, including the party organs *Mardom* and *Donya* and transcripts of Radio Peyk-e Iran broadcasts, the paper will deliver a more detailed and accurate portrayal of the Tudeh’s response to the Shah’s major reform initiative and clarify the party’s initial reaction to the rise to prominence of Khomeini. It will also assess the extent to which the Tudeh participated in, and approved of, the 15 Khordad (June 1963) uprising against the Shah.

The paper will detail how the Party the Tudeh Party cautiously analysed the tenets of the White Revolution, including land reform from its headquarters in East Berlin and Leipzig, prior to noting how changed exigencies following the 1979 Revolution compelled the new Tudeh leadership to engage in selective manipulation of its own record in this regard.

Study of the Innovative painters in the history of Iranian paintings from 1450 to 1950

Investigation of the developmental trend between 1450-1950, reveals two important aspects .

1. Paintings developed in alignment with the evolution of Iranian style mainly addressing technique and subject. Examples include the paintings performed by Kamal al-Din Behzad, Sultan Mohammad, Reza Abbasi, Mo'en Mosavver.

2. Paintings developed in opposition with the evolution of Iranian style which mainly addressing innovation in work. Examples include the paintings performed by Ghiasedin Mohammad (cubism and expressionism) and Hossein Behzad (social realism).

Aside from presenting the evolutionary trend of Iranian painting, this study is an attempt to evaluate the works of innovative artists from three perspectives:

A. Their Innovative and thematic or characteristics

B. The reciprocal influence between aforementioned innovative painters and their Iranian counterparts.

C. The reciprocal influence between aforementioned innovative painters and their counterparts from other nations

Finally, it is expected to predict that the newly made communications among the painters of various cultures and countries within the mentioned time span have yielded the emergence of innovative insights in artists.

The meaningful difference in raw material utilization between two paleolithic sites of central Iranian plateau

Paleolithic sites of Mirak and Delazian are located on the northern edge of Iran's central desert and in the south of the Alborz Mountains, where they are located on the path of the identified corridor of the late Pleistocene and the early Holocene. The middle Paleolithic site of Mirak, with a total area of 40 hectares, is located 5 km south of modern Semnan city, and the late Paleolithic open site of Delazian is located 2 km south of this city. The length and width of site are 670 and 460 meters, respectively. Due to the 3 km distance between the two sites, there was almost an analogous habitat for the inhabitants of them during the middle and late Paleolithic periods, and this research seeks to indicate whether there is a difference in the utilization of this environment in two areas, and if so, what does it mean? A total of 923 pieces of lithic were studied from these two sites, which were obtained from the 2010 survey. The most accessible raw materials in the area were tuff, volcanic and different types of the Chert stone that were most commonly used in the lithic industries of these two sites. The results of this study indicated that despite the common environment, we see a significant difference in the utilization of the environment in these two sites, which is more significant if we accept, there were Neanderthals in the Mirak, and Homo sapiens in Delazian. It can be said that the variety of raw material used in these two sites has been affected by various factors. More accessible raw materials and the distance from the site are the main factors, but there are also other factors. The type of lithic, their technology, and their dimensions had played important roles in choosing the type of rock by the residents of these sites. In addition, the movement radius of these communities and their ability to exploit the environment are another major factors contributing to this difference.

CHRISTIANE RECK

The Cataloguing of the Persian manuscripts in Germany: Presentation of the database: “KOHD digital”

The Cataloguing of the Persian manuscripts in Germany can be divided into three stages. The basic work was done by Wilhelm Pertsch at the end of the 19th century. A next step took place at the beginning of the project “Union Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts in Germany” (Katalogisierung der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland = KOHD), financed at that time by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft = DFG) with the publication of several catalogues mainly in its series “Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland” in the sixties and seventies of the 20th century. Now a further move took place with the acquisition of the remaining Persian manuscripts into the newly founded database “KOHD digital”. It is the task of the workgroup “Persian manuscripts” affiliated on Marburg, Philipps-Universität, Centrum für Nah- und Mittelost-Studien (CNMS). This database will be on-line in January 2019 and shall be presented at this conference.

CÉLINE REDARD

The *Srōš Drōn* and its ritual performance

Chapters 3–8 of the Yasna constitute what is called *Srōš Drōn* “Bread for Sraōša” in the Zoroastrian tradition. They have a climax in Y8.4 when the priest partakes of the bread. In this paper I propose to examine the ritual directions in Middle Persian and in Gujarati which accompany the Avestan recitation text of this passage. Hereby I will focus on the following questions: What differences do we find in the Indian and Iranian traditions? How can we edit these ritual directions? Finally, I will compare the written tradition found in the manuscripts with the living tradition by using data from the film of the performance of a Yasna ritual made in Mumbai in 2017 by the Multimedia Yasna project.

ANNELISE REID

The Asylum File: Entanglements between religious conversion, Asylum and civic integration among Persian speaking refugees in the Netherlands.

The Asylum File: Entanglements between religious conversion and Asylum among Persian speaking refugees in the Netherlands.

This paper the *Asylum file* as an entry point for understanding present day entanglements between conversion to Christianity, asylum and integration among Persian refugees in the Netherlands. This current asylum trend, while an ongoing source of anxiety and public debate in the Netherlands, can only be properly understood by linking the specificity of the asylum file with larger processes in time and space such as revolutions, political movements, technological innovation, international sanctions and dreams and desires that are fed by and feed into a larger diasporic community. Based on long term fieldwork throughout the Netherlands (and to a lesser extent Iran), I aim to show how larger socio-historical processes resonate and come to *matter* within the present day asylum files of Persian speaking refugees in the Netherlands. This

matteing processes is of course a two way street. Asylum files in turn shape the very ideas and practices they are supposed to represent and resist any clear distinction or boundedness between the religious, legal and political domains.

MARINA L. REISNER

The Story of Joseph/Yūsuf from the Holy Scripture to Love Romance: How is the narrative formed?

The paper discusses the main stages in the formation of the literary narrative about the figure of Joseph/Yūsuf in Jewish and Islamic traditions. The Jewish rabbinical commentary tradition, mainly the *Haggada*, was the first step in transforming the biblical story of Joseph, by enriching it with additional episodes and details, such as the Egyptian women cutting their hands at Joseph's appearance or the words said by a witness in Joseph's trial at his Egyptian master's house. The Qur'anic version of the Joseph story in sura 12 (*sūrat Yūsuf*) can be characterised as a second stage of transformation. It noticeably differs from other narrative sections devoted to such prophets as Dāvud, Sulaymān, Mūsā and 'Īsā, in that it provides a complete story and not a collection of independent parables. *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā* works can be considered the third stage of the transformation of the Joseph story in the Islamic domain. Thus, the chapter on Yūsuf in Ishāq Naysābūrī's famous collection (ca. 6th/12th c.) possesses important features of novelistic narrative. Finally, the story of Joseph enters romantic poems: Jāmī in his *Yūsuf-u Zulaykhā* uses plot details borrowed from the *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā* genre on the one hand, and canonic images and topoi of love *mathnavī* on the other, creating a brilliant legend compared with *Khusrau-va Shīrīn* by Nizāmī.

GOLBARG REKABTALAEI

Reel Tehran: The Urban in Pre-Revolutionary Popular Cinema

This paper first aims to re-read popular films, commonly known as "Film-Farsi," from the 1940s to 1960s, to demonstrate how representations of the city in film worked as a form of urban criticism in the pre-revolutionary era. After World War II, following a decade-long hiatus in filmmaking, the urban became a focal point for many films of Iranian popular cinema that emerged during this period. Contrary to the conventional argument that popular cinema was solely a form of "escapist" entertainment, a close examination of films from this era reveals a dark satirical social commentary on the urban. Far from the ideal image of the city that the Pahlavi dynasty attempted to portray, these films evoked an image of a city that was in crisis. Starting in the early-1950s, in the post-Mossadegh era, popular films increasingly came to use the city as a backdrop to a rapidly changing society in which Persian moral traditions were disappearing. Films painted a dystopic image of the urban that served to critique speedy modernisation and that summoned an obscure imagination of what the future could hold. Streets of Tehran were depicted as riddled with pickpockets, poverty, adultery, and crimes, and seduced with capitalist ambitions and consumption. Tehran's overpopulation, lack of sufficient facilities, and traffic, were linked to housing crises, mental disorders, and health hazards. Such dark representations of Tehran arguably worked to alert the audience to the dystopic future that could come. Salvation, in these films, was possible through a return to values that defined "Iranianness." The naiveté of the peasantry and gallantry of reputable lūfīs (chivalrous gallants)

who embodied traditional Persian values and practices, were depicted as an antithesis, or a panacea, to dystopic urbanism and the social prototypes that it entailed.

KHODADAD REZAKHANI

The Hinterland of Ctesiphon: Land Settlement and Development in Central Mesopotamia in the Late Sasanian Period

Following their defeat at the hands of the Hephthalites in 484 and the loss of a large portion of their eastern territories, the attention of the Sasanian emperors shifted to the west. This is evident not just because of increased conflicts with Byzantium, but also through intensive settlement activities and investments in Khuzistan and Mesopotamia/Asōrestān. This includes new foundations in the capital complex of Ctesiphon/Mahoza and the re-settlement of the population forcefully removed from Byzantine Syria, presumably to fill a labour shortage gap (Morony 2004). While archaeological records still are lacking for Ctesiphon itself, we have better information for the situation in its hinterland and the region extending toward the Iranian plateau. This paper, relying on archaeological, textual, and numismatic evidence, will study the hinterland of Ctesiphon in the sixth-eighth centuries. It will discuss royal foundations like the famous Dastkirt of Khosrow, as well as agricultural foundations in the area of lower Zab River. It will argue that the increased settlement activities in this region is directly related to the shift of Sasanian imperial strategy from its eastern borders to the west and the need to extract more taxes from the region of Asōrestān.

KIANOOSH REZANIA

Zoroastrian Middle Persian Literature: On the Necessity of a Corpus Linguistic Approach

Zoroastrian Middle Persian texts have been produced over a period of time longer than seven centuries. Two historical layers are easily differentiated in this corpus: The Zand literature, translations and commentaries on Avestan texts, supposedly derives from the end of the Sasanian era. The Zoroastrian theological works, which account for more than the half of the whole corpus, have been authored in the early Islamic period, in the ninth and tenth centuries. This younger layer includes philosophical and theological concepts and ideas which are of great importance for the history of Zoroastrian thought and the broader history of thought in the transfer from the Sasanian to the Islamic period. Scholars hold two positions on dating the theological and philosophical concepts and ideas presented in the Pahlavi books of the early Islamic period: They either assume that such concepts generally date back to the Sasanian period, or they presume that the concepts are as young as the containing texts. To go one step beyond these two extreme positions, we must stop thinking of the Pahlavi literature from the early Islamic period as a monolithic construct. Thus we need instruments to investigate these texts as a layered structure. Middle Persian Studies must answer the question how these layers are historically connected to the older Zand literature. This paper presents how corpus linguistics can provide adequate methods for such an investigation. Morphological, syntactical and semantical tagging supply satisfactory linguistic criteria to recognize linguistic patterns in the corpus texts. Such patterns can subsequently be used to recognize different historical layers in the Pahlavi books of the early Islamic period.

CHIARA RIMINUCCI-HEINE

Die persischen Rivāyāt und ihre Rolle zur Erforschung der Geschichte des Zoroastrismus

Die persischen Rivāyāt (entstanden zwischen 1478-1773) sind eine wichtige Quelle zum Verständnis des Zoroastrismus und seiner Geschichte. Ihre Rolle als lebendige Zeugen der Ritualpraxis, aber auch der Geschichte der zoroastrischen Gemeinden in Iran und Indien näher zu beleuchten ist zweifellos ein Desiderat der Forschung.

Der persische Gelehrte Modi schreibt den Rivayat eine entscheidende Rolle für die Erforschung der Geschichte der Zoroastrier zu: „A good history of the Parsis in India still remains to be written. The Persian Rivayat will supply a number of materials for that history. They refer, here and there, to some events in Persia. For example, we learn from one of the Rivayats, that in the times of Shah Abbas, under the instigation of some fanatics, some Persian books like the Manuscript of Jamasp-name were destroyed.“ (Modi 1932: 266).

Im Rahmen des Vortrags soll nach einem knappen Überblick über Stand und Aufgaben der Forschung die Rolle der Rivāyāt als historischen Quellen anhand ausgewählter Beispiele einzelner z.T. unveröffentlichter Rivāyāt (z.B. Rivāyāt von Kāūs Kāmdīn ca. 1570) aufgezeigt werden.

Ein besonderes Augenmerk soll auf die Beziehungen zwischen den iranischen Zoroastriern und den indischen Parsen auf der Grundlage der in den Rivāyāt vorhandenen Informationen liegen. Dies betrifft insbesondere Fragen der Religion u.a. das Studium des Pahlavi, die Übersendung von religiösen Texten nach Indien als auch die Ritualpraxis.

MAGDALENA RODZIEWICZ

The Legal Status of ‘Aberu’ in Modern Shi‘a Thought

Already the classical Shi‘a texts translated from original Arabic or already composed in Persian language in later centuries mention *aberu* as a moral concept of special significance. Maintaining personal *aberu* as well as keeping the *aberu* of others is perceived as a great value in human worldly life and hereafter – a condition of man’s mundane dignity and his future salvation. A loss of *aberu* on the other hand is presented as a great misfortune and an act against God’s will who wishes that every human keeps good image and reputation in the eyes of the others. Destroying *aberu* of a fellow believer is considered a great sin. In Modern Shi‘a discourse, the concept is still frequently evoked and appears in various contexts, moral, legal, social, and even political. By analyzing a number of contemporary opinions, judgements and statements made by Iranian Shi‘a clergy this study addresses the question of the legal status of this important moral concept as it appears in contemporary religious narratives. It attempts to investigate how the value of *aberu* is being evoked and used to justify judgements and what role does it play in construction of moral, legal and political discourses of Modern Shi’ism.

SIAVASH ROKNI

Tehran According to Music

Since the early 2000s, there has been an interest in the study of Iranian popular music (Breyley & Fatemi, 2016; Hemasi, 2011; Nooshin, 2005a, 2005b, 2008; Siamdoust, 2017). Moreover, in recent years, there has been a discussion on how studying of Iranian popular music must not always be reduced to a fetishization of the idea resistance (Niknafas, 2018; Nooshin, 2017). This talk examines Tehran as an urban space by analyzing its representation musically in three songs produced between 2015 and 2017 in Iran. These include Tehran, Smile by Pallett band (2015), Bandar-e Tehran (Port of Tehran) by Bomrani (2015) and Tehran by Makan Ashgvari (2017). There are three reasons behind these choices. First, none of these songs have any content that is related to resistance directly. Instead, the content is focused on the social aspect of Tehran as an urban city. Second, they are from three different genres that are fairly popular. Finally, each band/artist is fairly well-known in their genre of music. Using the methodology introduced by Serge Lacasse (2015), I look at abstract, performative, and technological parameters for analyzing each song separately. Looking at the general theme of each song, the paper concludes that each artist/band treats Tehran as third space (Soja, 1996) in a different way by using musical techniques alongside poetic metaphors to communicate their interpretation and understanding of what Tehran means to them as an urban space. It is my hope that this paper opens the conversation about new ways of looking at popular music in Iran.

ADRIANO ROSSI

Languages and writing practices in the Achaemenid Administration: Reconsidering some recent views

JULIA RUBANOVICH

Traditions Entwined: Jacob lamenting Joseph in the Judaeo-Persian poem Bereshit-nāma by Shāhīn

Bereshit-nāma (Book of Genesis) is a voluminous religious romantic epic in Judaeo-Persian, versified in 1359 by Shāhīn. Composed in classical Persian with an admixture of Hebraisms and written out in Hebrew characters, the epic includes, as one of its integral parts, the tale of Joseph/Yūsuf which was very popular within Persian-speaking Jewish communities and was frequently copied on its own under the title *Yūsuf-u Zulaykhā*. The paper focuses on a string of episodes which relate Jacob's/Ya'qūb's intense response to his beloved son's alleged death. To disentangle the various narrative threads which form these episodes, I compare them with analogous narratives in the Midrashic literature, Islamic exegesis (i.e., selected works of the *tafsīr* and *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* genres) and Persian narrative poetry (*Yūsuf-u Zulaykhā*, erroneously attributed to Firdausī). I show how Shāhīn fashioned fascinating amalgams of Jewish and Perso-Islamic traditions, discerningly using the techniques of adoption and omission of themes and motifs, as well as of the redistribution of emphases. The paper demonstrates that though writing in Judaeo-Persian, the poet seamlessly blended the Islamic and Jewish cultural-religious materials and firmly ensconced himself in a Persianate cultural domain.

RENATA RUSEK-KOWALSKA

The narrative modes of Persian prison-writings

The phenomenon of carceral narratives deserves special consideration in Persian literary discourse. Though the recent spread of “prison literature” (adabiyyāt-e zendān) and prison memoirs (xāterāt-e zendān) in particular, has undoubtedly been enhanced by historical factors, one should bear in mind that captive themes appear at the very beginning of the New Persian literature, two centuries before the autonomous genre of the ‘poem of captivity’ (habsiyye) is recorded in Nezāmi-ye ‘Arūzi-ye Samarqandi’s Čahār maqāle (12th century). The paper will study the literary appeal of Persian prison-writings (zendān-negāri) in terms of the mythological and epic themes it consciously or unconsciously reiterates.

YUSEF SAADAT

Semantic Contributions to Middle Persian lexicography: Re-observing a Passage of Hērbedestān

One of the major barriers of Pahlavi studies is paying little attention to the deeper layers of semantics, e.g. figurative, idiomatic, metaphorical, and broaden meanings of so many words and phrases of this language. In my paper I will try to introduce some new definitions to the Middle Persian lexicography via elaborating use of the following words in Middle Persian corpus and also in early New Persian texts: būdan ‘to be permitted,’ andar grifan ‘to begin (to do something),’ pad anīz ‘anymore, (no) more’ and čiš xwāstan ‘ask for things (of charity)/social support.’ All the above-mentioned meanings of these words appear (but ignored so far) in chapter 19 of the Middle Persian text Hērbedestān, which asks when it is permitted to teach Dēw-worshipers and non-Mazd-worshipers. A general picture of the answer is: when the teacher doesn’t have bread and meat to consume, he is permitted, but under some circumstances which are discussed. There are 3 translations of the passage from 5 scholars (Kotwal and Kreyenbroek, Humbach and Elfenbein, Skjærvø), which disagree in many key details of the passage, have internal conflicts in its translation and are based on partially restored readings of two MSS, however Pahlavi parts of the manuscript TD in the case of chapter 19 is well preserved and at least the half of chapter (19.7-19.9) which is discussed in my paper needs almost no change. I will try to show that putting the above definitions in the passage will yield a concrete understanding of the passage and solve most of the problems in the previous readings.

NASIM SABER

Afghane und Afghanistan: Ein Historisch-Philologischer Abriss

Das Ethnonym „Afghane“ und das davon abgeleitete Toponym „Afghanistan“ sind bis zum heutigen Tage wissenschaftlich nicht ausreichend untersucht und kaum im historischen Kontext gewürdigt und verstanden worden. Während die Tendenz, den beschriebenen Kulturraum den „Persianate Studies“ unterzuordnen auch weiterhin vorherrscht, wird übersehen, dass diese

Begriffe schon früh in der Geschichte auftauchen und eine eigene, kulturell und politisch eigenständige ostiranische Population bezeichnen, die nur entfernt mit den Persern verwandt ist. Gerade die 2007 publizierten baktrischen Schriften offenbaren die frühe Geschichte dieser Region und enthalten vermutlich den frühesten Beleg für das Ethnonym „Afghan“, das vermutlich als Exonym an die sie bezeichnende Bevölkerungsgruppe herangetragen wurde. Gleichzeitig ist das in diesem Raum gebräuchliche Endonym „Paschtune“ aber ein Kognat zum Begriff „Perser“ und scheint ebenfalls auf einen alten indo-iranischen Gebrauch, speziell für die beschriebene Region im Osten Persiens und im Nordwesten Indiens, zu verweisen. Neben eigenen Vorschlägen für die Etymologien zu den Begriffen Afghane, Afghanistan, Paschtune und Paschtunkhwa sollen darüber hinaus auch jene historischen Texte vorgestellt werden, die gerade in der islamischen Ära verfasst wurden, schon seit längerem bekannt sind und per se die derzeitige Lehrmeinung, die Titularnation für die Region zwischen Persien und Indien sei erst in den letzten wenigen Jahrhunderten auf der Weltbühne erschienen, widerlegen.

ARIANE SADJED

Narratives of Being Jewish in Iran

The variety of interactions between Jews and Muslims in Iran tends to be overshadowed by a master-narrative of clear-cut religious identities, isolated communities, and conflict. Based on biographic interviews with Jewish Iranians in Iran and the United States, this study will provide a nuanced picture of their lives among Muslims in the 20th century. It will point out the ambiguous and fluid nature of Jewish-Muslim interactions on the basis of everyday life experiences, as well as the contextual factors that allowed for constructive relations.

Methodically, the study applies biographic research analysis on data collected through fieldwork (semi-structured biographic interviews and participant observation) and from existing oral history archives. The purpose of the interviews is not to analyse how “it really was” but how the past is narrated and what these narratives tell us about the way individuals locate themselves regarding the various communities of belonging. Subjective accounts often differ from official rules and regulations and they contain both amicable and hostile experiences. The biographic approach will highlight how individuals made and make sense of these ambivalences.

The paper will not reduce the Jewish community to religious or ethnic aspects, but aims to understand their scopes of action as the result of a multitude of competing identities as well as the social, cultural and religious tensions, existing between an individual and different social groups. This also includes the influence of European Jewish institutions (i.e. the Alliance Israelite Universelle) and contesting visions of “true religion”. With the mission to educate and civilize, these different institutions altered ideas about religion and community among Iranian Jews. I will trace the changes in self-concepts of Jews in 20th century Iran, focussing on their agency in resisting what was understood as “foreign” interference – or in employing it for the benefit of their community.

VELIZAR SADOVSKI

Three case studies of expressions of religious and social identity and otherness as represented in Old Iranian phraseology, word-formation and onomastic systems

YAZDAN SAFAEE

Cyrus the Persian at the Median Court: Echoes of the Tradition of Royal Hostages

Analysis of the cycle of narratives in classical sources on the childhood of Cyrus II, the founder of the Achaemenid dynasty, can reveal traces of an ancient Near Eastern tradition. The core of this tradition is the notion of giving the king's children to the enemy's/ally's court as hostage in order to demonstrate allegiance and ensure peace. In the present study, the main core of Greek narratives which inform us about the presence of Cyrus as a child at the Median court, will be treated and compared to what we know about the aforementioned ANE tradition. As will be discussed, among all other ANE evidence, those attestations related to Elamite history, in which Kuraš, king of Parsumaš, sends his son, Arukku, as hostage to Nineveh, and the one in which Urtak, king of Elam, sends his sons and daughters to the Assyrian court, are our best candidates serving as a model for similar narratives. The acculturation of Elamites and Iranian-speaking newcomers provides a mixed ambiance in which such realities could influence people's imagination about such exiles. By examining such evidence, some light could be shed on a neglected aspect of the colorful presence of ANE traditions in classical sources.

SALMAN SAKET

A Survey on Studies on *Siar Al-Moluk* (Siasatnameh) in Iran

Siar Al-Moluk (Siasatnameh) is a book on politics and traditions of country affairs by Khajeh Nizam Al-Mulk-e Tusi. Although there are controversies over *Siar Al-Moluk*'s authorship and its historiographical mistakes, this book is one of the most important books in Persian in Mirror of Princes genre. For this reason, in the past 80 years, there have been several studies published in Iran about it. This study will survey how the articles published on *Siar Al-Moluk* in Iran have evolved since the first article in 1934. Also, by identifying different research approaches, this study will analyze the underlying political and social reasons for turns in research approaches in different decades. The results of this study demonstrate that the books by Seyed Javad Tabatabaie in early 1990s, and his seminal views about the significance of *Siar Al-Moluk* in maintaining and expanding the *Iranshahri thoughts* in the Islamic era, are received eagerly by researchers in different fields. His views are vastly applied, to the extent that his approach has now become the most prevalent approach for interpretations of *Siar Al-Moluk*. This study will also problematize Seyed Javad Tabatabaie's approach in his interpretation of *Siar Al-Moluk*.

NASROLLAH SALEHI

A Comparative Study of Iranian and Ottoman Representatives' Reports in Erzurum Talks (1843-1847)

The Iranian-Ottoman relations oscillated between war and peace over several centuries. The two states concluded several treaties in various periods to end their differences, only to find themselves going to war over almost the same issues. The parties signed their last and most important treaty, the second Erzurum Treaty in 1847. The treaty was concluded after

approximately four years of negotiations between the representatives of the two countries that was mediated by the Russian and British plenipotentiaries. Representatives from all four negotiating countries regularly briefed their respective governments. Total reports of Iran's representative, Mirza Taghi Khan, are available in the archive of the Iranian Foreign Ministry. The reports of the Ottoman representative, Anvari Efendi, entitled "Iran Sefaretnamesi" exists only in manuscript form and is available in the library of Suleimaniyah in Istanbul. These rarely utilized reports give us precise summaries of the quadruple negotiations, especially the positions, claims, differences, and suggestions of representatives of the Iranian and Ottoman governments. The reports also include the positions of Russian and British delegates during talks. These reports are of great importance in the history of Middle Eastern diplomacy. The present article tries to analyze the reports of Iranian and Ottoman representatives in a comparative way and answer the following questions: How did the Iranian and Ottoman representatives reflect and transmit the positions of each other to their governments in their reports? How did the representatives of the two governments defend their positions? And, how did the envoys legitimized their claims to particular geographies and population groups?

GEORGE SANIKIDZE

Some aspects of interactions of Iran with Independent South Caucasian Republics (1918-1921)

In the paper are investigated different aspects of South Caucasian-Iranian relations during the short-lived independence period of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan.

Following questions are discussed: the analysis of the situation in Iran during the first after war years; Iranian attitude towards the South Caucasian states during the period of their first independence; Iranian delegation's position concerning South Caucasian states at the Paris Peace conference; Emigration of the Caucasians in Iran during the above-mentioned period and their political activities; Iranian attitude towards the Soviet Russia's politics in the South Caucasus.

It is noted that Iran and the South Caucasian countries had different aims and goals in this turbulent period. Persian delegation even tried to present a memorandum to the Paris conference concerning territorial pretentions of Iran towards the South Caucasian states but without success.

On the second part of the paper main attention is given to the comparative study of the two treaties - Georgian-Russian (07/05/1920) and Iranian-Russian (26/02/1921).

Iranian-Russian treaty had a secret supplement, in which Persian government allowed the activities of communists in Iran. It was practically the same as the first article of the secret supplement of the treaty of Moscow of 1920 between Soviet Russia and Independent Georgian Republic. It was after this treaty that Soviet troops with the help of infiltrated Bolsheviks invaded Georgia and ended the existence of the independent state. So in the case of treaty with Iran, in this sense, Soviets demonstrated the similar aim – to infiltrate Bolsheviks (of course, from the South Caucasus) in Iran for establishing control or even annex north part of the country.

ANI SARGSYAN (SEE: HASMIK KIRAKOSYAN)

ARASH SARKOHI

Imagining the West in Iran: Migrant intellectuals – Travelling ideas

The presentation provides an overview of how different political groups (and significant individuals representing them) reacted to the West and which solutions have been given in the last 150 years. It wants to draw some leitmotifs of this discourse, highlighting similarities and major changes. It will also explore the importance of the migration of the intellectuals to the West in the political discourse in Iran.

The West and its conception have played a significant role in the political discourse of modern Iran.

Starting from the assumption that the West has crucial technological and social advantages over Iran, major political groups and intellectuals have given different answers to the “challenges of the West”: From total negation to total assimilation and every shade in between. Interestingly this goes for every school of thought; the liberals, the nationalists, the religious and the left – all of them have been focused on the West and Ideas associated with it and have given different solutions on how to deal with the actual or assumed modernity of the West. This phenomenon has been intensified by the fact that in the last 150 years many Iranian intellectuals and political decision-makers have – willingly or unwillingly – lived in the West for some time. Sometimes their experience has shaped important discourses about Iran’s reaction toward the West and has influenced policies and politics.

MIKLÓS SÁRKÖZY

Ḥamdallah Mustawfī on the Hungarians

The present paper focuses on a hitherto neglected passage of the *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* of Ḥamdallah Mustawfī Qazwīnī. In his geographical treatise finished around 1340 CE the well-known author of the late Ilkhanid period speaks about the Northern borders of Irānzamīn based on the ancient concept of haft kišvar (part. 2. *qism-i duwwum*). Among others he mentions a people called مگير who are enlisted among the Rūs, the Ās, the Burtās, the Circassians. The aim of this paper is to shed light on this rather understudied part of Mustawfī’s work. The possible identification of the above mentioned term مگير with one of the groups of the Hungarians cannot be excluded at all, however, there are several questions to be answered. First, a linguistical analysis is highly necessary since the term مگير may suggest a pronunciation very close to the modern name of the Hungarians: Magyar. On the other one must be somewhat conscious since this phonetic realization suggests a rather later stage of pronunciation of the name ‘Magyar’ following a shift which took place in the 14/15th centuries. The Arabic transcription is rather unusual and has nothing to do with more popular variants of the names of Hungarians in Persian sources such as مجر, مجر, مجر etc. Another problem is the way of transmission of this passage since to the best of our knowledge this short part has not been noticed among the sources of the early Hungarian history. We believe that Mustawfī – if he really speaks about a group of Hungarians in this case – could have been connected to a source close to al-Bīrūnī (which fact of course raises the question of the originality of Mustawfī’s data relating to this part of his work). As for the

identification of this group of Hungarians is concerned, there are several opportunities: Hungarians of the Caucasus or a branch of eastern Magyars around the Volga river.

GIANCARLO SCHIRRU

GENDER EXPONENTS IN ZĀZĀ CONJUGATION

One of the main features of Zāzā morphology is the large development of the gender distinction within the verbal inflection: masculine and feminine forms are distinct in 2nd and 3rd persons of the whole conjugation (L. Paul, *Zazaki. Grammatik und Versuch einer Dialektologie*, Wiesbaden 1998, p. 84). The present paper intends to investigate the origin of such a gender inflection.

The opposition between feminine *-a* and masculine *-o* (3.SG.IND.PRES) can be connected to the pronominal inflection: the two suffixes represent the two gender inflected forms of the demonstrative pronoun, in the direct singular case (D.N. MacKenzie *Notes on southern Zaza (Dimilī)*, in *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies*, ed. by B.G. Fragner et alii, Rome 1995: 401-14: 412). It can be demonstrated that, as a first extension, the two forms of the pronoun have been used as copula, and from here they have become a couple of suffixes of the present conjugation of all the other verbs.

Nevertheless, the exponence marking the gender in the 3rd singular person of the preterit has a different origin: the opposition between zero (M) and *-i* (F) can be considered as the local reflex of the opposition between *-ah* (M) and *-ā* (F) marking respectively the masculine and the feminine singular nominative of the past participle in Old Iranian (G. Morgestierne "Feminine nouns in *-a* in western Iranian dialects". In *A Locust's Leg. Studies in Honour of S.H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962: 203-8).

MARTIN SCHWARTZ

HAOMA AND THE GATHAS REVISITED: NEW COMPOSITIONAL EVIDENCE

Zarathushtra's opposition to the cult of Haoma may now be affirmed due to new and extensive evidence of matters of both composition and content. This involves analysis of the structural relationship of Yasnas 32 and Yasna 48, and the relationship of both these poems to what must be posited as an earlier form of the material Yasnas 9 and 10 of the "Hôm Yasht". New techniques for Gathic compositional study will be adduced for this demonstration. and new translations will be presented. The results are important for the history of religion in archaic Iran and the development of early Zoroastrianism.

FLORIAN SCHWARZ

Turki and Persian in Central Asia, 16th to 20th centuries

The history of linguistic and literary change in Central Asia has been written largely in retrospect, seeking to explain and describe a process of Turkicization – the emergence of varieties of Turki as the predominant linguistic medium in a historically persophone area –and

of the formation of distinct Turkic and Iranian national linguistic and literary idioms in the 20th century. Looking beyond cultural politics and literary practices of courtly and national elites, this talk aims at decentering the history of Turki and Persian in early modern and modern Central Asia. Based on of Persian, Turki and bi-lingual texts from various genres and social settings, from hagiographies to non-courtly literature, it explores the changing uses, perceptions and contextualizations of Turki and the resilience of trans-linguistic and trans-national cultural spaces between Bukhara, Khoqand, Tashkent and Dushanbe from the 16th to the 20th century.

GÜNTER SCHWEIGER (SEE: GIAN PIETRO BASELLO)

MIRA SCHWERDA

Celebrating Law and Order or Sparking Protests? Political Picture Postcards in Early Twentieth-Century Iran and the Ottoman Empire

ROMAN SEIDEL

Questioning the Grand Narrative of the Enlightenment The 19th Century Iranian Intellectual Mīrzā Āqā Khān Kermānī. A Case Study in Transregional Intellectual History

The idea of the Enlightenment, both as an intellectual phenomenon as well as a particular epoch in history, is recurrently employed as a symbol of a seemingly evolutionary progress from superstition and despotism towards rationalism and liberty. Moreover, this “Grand Narrative of the Enlightenment” is therefore often treated as an exclusive cultural heritage of Europe or more generally “the West”. My talk aims at questioning this Grand Narrative by way of exploring a particular non-European Micro Narrative, the intellectual engagement of an outstanding 19th Century Iranian thinker: Mīrzā qā Khān Kermānī. In so doing I am not simply arguing that Enlightenment thought obviously had a significant impact on non-European thinkers, I rather argue that such thinkers are by far more than uninspired epigones, uncritically imitating their European idols. By contrast, their writings, activities and networks are essentially part of the intellectual enterprise called The Enlightenment. Hence, these Micro Narratives are not merely local historiographies belonging to the realm of the different Area Studies they rather must also complement the “Grand Narrative” itself within the framework of a Global Intellectual History.

MASOUD SEYED BONAKDAR

آلمان از دیدگاه دو پادشاه قاجار؛ ناصرالدین شاه و مظفرالدین شاه
تا پیش از سلسله ی قاجاریه، شاهان ایران فقط برای عملیات نظامی یا کشورگشایی به خارج از مرزهای خود می رفتند. بعد از تحولات اروپا در قرن هجدهم و نوزدهم، بسیاری از ایرانیان و دولتمردان ایرانی برای دیدن پیشرفت های اروپاییان، به کشورهای اروپایی سفر کردند. اخبار متعدد شگفت آور از پیشرفت های اروپاییان باعث شد تا دو تن از شاهان ایران

برای اولین بار به قصد سفر به خارج از مرزهای کشور خود بروند. ناصرالدین شاه و مظفرالدین شاه، چهارمین و پنجمین شاهان سلسله ی قاجاریه بودند که هر کدام به اروپا سفر کردند. از جمله کشور های مقصد آنها آلمان بود. این دو پادشاه قاجاریه از مشاهدات خود از اروپا و به ویژه آلمان سفرنامه هایی برجای گذاشتند که با بررسی این سفرنامه ها می توان فهمید:

چه چیزهایی برای دو شاه قاجاری جالب توجه بوده است؟ دیدگاه هایشان درباره ی تحولات و پیشرفت های آلمان چه بوده است و چه تاثیری بر روی آنها گذاشت؟ و این تاثیر چگونه در ایران نمود یافت؟

ATEFEH SEYED MOUSAVI

Solomon and Joseph, popular religious characters on Qajar tile painting

Both the visual representation of narratives and tilework have a long history in Persian art. The Qajar period witnessed more popular ways of illustrating narrative themes among the public, as narrative images appeared in various styles of Qajar popular arts such as painted tilework. In this period, the combination between the new themes and tile paintings created the specific art of “narrative tile painting”. A considerable section of narrative tile paintings in Shiraz is devoted to religious themes including the legends of arch-prophets, Shiite saints and the *emāms* and also two well-known religious characters, Solomon and Joseph. The Shiite saints and *emāms* are most often depicted on the walls of public buildings. In contrast, images relating to the tales of Solomon and Joseph are relegated to the more intimate atmosphere of private houses. The alluring features of the stories of Solomon and Joseph and of course the charisma of these characters evoked a great popularity of these stories among the public. A wide range of tile panels in Shiraz present these two tales, whether in a single tile, a larger tile panel, or a series of tile panels.

In my presentation, I will explore the various episodes of the related narratives in detail, focusing on iconographical aspects. The detailed assessment leads me to argue that Joseph’s unearthly beauty and Solomon’s supernatural powers are the main reasons why these narratives are so popular on Qajar tile paintings in Shiraz.

MARYAM SHADMOHAMMADI (SEE: ABBAS PANAH)

PEGAH SHAHBAZ

When Indic Allured in Persian Attire: Renderings and Retellings of *Pancakhyāna* Tales in Persian and Indian Vernaculars

The Study of Persian literature produced in Mughal India (1526-1858) has been systematically overshadowed by the literary productions in Iran and central Asia, and the reciprocal interactions between Persian and Indian neighbouring cultures and literatures have been narrowed to the cliché image of indirect translation of fables from the Arabic *Kalīla wa Dimna* or other similar narrative texts. A more profound and up-dated research would prove a more prominent place for Persian literary productions in the South Asian context. In fact, Persian literature not only adopted and integrated a large number of Indian narratives in the region, but within this process of translation, adapted them to the expectations of the Muslim readership. Withal, Persian became a bearer of Indian literature and played an intermediary role between

the classic Sanskrit and more popular modern-forming vernacular literatures in South Asia from the 17th century onwards; It would be noteworthy to point out that in several cases, it was the Persianized versions of Indian narratives and not their original Sanskrit ones that were received by Indian vernacular literatures such as the Urdu and Punjabi ones.

For the case study of the reception of *Pañcatantra* in Persian literature, Naṣr Allāh Munšī's Persian *Kalīla wa Dimna* (1159-1161) is of high relevance due to the literary values it introduces to Persian ornate prose. Translated from the Arabic *Kalīla wa Dimna* of Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. 756), which was in its turn a translation of the Pahlavi *Kalīlag wa Dimnag* by Burzūya Pizišk, Munšī's rendering became a prime inspiration to later miscellaneous works of this genre as *Anwār-i Suhaylī* by Wā'iz Kāshifī (d. 1531) and Abu al-Faḍl 'Allāmī's *'Ayār-I Dāniš* (d. 1602).

Yet a less known version of the Sanskrit text in Persian was carried out during Akbar's reign (1556-1605), by Ḥāliqdād 'Abbāsī; a direct translation from the Sanskrit *Pancakhyāna* (A version of *Pañcatantra*) which displayed more cohesion and congruity to the original text compared to the previous indirect translations. Juxtaposing 'Abbāsī's *Pancakhyāna* and Munšī's *Kalīla wa Dimna* as samples of direct and indirect translations would reveal contrasting peculiarities on the perception of the content as well as distinctive linguistic features in their narrative style. The translators' personal stance over their own interpretation along with their patrons' understanding and recognition of the work would also be worthy of attention, the study of which this paper will focus on, in order to elucidate the aims and approaches of translation in the 12th century Iran compared to the 16th century India. We will discuss the level of cultural adaptation of the two versions that formed their independent, canonical and literary characters and see how the Persian versions were received by the Indian vernaculars, e.g. in the Urdu tradition.

SOMAYYEH SHAHHOSEINY (SEE: ZAHRA MOHAMMADGANJEE)

RAYA Y. SHANI

"We shall rescue those who kept from evil, and leave the evil-doers crouching there [in hell]" (Qur'an 19: 71-72): Fire ordeals in Persian painting

The paper deals with the climactic episodes of fire ordeals, recalling both the fires of testing faith or truth (the deliverance from which reassures the faithful), and the punishing fires of hell (in which the unrepentant non-believers perish).

The dramatic structure of their narratives are reflected in both Islamic and Inner Asian religious symbolism and narrative paradigms.

I shall concentrate first on the fire ordeals testing for proof of faith and truth, with the aim of emphasizing the difference between the two; as the testing fire ordeal for faith is based on the Qur'ānic Ibrāhīm paradigm, e.g. the story of Ibrāhīm cast to the fire by Nimrud's orders (also used for other Islamic saints), whereas the fire ordeal testing for truth is based on a virtually universal theme, which is featured prominently in epic narratives, e.g. that of Siyāvush in the *Shāhnāma*. Both episodes make the subject of countless miniatures.

While dealing with the two kinds of fire ordeal, I intend to introduce two more versions of the same theme. Both are found in an early Safavid manuscript, where they appear with a particular

twist, meant to propagate the Shīʿī faith. The ordeals find their pictorial expression in entering a fiery furnace, an oven (*tanūr*), or a cauldron (*qazān*); their salvation comes with the intercession of one of their companions, who stays outside the enclosed fire.

The second part of my presentation will focus on two images from the same early Safavid manuscript; each represents, in a different way, the punishing fires of hell, thus connected with Islamic eschatology.

FARIBA SHARIFIAN

The Study of a Special Feature (Warts/ Moles) on Some of the Parthian Coins

AS Coins have reached us more intact than other ancient findings such as textiles, wood, skin, and so on they are one of the most important sources of historical research. By studying coins, we learn important things about art, religion, social status, customs, language, and scripts of their period so that they may solve some of the historical ambiguity of the related time. Parthian coins are of paramount importance for displaying the true images of Parthian rulers. In examining the designs of the coins, we must take into account a few special features: such as a hat or crown, a necklace, face changes, beard and hair arrangement, and moles on the king's forehead. What has been attempted in this paper is a study of an attribute, known as moles or warts in different sources, what this attribute is and which kings have used it in their coins.

Our information about the history of the Parthian tribes is very influential. One of the sources that helps us to know them more is evidence of archeology, including coins. By studying the images of the Parthians coins included in various collections, we come to a special feature on the image of some kings, and that is the warts or mole on the forehead of some of the kings. This issue was originally raised by Wroth at the British Museum. Gerald D. Hart, in a brief article, referred to the connection between a disease called Trichoepithelioma and the Parthian Kings.

The disease that Hart had guessed was that the kings were likely to suffer from it, a benign tumor of the skin like a meat gland, usually on the forehead, around the nose and the ears.

There is some doubt about whether this lesion is a disease of the skin, or a special sign used to show sanguinity. Salwood sees it as a special means of showing the Parthian blood which is important in the king's dimension. This question arises here: if it is a sign of gentrity, why there was not such a sign for the first Parthian kings or all the kings.

Hart points out in his article to those kings who were trying to hide this feature by their hair. The subject that is in contradiction with the talk of Salwood. Because if this sign is used to show sanguinity, then why did some of the kings try to cover it, according to Hart?

EHSAN SHAVAREBI

Coin Finds from Barikot: New Evidence for the Monetary History of Indo-Iranian Borderlands in Antiquity

The site of Barikot (Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai), identified with the ancient city of Bazira/Vajīrasthāna, is located in the Swat Valley, south of Hindu-Kush Mountains in modern-day Pakistan. In the excavations of the Italian archaeological mission under the direction of Luca M. Olivieri, between 2011 and 2018, a considerable number of coins were unearthed, which are recently catalogued by the present author. Although the poor state of preservation brings difficulties for

precise typological identification of some coins and leaves a number of them unidentifiable, the nature of coin finds and the precise records of their archaeological contexts make these data an invaluable source of information for the study of numismatic chronology and coin circulation. The coin finds range from the 3rd century BCE to the 9th/10th century CE, including coins of early local rulers of Taxila, Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians (Śaka), Kushan kings, late Kushan rulers, Kushano-Sasanian governors, Kidarites, and Hindu-Shahis. This clearly shows the long timespan of monetary circulation at Barikot. This paper aims at presenting the preliminary results of a numismatic analysis of these coin finds in their regional and interregional contexts, which may show the position of Barikot within the monetary circulation domains of the Indo-Iranian borderlands in different periods.

ASMAA SHEHATA

The Terminology Group within the Academy of Persian Language and Literature and the Neologism Dictionaries

Amid the openness we witness in the world, it is difficult to control the mixing of foreign terms and loanwords that enter into the vocabulary of other languages – be it Arabic, Persian, or French – especially in the presence of the Internet and with the given ease of travel. However, some countries are still trying to codify the use of foreign terms and maintain their language and national identity.

As such we find the Academy of Persian Language and Literature (APLL) in Iran with their attempt to preserve Persian identity, culture, civilization, and heritage even across the borders of Iran. The Academy witnessed several stages and transformations from the era of Reza Shah in 1935 to date. But its original goal was and still is maintaining the strength and originality of the Persian language. It has 14 research groups that are working in parallel to achieve this goal. It has published 12 dictionaries introducing new words to Persian and recommending them for replacing non-Persian loanwords.

This paper highlights the role played by the terminology group and examines the success of the impact of the institution on modern Persian, based on a quantitative analysis by measuring the extent of the use of neologisms proposed by the Academy. How does the Academy replace existing words and measure their own success? The paper is based on my doctoral studies on “The Impact of the Farhangestân on Modern Persian. A Case Study of Political Terms in Iranian Newspapers and Speeches” and presents a one-term case study by way of example.

SHAHRAZAD SHIRVANI

Women Parks and Spatial Politics of Enclosed ‘Freedom’ in Iran

In recent years, the Tehran municipality’s inauguration of women’s parks has produced new zones of gender segregation as well as new ‘public spaces’ in the Islamic Republic’s capital. Despite strict rules of mandatory hijab and moral coding that have been imposed on women in public spaces since the 1979 Revolution, these new fenced zones allow women to choose how to dress and what to do, providing ‘spaces of exception’ in the urban public realm. This paper focuses on a gender-exclusive zone called ‘Mother’s Paradise’ (Behesht-e Mādarān), a park inaugurated by Tehran Municipality in May 2008. I examine ongoing negotiations between concepts such as ‘public space’, ‘urban freedom’ and ‘legitimacy’ in the context of the Islamic

Republic, from the perspective of both the conservative government and everyday users of urban space.

While the pre-1979 Pahlavi regime (1925-1979) engaged in de-Islamization practices to form a modern secular nation-state, the post-revolutionary Islamic government has endeavoured to institutionalize religion. This shift tremendously affected the social life of people, particularly women, and challenged modern conceptions of leisure, recreation, entertainment, and freedom in public space. This paper considers the ways notions of freedom can be legitimated in a religious context. Using the idea of 'make-believe space', it creates a framework to articulate freedom as a 'threshold space', somewhere between religious realities and modern global fantasies in the context of the Islamic Republic. I argue that the space of the park – in between reality and fantasy – provides possibilities of social and political change, and hence results in new modes of 'governmentality' at the grassroots level of civil society in its process of transformation.

Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork, the paper analyzes people's everyday interactions with the site and the project. It questions how make-believe spaces of freedom institutionalize a new moral citizen subject, the 'Iranian-Islamic woman', which serves as a representation of the Islamic regime's identity. Finally, it contributes to research on women's social and political roles in activating Tehran's everyday urban spaces and the role of public spaces in legitimating constructed traditions.

MARGARET SHORTLE

Diplomacy and Showmanship in Berlin, Ottoman and Qajar Gifts in Berlin's State Museums

ROMAN SIEBERTZ

Between Moscow and Berlin – Seif Azad, Iran-e Bastan and the vagaries of Iranian nationalism

Though the 1930s periodical Iran-e Bastan is frequently mentioned in the literature as a prominent Iranian pro-Nazi journal, its editor Abdurrahman Seif Azad remains generally unmentioned. Documents from British and German archives, however, show that Seif Azad was not only one of the most active Iranian journal editors of the period, but that his biography and his various journalistic enterprises also mirror not only the history of the Iranian press, but also of the ideological wanderings and fallacies of Iranian nationalism during the inter-war period – this relates in particular to Saif Azad's own political affiliations, which switched from imperial Germany to Soviet anti-imperialism and finally to the open support of Nazism. This presentation will therefore both aim at presenting a political biography of Saif Azad, and to place the publishing history of Iran-e Bastan into its political and cultural context.

SASHA SIMEONOVA LOZANOVA (SEE: STELA BORISOVA TASHEVA)

NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS

Plural and collective in Sogdian

It is well known that the most common Sogdian plural endings -tá, -tyá (with light stems), -t, -tī, -te (with heavy stems) derive from a f. sg. collective suffix. This paper will examine the question whether it is necessary to distinguish the categories of "plural" and "collective" at any stage within the attested history of the language.

FABRIZIO SINISI

Against historical amnesias: for a proper assessment of the Achaemenid imagery on early Arsacid coins

The problem of the memories of the Achaemenid past in the successive periods of the pre-islamic history of Iran has been largely approached in the literature from an exclusively Sasanian point of view, and discussions of the question in relation to the preceding Arsacid period have remained limited in number (despite being at times penned by eminent scholars). As often is the case, this is the result of the combination of difficulties with the sources and scholarly biases. Early Arsacid coinage, however, offers the chance to re-examine the problem thanks to the visual evidence it attests to: contrary to the emphasis traditionally ascribed to the nomadic-Central Asian element, Achaemenid patterns can be singled out amongst the possible sources of the images found on such coins.

The paper will examine the links of the iconography of the early Arsacid coins with Achaemenid antecedents and assess the context of its use in order to highlight the message it conveyed. At this purpose the discussion will dwell on both Arsacid and Achaemenid official iconography, also aiming at showing how a joint analysis may produce results impacting both these categories of visual evidence from Ancient Iran.

NARCISS M. SOHRABI

From religious manifestation to the representation of public space: religious public space

The power structure in Iran is based on religion. In the urban space of Iran, many religious events are dependent on the government due to its religious political structure. The government reproduces its ideology using these events. At the time of the religious events, the city spaces are replaced by Foucault's Heterotopia. This is while the secular space of the city is expanding due to the movement to the modern world along with the religious space. Religious events along with national events such as Nowruz and Chaharsanbeh Suri form the social identity of Iranians. This paper examines the history of holding national and religious events in urban spaces seeking answers to the following questions: Are urban spaces based on the rule of religion and secular beliefs in permanent engagement? And in this case, how does these spaces work during the sacred times? As one of the religious cities in Iran, Yazd has been considered to illustrate these

spatial relationships. Given the changes made by the sacred times, how can one understand urban spaces according to the Foucault's Heterotopia concept? How do religious events change the city's spatial relationships, and what elements of the city do emerge in these events?

MAHSHAD SOTOUDEH

Disobedience of Women (=a.Tarsagāyīh) in Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān

Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān, the book of Thousand Judgments, is one of the most important social history sources and juridical text in Middle Persian language and script. This text has been written in dawn Sasanian era, i.e. the early 7th century A.D. It is the only text remained from juridical tradition of Zoroastrianism that argues about legal and civil issues for surviving in its original form and language. It belongs to the era before Islam. This book mentioned a compilation of law terms including slavery, warranty, partnership, marriage, divorce, disobedient or misconduct and etc. In Sasanian period, women's position was dependent on their status class and the women that didn't follow the principles and social norms punished in multiple reasons. The kind of their punishments was dependent on their social levels. These women were called disobedient. Therefore, in this article, discussion about the concept of misconduct and legal aspects is related to various levels (Pādixšay-wife and čagar-wife), analysis of the verdicts, quality of partnership and women possessions, before and after of her misconduct's confirmation. The text also declared the legal issues on the conditions of acquiring the properties inherited by the disobedient woman, their children, and also quality of their incoming.

ROBERT STEELE

The Shahestan Pahlavi: Envisioning a new imperial capital under Mohammad Reza Shah

This paper examines the plans, developed in 1976 by the British architectural firm Llewelyn Davies, to transform Abbas Abad into the ceremonial, administrative and political centre of Tehran, and the seat of power of the Pahlavi state. It shows how the political, social and cultural aspirations of the Shah were etched onto the landscape of the city and can be observed in the planning for the Shahestan Pahlavi. Particular attention will be paid to the main Shah and Nation Square, which was envisioned by the planners as being larger than the Maidan-e Naqsh-e Jahan in Isfahan. Like Shah Abbas' square in Isfahan, the Shah and Nation Square would serve as the imperial centre of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's realm; a space where the political ideology of the Pahlavi state assumed style and significance.

Although the revolution put a stop to the Shahestan Pahlavi, the two-volume plan, published in 1976 in the year of the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Pahlavi monarchy, perfectly captures the imperial ambitions of the Shah shortly before the turmoil of 1978-9. Much scholarly attention has been paid to state nationalism in the 1960s and 70s, but comparatively little work has been done on how these ideas were disseminated and articulated to an Iranian and international audience. The Shahestan Pahlavi, although never constructed, provides a clear example of how architecture was used to propagate ideology in late Pahlavi Iran. By examining the architectural reports alongside the Shah's speeches and books, nationalist texts, newspapers (most importantly the *Rastakhiz* newspaper), and the archives of Shojaaeddin Shafa, the Shah's

cultural counsellor at the Imperial Court, the paper aims to contribute to a greater understanding of ideology and cultural politics in relation to city planning in the final years of Pahlavi rule.

MARIA SUBTENLY

Iranian Elements in the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Sirr al-asrar* (*Secretum secretorum*)

The pseudo-Aristotelian *Politics*, known in Arabic as *Sirr al-asrar* (The secret of secrets) and in its medieval Latin translations as *Secretum secretorum*, which were subsequently translated into virtually all European vernaculars, was the most influential and widely circulating mirror for princes, bar none, before Machiavelli's *Il principe*. It purports to be Aristotle's correspondence with Alexander the Great who was at the time engaged in the conquest of Persia, and in it Aristotle provides his famous pupil with advice about everything a ruler needed to know—from the characteristics of kings, health and hygiene, the importance of astrology, the “science” of physiognomy, the administration of the state, the meaning of justice, the conduct of war, and even the talismanic arts that guaranteed power over enemies and subjects alike. Although it has now been accepted that the work was not based on any Greek original, and despite some speculation about a lost Arabic “original” dating from the mid-eighth century, who wrote it and for whom is still a mystery. The scholarly consensus is that it was a compilation made from many different sources over a period of time—Greek, Byzantine, Syriac, Indian, and Iranian. Of these, the Late Antique Iranian, that is to say, Sasanian, sources get short shrift, if they are acknowledged at all. Apart from an astute observation by Shaul Shaked, followed by another by Kevin van Bladel, most scholars of the *Secretum secretorum*—and by this I mean European scholars who (unlike Arabists or Islamicists) have produced a torrent of studies devoted chiefly to the Latin and vernacular translations—have not recognized the Iranian elements in the work and in many cases have been puzzled by the meaning of concepts and references that are readily apparent to an Iranist. This paper sets out to rectify this state of affairs by systematically identifying the Iranian elements in the *Sirr al-asrar* that constituted the basis for this poorly understood medieval blockbuster.

MURAD SULEYMANOV

The development of possessive predication in two Tat dialects

This paper examines the argument coding in possessive constructions in two dialects of Tat, a nominative-accusative Iranian language spoken in the Caucasus, namely the varieties of the Abşeron Peninsula (AT) and of the village Mədrəsə (MT). Tat is closely related to Persian but has been influenced by Azeri, a Turkic language.

Possessive predication can be expressed through various means, the most common ones being locative, existential and transitive (have-like) constructions. Changes in the expression of possession may involve replacing one construction by another or generating a new one. These processes are sometimes characterised by a reanalysis of the predicate in the previous construction and the associated argument alignment.

In Tat, the inherited possessive construction is <possessorobl; possessee; existagr:possessee>. In AT and MT, this pattern is only found when the predicative slot is filled by the verb *birän* ‘to be’ which is suppletive with the existential copula *hi/äst* (exx. 1–2); in MT, under Azeri

influence, the possessee additionally requires a possessive clitic. No examples of the possessive construction with non-suppletive *hi/äst*-derived forms are found.

At some point, AT and MT, like modern Persian, began to associate possessive semantics with the verb *da/oštān* (etymologically ‘to hold’), with Stem 1 *da/ār-* and Stem 2 *da/ošt-*. (Like in many Iranian languages, Tat verbs feature a binary stem distinction, whereby either stem is the morphological nucleus of a given TAM category).

AT *doštān* has given up the meaning of ‘hold’ in favour of ‘have’ and lost its Stem 1, so that its traditionally Stem 1-marked categories are now marked by Stem 2 (ex. 3). Nevertheless, what looks like Stem 1 forms a have-like possessive predicate in the present (ex. 4). This transitive construction resembles that of Persian (ex. 5): the possessor is coded as an agent and the possessee as a patient. In AT, *doštān* ‘have’ has become able to reflect an aspectual distinction in the past (ex. 6), which is impossible in Persian (ex. 7).

MT (not in contact with AT or Persian) also shows a development of a new verb *daštān* ‘have’ (exx. 8–9). In contrast to AT, MT has preserved the semantics of ‘hold’ for *daštān* and has kept the stem distinction for both meanings. MT features yet another type of possessive predication (ex. 10): the possessor carries the oblique marker (like in an existential construction) but the predicate agrees with the possessor (like in a transitive construction).

Both AT and MT stand out for having developed a transitive possessive construction, which is not typical for Tat as a whole, nor for the Caucasus in general.

For AT, a possible trigger may have been its (though limited) contact with Persian. Synchronically, *dār-* cannot be analysed as Stem 1 of the old verb for ‘to hold’ because: (a) this stem would have been preserved in the other Stem 1-marked TAM categories and (b) the construction <Stem1-agreement> is not a present tense form in Tat. *dār-* ‘have’ thus seems like a global copy from Persian facilitated by the genetic proximity and the relative morphological transparency of the two languages. The initial ‘hold’ > ‘have’ semantic shift may have been inspired by Persian but all further development, namely the aspectual distinction in the past, must have taken place independently.

For MT, contact with Armenian, the only major language of the Caucasus to possess a have-like verb, may have been the key factor: MT speakers identify as Armenian; they have historically been educated in Armenian and have intermarried with speakers of this language. Due to lesser morphological transparency of Armenian, global copying did not occur, but structural calquing and semantic copying

did: in Armenian, ‘have’ is a defective verb structured <Stem-agreement> in the present (like *dār-* in MT) and can also carry the meaning of ‘hold’, which made *daštān* the best candidate for the new verb ‘have’ in MT. Here, the development of a new construction brought about a typologically uncommon extra stage: <possessorobl; possessee; existagr:possessor>

SYLWIA SURDYKOWSKA-KONIECZNY

Gham-e faragh (Sadness of Separation). An Impetus for Research on Sadness in the Sufi Tradition in Iran

The subject of this paper is the feeling of sadness (*gham-e faragh*) in the Sufi tradition in Iran. The idea of sadness is one of the most important concepts in the Persian tradition. The feeling of sadness proves to be a dominating one in various areas of Persian culture. The atmosphere of sadness has permeated the entire Persian culture for ages. Sadness is noticeable in the Persian language, history of Iran, religion, Iranians' behaviour, customs and in numerous products of culture such as music, literature and cinema. Sorrow is ever-present in Iranians' everyday life, where it manifests itself in the propensity for nostalgia, longing and succumbing to

overwhelming emotion. It has to be underlined that sadness has been apparent in Persian culture over the centuries and has proved to be a permanent feature. However, over the centuries it changed its attributes. The Persian mystical tradition, among others, had a gigantic influence on development of that idea. The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to the role of sadness in the Sufi tradition. This paper will above all refer to chosen fragments of mystical Persian literature (e.g. Baba Taher (11th c.), Sana'i (11thc.), Naser Khosrow (11th c.), Attar from Nishapur (12th c.), Moulana Jalaluddin Rumi (12th c.), Sa'di (13th c.) Hafez (14thc.), Jami (15thc.) and mystical treatises (e.g. Hujwiri).

NATIA SVINTRADZE (SEE: LEILA KVELIDZE)

IVÁN SZÁNTÓ

Late-Qajar Kirman as the Backdoor for Persian Art Transfers

This paper examines the art of late Qajar Kirman in its wider – local, regional, and global – contexts. These involve the growth of Persian art scholarship in museums and academia which occurred in parallel with large-scale transfers of artworks from the Iranian world to Euro-American collections during the turn of the 20th century. Not unaffected with these developments, Iranian local audiences also turned to what was to become national heritage around the same time when contemporary arts and architecture were undergoing profound changes. It can be argued that for an overview of such procedures, they should not be disentangled but instead they need to be observed in their cross-cultural complexity. This paper attempts to discuss the ramifications of artistic developments in Kirman during the 1880s and 1890s. The period witnessed a steady integration of the region into world economy, while the outflow of local artistic heritage also started during the same decades during which artifacts originating from the Kirman area were to impact not only the growing European interest in Persian art but also European tastes. In particular, the paper will address the European fate of pre-industrial artifacts from Kirman which were set into motion by the consequences of semi-industrialisation, becoming by-products of this process.

MARIA SZUPPE

Landed Property of the Barnabadi Family in Safavid Khurasan (15th – 18th c.)

Under the Safavid dynasty in Iran (1501-1722 or 1736 CE) provincial administration was frequently entrusted into the hands of local, influential families that were firmly and securely established in their regions of origin. However, in general, their history still not only remains poorly known. In this paper, I will sketch some lines of history of a particular family, known as the Khwājas of Barnābād, especially in respect to strategies employed for securing status, wealth and influence through the control of several key economic and professional activities. The paper draws on copies of family documents preserved in the *Tazkerat-e Barnābādi*, a family history composed in the early 19th c. (one of the 3 extant manuscripts was published in Moscow, 1984, by N.N. Tumanovich).

SHAHRAM TAGHIZADEH ANSARI (SEE: KHOSRO KHONSARI)

MAHSA TAHERI (SEE: MOHAMMAD HOSSEIN AZIZI KHARANAGHI)

SAHEL TAHERIAN FARD

Infertility in Iran: What relationship with demographic change?

Since the Islamic revolution in 1979, Iran's population has transformed greatly. Shiites religious authorities and the dominant political system have exerted intervening policies to influence demographic changes. On the one hand, we observe a historical decline in fertility that can be described as "stupefying" because it was the fastest in the world. On the other hand, during the last decade, there has been a sharp increase in infertility that exceeds the world average and worries the Iranian authorities.

Finally, Iran has become the only Shia country in the world in which all methods of medically assisted procreation have been legalized. This demographic policy of the government, both modernist and religious, creates a contradictory situation and resembles a real Iranian paradox. Taking this into account particularity, we examine the position of the Shia religion in relation to the treatment of infertility.

ZAHRA TALAEI

The *dīvāno*'s-*şedāre* and managing the endowment affairs of the *Āstān-e Qods Rażavī* in the *Şafavīd* period

The administration of the affairs of the endowments and the holy shrines in the Safavid period was held at the *dīvāno*'s-*şedāre* under supervision of the *şadr*. The *Āstān-e Qods Rażavī*, as the most important organization of the endowments during this period, had close interactions with the *dīvāno*'s-*şedāre*. Studies are often general introducing the *şadrs*, their actions and the function of the office of *şadr* related to the *Şafavīd* government, and no independent study was done based on the function of *dīvāno*'s-*şedāre* in the management of the *Āstān-e Qods*' endowments. The purpose of this article is to examine the role of this office in this organization based on the documents of the *Āstān-e Qods Rażavī* and other sources. Therefore, firstly, the administrative function of the *dīvāno*'s-*şedāre* during the *Şafavīd* period will be briefly described. The next step is to introduce the documents related to the *şadrs* and the *dīvāno*'s-*şedāre* especially *tūmār-e nasaq* and *vazīfe* payment. In the third stage, the role of the *dīvāno*'s-*şedāre* in managing the *Āstān-e Qods Rażavī* will be discussed.

RAWAA TALASS

Like A Bulldozer: Modernism in Iran Under the Patronage of Empress Farah Pahlavi (1959-1979)

This dissertation explores the remarkable art patronage of Farah Diba Pahlavi, Iran's last empress, who has often been described as the 'Queen of Culture'. Reigning for two decades, the former Paris architecture student Pahlavi enhanced Iran's cultural life by supporting the establishment of museums, cultural centres, and festivals. Set before the critical year of 1979, Pahlavi's patronage played a crucial role in her ruling husband's ambitious vision of modernizing his developing nation. A unique element of Farah Pahlavi's patronage was her dedication to preserving Persian heritage and embracing modern art. In particular, two projects proved to be her greatest and most controversial - the inauguration of the Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art (TMOCA) and the Shiraz Arts Festival. Acting as custodian of numerous works by the greatest artists of the twentieth century – from Van Gogh to Warhol - TMOCA was one of the Middle East's first international art museums. On the other hand, the Shiraz Arts Festival - running from 1967 until 1977 – glorified the performing arts of the East. In addition, the Festival introduced local audiences to eccentric performances by the likes of John Cage and Robert Wilson. Naturally at the time, all these modern artistic endeavors faced criticism with accusations of elitism and westoxication. However, it is today's generation of writers, gallerists, curators, and art enthusiasts that analyze and value the cultural vision of a woman who was ahead of her time.

SHABO TALAY

Khorasan Arabic – Non-Arabic features in an isolated Arabic language island in Iran

This presentation aims to introduce the Arabic language of the Iranian province of Khorasan, spoken by approximately 5 - 10.000 people in three areas of the province (Seeger 2002). Together with the other Arabic enclaves in Uzbekistan and in Afghanistan, it forms the group of "Central Asian Arabic". Since centuries, these isolated linguistic enclaves are separated from the Arabic speaking world. Therefore, and due to the influence of the languages in contact, they have developed differently than the main dialects of Arabic.

In addition to the extra-linguistic features, the focus of my presentation is on the characteristics and innovations of Khorasan Arabic, which originate from the non-Arabic languages in contact.

AFSANEH TAVASSOLI (TEO LEE KEN)

ZOHAIR TAYYEB

The life and works of Mosleh-al-Din Mostafa Soruri

Personality and works of Mosleh-o-din-Chalabi Mulla Mustafa-Soruri al-Hanafi, Aref, Adib, Faqih, Principle, Logical, Mu'did, Monotheistic, Syntactic, Khatib and interpreter of Noble

Masnavi in proportion to the scientific and mystical status of this prominent Turk language of the tenth century AH Gu is not known in Iran. The vast volume of Persian works and the writing of the oldest Persian descriptions on each of the six Masnavi offices, along with the historical and geographical features, and the reflective similarities of his life with Rumi, make it necessary to define this scientific and literary character. The remarkable resemblance of this man's life and circumstances to his Persian dial, Mowlavi, has made him look at this very special, mystical literary work.

This article, using the scientific resources of the Anatolian region, gives a detailed account of the life and works of this scientist and commentator of Masnavi. In addition, the resources presented in the text and in this article will open a new window to Anatolia's literary studies on researchers that will be distinctly different.

GIANFILIPPO TERRIBILI

Remarking Religious Divides and Discussing Community Origins in the ‘Abbasid Cultural Debate. A Zoroastrian Perspective (DkIII 227, 229, 288 and DkVII 4.72)

The paper aims to frame into the context of 9th-10th century CE cultural and historical debate some anecdotal passages from the theological summa of *Dēnkard* focused on the origins of Hebraism (*DkIII* 227,229,288) and the deeds of Zarathustra in Babylonia (*DkVII* 4.72). The view stated by the *hudēnān Pēšōbāys* (Leaders of the Faithful) in this Pahlavi work can assume a deeper meaning if confronted with the development of the coeval Islamic historiography. More specifically, the use of such re-elaborations of the past might show the Zoroastrian anxieties towards cultural assimilation, giving a glimpse of the responsive strategies the leaders of this community undertook to discredit historical synchronisms and hybridisations. Though these latter tendencies long pre-dated the rise of Islam, already entering into the cross-cultural horizon of Sasanian Iran, the study intends to consider this matter in the light of the specific period in which apologetic works as *Dēnkard* circulated. The reinvention of authoritative figures into a single narrative of the "universal" history was in fact a key theme on the fore in the ‘Abbasid milieu, which forged new social awareness and religious identities. The discordant voice of the Zoroastrian priests thus contributed to defining the distinctiveness of identity borders against the main trends spurred by the dominant culture. Although the composition of such motives is not easily datable, we can observe how, in a context of cultural transition, the arguments upon the origins worked within a group that strove for preserving the old association between the concept of “Iranianess” and “Good Religion” affiliation.

ALBERTO TIBURCIO

The Construction of Shī‘ī tradition in Qāzī Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī’s *Majālis al-mū‘minīn*

It has long been accepted as common knowledge that, in writing his florilegium of Shī‘ī tradition, the *Majālis al-mū‘minīn*, Qāzī Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī (d. 1019/1610), who would eventually become a Shī‘ī martyr in exile in Mughal India, sought to distance the Twelver tradition from the temporal power of the Safavid dynasty. By transcending this association with the Iranian dynasty, he could reclaim the legitimacy of this tradition as he engaged in polemics with Sunni scholars in India and beyond. What has been less analyzed, however, is how this configuration of the Shī‘ī tradition was crafted through his selection of charismatic and

authoritative figures and excerpts in the aforementioned work. This paper will analyze Shūshtarī's use of commonly established figures of the Shī'ī tradition as sources as well as other more controversial additions. For this, I will compare his selections to those of some Shī'ī and Persianate biographical works that preceded his own.

MIHAELA TIMUȘ

The perverted Middle Persian in two manuscripts (PB3 and L23) of the Škand Gumānīg Wizār

In 1887, in the introductory study to the edition of the polemical treatise *Škand Gumānīg Wizār*, Edward West made the distinction between the *reconstructed* and the *perverted* Middle Persian to be found in various manuscripts of this text. The present contribution proposes some conclusions based on the detailed, comparative, study of two manuscripts (PB3 and L23) containing various MP perverted fragments. The main hypothesis used by the author is that, contrary to the reconstructed ones, these perverted MP fragments give an idea of how previous lost manuscripts, including the original MP text, looked like.

DAVIDE TRENTACOSTE

"His Physiognomy does not seem good to me" Sir Anthony Sherley at the Tuscan Court

This paper deals with the Tuscan perception of the Anthony Sherley's figure, and his Persian companions at the time of the diplomatic mission sent by shah 'Abbas I to several European countries. The episode, already well known in its main lines, can however still provide some information about this meeting of cultures.

By analyzing some published and unpublished diplomatic sources kept in several funds of the State Archive of Florence, I focus on the perception that the Florentine courtiers had about the Englishman. The sources considered for the present paper are little used and, above all, little known for this kind of study.

At the beginning of the XVII century, Shah 'Abbas I of Persia was looking for Western allies in order to attack the Ottoman Empire from West and in the Mediterranean Sea. For this purpose he sent a mission to the principal European courts. This embassy (1599-1601) was led by an official ambassador, the Persian Husain 'Ali Beg, and by one of the most notorious English adventurers of the early modern age: Sir Anthony Sherley (1565–1635). This Englishman – a pirate, a mercenary, a diplomat – reached the Persian capital in the early summer of 1599 and quickly gained the favor of Shah 'Abbas who sent him as ambassador and companion of the official ambassador Husain 'Ali Beg at the end of summer of the same year. In March 1601, after having met several Christian princes, the ambassadors reached Tuscany, where the Grand Duke Ferdinando I and his court welcomed them. It was the first time that the Florentine élite faced the Persians and Sir Sherley.

Maybe the opinion of a little court, as the Florentine one was, about foreign ambassadors could not be the principal thing to know in order to understand the historical courses of the events,

but it's always interesting trying to analyze the personality of characters who took part to important events. In this way I reflect on some aspects of Anthony Sherley's personality in order to contribute for a better understanding of this interesting figure of the Early Modern History.

GEN'ICHI TSUGE

Musical terminology recorded in the chapter 36 (Dar Khunyāgarī) of Qābūs-nāma: Chronological order of the Qābūs-nāma manuscripts viewed from a musicological viewpoint

The Qābūs-nāma written by Kay Kā'ūs ibn Iskandar (r. 1047-?), includes an interesting chapter for musicologists. The chapter 36 (dar āyīn wa rasm-i khunyāgarī) of this book of counsels, is dedicated to the manners of minstrelsy. This is a rare source of the Ziyārids' music and musical performance.

I focus my attention on the following two points in this chapter: namely, *chahār ṭab'* (humorism and/or four temperaments) of the audience and corresponding string of the lute; and the enumerated names of *parda* (musical mode).

Firstly, the name of four strings of a lute (supposedly *barbat* or ancient 'ūd) are written *zīr*, *dugūna*, *satā*, and *bam* in older manuscripts such as Leiden University Library MS. Or.449 (1319). Corresponding temperaments of the audience are choleric, sanguine, melancholic, and phlegmatic. However, in later manuscripts the names of strings appear as *zīr*, *bam*, *satāra*, and *bam* in the India Office copy (currently British Library MS. I. O. Islamic 79) and Reuben Levy's edition (1951), for examples, and corresponding temperaments differ a little from older manuscripts (See Table 1).

On the other hand, I have noticed in *Kanz al-ṭuḥaf* (a musical treatise of mid-14th century) that the name of the lute strings are written as *zīr*, *mathnā*, *mathlath*, and *bam* (*dugūna* and *satā* were replaced by *mathnā* and *mathlath*), yet the corresponding temperaments are precisely same with the older manuscripts of Qābūs-nāma. However, in 'Abd al-Qādir Marāghī's treatises *Jāmi' al-alḥān* and *Sharḥ-i adwār* (early in the 15th century), corresponding temperaments are reversed between *mathlath* and *bam*. I am concerned about this irregularity.

Concerning the musical modes (*parda*), I compare the list of musical modes in the manuscripts and critical editions which are available to me at this moment. Number and name of the *parda* differ slightly among manuscripts (See Table 2). However, this comparative table shows a tendency that a certain *parda* such as *Salmak* and *Māda* (which exist in older manuscripts) disappear in later manuscripts. Instead, new *parda* such as *Ḥusaynī* and *Bākharz* are added in later manuscripts.

I pose a hypothetical question if musical terminology such as names of the lute strings and of the musical modes could be a *merkmal* which assesses the date of old manuscripts and their lineage or not.

The Principality of Ardalán between Ottomans and Safavids in the 16th century

This paper will be an attempt to understand the different historical approaches to sovereignty in the highly contentious borderlands between the Ottomans and the Safavids. I will specifically examine the varying approaches of the Ottomans and the Safavids to Kurdish communities to recuperate the historical contingencies that shaped notions of sovereignty in this region. This paper will be interested in recovering the Kurdish perceptions of sovereignty and their role in formulating an Ottoman-Safavid borderland in the sixteenth century.

In this paper, I will attempt to shed some light on how the Safavid and Ottoman authorities negotiated the political and cultural integration of the Kurdish dynasties under their domination during the first half of the sixteenth century. I will use a chronicle composed by Me'mūn Bey, the son of the Prince of Ardalán Bige Bey who ruled the region of Šahrezōr (currently Sulaymaniyah, Iraq) from circa 1510 to circa 1550. This 45-folio-long literary work, entitled "The Memoirs of Memun Bey" by İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, covers the 25-year period of the Ottoman-Safavid proxy-war between the prince and his brothers between 1523 and 1552. This strife resulted in the definitive split of the Ardalán principedom between the Ottomans, who took hold of the capital Šahrezōr, and a pro-Safavid dominion around Mehrivān (Merīvān, modern-day Iran). This unique chronicle not only provides us with an invaluable indigenous, Kurdish account on the modalities of Kurdistan's integration into the two neighboring empires, but its relatively long timeframe enables us to appreciate the progressive dimension of this integration. The narrative exposes that although the Ottomans and the Safavids shared some integration practices regarding their Kurdish clients, through courtly education and institutional training, the two empire's broader strategy was quite different. While the Ottomans preferred to secure the direct administration of their borderland regions, even if it meant reassigning their Kurdish clients to remote governments, the Safavids favored Kurdish 'self-rule', gratifying their Kurdish aristocracy with imperial distinctions and copious emoluments.

Addressing the issue of sovereignty in a multilaterally disputed borderland between the two Middle-Eastern empires, this project will bring a fresh perspective to 'frontier and borderland studies. In addition, the absence of central authority, the intertwined sets of suzerainty ties, and the perpetual predominance of local issues over imperial policies that characterized the pre-modern Kurdistan echoes the contemporary situation. I would hope to offer a corrective to the simplistic and misleading perceptions that continue to project the relationships between the Turkish, the Iranian, and the Kurdish communities as one of perennial confrontation and instability.

REIHANEH VAEZSHAHESTANI

Ambiguity the Inherent Quality of "Rira"

"Rira" a famous poem by Nima Yooshij (the father of New Poetry in Iran) has unique structural and linguistic features. Several critics including Houshang Golshiri, Taghi Pournamdarian, Siavash Kasrai, and Mahmoud Falaki have analyzed this poem from different perspectives, but they all have used elements outside the poem for their analyses. In this paper, a Russian formalist approach has been used to explore "Rira." This approach aims to locate its meaning by using element within the poem rather than the ones which exist outside it and uses the concepts that the critics of this school have proposed for analyzing a poem. These concepts include ambiguity, tension, paradox, and irony. In order to do this, first the critiques written on

this poem are reviewed and discussed, and then a brief introduction to the formalists' ideas in literary theory is presented.

MOHAMMAD VAFADAR MORADI (SEE: MOJTABA ABBASNEJAD MATANKOLAEI)

RAMIL VALEEV (SEE: D.R. KHAYRUTDINOV)

R.Z. VALEEVA (SEE: D.R. KHAYRUTDINOV)

GABRIELLE VAN DEN BERG

The figure of Joseph in Persian narrative poems

The story of Joseph has been the topic of a number of *mathnavīs* from the 4th/10th century onwards. Many of these early verse narratives, known under the title *Yūsuf-u Zulaykhā*, are now lost. From an early stage onwards (Sanā'ī, Nāṣir-i Khusrau) the story of Yūsuf and Zulaykhā became a major theme also in Sufi narrative poetry. In this paper I discuss the figure of Joseph as he appears in the *mathnavī Yūsuf-u Zulaykhā* attributed to Firdausī, both in the framework of the genre of early Persian romantic epics, such as 'Ayyūqī's *Varqa va Gulshāh* and in relation to later reworkings of the story, notably *Yūsuf-u Zulaykhā* by the 9th/15th-century poet Jāmī.

OKSANA VASYLYUK (SEE: D.R. KHAYRUTDINOV)

SHIMA VEZVAEI

Iran vs. the World – an intersectional ideology; How foreign women characters have developed in Iranian state television

Eurocentrism and Orientalism in Western perceptions of Iranian women in relations with religion, politics, and culture have been studied for decades. How Iranians themselves view and understand non-Iranian woman – from “East” to “West” – on the other hand has received less attention, at least in the international context. This article is an investigation on how foreign woman characters have developed in Iranian state television during 40 years of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and how they have encountered with gender, national, and religious matters. The findings show foreign characters are overwhelmingly chosen from one gender (female) and their character development, compared to male counter roles, seems to have significantly different function and features. Their relation with lead male characters, similarities in their fascination and change of attitude about Iran on one hand, and critically educating Iranians on citizen rights, law, and order on the other is to be noticed. Using mixed methods of film studies,

I furthermore argue that character development and story plots demonstrate more how Iranians understand themselves and promote an ideology I call “Iran vs. the World” rather than how foreigners have been understood and represented in a politically isolated country. Finally, I attempt to analyze how the subject of the study has changed over time during different governments and political eras in post-revolutionary Iran.

KRISTIN VICTOR

Between plants, foreigners and government officials: The travels of Carl Haussknecht in Qajar Persia (1866–1869)

In the 1860s the German botanist Carl Haussknecht (1838–1903) set out on a journey to the Ottoman Empire and Persia for collecting rare plants. In Persia, he found himself in a country on the threshold to modernity and besides his preoccupation with plants, he wrote a travel diary consisting of several notebooks. The range of information he recorded widely exceeds botany and includes disciplines such as geology, geography, cartography, zoology, but also regional, social and cultural studies and histories. These are complemented by a variety of material, among it a friendship book and carte de visite-photographs. Furthermore, Haussknecht’s plant discoveries and observations constitute an important contribution to the history of science and the development of Oriental botany. In contrast to other travellers, Haussknecht was a scientist and he approached the Persian culture with a different conceptual framework.

This paper will highlight a part of the ongoing interdisciplinary project “The journeys of the botanist Carl Haussknecht (1838–1903) to the Ottoman Empire and Persia (1865 and 1866–1869). The annotated digital edition of his diaries” which is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and a cooperation between the Herbarium Haussknecht of Jena University, the Center for Interdisciplinary Area Studies (ZIRS) at Halle University and the Department for Iranian Studies of the Center of Near and Middle Eastern Studies (CNMS) at Marburg University.

BURZINE WAGHMAR

Epistolae Irano-Britannicae inter Vindolandam et Bactriam

Middle Iranian diplomatics, formerly only limitedly possible due to a gripe in our sources, meagre, fragmentary, poorly understood and demanding formidable linguistic controls, is a firmly established sub-discipline of Iranian philology since the beginning of this century. The discovery and decipherment of civil documents in Bactrian and Book Pahlavi (epistles, contracts, receipts) have provided welcome, illuminating ballast to those already attested in Parthian, Sogdian and Khotanese. A preliminary, novel attempt is adduced here examining transactional correspondences during two sub-imperial administrations: northern, Roman Britain and northern Afghanistan’s Kushano-Sasanian as well as Hunnic interludes.

The 752 wooden writing-tablets—still increasing with on-going excavations since spring 1973 south of Hadrian’s Wall—from the Roman auxiliary fort of Vindolanda (*hodie* Chesterholme), Northumberland, constitute our earliest, handwritten evidence in Great Britain. These ‘Vulgar Latin’ specimens from the late first and second centuries AD is the largest deposit of ink-written tablets in the world, and afford an astonishing glimpse of long-distance military accounts and provisional supplies in British recorded history. Our Bactrian corpus of missives, in the main

undated and largely local, reveals an equally well-honed scribal tradition of continued literacy and numeracy from the Achaemenid era in late antique Afghanistan. Internal palaeographic evidence has inferred that the 63 letters considered here correspond to those dated contractual samples ranging from the mid-fourth to the last quarter of the fifth century AD. A report of this Bactrian Chronology Project (2004-08) was presented by Nicholas Sims-Williams at ECIS6 (Vienna, 2007). His 3-volume authoritative edition of these 150 plus Bactrian documents is published by the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* (2000[2001]-12). The aforementioned project has also been recently released (Sims-Williams and de Blois, 2018).

It is, given spatial, temporal and civilisational disparities, *ipso facto*, a contrastive rather than comparative survey of epistolary protocol, formulary, and content deliberately selected to highlight communicatory conventions and how imperial outposts engaged with metropolitans, marauders and minions.

KATARZYNA WĄSALA

A Question of Persian Diglossia: Do We Really Need an Answer?

Since 1959, when it was brought to international attention by Ferguson in his seminal paper, the term *diglossia* has made a great career in sociolinguistics. A linguistic situation in which there are two mutually exclusive registers of a language in use by a speech community, exemplified by languages such as Arabic, Greek and Swiss German, has been defined and studied extensively ever since. The biggest effort, however, seems to be put in deciding whether a certain language is diglossic or not, rather than studying the phenomenon itself.

Persian language, although it was used as an example of a different linguistic situation by Ferguson himself, was declared a *striking example of diglossia* in 1984 by Jeremias. Interestingly, it was only 20 years later that such a bold declaration finally sparked a discussion—or rather, total objection. Perry (2003) compared Persian and Egyptian Arabic to prove that Persian is not nearly as diglossic as Arabic and, in effect, not diglossic at all. The topic died down for another 15 years until a recent (2018) paper by Mahmoudi-Bakhtiari, in which the concept of Persian as a diglossic language reappears.

In my presentation, I would like to address this recurring issue from a few different angles. The first point is, why is this a recurring subject and not a resolved question of being or not being diglossic. Then, how is it possible to declare Persian either diglossic or not diglossic on the base of almost the same evidence? What are the arguments for and against diglossia in Persian? Using linguistic data from literary and non-literary sources, I would like to show the possible answers to the above questions and proceed to the final and most important issue in the subject: whether there is any point in discussing Persian diglossia at all and how can or cannot it be beneficial for linguistic research in the field of Modern Persian.

The development of bookkeeping practices in the Ilkhanid Fiscal administration: Focusing on the importance of *barāt* (check) payment system

This paper investigates the development of bookkeeping practices under the Mongol Ilkhanate (1258-1335) analyzing samples of account books in Persian accounting (*siyāq*) manuals, and its significance in the history of accountancy and bookkeeping practices in Iran.

Analysis of sample account books in *siyāq* manuals compiled in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *Al-Murshid fī al-Ḥisāb*, *Sa'ādāt-nāma*, *Jāmi' al-Ḥisāb*, *Risāla-yi Falakīya* and so on, indicates that the Ilkhanid taxation was, as Prof. A.K.S. Lambton noticed, based on the tax contract system and the considerable part of expenses were paid by issuing *barāts* (checks or orders of payment) to tax contractors. In early years of the Mongol rule, however, the bookkeeping practices in the Ilkhanid diwaan (fiscal bureau) had no method to control issuing *barāts*, and as Rashīd al-Dīn noted, the excess of issuing *barāts* became one of significant causes of the financial crisis before the enthronement of Ghazan Khan, the seventh Ilkhan (1295-1304). After the fiscal reform of Ghazan, *siyāq* manuals in the fourteenth century suggest that remarkable changes occurred in the bookkeeping practices in the later Ilkhanid period; two account book named *tawjīh* book and *awārja* book appeared as special book for supervising the expenses and controlling the *barāt* payment system. Furthermore, these two books were considered principal account books in *siyāq* manuals of the later periods also and developed their functions. We confirm that the struggle for control on *barāt* payment system under the Mongol fiscal administration had significance influence in the history of bookkeeping practices in Iran and Persianate societies.

MATTHIAS WEINREICH

Between Zoroastrian Mytho-History and Islamic Hagiography. Trajectories of Mutual Influence on the Example of the *Mādayān ī Jōišť ī Friyān*

The *Mādayān ī Jōišť ī Friyān* (MJF) or 'Story of Jōišť ī Friyān' is a Middle Persian (Pahlavi) tale, which recounts how a wise and God-fearing youth named Jōišť ī Friyān succeeds in outwitting his adversary, the wicked sorcerer Axt, in a verbal contest. While the oldest document containing the MJF can be traced back to the second half of the 13th century (1269), indicating a connection to a manuscript pertaining to a Zoroastrian priest from Nēšapūr, linguistic criteria suggest that the tale in its present form may have been authored around the 10th century.

Differently from other protagonists of Middle Persian Zoroastrian literature, whose exploits were adapted to the tastes of a Moslem audience, neither Jōišť nor Axt are even mentioned by medieval authors dealing with the Iranian past, like Firdawsī, al-Tha'ālibī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Iṣfahānī etc.

Since the MJF's first modern edition and translation in the second half of the 19th century, several attempts have been made to link the story to narratives about Islamic saints facing hard questions by their religious adversaries. However, all parallels deduced so far seem to remain within the frame of typological similarities.

In my paper I intend to present a hitherto unnoticed parallel between the MJF and a wellknown episode from the life of a famous Islamic Sufī saint from north-eastern Iran. Both stories will be compared on the basis of their structural narrative elements (themes) and an explanation for

their similarity shall be attempted by taking into account conceivable literary interactions between Zoroastrians and their Moslem neighbours in early medieval Iran.

CHRISTOPH U. WERNER

Panegyrics and Eulogies in the Indian Style: The Qandahar-Nama and Odes by Sa'ib Tabrizi

Sa'ib Tabrizi (1592-1676) is not only one of the most famous representatives of the *Indian Style* in Persian poetry, he also spent seven formative years in India close to Mughal rule and culture. He can thus be considered, in terms of the present conference, as a transregional author, situated between Iran and India by his biography, style and themes. Still a contested poet, his enormous literary output leaves a lot to discover.

Research and critical evaluation of Sa'ib Tabrizi's oeuvre has focused on his innovative language and metaphorical creativity, his treatment of Sufi motives and most recently in Western literature, his role in connecting architecture and panegyrics, in particular with regard to the urban landscapes of Isfahan.

The present paper continues on this path and proposes a close reading of the Qandahar-Nama as a transregional text that bridges genres (*masnavi* and *qasida* and *fath-nama*) as well as geographical boundaries with Qandahar as the frontier town between the Safavid and the Mughal empire. This reading will be juxtaposed with a closer look on other panegyric odes by Sa'ib Tabrizi, in praise of both Safavid rulers and Shi'i Imams. In how far does Sa'ib Tabrizi transcend physical geography in his panegyric writings? Can the location and placement of such texts in different editions (and manuscripts) be considered a sign for translocality as well?

GALINA WOODOVA

Zoroastrian Undercurrent, The Resilient Lahij Coppersmith of Azerbaijan

The presentation is anchored in a field work for PhD dissertation "Lahij, Living Heritage of Azerbaijan" from 2011-2016, defended in Charles University, Prague. Lahij, a bilingual settlement of craftsmen hidden in a mountain sanctuary, claims Shia identity. While outward appearances support this notion observant participation style immersion traces deeper currents underneath. The case study explores the identity issues in a Girdiman cultural landscape through the use of Southwest Iranian language, authentic way of life, key narratives, salient community values, daily use of blessings, an analysis of Novruz and some life-cycle events.

At first Zoroastrian motives become recognizable through visible gestures of ancient ritual actions. Although altered in a particular way through historical pressures, they still reveal firm roots of ancient faith. As Zoroastrian thought and deed transpires attention is focused on symbolism typical for a struggle between the darkness and light.

Introduction of four Armenian Iranistics and researches in their works

Over centuries Armenian scholars in Iranian studies have fulfilled crucial research on Iranian literature, history, art, folklore and other fields of science, however, there has been less effort to introduce them and their works. Some of these Armenians are as following: Yeghishe, the fifth-century historian, Arakel Davrizhetsi (Arakel of Tabriz), the seventeenth-century historian, Ruben Abrahamyan, the twentieth-century scholar in Iranian studies and linguist, and Georgi Nalbandyan, the twentieth-century linguist and orientalist. The works of these scholars were unique in presentation, combination and connection of Iranian studies in three field of literature, history, and linguistic. This research includes a deep analysis of the biography of these scholars and their outstanding works in the above-mentioned field. Abrahamayan was the pioneer of translating Ardaviraf namag from Pahlavi to Armenian in 1958. The second book is Bilingual Dictionary in the field of linguistic. This work has been completed and presented in Armenia for the first time in 1965 by Nalbandyan. Moreover, three books have been studied and analyzed in the field of history. The first precious work is The History by Yeghishe in the 5th century. The author analyzed and presented the political situation of Iran and Armenia during the reign of the Parthians and Sasanians. Also, he mentioned the Iranian religious beliefs, especially the Zoroastrian religion, the life style of ancient Iranians and their social life of that period. The second work is in the field of history which was written by Arakel Davrizhetsi in the 17th century. One of the most important features of this book is that when the events occurred, the author was present and witnessed all circumstances, and he wrote about the whole situation of that time. The proper nouns of Shahnameh and the usage of them in Armenia is the third work by Georgi Nalbandyan.

“Iranian Kurds” (*Akrād-e Īrān*) in Sharaf Khan Bidlisi’s Sharaf-name and Their Careers in Safavid Iran

This paper sheds light on the Safavid integration policy regarding Kurdish local rulers by focusing on the Kurdish tribes called “Iranian Kurds” (*Akrād-e Īrān*) in Sharaf Khan Bidlisi’s Sharaf-name. Both major and minor Kurdish tribes fell under Safavid domination, and these tribes reacted differently to the Safavid rule. The powerful—and not always trustworthy—major tribes, such as the Ardalan and the Mokri, had large numbers of followers and governed comparatively vast territories; they sometimes revolted against the central government to maintain their independence, at least until the mid-seventeenth century. The minor tribes, which Sharaf Khan called “Iranian Kurds” in his chronicle, willingly accepted Safavid suzerainty and were, on the whole, faithful to the Safavids. Having no fixed hereditary territory to cling to, they could be easily transplanted to other places, such as Khorasan. The radical reforms undertaken by Shah ‘Abbas I also provided these transferred Kurdish rulers the chance to rise in Safavid politics, and Kurds were appointed governors in Khorasan and other border regions, such as Kerman and the Persian Gulf. Other Kurds, such as the Zangane, built successful careers in the central Safavid administration. These developments had important implications for the incorporation of the Kurdish elite into the Safavid government and accelerated the transformation of Safavid Iran into a multiethnic state.

OLGA YASTREBOVA

On the two earliest manuscripts of Sultan Valad's "Mathnavī-yi valadī"

Bahā al-Dīn Muḥammad Sulṭān Valad (1226-1311) composed his first epic poem known under the titles of "Valadnāma", "Mathnavī-yi valadī" or "Ibtidānāma" around 690 AH / 1291 CE. This poem, recognized as the earliest and most important source on Jalāl al-Dīn Rumī's biography and the early history of the ṭarīqa, has been published twice, most lately in 2010. This paper will concentrate on two copies of the work which appear to be the earliest and which were not known to the editors of the 2010 publication. One manuscript is preserved at the National Library of Iran (Tehran), the other one at Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Florence, Italy). The Florence manuscript dated 691 AH (1291-1292 CE) appears to be an autograph with numerous corrections and additions. There is an inscription on the first two pages that is dated by 1 Ramaḍān 691 AH (23 August 1293 CE) and mentions that the book was gifted by the author to his son. The Tehran manuscript is a clean copy dated 1 Sha'bān 692 (13 July 1293). The corrections and additions in the Florence manuscript, allowing to reconstruct some stages of the process of the text's creation, will be discussed.

MOHAMMAD YAZDANPANAH (SEE: MOJTABA DOROODI)

ROIE YELLINEK

The Nature of the Relationships between Iranian Leaders and China 1992-2015

This presentation will analyze how some selected Iranian political and religious leaders perceived and reacted to China's growing influence in their country from 1992 to 2015.

Three geostrategical evolutions justify the choice of this specific time-period: Firstly, it was during those years that the international community realized that Chinese growth had become a new consistent feature of global politics, and was not a passing phenomenon. Secondly, 1992 was the first year when China was holding embassies in every single Middle Eastern country. Lastly, the fall of the Communist Bloc in the early 90's left a political vacuum in those countries, one that could potentially be filled by China's growing influence. As a consequence, Iranian leaders started to strengthen significantly their diplomatic and economical ties with China. On their side, Chinese leaders increased the involvement of China in the country, with the specific goals of promoting political stability and securing its strategic interests, the latter being its access to the large quantities of energy resources and to the maritime trade routes that run through the area.

This presentation will examine the attitudes and reactions of the following leaders: Mohammad Khatami, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and Hassan Rouhani. This examination will draw a general picture of the dynamics at work between the two countries during this period.

Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqah wa sharī‘at al-ṭarīqah: Mystical Foundation of Kingship

The main objective of this paper is to investigate the structure of an early medieval Persian manual of Sufi and political advice entitled *Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqah wa sharī‘at al-ṭarīqah* (The Enclosed Garden of Truth and the Law of the [Sufi] Path), which was the magnum opus of the poet Abū al-Majd Majdūd b. Ādam Sanā‘ī-yi Ghaznavī (d. 1131 CE). Written in ten chapters in *masnavī* form, it was dedicated to the Ghaznavid ruler Bahrāmshāh (r. 1117-57). The book served as a model for several mystical poetic texts written in the following centuries, including Rūmī’s *Masnavī-yi ma‘navī* and ‘Attār’s *Manṭiq al-ṭayr*, *Ilāhīnāmah*, and *Muṣībatnāmah*. Despite the significance of the *Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqah* in the history of Persian advice literature, only a handful of scholars have studied the book in depth. Scholarly contributions have been largely limited to the investigation of its general outline—mostly, from the perspective of Sufi ethics. Though a few scholars, including Charles-Henri de Fouchécour and J.T.P de Bruijn, have briefly treated the intersection of religio-Sufi and political ethics, none of them has provided a detailed analysis of the contents and structure of the work in order to shed light on Sanā‘ī’s eclectic synthesis of these seemingly contrasting topics.

The paper explores the relevance of the eighth chapter of the *Ḥadīqah*—which contains Sanā‘ī’s conception of an ideal king and his politico-ethical advice to the Ghaznavid ruler Bahrāmshāh—to the other nine chapters, each of which discuss a particular religio-Sufi topic. I will demonstrate that while the *Ḥadīqah* has been perceived as a fragmentary text, the fragments are related to one another in a way that they construct a cohesive whole. One way to relate the fragments to each other is to focus on Sanā‘ī’s conception of an ideal ruler—which can be derived from his politico-ethical advice in the eighth chapter of the *Ḥadīqah*—and examine what role different Sufi topics and themes play in his idea of perfect kingship.

As it will be indicated, the content of the eighth chapter of the *Ḥadīqah* is similar to the content of medieval Persian *Mirrors for Princes*—such as *Qābūsnāmah* by ‘Unṣur al-Ma‘ālī Kay Kāvūs b. Iskandar (r. 977-981 and 997-1012 CE), *Siyāsatnāmah* by Nizām al-Mulk (d. 1092), *Naṣīhat al-mulūk* attributed to al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). What makes this chapter unique and slightly different from the texts that belong to the genre of *Mirrors for Princes* is Sanā‘ī’s Sufi presentation of common topics that appear therein. These topics include—but are not limited to—justice, generosity, forgiveness, knowledge and the usage of royal punitive power. As it will be demonstrated, Sanā‘ī’s Sufi construction and presentation of political advice facilitates the connection between the Sufi and the political dimension of the work.

AMIR ZAMANI

One Person, Several Names

The Persepolis Fortification Archive plays an increasingly important role in linguistic research on Old Iranian, if only because it contains hundreds of Iranian names in Elamite transcription. One debate which is renewed by this material is that on the ‘Median language,’ which for a long time was reconstructed on the basis of Greek sources and royal inscriptions. In the Fortification archive, one may come across some names differing just in certain phonemes making one Old Persian and one Median. The high frequency with which certain names occur makes it possible to do prosopographic analyses on a very detailed level, as if one were looking at the personal files of the individuals involved.

Ziššawiš, vice director of the 'Persepolis economy' and deputy satrap of Pārsa is an individual with some importance. Contrary to what one might expect, however, the spelling of his name shows a range of variations. At the same time, prosopographic analysis makes it clear that the same individual is at stake.

The example of Ziššawiš is illuminating and will serve to introduce the wider research to dialectal variation within the Persian heartland.

HAMID ZAREI

Introduction of ancient water technologies in the Persian Gulf

Iran is a country that is located mostly in arid and semi-arid regions. Thus, water has long been one of the main problems for the inhabitants of these lands. Archaeological and historical studies indicate that the Iranians had knowledge of ancient water storing techniques. They searched and found different underground water via symptoms and signs. To achieve this goal, different methods were used. The Persian Gulf and the Oman Sea coasts and their islands have been suffering with water shortages since the early settlements of human in the region. The region's economy has always been dependent on water. Throughout history, people of this region (the Persian Gulf) have had great difficulties to obtain drinking water. People in Bushehr Province have used a variety of methods for storing water due to the limited water resources and climatic conditions. Water reservoir and Berkeh are two methods of storing water that people have long benefited in different parts of the province. They also drilled wells and Qanats for use of groundwater resources.

Some techniques and methods of exploiting groundwater in this area are conducted by Qanat and wells. Digging wells for drinking water is an efficient method since a long time. This method is used not only in Iran but also has been extended to other territories. Drinking water was supplied by wells In Many cities and towns. Using wells has been one of the four traditional irrigation wells in the history of Iran. Its record is dates back to ancient times. At the time of the Achaemenids water from wells had been used for irrigation. Irrigation by wells has been spread across the country and as well as in continues. The Qanat is one of the innovations of Iranian which was intended to cope up with the problems of irrigation and dehydration, particularly in arid and semi-arid regions. It is an important and vital factor for the growth and development in these regions. This system has been used to transfer water from foothills to lowlands. This system has been used in almost all the cities of Iran. This paper is an attempt to investigate the Ancient Methods of utilization of groundwater resources including Qanat and Well. The area of this study includes the Northern parts of the Persian Gulf, Jam County ,Bushehr port , and Ancient Siraf port.

ABBAS ZAREI MEHRVARZ

Relations between villagers and landowners in Kurdistan province during the Constitutional Revolution

During the constitutional period, a part of the Kurdistan people were rural and did not have any ties to the Kurdish tribes; they were in the minority in comparison with the nomadic population. The political and social awareness of the villagers was at a very low level. They did not understand the complexities of the landowners' relationships; so, they thought their masters

were the most powerful. For the villagers, like the urban people, their security was very important more than anything else. The immediate danger that threatened them was the nomadic attacks. Therefore, they expected the masters be their defender.

The local bureaucrats also were the village owners; they controlled, in addition to the relative political domination of the province, most of the villages and their peasants. These landowners did not allow their peasants to engage in political and constitutional activities. Although the main concern of the villagers was the struggle against the greed of the landowner's agents and enforcers and the frequent attacks of the tribesmen. The agents and officers were the representatives of the landowners in the village. Landowners did not have the possibility of rebelliousness in the villages due to political and administrative concerns; therefore, their agents were oppressive to the villagers. One of the most important reasons for buying villages by bureaucrats and landlords was the continuous tax revenues, in addition to increasing power and wealth and influence. The amount of tax was different according to the capacity and population of the villages.

Due to the unfavorable social and political context of the region, the Kurdistan villagers did not contribute to the constitutional movement. On the other hand, the constitutionalism in changing the villager's situation not only was not beneficial, but also the conditions of their life became harder. In view of the crises of the years after the Constitutional Revolution and the WWI, the masters and landowners tightened their grip on the villagers and destroyed their hope for a better life. It is remarkable to know the Landlords, like the nomads, considered the constitutionalism as synonymous with chaos, and this also was accepted by the villagers. As a result, it can be said that there was no major change in the conditions of the social and economic life of the villagers until the fall of Qajar.

This research, by relying on the main sources and the new found documents of Sa'id-al-Sultan's archive, and by using the content analysis method, tries to address the villagers and landowners relations during the constitutional period.

ZOHREH ZEHBARI

Achaemenid Metalworkers in the Persepolis Archives

Activities of artisans and artists in Achaemenid period is documented in a wide array of sources, notably for the core of the Achaemenid empire. The so-called Susa Charter (DSf-DSz-DSaa) is the oldest written document from this area to mention metalworkers. It remarks that Median and Egyptian goldsmiths worked on the palace of Susa. Shortly afterwards, the Persepolis Archives (Fortification and

Treasury tablets) speak about goldsmiths, silversmiths and coppersmiths who worked or travelled in the Persian Empire. Also, the Persepolis Treasury tablets provide evidence about lead working, providing a background for the archaeologically well-attested use of clamps. The metalworkers were from different countries under Persian rule. Egyptians are, for example, variously document as goldsmiths. Inscriptions evidence suggests the activity of Lydian and Median smiths. This research aims to address the various metallurgic specialisations in terms of philological relationship, status, wage, gender and nationality. It will also evoke archaeological evidence, which indicates that the Achaemenids produced considerable quantities of metal objects (artisanal and agricultural tools, weapons, vessels, ornamental elements, jewellery) and deployed metal in architecture as well.

Metalworkers produced various objects for different social classes and different architectural and other contexts; it would be a valid assumption that they played a notable role in the society of Achaemenid period.

ARASH ZEINI

From *Yasna* to *Yazišn*: On the (in)significance of the ritual in late antique Zoroastrianism

Terms such as 'worship', 'sacrifice' and 'ritual' often indeterminately translate different Avestan or Middle Persian words with a shared semantic and etymological background. Surely, the ancient and the late antique terms and their modern translations denote divergent concepts. No matter what a 'ritual' meant in Avestan times, the significance of the term must have been a different one in later times, particularly in late antique Zoroastrianism. Starting with this elementary observation, I will survey the Middle Persian literature for clues as to the (in)significance---some would say *Sitz im Leben*---of the ritual in the religious life of the era. The examination will mostly focus on the exegesis of the ritual in an attempt to understand the purpose of the Middle Persian meta ritual literature.

ROYA ZENDEBUDIE

From *Dey Zangeroo* to *Pairika*: Thread of Female Trickster in Iranian Folklore and Mythology

While much study has been given to the Iranian folklore, its correlations with ancient mythology have remained relatively unexplored. Subsequently, this paper attempts to focus on one particular folk-tale, belonging to the Southern parts of Iran, and trace its thread back to the tales of ancient mythology and folklore. The folk-tale is titled *Dey Zangeroo*, literally meaning Dark Faced Mother, and is the name of the tale's namesake evil character. *Dey Zangeroo* has the shape of a giant crab that swallows the moon, causing eclipse. She is a mysterious creature, detested by the people, and is driven off by rituals and songs which are still alive and performed among the local people of Iran's southern parts. This paper, whilst demonstrating the commonalities of the tale with other Asian eclipse folklore, traces its influences back to the trickster female characters in *The Thousand and One Nights*, especially *Dhât al-Dawâhî* who is, as her name suggests, The Bringer of Calamities or Mistress of Misfortunes. Still more ancient influences and roots of the story are traced to the ancient Persia's mythological creature, *Pairika*. Inherently mischievous and devilish, *Pairika* is argued to be the prototype of the female trickster in Iranian folklore and mythology.

ROXANA ZENHARI

Men of Farang in Illustrated Martyrdom Stories of the Qajar Period: An Invitation to Islam or a Quest to legitimize Shi'ite Beliefs?

Numerous martyrdom stories were written and illustrated in Iran during the nineteenth century. Most of these stories were an imitation of Kâshefi's book, *Rowzat al-shohadâ*, a dramatic description written in the Safavid period about the tragic events of the Battle of Karbala. The introduction of the printing industry and its impressive growth during the Qajar period provided

a good opportunity to produce this popular religious genre for a vast audience among the people. Mosayyeb-nāme, Asrār al-shahāde, Ṭufan al-bokā, and Mātamkade are Qajarian books that are considered popular Shi'ite literature and a continuation of Kāshefi's tradition: vibrant and dramatic narrations in simple language, written in a combination of prose and poetry. Most of these texts were narrated and recited in Shi'ite passion plays and public lamentations. The written accounts of Western diplomats, merchants, and missionaries show that the foreigners were riveted by these recitations and performances since the early seventeenth century onward. The country's social and political conditions and the plans of Qajar's ambitious politicians caused an increase in the number of Western scholars and diplomats living in the country. Historical documents show that foreigners were often invited to attend these solemnities during this period. Meanwhile, among different episodes of these narrations, some minor stories featuring Western men are incorporated into the major stories about Martyrdom of Ḥosayn the third and Moḥammad Ja'far Ṣādeq the sixth Shi'ite imams.

My paper will focus on the role of the men of farang in the Qajarian Shi'ite passion plays and folk stories. I will assess the iconography of these men, their social position in the stories, and the reason for their representation in different episodes. Through a contextual approach, I will try to determine the reason for Western men's inclusion in the martyrdom Shi'ite narrations and the influence of their presence on both Iranian audiences and Western visitors.

WALEED ZIAD

Re-centering Las Bela, Balochistan: New Pedagogical Approaches to the Study of Urban and Peri-urban Sacred Space

In my presentation, I will be discussing the development of new pedagogical approaches to the study of sacred space, based on an ongoing multidisciplinary field-based course designed and simultaneously offered at Habib University in Karachi and Las Bela University in Balochistan. The course is focused on the sacred and historical geography of Bela town, in the Las Bela district of Balochistan, which features several dozen Sufi shrines, numerous shared Hindu-Muslim pilgrimage sites, shrines associated with Persianate romantic mythology (e.g., Shirin Farhad, Sassi Pannu) and over a dozen Nanakpanthi temples. Las Bela remains understudied, despite its pivotal location between Iran, Kalat, and Sindh, and Bela's role as the capital city of a state that not long ago encompassed Karachi. The recent opening of this region has provided unique opportunities to make academic forays into Bela and surrounding regions. The course brings together participants from an array of disciplines – history, anthropology, design, architecture, urban planning, religious studies, photography, and film – to explore novel methods of mapping the sacred, mythological, and historical geography of the town and its immediate environs.

Through this course, we have sought to expand inter-disciplinary horizons, allowing students to participate and design various aspects of a field based study and develop new methodologies for the study of historical urban environments. It affords the opportunity for faculty and students to collectively conduct original primary source research in a rich yet unexplored environment.

ALESSIA ZUBANI

The King of Things. Exploring Sasanian Ingenious Mechanical Devices

The ‘space race’ between the Soviet Union and the United States, culminated with the moon landing by the Americans, shows well how technological prowess can be effectively used to display and signify power: by sending a man on the moon before their political opponents, the United States notoriously had their status as the ultimate superpower validated on live television all over the world. Yet, the perception of the political capital hidden in the display of technological prowess does not seem unique to the contemporary world. Both Islamic and Greek sources report of the presence of ingenious mechanical devices (*automata*) in the Sasanian world, some of which – such as the rotating structure with throne apparently built for Khusraw II – were quite impressive in size and were meant for very public display. An analysis of relevant excerpts from primary sources allows us to explore the historical dynamics which favoured technological progress in late antique Iran, shedding light on the interplay between politics and technology at the Sasanian court.

ANTON ZYKOV

Irani Variation of Parsi Language in Maharashtra

My presentation will delve upon the variations of speech in the Parsi language among Irani Zoroastrians of India. Parsi (also known as Parsi Gujarati) functions as *lingua franca* among the majority of Indian Zoroastrians (57,264, according to the latest 2011 all-India census, down from 69601 in 2001), known as Parsis. However, the migration of Zoroastrians from Iran in ca. 1890s-1930s and their active integration with Parsis led to the creation of the distinct Irani group. Its members, prominent in café management and chikoo farming originally came to India speaking Gavruni or Zoroastrian Dari, which the current Iranis of the third and fourth generation have almost exclusively lost the ability to converse in. They have shifted to Parsi, but retained various linguistic features specific to Zoroastrian Dari.

My paper, developed within the framework of my thesis entitled *The Parsi Community and Its Language: Ritual Change and Vernacular Lexicon* (Inalco, USPC, commenced in 2017), will describe primarily lexical and syntactic variations of Irani speech in the Parsi language. The presentation will use the extensive audio- and videography materials collected during my previous period of linguistic fieldwork in Gujarat and Maharashtra (October-December 2018), particularly those gathered in Dahanu and Mumbai among the members of Irani Zoroastrian community.
