



Abstracts of Panels
NINTH EUROPEAN CONFERENCE OF IRANIAN STUDIES
(ECIS 9)

Berlin, 9–13 September 2019
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).

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List of Panels Ninth European Conference of Iranian Studies (ECIS 9)

No	Title	Organizer	Room	Date/Time
I	Elam and Pārsa: current trends in Achaemenid studies	Wouter Henkelman	Isfahan	Tuesday 9:00-13:00
II	Zoroastrian rituals in priestly performance and textual transmission	Almut Hintze	Yazd	Tuesday 9:00-13:00
III	Investing Persian Cultural Heritage: Restoration, Replication and Revivification from the Qajars to the Pahlavis	Yuka Kadoi, Iván Szántó	Maragheh	Tuesday 9:30-13:00
IV	On Literary Modernity: Voices from Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia	Christine Nölle-Karimi	Shiraz	Monday 11:30-13:30
V	Persian Translations and Textual Productions in the South Asian Multi-Lingual Context	Pegah Shahbaz	Isfahan	Thursday 9:30-12:30
VI	Safavid Studies: Present and Future	Colin Mitchell, Giorgio Rota	Isfahan	Friday 9:00-11:30
VII	Language Islands and Language Contact: Iranian Minority Languages	Saloumeh Gholami	Kerman	Friday 9:00-11:30
VIII	Spaces of Tehran: Culture, Power, Politics and the City	Robert Steele	Maragheh	Friday 9:00-13:30
IX	Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Study of Shrines and Sacred Landscapes in the Iranian World	Daniel Beben	Hawraman	Tuesday 9:00-11:00
X	The Figure of Joseph/Yūsuf in Classical Persian and Judaeo-Persian Literature	Julia Rubanovich, Justine Landau	Shiraz	Wednesday 9:00-11:00
XI	Turkic Interactions with the Persianate World	Charles Melville	Shiraz	Tuesday 9:00-16:30
XII	Contacts and interference in Old Persian and Avestan linguistic Cultures	Velizar Sadovski	Yazd	Monday 11:30-17:00
XIII	Corpus Avesticum Berolinense: reconstruction, analysis and representation of the rituals in Avestan language	Alberto Cantera	Yazd	Wednesday 9:00-15:30
XIV	Reimagining Iran: Mobility and its Discontents	Nader Talebi	Shiraz	Friday 9:00-11:00
XV	Modernism East and East, Visual and Material Culture between the Ottomans and the Qajars	Margaret Shortle	Maragheh	Tuesday 15:00-17:00
XVI	Iran and the Qur'ān: Interactions and Exchanges from Late Antiquity to the present (Corpus Coranicum BBAW)	Michael Marx	Tehran	Friday 9:00-13:00

I. Elam and Pārsa: current trends in Achaemenid studies

Room: **Isfahan** (1.2052)

Time: 10.09.2019 **9:00 – 13:00**

Coordinator: **Wouter F. M. Henkelman**

1. 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.

2. 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.

3. KIUMARS ALIZADEH

From Arjān bowl to the world of Persepolis Archive: Elamites and Persians in Highlands In 1982, during the construction of Mārun 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.

4. 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.

5. 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 specializations 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, jewelry) 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.

6. 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.

7. 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.

II. Zoroastrian rituals in priestly performance and textual transmission

Zoroastrian rituals have come down to the present day in the form of manuscripts which describe them and in the form of actual performances. This panel explores performative and textual aspects of Zoroastrian rituals from different angles and in methodologically different ways. In section 1, Redard, Hintze and Daruwalla examine the recitation text in relation to the ritual performance while Errichiello studies esoteric interpretations of the ritual in the modern Khshnoom movement. In section 2, Peschl, Goldman and Palladino discuss the interpretation of the Avestan ritual texts in the Zoroastrian traditions of Iran and India.

Room: **Yazd** (2.2058)

Time: 10.09.2019 **9:00 – 13:00**

Coordinator: **Almut Hintze**

Section 1

1. 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.

2. 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.

3. 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 2 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 Atashbehram 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.

4. 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 emphasize 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.

Section 2

5. 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 3 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.

6. 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.

7. 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.

III. Investing Persian Cultural Heritage: Restoration, Replication and Revivification from the Qajars to the Pahlavis

Room: **Maragheh** (0.2052)

Time: 10.09.2019 **9:30 – 13:00**

Coordinators: **Yuka Kadoi, Iván Szántó**

Revisiting the eponymous 1983 volume edited by Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, this panel reflects on the formation of “Persian cultural heritage” - a distinctive cultural phenomenon that emerged in modern times. Any heritage is never created from scratch: in the case of the Persian world (modern-day Iran and West Central Asia), the material traces of the past were often destined to refashion their appearance, in accordance with the political climate and socio-cultural needs of the time or even deemed undesirable or unrestorable. This is particularly true with the Qajar and Pahlavi periods (ca. 1800 - late 1970s), when Iran underwent a series of campaigns focusing on cultural modernisation and nationalisation. The complex mechanisms of reformulating Persian cultural heritage should also be recontextualised, along with the rise of the Persian art market as well as the growth of Persian collections in Iran and elsewhere outside the modern-borders of the country, particularly across the Euro-American world.

Thematically divided into two sections, each paper deals with various aspects of restoration, replication and revivification of historic monuments, objects and visual arts - mainly those produced during the Islamic period but with the evocation of Iran’s pre-Islamic past - and features historical, technological, economical and ideological problems surrounding the re-making process of Persian cultural heritage.

Part 1: Locality

Chair: Yuka Kadoi

1. 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-industrialization, becoming by-products of this process.

2. 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.

3. LESLEE KATRINA 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.

Part 2: Materiality

Chair: Iván Szántó

4. 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 centerpiece 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 commercialization 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.

5. 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.

6. 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.

IV. On Literary Modernity: Voices from Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia

Room: **Shiraz** (-1.2009)

Time: 09.09.2019 **11:30 – 13:30**

Coordinator: **Christine Nölle-Karimi**

This panel aims at putting the debates on literary modernity in Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia into perspective. In each of the three settings, national concerns relating to questions of language and fatherland were geared to foster specific and exclusive notions of unity, homogeneity, and literary heritage. At the same time, common themes in the discussion concerning the proper forms and themes of modern literature cut across the emerging state borders and diverse political scenarios. A key ingredient of the local debates was the relationship between literature and the intellectual milieu it sprang from. While the “revolutionaries” tried to implement social and cultural change by means of literary change, others argued that changes in the social and cultural milieu presupposed literary change. The literati participating in the theoretical reflections either drew upon a traditional literary and poetological training or were newcomers to the field. Focusing on individual protagonists and their platforms, the contributors will gauge the specific standpoints feeding the literary debates of the time. In the Iranian context, Roxane Haag-Higuchi will explore how Mohammad Taqi Bahar developed a specific notion of literary development based on the Lamarckian concept of evolutionary theory. In the framework of the literary debates that manifested in the literary magazine *Armaghan* and the daily *Shafaq-e Sorkh* in the early 1920s, Bianca Devos will analyze the arguments put forth by Vahid Dastgerdi and Lotfali Suratgar. Christine Nölle-Karimi will reflect on the models the Afghan authors Mahmud Tarzi, Mir Gholam Mohammad Ghobar and Mohyi al-Din Anis, and Gholam Jailani A’zami brought into play to explain the connection between literature, social circumstances and national political requirements. Against the background of the territorialization and nationalization of the Central Asian Persian language community, Thomas Loy will show how authors like Abdurrauf Fitrat, Sadridin Ayni, Mahmud Khoja Behbudi and Hoji Mu’in used literature as a tool for shaping reality and the awareness of reality.

1. 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 Baptist 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.

2. 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.

3. 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.

4. 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.

V. Persian Translations and Textual Productions in the South Asian Multi-Lingual Context

Room: **Isfahan** (1.2052)

Time: 12.09.2019 **9:30 – 12:30**

Coordinator: **Pegah Shahbaz**

South Asia has been the site of a wide-ranging exchange of religious, linguistic and cultural knowledge systems for over a millennium. Recent scholarship compares the magnitude of the translation movement of Indian knowledge from Sanskrit into Persian in the pre-modern and modern periods, to grand cross-cultural interactions in history such as the ones from Greek to Latin and Arabic, or from Sanskrit into Chinese and Tibetan. Examining the leading role of Persian as a lingua franca and literary mediator among different Indian erudite traditions - some Sanskritic in derivation, some local and vernacular, and some from Persian - within the cosmopolitan and multi-lingual South Asian context remains understudied. The present panel seeks to shed light on techniques of translation and textual production in India, under the Muslim Sultanates in Delhi (1206-1526), the Mughal empire (1526-1858) and the nineteenth century Colonial period. Through this panel, we will explore dynamics of knowledge transmission in diverse fields of history, theology, Sufism, science, devotional and narrative literature in Persian texts which reflect the concurrences and conflicts of Muslim and Hindu cultures in their ways of receiving, rejecting or adapting Indian cultural elements to the Perso-Islamic culture through the translation process. We will study the articulation and repercussion of translation and exchange between Sanskrit and Persian, as well as between Persian and emergent early modern forms of Indian vernaculars, then known under an umbrella term of Hindavi and now known under the modern names of Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi, under the influence of the religious systems that developed in these languages. The acculturation and Islamization process of Indian literary or scientific knowledge will also be examined by experts of South Asian Persianate culture.

Section 1: Narrative Literature

1. 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 neighboring 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.

2. 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 Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq (1320-1324) and his son Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh (r. 1324-1351). This book was conceived when Akhsitān Dihlavī accompanied Sulṭān 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 (qaṣida) and fiction (qiṣṣa) in a prose genre (nāsr). Against this backdrop, my paper reexamines the fictional stories of the

Gardens of Fondness in order to elucidate how Akhstān 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.

Section 2: History, Science, Sufism and Religious studies

Historical text:

3. 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-Faḏl '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-Faḏl 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-Faḏl, 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-Faḏl describes his own ideal of kingship.

Sufi literature:

4. 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 Shattarī 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.

Religion:

5. ANNA MARTIN

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 Kashmīrīān 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.

VI. Safavid Studies: Present and Future

Room: **Isfahan** (1.2052)

Time: 13.09.2019 **9:30 - 13:00**

Coordinators: **Colin Mitchell, Giorgio Rota**

Safavid studies experienced a remarkable flourishing during the 1990s, a decade that marked the transition from the early work of a handful of pioneers to a more mature phase witnessing a growth in terms of quality of scholarly output, quantity of practitioners and visibility of this topic within the general field of the Iranian studies. This was very much reflected in the regular meeting of Safavid specialists at The Safavid Roundtable organized in Paris (1988), Cambridge (1993), Edinburgh (1998), and Bamberg (2003).

In the last twenty years, the parameters of Safavid studies has changed remarkably with the discovery and exploration of new manuscript sources, many of which have been edited and published. The last decade or so has also recorded important developments: for instance, traditional staples like Safavid Persia's relations with the Christian powers of Europe and the Catholic missionaries have been seen in a more precise context and gained in depth and nuancing; issues of apogee, decline and empire have been discussed with regard to Safavid Persia; new attention has been devoted to the life of Safavid society at large, beyond the traditional domains of politics, administration, diplomacy and war. In doing so, contemporary scholarship has deepened and realigned ongoing discussions about popular religion, esoteric sciences, conception of aesthetics, courtly literature, and the nature of Safavid courtly historiography. In general, an awareness has gained ground that the "traditional", narrative sources are not any longer sufficient to understand the variety and complexity of Safavid Persia (an awareness that has been at the same time the cause and effect of the discovery and publication of a large number of texts, both in Persian and in other languages, different from the court chronicles that have been for a very long time the main documentary support and working tool of the historians of the period). The present panel, called "Safavid Studies: Present and Future" is meant as a contribution to this coming of age, as it were, of the field. It is articulated on two sections with three speakers each, which can be broadly described as "historical" and "literary" (see the individual abstracts). The two sections complement each other and confirm what has been known for quite a long time already, namely how historical and literary sources cannot be treated as two separate realms. They include a mix of established and younger Safavidists, and together present some of the newest research on the field. This research, in its turn, is meant to encourage discussion during, and ideally also after, the conference on the new directions that the Safavid studies could and should take in the near future.

1. 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.

2. ALBERTO TIBURCIO

The Construction of Shi'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 Shi'ī tradition, the Majālis al-mū'minīn, Qāzī Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī (d. 1019/1610), who would eventually become a Shi'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 Shi'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 Shi'ī tradition as sources as well as other more controversial additions. For this, I will compare his selections to those of some Shi'ī and Persianate biographical works that preceded his own.

3. SELIM GÜNGÖRÜRLER

The Ottoman-Safavid Revolution in Middle Eastern Diplomacy (1688-1698)

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.

4. FERENC 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 consists 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 painter of genius but as a mediocre poet.

While I deny neither the validity of these 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 explicitly 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 deep changes in aesthetics and patronage, in turn related to profound shifts in early modern Iranian politics, religion and culture.

5. PAUL LOSENSKY

Imam ‘Ali as Poetic Muse: The Manāqebāt of Sedqī Astarābādi

Little is known of the life of Sedqī 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. Sedqī’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. Sedqī 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, Sedqī’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). Sedqī’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), Sedqī shows how the figure of ‘Ali serves to sacralize the tradition of panegyric poetry and give divine sanction to poetic discourse and creativity.

6. Theodore S. Beers

The Rayḥān-i nasta‘līq (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‘līq (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‘līq.

VII. Language Islands and Language Contact: Iranian Minority Languages

Room: **Kerman** (2.2059)

Time: 13.09.2019 **9:00 – 11:30**

Coordinator: **Saloumeh Gholami**

The goal of this panel is to improve our understanding of the history of Iranian minority languages as well as their relationship with other languages. Does language contact of minorities with other minorities or the majority differ from language contact of non-minority languages? Does a difference in power (e.g., cultural, political, economic) influence the degree of contact and the type of linguistic change that goes with it? Is it possible to set up a typology of minority languages in Iran and beyond? Is it possible to learn something about the migration history of a minority language by focusing on signs of language contact? How does the status as a minority as well as language contact itself affect the identity of the speech community? In order to explore questions such as these just mentioned, we invite papers that deal with the following three topics:

1. Extra-linguistic parameters and their relevance for language contact and language change: Papers concentrate on methodological and theoretical issues of related disciplines (for instance, anthropology, sociology, gender studies, etc.).
2. Examples of minority languages and language islands: Papers present examples of language contact and how it has triggered language change.
3. Situation report: Papers give an overview of the linguistic situation in a specific area.

1. 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.

2. 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.

3. HABIB BORJIAN

Linguistic contact between Persian and Median in the Mārbin district of Isfahan

Mārbin is a historical district contiguous with the city of Isfahan on its west. The administrative seat of the district used to be called Sedeh (renamed Khomeini Shahr after the Islamic Revolution), on the grounds that it consisted of the three villages of Varnusfāderān, Forushān, and Khuzān. There were however several other villages that constituted Mārbin, including, Asfariz, Dastgerd, Bābukān, Ando'ān, Kartemān, Āderyān, Horestān, among others. These former villages now form a roughly contiguous urbanized agglomerate with a total population that reaches 300,000 individuals. Mārbin is well known for its conservative traditions.

Two languages are spoken in Mārbīn: (1) Varnusfāderāni, a Central-Plateau type language of Median stock closely associated with other “Provincial” dialects spoken around the city of Isfahan (Stilo 2007; Borjian 2007), notably Gazi and Judeo-Isfahani. There is sufficient evidence to believe that these Median dialects formed a continuum that included the city of Isfahan itself before Median was pushed out by Persian in the early modern period (Borjian 2014). Varnisfāderāni’s domain has been shrinking rapidly; its usage is now confined to the Gārdar neighborhood. (2) Persian is spoken in the rest of Mārbīn, forming a linguistic continuum with Isfahan and environs. There is however a multitude of accents of Persian spoken in Mārbīn---varieties remarkably distinctive that the provenance of the speaker is recognized instantly. It should be added that these varieties are notably different from the Persian vernacular spoken in Isfahan but are intelligible to Persian speakers all over Iran.

In an attempt to understand the dialectal distribution of the district, I identified 18 varieties of Persian in Mārbīn during a preliminary linguistic survey in 2016. To delineate the varieties, some 50 isoglosses were selected:

Grammatical isoglosses are features that deviate from common Persian: (1) the infinitive built on the present stem; (2) gerunds suffixed by -mun; (3) plural nouns in -un; (4) postposition -da. These features exist in their fullness in both Median and Persian spoken in Varnusfāderān, but the domain of usage gradually decrease with distance, as shown in Map 1, below. The radial distribution of the grammatical isoglosses suggests language borrowing from Varnusfāderāni Median as the source language. From another vantage point, one may assume that these features are vestiges of a substrate Median language common to Mārbīn that is now overlaid by Persian radiating from Isfahan.

Phonological isoglosses include labial consonants, lenition of stops, fronting of open and mid-open vowels, existence of pharyngeal consonants, vowel coloration adjacent the original pharyngeals in Arabic loanwords, $r > l$, $rt > t$, among other sound shifts. The emerging patterns are not as clear-cut as those of morphology. A crisscross of isoglosses delineating labial shifts ($f > p$, $p > f$, $v > b$, $b > f$) shown on Map 2 demonstrates a case in point.

Lexical isoglosses amount to a dozen items. These include false friends such as fahmidan vs. shenidan for ‘to listen’ ruftan vs. rundan for ‘to drive’ that bisect the varieties spoken in Mārbīn. In addition, the word-formant suffixes -eki, -uli, -āli, and -undi are employed to demarcate language variation in the district.

4. 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/oštän* (etymologically ‘to hold’), with Stem 1 *da/är-* 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 *doštän* 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, *doštän* ‘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 *daštän* ‘have’ (exx. 8–9). In contrast to AT, MT has preserved the semantics of ‘hold’ for *daštän* 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, *där-* 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. *där-* ‘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 *där-* in MT) and can also carry the meaning of ‘hold’, which made *daštän* 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>

5. MARYAM NOURZAEI

Definiteness markers in New Western Iranian languages, from a typology perspective

The aim of the present paper is to explore the development of grammatical markers for definiteness in New Western Iranian languages of the Zagros Mountains, which are unique among Iranian languages in this regard. The paper focuses on a sample of five Iranian languages: Koroshi, Northern Kurdish, Spoken New Persian and Shirazi. The data for the present paper was extracted from six short narrative texts based on a questionnaire and published corpora only for Koroshi (Nourzaei et al 2015, Nourzaei 2017 and Nourzaei forthcoming) and Northern Kurdish (Öpengin 2016).

While the grammaticalization of definite markers has been a central issue in grammaticalization theory, they regularly cited cases (e.g. Romance) involve the development of erstwhile demonstratives, or linking particles such as relatives, into articles (Lyons 1999 and Himmelmann 2001). In Iranian languages under consideration, there is no obvious candidate for these markers among the known Iranian demonstratives or linking particles. More interesting, we witness a distinct development whereby an original derivational suffix, with a diminutive sense, changes into a suffixal marker of discourse identifiability. The question is that building this likelihood that these markers do not originate from demonstratives or linking particles in these languages but a diminutive: what does the functional distribution of these elements in these languages reveal regarding historical processes in the grammaticalization of definiteness?

The paper concludes that there is no obvious candidate for these markers among the known Iranian demonstratives or linking particles instead, the most plausible candidate appears to be an older diminutive suffix. This appears to be the first solidly attested case of development. In addition, the various markers (i.e. -ak(a), ū, ok and ak) are all historically related, which allow us to reconstruct the following historical development for New Iranian definiteness: diminutive > endearment > proximity > identifiability > definiteness.

6. SALOUMEH GHOLAMI (Goethe University of Frankfurt)

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 "Urhedani"?

Besides local dialects, there are a few literary sources, such as the ones of Baba Taher, are of particular importance for the present study. However, their language has yet to be identified.

The main purpose of this study is to shine new light on "Urhedani" through an examination of Judeo-Hamedani and Baba Taher's poems.

VIII. Spaces of Tehran: Culture, Power, Politics and the City

Room: **Maragheh** (0.2052)

Time: 13.09.2019 **9:00 – 13:30**

Coordinator: **Robert Steele**

The city of Tehran has been at the centre of the history and culture of modern Iran. It has been the stage upon which the major events of Iran's modern history have been enacted and a place where political leaders have vied for power and influence; a city that has served as a muse for novelists and poets and in which artists and musicians have flourished. Despite this and in contrast to other Middle Eastern metropolises, such as Cairo and Istanbul, the importance of the city is often understated and, as a subject in its own right, it has received comparatively little scholarly attention. This panel proposes, therefore, to deepen our understanding of Tehran by investigating how its urban spaces reflect political, social and cultural moments in the life of the city.

The panel explores the creation, control and representation of Tehran's urban and intellectual spaces, from the perspective of contemporary music, film, modern history, architecture and politics. By bringing scholars together from these diverse disciplines, the panel will stimulate discussions about modernisation, and the constant struggle to control not only the city's urban spaces, but the people who occupy those spaces and their creative expressions. This is key to understanding how the city has been conceptualised and how the political elite have sought to use urban spaces to legitimise their rule and assert their authority over its people.

This panel's first session covers a range of historical approaches to the spatial representation and imagination of Tehran, from the dystopic urban of filmfarsi to the Shah's imperial ambitions as articulated in late 1970s city planning, and the power relations evident in the shaping and reshaping of Pâr-k-e Laleh. The second session focuses on contemporary practices and representations, from the development of independent music spaces, and visual artists' innovative responses to censorship, to the negotiation of 'freedom' in women's parks, and Tehran's urban spaces as imagined in contemporary song.

1. 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 *lūtīs* (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.

2. 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 Shojaeddin 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.

3. 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 *Pâr-k-e Laleh*, focusing particularly on its transformation from Jalalieh hippodrome, used as a military parade ground; to *Pâr-k-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 *Pâr-k-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.

4. HOSSEIN ABADIAN

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.

5. 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.

6. SHAHRZAD 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.

7. 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.

8. 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.

IX. Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Study of Shines and Sacred Landscapes in the Iranian World

Room: **Hawraman** (0.2051)

Time: 10.09.2019 **9:00 – 11:00**

Coordinator: **Daniel Beben**

This panel will offer a series of inter-disciplinary studies of shrines and sacred sites and landscapes in the Iranian world, focusing particularly on Central and Southern Asia, and drawing upon both textual and ethnographic research. In her paper on the multiple shrines associated with the Kubravi Sufi shaykh Khoja Ishaq Khuttalani in Tajikistan, Jo-Ann Gross introduces the notion of “shrinescape” to describe both the built and natural landscapes connected with a saint’s legacy. Drawing upon a wide range of hagiographical literature, travel accounts and ethnographic research, Gross’ paper explores the process by which burial places becomes shrines and by which shrines transform into shrinescapes reflecting a combination of Islamic and mythic motifs. Daniel Beben’s paper explores the multiplicity of narratives concerning the shrine of the eleventh-century poet and Ismaili Shi‘i missionary Nasir-i Khusraw, located in the Badakhshan province of Afghanistan, which has historically remained largely inaccessible to Ismailis due to fear of persecution from Sunni rulers of the region. Beben’s paper demonstrates the range of ways in which shrines, such as that of Nasir-i Khusraw, may take on an imaginative significance beyond their role as pilgrimage destinations and as physical centers, particularly for communities who do not enjoy physical access to the sacred sites of their tradition.

Waleed Ziad’s paper turns to the understudied topic of pedagogy concerning shrines and sacred spaces, drawing upon his experience teaching an inter-disciplinary field-based course at Habib University in Pakistan. In this course, students from a variety of backgrounds have had the opportunity to conduct first-hand visits and research among shrines and sacred sites of the Baluchistan region of Pakistan. Ziad’s paper will present on the innovative pedagogical approaches taken in this course and will reflect upon the lessons it may offer for similar courses elsewhere. Finally, Stéphane Dudoignon’s paper will explore the process of sacralisation and the making of sacred space in the modern era, examining the case of Soviet and post-Soviet Tajikistan, where the compulsory resettlements of the Soviet period spurred the development of new saintly traditions and pilgrimage sites. Dudoignon’s papaer will demonstrate the continued salience of hagiographical and sacralising practices in the Muslim world today, even within such avowedly secular contexts as the Soviet Union.

1. 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 Karbalālī’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 *Manaḡib-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.

2. DANIEL BEBEN

The Shrine of Nasir-i Khusraw in the Sacred Geography of the 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.

3. WALEED ZIAD

Paper Title: 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 Panu) 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.

4. 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.

X. The Figure of Joseph/Yūsuf in Classical Persian and Judaeu-Persian Literature

Room: **Shiraz** (-1.2009)

Time: 11.09.2019 **9:00 – 11:00**

Coordinator: **Julia Rubanovich, Justine Landau**

“... and We narrate unto you the best (or most beautiful) of stories (aḥsan al-qīṣaṣ),” says the Qur’ān (12:3). Most Qur’anic commentators interpret this verse as referring to Sūrat Yūsuf, which is the longest narrative found in the Qur’ān; it is also the only continuous tale in the Sacred Book that forms a single and complete literary unit by itself. Anchored in the biblical story of Joseph in the Book of Genesis (chapters 37-50), as well as in post-biblical Jewish and Christian exegesis, the Qur’anic narrative has become the bedrock of a vast literature in a range of languages, from Spanish to Chinese, from Russian to Malay. In the Islamic Perso-Arabic tradition it expanded incrementally over centuries and genres, generating a sizeable corpus of exegetical, hagiographical, and historical works as well as lyrical and narrative poetry. The proposed panel looks at the development of the Joseph story and its peculiarities in classical Persian and Judaeo-Persian literature. The panel’s aim is twofold: to shed a new light on the interplay of the plot-related elements and imagery of the Joseph narrative in various literary genres, such as tafsīr, qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā, lyrical and narrative poetry (including mystical), and to trace the continuity between the Persian and Judaeo-Persian literary traditions through investigating the treatment of a specific subject matter common to both of them.

1. 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.

2. NATALIA CHALISOVA

“In the Age of Ḥāfīz: 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 (Ḥāfiẓ, 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.

3. 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 Sufī 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*.

4. 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.

XI. TURKIC INTERACTIONS WITH THE PERSIANATE WORLD

Room: **Shiraz** (-1.2009)

Time: 12.09.2019 **9:00 – 16:30**

Coordinator: **Charles Melville**

These panels intend to cover the political (military, diplomatic), cultural (literary, artistic, book production), religious (pilgrimage, sufi tariqas) and economic relationships between the Turkic world of Central Asia throughout history and down to the modern era. Two panels are projected (12 papers), of which 9 (one and a half panels) are currently submitted – we hope for a short delay to be permitted, to accommodate 3 more speakers. They cover aspects of linguistic and language interactions, book production and artistic patronage, as well as diplomatic and cultural relations from the 12th to the 20th century.

Section 1: The seljuq-mongol period: History and historiography

1. 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-Sudūr, 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.

2. 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.

3. 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/Huleguid family line will also be considered.

Section 2: Cultural production and the arts of the book: India, Iran and Central Asia

4. 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. Zasytkin (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, Zasytkin 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.

5. 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.

THIRD SECTION: LINGUISTIC AND DIPLOMATIC INTERACTIONS

6. 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 -mġ and -DUK from mixed-dialect texts in Khwarezmian & Middle Qipčaq 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.

7. 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 Turkisization – 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.

8. 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.

9. ULFAT 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.

10. ASSEF ASHRAF

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

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.

11. 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.

XII. Contacts and interference in Old Persian and Avestan linguistic Cultures

Room: **Yazd** (2.2058)

Time: 09.09.2019 **11:30 – 17:00**

Coordinator: **Velizar Sadovski**

Ancient Iranian language communities, in varying degrees, were open to linguistic and cultural contact with external communities or community-internal groups diverging in cultural, social, religious and ideological regard, especially (but not exclusively) with peoples and state formations of non-Iranian and mostly even of non-Indo-European character. Thus, their development is characterized by the dialectics of processes of internal language change and processes of language contact and interference on various levels - diatopic, diastratic, diaphasic, diametic, but also from various perspectives of classical diglossia and/or bilingualism. Among the numerous studies dealing with these issues, the linguistic and socio-cultural implications of diglossia and multilingualism in Ancient Iranian, including the use of scripts or "multigraphism", have not yet received much attention so far. In the present panel of the ECIS in Berlin, we would like to discuss several major aspects that form the special focusses of individual contributions but are also paper-transgressive and function as a thread that unites various bundles into one panel with "contact" and "interference" as key-words, so to speak: (a) aspects of the relation between language, scripts and socio-historical experience in the dialectic conditions of a particular community and of a multilingual state formation; (b) language(s) of élites vs. language of other classes, including application of language and script for "imperialistic" purposes; (c) relevance of linguistic affiliations for the questions of social mobility and contact within a specific socio-political system; (d) use of language means for establishing group identities, focussing on (often antagonistic) social groups on various levels of a society; (e) religious experience, social pragmatics and value systems in the context of multilingual societies; This panel is convened by members of the International Multilingualism Research Group and of the joint Louvre-DARIOSH project on Achaemenid royal inscription fragments as a part of a series of thematic conferences and panels dedicated to problems of multilingualism and the history of knowledge in ancient Iranian contexts and beyond. Previous events concerning various aspects of these topics took place in Athens (2009), Vienna (2009-2010, 2011, 2016), Munich (2009), Berlin (2010, 2011, 2012), Verona (2016), Oslo (2017), Rome (2019) and in the framework of the 31st and 32nd German Congresses of Orientalists at Marburg (2010) and Münster (2013). Volumes with a selection of relevant proceedings have been published and are to appear in the publication series *Sitzungsberichte der ÖAW* of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna and *Max-Planck Studies in Multilingualism* in Berlin.

1. GIAN PIETRO BASELLO, JULIEN CUNY & GÜNTER SCHWEIGER: New results from the Louvre-DARIOSH project on Achaemenid royal inscription fragments

2. SALMAN ALIYARI (Università della Tuscia, Viterbo, Italy): 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.

3. **Marco Mancini** ("La Sapienza" University of Rome-Accademia nazionale dei Lincei): Morphology of Proto-Middle Persian in Late Old Persian cuneiform inscriptions
4. **Adriano Rossi** (ISMEO Rome / Università "L'Orientale" of Naples, Italy): Languages and writing practices in the Achaemenid Administration: Reconsidering some recent views
5. **Ela Filippone** (Università della Tuscia, Viterbo, Italy): The words of divine and political power in the royal Achaemenid inscriptions : An interlinguistic analysis
6. **Velizar Sadovski** (Institute of Iranian Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria): Three case studies of expressions of religious and social identity and otherness as represented in Old Iranian phraseology, word-formation and onomastic systems.

XIII. Corpus Avesticum Berolinense: reconstruction, analysis and representation of the rituals in Avestan language

Room: **Yazd** (2.2058)

Time: 11.09.2019 **9:00 – 15:30**

Coordinator: **Alberto Cantera**

Past editions have presented the Avestan texts without any regard for their primary use as ritual texts. The absence of a concept of “text” and the instrumentalization use of the Avestan texts as a source for linguistic information has had important consequences for the past editions. Firstly, the editors neglected many important ritual texts such as the Drōn Yašt, which plays a key role in the ritual system. Others were only partially edited on the basis of a series of secondary manuscripts, the so-called exegetical manuscripts that strongly shorten and alter the ritual texts. This is the case with the Visperad that is the most important performance of the Long liturgy, celebrated during the five last days of the year in the Antiquity. Secondly, the published editions ignore the ritual character of the texts. For instance, they omit the information concerning the performance and the context dependent variability of the performance.

The Corpus Avesticum Berolinense (<https://ada.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/exist/apps/cab/index.html>) is a long-term project hosted at the Institute of Iranian Studies, Freie Universität Berlin. It is an attempt to edit the Avestan texts by considering their ritual use. We consider the Avestan texts preserved in the manuscripts as the rests of a ritual system that got its final shape in the antiquity, likely around the 5th century BC. However, the manuscripts, especially the Iranian group, present the texts as part of a still working and complex ritual system, although some texts bear early signs of a transformation from ritual texts into prayers. Nevertheless, the Iranian manuscripts still present most of the texts as ritual texts and as parts of a complex ritual system. Despite the inevitable changes and transformations since the antiquity, the extant materials allow, thanks to the limited capacity of altering the Avestan texts, a reconstruction of the ritual system as it worked in Achaemenid times. Thus, the texts of the Avestan rituals should be considered as one of the main sources for the study of the Achaemenid religion.

Yet, the edition does not aim to reconstruct a former shape of the texts, but in the form as they appear in the oldest Iranian manuscripts. Ritual practice along centuries has introduced enough changes in the texts and the ritual performance to make impossible the reconstruction of previous stages with the accuracy that an edition requires. Therefore, we can only edit the texts and the accompanying ritual information as found in the manuscripts and produced at a specific time in a definite place. Our choice has been the area of the Yazd-Kerman in Safavid times. Our edition is a historically representative edition and programmatically not a reconstructive edition. Therefore, we use not only the Avestan manuscripts, but also the information contained in the Rivāyats sent by the Iranian priests to their Parsee colleagues. They are contemporary to the manuscripts we use for our edition, at times written by the same priests. They contain

information complementary to the manuscripts concerning the textual variability and the performance. This reference text is the starting point for an analysis of the historical evolution of the rituals in Avestan language from the Achaemenid times until the actual performance in the different geographical areas of their performance.

In the present panel, different team members of the project and collaborators will present the main features of the new edition, justify them according to our understanding of the Avestan texts and provide some examples of the problems that can be solved through this new approach. The panel will also provide insights in to the modern performance of these rituals in contemporary Iran and will include a live performance of a Zoroastrian ritual. A presentation of the on-line edition, its features and tools will close the panel.

1. ALBERTO CANTERA

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 *Khorddeh 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.

2. JAIME MARTÍNEZ PORRO

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 (níuuaēdaiemi haṅkārāiemi, āiiese yešti, etc.).

These are a compendium of temporal divisions (āiia, ašiiia, māhiia, yāiriia and sarəda) bound to the periods when the ceremonies should be celebrated, as well as textual divisions introducing the texts (the staōta yesiiia) 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.maṅra 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.

1. An edition of the Drōn itself should present all the variants, including this of the ceremonies of intercalation.
2. One further question must be solved: why does this abbreviation of the temporal "ratus" happen?

3. 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.

4. 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 Gāhānbār*, 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*.

5. ARASH ZEINI

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.

6. 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.

7. 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 “hāiti” 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 Gāṅās, 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.

XIV. Reimagining Iran: Mobility and its Discontents

Room: **Shiraz** (-1.2009)

Time: 13.09.2019 **09:00 – 11:00**

Coordinator: **Nader Talebi**

The mix of suggested papers in the panel explores different moments and geographies to shed light on the (trans-)transformations of national boundaries and their transnational aspects regarding (E)migration in Iran. The real world is hypercomplex with several actors (individual and institutions), geographies and histories. Hence, actors and observer need to reduce the complexity of the real world to be able to ‘go on’ and respectively to be able to study it. (E)migrations shift the horizon of actions, open the spaces of possibility and transform the political discourses toward reimagining the national identities. Thus this panel aims to explore how the mobility of people and ideas have influenced socio-political boundaries and lines of exclusion in Iran and among the Iranian diaspora.

The first paper by Arash Sarkohi discusses the image of the West and its historical changes in Iran with a focus on intellectual migrants to set the ground for the rest of the panel. The following two papers present two moments in the history of the Iranian diaspora in Germany. Abbas Jong deals with the Iranian Nationalists Committee in Berlin and its magazine Kaveh (1916-1919) to trace (dis-)continuities in the national imaginary due to migration. Then Bahar Oghalai presents her study on the ambivalent situation of Iranian women on the issue of hijab in the present moment Germany. The challenges of boundary making and the transformations of the national identity is also addressed by Ali Niroumand who focuses on Anglosphere to map Iranian diasporic nationalism.

1. 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.

2. 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.

3. 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 antimuslim '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.

4. 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.

XV. Modernism East and East, Visual and Material Culture between the Ottomans and the Qajars

Room: **Maragheh** (0.2052)

Time: 10.09.2019 **15:00 – 17:00**

Coordinator: **Margaret Shortle**

Modern Islamic Art is experiencing a surge of interest with a number of emerging scholars and museum exhibitions devoted to the visual and material culture of the Islamic world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Global art history too is maintaining popularity, and numerous recent studies have examined transcultural networks and exchange between the modern Middle East and Europe and the impact of this exchange on art and culture. Appropriately, emerging scholars advocate for a Middle Eastern modernity both akin to and simultaneously unfolding against European modernity. In other words, the story is no longer a story of European modernism and its influence but rather one of exchange and appropriation in both directions. Certainly exciting, the new narratives tend to counter Eurocentric thinking by offering a critical evaluation of a non-European cultural phenomenon in comparison to the European model. Still missing are evaluations of non-European networks of exchange, especially those networks that exploit long existing political and cultural rivalries. This panel proposes to critically evaluate such connections by comparing visual and material modernity in Qajar Iran with the same in Ottoman Turkey. Participants seek to enrich the dialogue for global modernism by examining illustrated travel accounts, photographic postcards, photographic albums and diplomatic gifts produced by artists in the Qajar or Ottoman cultural milieu. Emphasis on the mobility of artworks and their exchange broadens the potential audience and all papers assume a visual or material conversation with the non-European Ottoman or Qajar other. Although limited by its focus on Qajar Iran and Ottoman Turkey, the panel aims to establish a new model for further investigations, comparisons, and conversations regarding the advent of modernism as a global phenomenon. Modernism in Iran and Turkey do not emerge as response to European modernism but rather in connection with it.

1. Gwendolyn Collaço

Tracing Tied Traditions of Travel Literature:

Qajar and Ottoman Cultural Exchange through the Manuscripts of Mehmed Münif Pasha's İran Risalesi

2. Erin Hyde Nolan

Maine College of Art

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

3. Mira Schwerda

Celebrating Law and Order or Sparking Protests? Political Picture Postcards in Early Twentieth-Century Iran and the Ottoman Empire

4. Margaret Shortle

Diplomacy and Showmanship in Berlin, Ottoman and Qajar Gifts in Berlin's State Museums

XVI. Iran and the Qur'ān: Interactions and Exchanges from Late Antiquity to the present

Room: **Tehran** (1.2001)

Time: 13.09.2019 **09:00 – 13:30**

Coordinator: **Michael Marx**

Members and abstracts:

1. 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 apocalyptic 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 between Iranian and Qur'ānic studies. Following Ph. Gignoux (Art. Bismillah Elr), 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, etc.) contain so far unknown manuscripts, of the 8th and 9th 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 Mohammad Ali Khavanin Zadeh Kharazmi University Tehran).

2. SEBASTIAN BITSCH

Scorching heat, freezing cold or moon ? On the echo of Zoroastrian eschatological ideas in the Qur'ān 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.

3. 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.

4. ZISHAN GHAFAR

The Roman-Persian war at the beginning of the seventh century and the Qur'ānic 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 Qur'ān and have shaped the Qur'ānic view on eschatology.

5. ALI AGHAEI

The Project “Irankoran”: Digitalisation of Early Qur'ānic Manuscripts Kept in Iranian Collections”

The project IRANKORAN (funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research BMBF 2018-2020) aims at surveying early Qur'ānic manuscripts kept in Iranian collections to study the history of the Qur'ān based on material evidence. Images of Qur'ānic 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).

6. 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.

7. MOHAMMAD ALI KHAVANIN ZADEH

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. Khavanin Zadeh, Tehran 2019: Hekmat Publishers) is the first volume of a Persian series 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 Nağrān (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 the appendix together with images, 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” (Bāstān-e Mote’ahher va Eslām متأخر و اسلام) aims at widening the discussion of historical research, especially with Iranian academia.