ASPS
THIRD BIENNIAL CONVENTION
ON IRANIAN STUDIES

Tbilisi, Georgia
8-10 June 20

WELCOMING SPEECHES,
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
and
ABSTRACTS

Online Edition
Editor’s Note

The present volume contains 66 abstracts as well as three welcoming speeches and the presidential address to the Third ASPS Convention. The abstracts are arranged in the alphabetical order of their authors’ last names. Those written in Persian appear at the end and are inserted in sequences and paginated from left to write, like the pages in English. Technical word-processing limitations did not allow us to publish all submitted abstracts, especially those with incompatible formats or those mixing the Persian letters with Roman graphemes. A short biography of each author, if available, is given in the footnote. The transcription-transliteration of Persian words adopted for this volume is that of the ASPS Journal of Persianate Societies.

The paper edition of this volume was published before the convention by the Caucasian Center for Iranian Studies, Yerevan.

Habib Borjian
Chair
The Third Biennial Convention
Association for the Study of Persianate Societies
Tbilisi, Georgia
8-11 June 2007
CONTENTS

Editor’s note (page 2)

Welcoming Speeches (page 9)
Habib Borjian
George Sanikidze
Thomas V. Gamkrelidze

Presidential Address (page 21)
Saïd Amir Arjomand
THE SALIENCE OF POLITICAL ETHIC IN THE SPREAD OF PERSIANATE ISLAM

Abstracts (page 47)
Firuza Abdullaeva
THE ARTISTIC RIVALRY OF TWO BROTHERS: EBRĀHIM SULTAN’S REPLY TO BAYSANGHUR MIRZĀ’S SHAHNAME

Marina Alexidze
PERSIANS IN GEORGIA: 1801-1921

Bahriddin Aliev
PASVANDI -IČ-ŪČ DAR NOMHOI CUĞROFI VODII ZARAŞŃON

Fati Antadze
FOR THE TYPOLOGY OF LEXICAL MICROSYSTEMS IN MODERN PERSIAN AND GEORGIAN

Victoria Arakelova
ANIMALS AND PLANTS IN THE YEZIDI BELIEFS: COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF NEAR EASTERN TRADITIONS

Hooman Asadi
THE FROZEN RADIF: QUARREL OF ANCIENT AND MODERN IN PERSIAN MUSIC

Alice Assadorian

2
THE AWROMANI DIALECTS OF PERSIAN KURDISTAN
Grigol Beradze

EPIGRAPHS OF TRAVEL: STANLEY’S COMMEMORATIVE INSCRIPTION IN PERSEPOLIS
Habib Borjjan

THE MEDIAN-PARTHIAN GROUP OF THE NORTHWESTERN IRANIAN LANGUAGES
Maryam Borjian

PERSIAN VS. Farsi: ONE NATION, ONE LANGUAGE, TWO FIGHTING WORDS
Vahe S. Boyajian

THE DEHWĀRS OF BALOCHISTAN: PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE ETHNIC IDENTITY
Vladimir Boyko

AFGHAN PERSONALITY OF THE 20TH CENTURY: KHALIL-ALLĀH KHALILI BETWEEN ART AND POLITICS
Mzia Burjanadze

GENDER ISSUE IN THE WORKS OF MODERN PERSIAN WOMEN WRITERS
Houchang E. Chehabi

THE MYTH OF MOSES IN THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION
Qudratbek Elchibekov

HIDDEN SAINTS IN ISMA’ILISM BASED ON BADAKHSHĀN ORAL AND WRITTEN SOURCES
Habiba Fathi

WOMEN’S RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN THE POST-SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA
Manana Gabashvili

INTERNATIONAL MARITIME INTERESTS ACCORDING TO HODUD AL-ʿALAM
Nana Gelashvili

IRANIAN-GEORGIAN RELATIONS IN THE LIGHT OF THE PERSIAN HISTORICAL SOURCES OF THE 17TH CENTURY
Khachik Gevorgyan
AN ATTEMPT TO CLASSIFY THE PERSIAN FOTOVVATNĀMAS

Jemshid Giunashvili
BĀD ‘WIND’ AND NASIM ‘LIGHT BREEZE’ IN PERSIAN POETRY

Mariam Gvelesiani
THE NOTION OF HVARENA IN POST-ACHAEMENID GEORGIAN KINGSHIP

Iago Gocheleishvili
WRITING THE HISTORY OF THE IRANIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION (1905-11): GEORGIAN SOURCES

Mansura Haidar
CONTRIBUTION OF PERSIAN LITERATURE TO MEDICAL SCIENCES

Keith Hitchins
SADRIDDIN AYNI: CENTRAL ASIAN JADIDISM CONFRONTS MODERNITY, 1900-1930

Mahmoud Jaafari-Dehaghi
APOSTASY IN MIDDLE PERSIAN TEXTS

Inga Kaladze
ONE OF THE OLDEST SPECIMENS OF HERMENEUTICS ACCORDING TO THE OLD GEORGIAN TRANSLATION OF GORGANI’S VIS AND RĀMIN

Yunos Karamati
THE APPLICATION OF THE PERSIAN WORDS IN THE MEDICINE OF THE ISLAMIC ERA

George Katsitadze
IRAN’S POLICY IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS

Ahmad Kazemi Moussavi
IQBAL’S CONTRIBUTION TO ISLAMIC RATIONALISM

Afsaneh Khatounabadi
UNDESIRED CONSEQUENCES OF TRANSLATIVE THINKING IN THE HISTORY OF THE LAST ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF IRAN

Alexey Khismatulin
A CO-AUTHOR OF NEZĀM-AL-MOLK’S SIĀṢAT-NĀMA
Irene Koshoridze
ABOUT THE TWO ROYAL PALACES IN THE 18TH CENTURY GEORGIA
AND ARMENIA

Victoria Kryukova
SACRIFICE AS FOUNDATION OF MARRIAGE RITUAL IN THE
TRADITIONAL CULTURE OF TAJIKS

Manana Kvachadze
ON THE CLASSICAL PERSIAN LITERARY ETIQUETTE:
NEZĀMI’S LEYLĪ AND MAJNŪN

Jane Lewisohn
DAVUD PIRNIĀ AND THE GENESIS OF THE GOLIĀĪ PROGRAMS

Giorgi Lobzhanidze
PERSIAN MYSTICAL TRADITIONS AND THE POEMS OF SOHRĀB
SEPEHRĪ

Hirotake Maeda
MOURAV BEG’S REVOLT AND SAFAVID HISTORIOGRAPHY

Kimie Maeda
AHMAD SHĀMLU’S SHE’R-E MANSUR ‘NON-VERSE POEM’

Behrooz Mahmoodi-Bakhtiari
NOTES ON THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE PERSIAN IRREVERSIBLE
BINOMINALS

Fatemeh Masjedi
FEMINIST HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY
OF IRAN

Saeid Muliani
GEORGIANS IN IRAN IN THE SAFAVID ERA

Maia Nachkebia
THE ORIENT AS VIEWED BY THE EUROPEAN SCHOLAR OF THE 17TH
CENTURY: A HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL REVIEW

Nikoloz Nakhutsrishvili
SOME PECULIARITIES OF THE USE OF THE PLURAL SUFFIX -JĀT IN
MODERN PERSIAN
Maya Natadze
COMPLEX VERBS IN MIDDLE PERSIAN

Irène Natchkebia
NAPOLEON’S ENVOYS’ DATA ABOUT PERSIA’S MILITARY
POTENTIAL IN THE CONTEXT OF INDIAN EXPEDITION (1805-1809)

Jurabek Nazriev
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BIDEL IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
LITERATURE IN TRANSOXIANA

Amir Hosein Pourjavady
AMIR KHAN GORJI, THE LAST COMPOSER OF THE SAFAVID PERIOD

Maia Sakhokia
PERSIAN MORPHO-SYNTAX INNOVATIONS: THEORY AND
EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE

George Sanikidze
ACTIVITIES OF IRANIAN COMMUNITY IN THE 19TH-CENTURY TBILISI

Caroline Sawyer
AHMAD AL-SIRHINDI’S MAKTUBĀT AS A SOURCE FOR STUDY OF
ISLAM’S DEVELOPMENT IN THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT

Sunil Sharma
MUGHAL IMPERIAL VISIONS AND THE WRITING OF LITERARY
HISTORY

Tea Shurghaia
ON THE PROBLEM OF IRANIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE WORKS
OF MOHAMMAD-ALI ESLĀMI NODUSHAN

Marek Smurzynski
THE SYMBOLIC MODE OF THE KABUL’S ZĪRĀTS: ON THE
CROSSROADS OF THE ISLAM AND MAGIC

Manu P. Sobti
WHAT’S IN A CITY:
AN EXAMINATION OF MOQADDASI’S WORK ON URBAN SYSTEMS IN
THE TENTH-CENTURY ISLAMIC WORLD

Mikheil Svanidze
PRINCE SELIM AND HIS CAMPAIGN IN GEORGIA
Kian Tajbakhsh
UNDERSTANDING THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN CONTEMPORARY IRAN

Magali Todua
THE SAVIOR AND THE HOLY VIRGIN IN PERSIAN POETRY

Kirti Trivedi
ORGANIZING IMPERIAL TERRITORIES, C. 1600: INTENT AND RATIONALE

Daria Vasilyeva
SACRED HISTORY FROZEN IN PAINTINGS: SHIITE ICONOGRAPHY IN SAINT PETERSBURG COLLECTIONS

Ishtiyaq Ahmad Zilli
CENTRAL ORGANIZATION, TABARROKĀT AND SUCCESSION AMONG THE EARLY CHISHTIS OF INDIA

Abstracts in Persian (page 149)

Mehdi Farivar
FATE AND DESTINY IN PERSIAN CULTURE

Lucia Ghazarian
REMARKS ON METHODS OF TEACHING PERSIAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IN ARMENIA

Mahmud Joneydi-Ja'fari
CENTRAL DIALECTS OF KASHAN DISTRICT

Hasmik Kirakosian
SOME ARCHAIC ASPECTS OF AZARI DIALECTS

Ali Miransari
THE INDIAN NEWSPAPER JĀM-E JEHĀN-NEMĀ

Mehdi Mohammad Zadeh
THE ORIGINS OF RELIGIOUS ICONOGRAPHY ON THE IRANIAN PLATEAU

Vardan Voslkanian
NOTES ON THE DIALECT OF THE VILLAGE KILIT IN NAKHCHIVAN
Welcoming speech by the Convention’s Chair

Habib Borjian

Ladies and gentlemen, dear guests and colleagues,

Welcome to the Third Biennial Convention of ASPS, the Association for the Study of Persianate Societies. On behalf of the ASPS’ Board of Directors and the Convention’s Organization Committee I would like to thank you all for participating in this convention. I would like to extend my appreciation particularly to our Georgian hosts who helped organizing this event, more particularly Professors George Sanikidze, Grigol Beradze, and Irina Koshoridze. Our thanks also go to the organizations who funded this Convention.

In the next three days of the Convention, nearly 75 scholars from 13 countries will read their reports in various fields pertinent to the study of the Persianate world, which embraces a good part of West, South, and Central Asia, and of course the Caucasus.

As many of you may know, this third convention was initially scheduled to be hosted by Lahore. But as the unforeseen financial complications and logistic problems proved Pakistan impractical, we decided to reschedule the Convention for Tbilisi.

There were two good reasons for choosing this historical, cultural, and stunning city as the host of the third convention. The most important reason is the Georgian scholars involved in research on various fields of Iranian Studies and active in such highly regarded scientific institutions as the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Georgian Academy of Sciences, the Tbilisi State University, and the city’s richly decorated museums.

The second reason why Georgia was selected the host of this event was her eminent position within the Persianate ecumene. Independent since 1991, Georgia was a part of the Russian Empire and later the Soviet Union for almost two centuries. During most of the two hundred years before the Russian takeover of 1800, the
eastern half of Georgia was under the control, or at least in the orbit, of Persia. Far from being a peripheral part of the Safavid state, Georgia exerted extraordinary influence on Persia’s military and bureaucratic order. It did so by way of the thousands of Georgian slaves who were settled in Persia in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries. Nominally converted to Islam, these subsequently came to occupy the top ranks of the Persian military and administrative establishment. By the end of the 17th century, most high-ranking courtiers and the majority of Persia’s provincial governors were of Georgian background, and the Georgians were the only effective military force to fight the Afghan invaders in the early 18th century. The role Georgians played in the Persian history continued down to the Persian Constitutional Revolution.

This remarkable historical experience with the Georgians has left a significant impression on Persian geography, culture, and collective memory. There remain several Georgian-speaking villages in the mountainous district of Faridan, east of Isfahan. (We are grateful to have a scholar from this Perso-Georgian community participating in this convention.) The Safavid capital, Isfahan, boasts about her architectural monuments, one of the most celebrated one is the 33-span bridge built by, and named after, Allāhverdi Khan, the Georgian marshal of Shah Abbas the Great. Several public places in Isfahan are named after the prominent Georgian leaders such as Emāmqoli Khan, Dāvud Khan, and Rostam Khan, just to name a few. I grew up on a street carrying the name of Hātam Bek, once the Georgian mayor of Isfahan.

Not only Isfahan, but also other parts of Persia have remnants of the Georgian presence in the country. For instance, Mazandaran is dotted with dozens of toponyms such as Gorgi-mahalla, Gorji-kalā, and Gorgi-kheyl, which can be traced back to the Georgians who were forced to resettle onto the Caspian littoral by the Safavids. Reza Shah, the founder of the Pahlavi dynasty, was from a Georgian mother residing in one of these gorji villages. Moreover, Gorji is a common family name in Iran; my own surname Borjian is regularly mistaken with Gorjian. On the whole, the Georgians and Georgia are considered anything but
alien to the Iranian public, so much so that many people hold the wrong notion that Gorjestān is a Persian-speaking land.

Notwithstanding these good memories, there is little reason why a cultured Persian should be proud of what his ancestors did to Georgia and the Georgians. The early modern history of Georgia is scarred by devastations, massacres, slavery, and other wrongdoings committed by the Persians during the Safavid and Qajar rule. This dark side the Perso-Georgian history should not be overlooked of course. Nevertheless, there is also much to say about the constructive aspects of the interactions between the two cultures. The Persian names many Georgians carry echoes the profound influence of Persian literature in Georgia. Centuries after its golden age under King David and Queen Tamara, the city of Tiflis grew to prosperity once again under the Safavids and Qajars. As a cosmopolis, Tiflis enjoyed a multicultural life with a sizeable Muslim community and considerable Persian cultural influence, witnessed by the extant architectural examples. Many aspects of this historical dialogue between the two nations will be discussed in this Convention.

This civilizational background compelled us to extend the ASPS activities into Georgia by means of holding the Third Convention as well as opening a Branch Office in Tbilisi. We found that the ideal base for the Branch Office was the Institute of Oriental Studies, which is the leading academic center of Iranian Studies in Georgia. The provisional board of ASPS, Georgia, inspires great confidence as well. It will consist of leading members of the local scholarly community, including Professors Jemshid Guinashvili, Grigol Beradze, and George Sanikidze. The inauguration ceremony is scheduled on Monday noon as the concluding event of this Third Convention of ASPS.

At this point I would like to add a few notes on the ASPS and its history.

The Association was founded in 1996 by Professor Said Amir Arjomand as a non-governmental, non-political, and non-profit professional organization for researchers, scholars, and all others
interested in the civilizational area based on the Persian language and literature. ASPS is designed to promote an understanding of Persian culture in the broadest sense of the word, going well beyond the current boundaries of Iran — hence the term “Persianate” — encompassing language and literature as well as history, folklore, political science and sociology. It does so by promoting research in the social sciences and humanities, by creating and developing cultural and educational exchange, both in the form of an ongoing dialog between scholars from the West and their colleagues from the Persianate world and of sustained contacts among scholars from the various countries in the region, and by publicizing and disseminating the results of all these activities to the widest possible audience.

The specific context within which the ASPS was established was the breakup of the Soviet Union and the attendant opening up of regions and countries in which Persian was historically a major cultural language and in some cases the dominant language, or where Persian culture prevailed, particularly Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Armenia, and Georgia. The emergent nation-building processes in these regions have begun to rebuild the natural cultural bridges that had existed before the advent of Russian imperialism and the emergence of the Soviet Union, not just between these areas and the modern-day country of Iran but also with the Indian subcontinent, where, after all, Persian was the principal literary language until it began to be replaced by English in the 1830s.

The foundation of the ASPS at a time of great social transformation in Eurasia was based on the recognition that the production of knowledge about the Persianate world should not simply be a recasting of preexisting facts but must be creative and imaginative as well as engaged in a broader methodological framework that promotes a lively interchange of ideas. The formation and presentation of knowledge about the various societies that comprise the Persianate world is as critical now as it was a decade and a half ago. The shared Persianate historical and civilizational memory is more in peril now than ever due to
narrow-minded, divisive nationalist and religious ideologies. And while the effect of these forces is somewhat mitigated by globalization, globalization itself may be the greater long-term threat that contributes to a further undermining of the collective memory of a Persianate past.

Finally, I would like to describe very briefly the major activities of the ASPS and its future goals.

1. **Regional Offices.** ASPS has established Regional Offices in Tehran, Shiraz, New Delhi, Dushanbe, Khorugh, Krakow, Vienna, Yerevan, and Tashkent. These regional offices are in charge of organizing lectures and workshops and support local publications.

2. **Conventions.** This third ASPS convention in Tbilisi is preceded by the conventions in Dushanbe in 2002 and Yerevan in 2004, both successful in bringing together dozens of scholars from North America, Europe and Asia around a variety of themes. The uniqueness of ASPS conventions lies in the fact that they are held in the region and provide financial support for most participants. The funding has come from various American foundations through the indefatigable efforts of Dr. Amir Arjomand and Dr. Rudi Mattee, the past president of ASPS.

3. **Travel Grants.** Drawing on a generous grant from the Open Society Institute (OSI), ASPS has been able to award travel grants to scholars from Iran so as to enable them to attend conferences in the United States. We have given at least ten such travel fellowships annually in the past three years.

4. **Supporting Central Eurasian Scholars.** Founded in 2004 as a core program of ASPS, the Central Eurasian Research Fund (CERF) provides grants of up to $1,500 to support the research and publications of individual Central Asian scholars who demonstrate that their research will make a substantive contribution to the knowledge of historical, political, economic, or
cultural developments in the region. In the last two years, the CERF awarded a total of $12,400 to nine scholars. The CERF was founded and is directed by D. Jo-Ann Gross, a board member of ASPS.

5. Manuscript Publication. ASPS has a book-publishing division whose aim it is to make unpublished texts in Persian available in the original language. One book is published and two more are in press. We are also about to come to agreement for a joint publication with Miras-e Maktub ‘The Written Heritage’ in Tehran.

6. Newsletter and Website. Published twice a year in English since 1998, the ASPS Newsletter keeps the members informed about conferences, awards, fellowships, Persian language programs, members’ activities and publications, etc. The Newsletter is sent to ASPS members in hard copy and is posted on our website. One of the ASPS’ plans for the Regional Offices is to make Persian and Russian translation of the Newsletter available on the website. I invite all members to send their news to the Newsletter’s editor, Dr. Rosemary Stanfield Johnson.

7. The Journal. ASPS has published two issues of the journal Studies on Persianate Societies, and the third issue is in press. As of 2008, the journal will be published and distributed by the Brill twice a year under the new title Journal of the Persianate Societies. I would like to take this opportunity to invite the scholars participating in this Convention to consider submitting their papers for publication in the upcoming issues of the Journal. Please email your articles to the Journal’s editor Dr. Amir Arjomand.

Thank you for your attention. Madlobt.
Welcoming speech by the Organizing Committee chair in Georgia

George Sanikidze\(^1\)

Dear colleagues, dear guests,

It is a great pleasure to welcome you here, in Tbilisi at the opening session of the Third Biennial Convention of the ASPS. It has taken an arduous eight months to complete the Organization of this convention. However, I believe, we all have acquired a very significant working experience.

When we received a proposition from the staff of ASPS to hold the Convention in Tbilisi we didn’t hesitate to agree for many reasons: Georgia, historically, had intensive and close political, social, and cultural contacts with the Persianate world and additionally our country was a kind of bridge between East and West, as sort of the crossroad of Civilizations. Georgians absorbed and adapted elements from the cultures of diverse peoples and first of all from ancient Iranians. On the other hand, elements of Georgia’s culture were diffused in the Persianate world.

Georgia experienced continuous contacts of all sorts with the Persianate world from the early Achaemenid period until the beginning of the 19th century. Persia played a significant and at times decisive role in the history of Georgia. The Persian presence helped to shape political institutions and enriched literature and culture.

During the Safavid era Georgians played significant role in the army and civil administration of Persia. Ethnic Georgians constituted an important part of Shah Abbas’ guard. Many Georgians, nobles and princes among them, entered the Persian service and achieved high office. Georgian princes and nobles traditionally were governors of Isfahan, i.e. the post of tarugha, as

\(^1\) Dr. George Sanikidze is the Director of the G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies and Professor at the Iv. Javakhisvili Tbilisi State University.
it is pronounced in Georgian. Georgian peasants were settled in widely scattered parts of Iran to become cultivators of the soil. The best known Georgian settlements are in Fereydan in Isfahan province, where population still speaks Georgian and retains Georgian traditions.

Even after the establishment of the Russian imperial governance in Georgia in the early 19th century, contacts between Georgia and the Persianate world were quite intensive, and a large and active Iranian community lived in Tbilisi, the capital city of Georgia. Tbilisi played a key role in the relation between the Russian Empire and Qajar Persia, and Georgia was also one of the main roads between Western Europe and Persia.

It was in this city that the general consulate of Persia was installed and the Persian associations of beneficence as well as cultural and educational establishments functioned. Persians represented a considerable part of Tbilisi's population. Numerous Persian merchants and artisans lived and worked in this city. Native Persians played an important role in political and economic life of the city.

Georgian-Persian cultural, linguistic, and literary contacts have a long history. With the rise of the New Persian literature in 9-10th centuries, literary contacts became particularly strong. The familiarity of the Georgian society with the works of classical Persian poets helped further literary contacts between Georgia and Persia. Many of the Persian poems and literary works of classical period were translated into Georgian: there are Georgian versions of the poems of Ferdowsi, ‘Onsori, Gorgani, and Nezami, and works such as Kalila va Demna and Qabus-nama. It must be stressed that only one Georgian version of Visramiani has survived, that is a complete prose translation of the poem Vis o Ramin by Fakhr-al-Din Gorgani; this translation, which has fully retained the spirit of the original work, considerably influenced all further development of Georgian prose. It must be added that a considerable number of Georgian literary works of middle ages and early modern times are of Persian origins. Some of these works
attract even more scholarly interest, for parts of the Persian original are lost.

In the 20th century, the old tradition of translating Persian works into Georgian was revived. Samples of Old Iranian and the early Persian literature, as well as Persian folklore, are now available to the Georgian reader. Many works by the modern Persian writers have been translated as well.

Due to many centuries of close contacts between Georgia and Iran, a large number of Iranian loanwords came into the Georgian language. These belonged to various spheres of vocabulary and were borrowed at different periods and from different Iranian dialects. The analysis of the borrowed vocabulary reveals its versatile semantic character: technical terms, basic vocabulary pertaining to all aspects of everyday life, and expressive vocabulary. Many loanwords became the organic part of the Georgian language and accepted its grammatical rules.

Close historical contacts between Georgia and the Persianate world conditioned the necessity of the study of Persian language, history and culture as an essential part of the study of Georgian history, literature and language.

The achievements of the Georgian scholars in the field of Iranian studies are well known. The institutional foundation of Iranian Studies in Georgia was laid after the Russian Revolution. During the Soviet period, two main centers of Iranian studies emerged: the Department of Iranian studies at the Iv. Javakhisvili Tbilisi State University, and G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies, which embraces the departments of Indo-Iranian languages, Persian philology, and history of Middle Eastern countries. These centers are functioning to this day, and it is not surprising that Iv. Javakhisvili Tbilisi State University and G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies are the co-organizers of the ASPS Third Biennial Convention.

Georgian Iranists have at hand a rich archive of Persian materials. The Central historical archive of the republic and K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts possess large collections of
Persian manuscripts, consisting of works of poetry, philosophy, theology and science.

Georgian scholars have published critical editions of Persian historical documents dealing with Georgian-Persian political and economic relations. Of particular interest are collections of bilingual Georgian-Persian documents. These documents (1581-1758) are extremely useful for the study of various aspects of Georgian-Persian relations, above all the trade and landholding in both Georgia and Persia.

Persian historical sources are very important for the study of history of Georgia, and Georgian scholars have made extensive use of them. Many Persian historical sources are translated into Georgian.

Georgian scholars have accorded great importance to numismatics for the study of Georgia’s history. The study of Sasanian coins discovered in Georgia shows that the Persian derham dominated foreign trade in eastern Georgia during the Sasanian era. Similar investigation of Persian coins that circulated in Georgia in 16-18th centuries shows the close economic and financial contacts Georgia had with the Safavid Iran.

Georgian linguists have studied the influence of Persian elements on the Georgian language in order to deepen their understanding of how modern Georgian developed. They also contributed substantially to the study of Persian language.

Investigations of the influence of the Persian literary classics on the Georgian medieval literature have yielded valuable results. Georgian scholars have also investigated the Persian and the Georgian versions of numerous Eastern classics.

Let me finish this short welcoming speech with the hope that the Third Biennial Convention of the ASPS will provide valuable contribution to the study of the Persianate world and for the realization of fruitful cooperation among scholars from different countries.
Welcoming Speech by Thomas Gamkrelidze

Ladies and Gentlemen, dear guests, dear colleagues!

It is a pleasure and at the same time a great honor to me to greet and welcome here, on behalf of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences, the participants of the Third Biennial Convention of the Association for the Study of Persianate Societies. The

Thomas V. Gamkrelidze (Tamaz Gamq'relidze in Georgian) is a distinguished Georgian linguist, orientalist and public benefactor, Academician and President of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences. He graduated from the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the Tbilisi State University in 1952. Since 1964 he has been a professor of this university, and since 1966 Head of the Chair of Structural and Applied Linguistics. In 1973-2006 he was the Director of the Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies in Tbilisi. He is the author of many outstanding works in the fields of Indo-European linguistics, ancient languages, and theoretical, structural and applied linguistics and kartvelology, and a leading proponent of the glottalic theory of proto-Indo-European consonants. In 1988-95, Prof. Gamkrelidze edited the Journal of the Russian Academy of Science Voprosi Yazikoznany. He is a Foreign Honorary Member of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences, Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy, Fellow of the European Society of Linguistics (and its president in 1986-88), Corresponding Member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Academician of the Russian Academy of Science, Doctor honoris causa of the Bonn University and the University of Chicago, Honorary Member of the Linguistic Society of America, among others. He has received the Lenin Prize (1988), the Humboldt International Prize (1989) and the Ivane Javakhishvili Prize of the Georgian Academy of Sciences (1992). From 1992 to 2005 he was a member of the Georgian Parliament. His works includes “The Akkado-Hittite syllabary and the problem of the origin of the Hittite script,” Archiv Orientalni 29, 1960; “Anatolian languages and the problem of Indo-European migration to Asia Minor,” Studies in General and Oriental Linguistics, Tokyo, 1970; Alphabetic Writing and the Old Georgian Script, New York, 1994; and (with V. Vs. Ivanov) Indo-European Language and Indoeuropeans, 2 vols., Berlin and New York, 1994-95.
participants of the Convention come from world’s fifteen countries, and this is a clear indication of a broad international character of this conference entitled “Society, History, and Culture in the Persianate World”.

The choice of Georgia as a seat of this international meeting occurred apparently not by mere chance. The scientific and educational institutions in Georgia, such as the Javakhishvili State University, The Georgian Academy of Sciences and its internationally known Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies that until recently functioned under the umbrella of the Academy, as well as the Institute of Asia and Africa are internationally known as prominent in Oriental studies, with a special emphasis on the field of Iranian, both ancient and modern.

Apart from this, the choice of Georgia as a seat of this highly important international conference, with participation of famous scholars from East and West, the choice of country lying at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, will contribute a great deal to the dialogue between different cultures and civilizations with a view to their unity and collaboration, in the sense of the great Wolfgang Goethe, as opposed to the thesis of the “clash of civilization”.

In his Ost-Westlicher Divan Goethe says:

Wer sich selbst und andre kennt,  
Wird auch hier erkennen,  
Orient und Okzident  
Sind nicht mehr zu trennen....

“Orient and Occident cannot be longer separated”

I strongly believe that the Third Biennial convention of the ASPS will contribute a great deal to this noble course, and I wish you success in its realization.

Thank you. Motashakkeram.
Presidential Address

THE SALIENCE OF POLITICAL ETHIC IN THE SPREAD OF PERSIANATE ISLAM

Saïd Amir Arjomand

The civilizational area that grew on the basis of the Persian language in the Islamic era was centered on present day Iran but stretched far into Central Asia, where Persian is still spoken in Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, into the Indian subcontinent and of course to the Caucasus. The Parthian kingdom in Armenia survived the overthrow of the empire by the Sasanians. One of the last grand viziers of the Safavid Empire, Fathallāh Khan, was a Daghestani and the last Safavid governor of Afghanistan was a Georgian king. The premise of our Association is that the cultural and civilizational unity of this vast region justifies calling it the Persianate world. The three great Muslim empires of the early modern period, the Ottoman empire in Anatolia, the Balkans and north Africa, the (Iran-centered) Safavid empire and the Mughal empire in India fostered variants of a broadly similar Persianate tradition, perpetuated by the constant migration of poets, artists, architects and scholars between the cities of the Turko-Persian Islamicate ecumene from Istanbul to Delhi and the Deccan.\(^1\) Following this lead by Hodgson, Canfield speaks of the “Turko-Persian Islamicate culture.”\(^2\) A symposium in the second volume of *Studies on Persianate Societies* examined the Persianate component of the early Ottoman political culture and historiography. Today, I will try to demonstrate that Persianate Islam spread even beyond India into Malaysia and Indonesia by examining the salience of Persianate political culture, which should be considered one of its important components.

Arabic was the language of the Koran, and was elaborated into the *lingua franca* of the Islamic empire, incidentally by grammar scholars who were mostly of Iranian origin. The people of the conquered Persian Empire, like other conquered populations, were called the *'ajam* (stutterers) by the Arab overlords. Unlike other populations, however, the Iranians not only kept their own language, which was now written in the Arabic script as the so-called New Persian, but saw it develop into the carrier of a major Islamicate tradition across a vast and growing region. The social revolution of Islam, the *'Abbasid revolution* (750 C.E.), began in Khorasan and Transoxiana (northeastern Iran and Central Asia) and integrated the Persian-speaking subject populations into an Islamic society. It can plausibly be argued that, by the time of Caliph al-Ma’mun (d. 833), whose mother was Persian and who moved the capital of the Caliphate to Khorasan, “conquerors and subjects were melded into a single Persianate society.”¹ The Persian stutterers (*'ajam*) began a vigorous socio-cultural movement throughout the Islamic imperial ecumene, which is known as the *Shoʿubiya*, in order to extol their cultural superiority—or, at least, parity. The *Shoʿubiya* movement was sustained and strengthened by the rise of independent local dynasties under the Caliphate in ninth and tenth centuries.

New Persian did not remain a vernacular for long but developed into a major literary language and spread from Iran and Central Asia into the Indian subcontinent in the south-east, and Anatolia in the west. It became the *lingua franca* of several monarchies and empires and thus created a vast Persianate civilizational area.

Bert Fragner has put forward a socio-linguistic interpretation of the emergence of the Persianate world which I will subscribe to. Islamicization and the writing of Persian with the Arabic alphabet were decisive for its conversion into a *lingua franca* that created a

---

¹ Canfield, p. 4.
civilizational area.\textsuperscript{1} New Persian, as Fragner puts it, was “the first language in history to be successfully islamicized.” Its complex verbs, synonym-composites and additive constructs (ezāfa) allowed tremendous absorption of Arabic words and creation of new religious and cultural concepts by the juxtaposition of heterogeneous and often originally quite distant concepts in the course of the Persian rendition of Islamic terms. The patrons of ‘persophony’, who assured its continuous reproduction and growth were the Persianized Turks, the ruling elite of medieval and early modern monarchies and empires, for whom Persian was not the mother tongue but the second language.\textsuperscript{2} The same is true of many poets and scribes who wrote in Persian.\textsuperscript{3}

If Persian was thus Islamicized, Islam was at the same time Persianized\textsuperscript{4}—and it was this Persianized Islam that spread in Iran and Central Asia, and thence to India and Anatolia. This is beautifully captured in the Turkish saying “

kim bilir fārisi, gitdi dinin yārīsi” (he/she who knows Persian gets the help of religion).\textsuperscript{5}

New Persian was forged from the beginning as the complementary lingua franca of Islam, and with the boost from the Samanid

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{1} B. G. Fragner, Die “Persophonie”: Regionalität, Identität und Sprachkontakt in der Geschichte Asiens, Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, Series ANOR, No.5, 1999.
\textsuperscript{2} Fragner, p. 78. This is true of the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal empire in India, except for Khalji* and Afghan interludes, for whom Persian was probably the first language.
\textsuperscript{4} That the term tājik, the Soghdian form of the Persian tāzi for ‘Arab’, which was by extension applied to ‘Muslim’ (for the most part, converted Iranians), came to mean ‘Persian’ is indicative of the hand-in-hand victory of Islam and the Persian language. (G. Lazard, “The Rise of the New Persian Language,” in R.N. Frye, ed., The Cambridge History of Iran, Cambridge, 1975, 4: 600)
\textsuperscript{5} Cited in Fragner, p. 94.
\end{flushright}
“vernacular” polity-formation, became the main vehicle for the spread of Islam as a world religion and of the Islamic civilization in the “eastern lands of the Caliphate.”

Of the two distinctive components of Persianate Islam, one is well-known and studied, the other, largely neglected. The well-studied aspect of Persianate Islam is its Sufism. Sufi literary works in Persian, presenting a non-legalistic mystical variant of Islam, did not take long to appear. The Sufi-tinged Persianate Islam traveled to India and was received as the central, universalistic tradition of Islam, and not as a form of “local knowledge.” The second, neglected component of Persianate Islam, my subject today, is the Perso-Islamicate political ethic and culture.

Let us not forget, however, that Persian began its new life in the Islamic era as a vernacular. Sheldon Pollock singles out “vernacularization” as a major process in world history that began the early second millennium of the Common Era.\(^1\) The parallel shifts from Sanskrit/Latin to vernacular languages in India and late-medieval Europe created new regional worlds in Eurasia, in which “cultures and communities were ideationally and discursively invented, or at least provided with a more self-conscious voice.”\(^2\) With this comes a shift from universalistic, imperial polity to “vernacular polity.”\(^3\) We also find the twin processes of vernacularization and regional polity formation in the growth of New Persian during the process of formation of the Samanid state and its disengagement from the Caliphal Empire.\(^4\)

---

\(^1\) S. Pollock, "India in the Vernacular Millennium: Literary Culture and Polity, 1000-1500" *Daedalus*, 127/3 (1998): 41-74. Pollock (p. 41) defines it as “a process of change by which universalistic orders, formations, and practices of the preceding millennium were supplemented and gradually replaced by localized forms.” This definition holds for our purpose if one substitutes for or adds “regionalized” to Pollock’s “localized.”

\(^2\) Pollock, p. 42.

\(^3\) Pollock, pp. 47, 54-55.

\(^4\) The same parallel occurs with the vernacular of the Caspian region and the local courts of Tabarestan. (Lazard, p. 610)
This process of vernacularization stimulated by polity formation also resulted in the emergence of Persianate Islam. Panegyrics aside, the first major Persian texts are histories that bear directly on polity formation and the emergence of Iranian monarchy, most notably the Persian rendition of Tabari’s universal history by the Samanid vizier, Ba’ami, and the Epic of Kings (Šāhnāma), most notably that by Ferdowsi. But there are also important religious texts in Persian from the Samanid period that make it the language of Islam at the same time. The Samanid ruler, Nuh b. Mansur (976-97), set up a college of learned religious scholars who produced an interlinear translation of the Koran and the Persian rendition of the Koran commentary by Tabari. It should be noted that this was done partly to combat the Esmā’ili heresy among his subjects. New Persian was not confined to the court circles but was snatched by radical religious sects, most notably the Esmā’īlis, who used it as an instrument of proselytization. The rulers of the vernacular polities were, however, quick to react. The same ruler ordered a short creed by Abu’l-Qāsem Samarqandi for the same purpose and so that the orthodox knowledge of the elite be made available to the masses.\(^1\)

We also have a short Persian creed by Mātoridi from the same period. The sponsorship of Persianate Islam by the Samanids and other Persian dynasties thus resulted in its blending with the Iranian historical tradition and political culture.

As I have said, the political-culture component of Persianate Islam receives little attention. The reason for this neglect is a deep-seated Orientalist prejudice. Expressing his horror at what he took to be the pollution of an Islam born fully formed into history by the non-Arab clients (mawāli) (who were in fact its chief architects as a world religion), Gibb asserted that the reception of the Sasanian political tradition, which evolved into the Perso-Islamicate political ethic examined in this address, “introduced into Islamic society a kernel of derangement” because the strands thus “woven into the fabric of Muslim thought were, and

\(^1\) Lazard, pp. 929-30.
remained, foreign to its native constitution.”1 Echoing the same sentiment of horror at the corruption of pristine Islam in her recent restatement of the Orientalist conventional wisdom, Patricia Crone claims that “men who styled themselves amirs, kings and sultans” were “devoid of legal status and moral significance.” They were “rulers of the type that the Muslims had initially seen themselves as called upon to eliminate, and though they learnt to live with them, they could never see them as intrinsically Islamic.”2 This prejudice is widely shared by modern scholars with a quasi-missionary commitment to Islam from the Indian subcontinent and by Islamic fundamentalists, but is without historical foundation and distorts historical reality. The architects of the Perso-Islamic tradition of political ethic and statecraft in fact took great care to justify that tradition as Islamic by resting it on the same two scriptural sources as those of the Islamic law. Just as the jurists were doing in the same period, the writers on ethics and statecraft justified ancient Persian maxims by Qur’anic Verses and Prophetic hadith. This followed the dominant cultural pattern of reconciling the traditions of the Prophets and the Kings (rosol wa’l-moluk), which I called the theory of the two (divinely sanctioned) powers in my contribution to the first volume of Studies on Persianate Societies.3

This is evident in the Persian literature on ethics and statecraft that flourished at the courts of the later Ghaznavids and of the Ghurids, who succeeded them, notably in the preface to the Persian translation/adaptation of Kalila va Demna by the Ghaznavid official, Nasr-Allāḥ Monshi. In an elaborate preface on the theory of government to his amplified translation of this work, Nasr-Allāḥ was careful to offer a synthesis of Islam and maxims of Persian statecraft, such as “religion and kingship are twin-born,”

---

with a number of citations from the Qur’an, including “the authority verse” 4.59, and the Traditions of the Prophet, “the kings of Islam are the shadow of the Creator.”

As in other works on ethics, Nasr-Allāh integrated the idea of punishment into the theory of kingship based on justice with the typical reference to Q. 57.25: “Indeed, we sent our Messengers with clear signs, and We sent down with them the Book and the Balance so that men might uphold justice. And we sent down iron, wherein is great might, and many uses for men.” He affirmed that the book, the scale and the sword are brought into unity through the function of kingship.

Nasr-Allāh Monshi followed this affirmation with the central maxim of Persian statecraft, which was often represented as ‘the circle of justice’, and is attributed to the founder of the Sasanian empire, Ardashir: “there is no kingdom except through men, and no men except through wealth and no wealth except through cultivation (‘emāra) and no cultivation except through justice and punishment (siāsa).” Nasr-Allāh explained that wealth was the means for conquering the world, and justice and punishment were the elixir of wealth. Peace and security of roads and the preservation of the realm depended on punishment. Hence the priority of justice and punishment in the ethic of the kings. It is interesting to note that with this emphasis on siāsat, we have a return to India in Islamic garb of the ancient Indian notion of punishment (danda) which had been transmitted into Arabic via the late Sasanian adaptation of Indian statecraft.

---

2 Another Qur’ānic Verse quoted in the literature on political ethic to reinforced the divine sanctioning of punishment is Q.2.179(175): “In retaliation there is life for you.”
3 ibid.
Writing in the same period, in the mid-twelfth/sixth century, Nezāmi 'Aruzī Samarqandi attributes one of the maxims of Persian statecraft to the Prophet, and quotes a second from Ferdowsi:

Ferdowsi has said this well:

Know that kingship and prophethood // are two stone in the one ring
And as the Lord of the sons of Adam [i.e. Muhammad] himself says, // “Religion and monarchy are twins.”

The transmission of the Perso-Islamic political ethic to the Delhi Sultanate can be documented fairly precisely, as can that to the Mughal empire three centuries later. I have shown elsewhere that with the rise of Iranian dynasties, which meant that the 'Abbasid Caliphate had become a religious figurehead, the terms used by the famous Ghazāli to address Sultan Sanjar, the King (malek, pādshāh) of Islam, gained currency, indicating a type of political regime I called 'Islamic royalism'. In 1206, the very year of his assumption of supreme power by the slave general who completed the conquest of northern India, Qotb-al-Din Aybeg (d. 1210-11), Mohammad b. Mansur Mobāraksāh, known as Fakhr-e Modaber, transfers Islamically legitimate sovereignty from the assassinated Ghurid ruler, Mo'ezz-al-Din Mohammad, to the new Sultan, using not only 'malek' and 'pādshāh' but also 'soltān' of Islam for Aybeg. The most important work in the transmission of Perso-Islamic political ethic and thought to the Sultans of Delhi in India in the thirteenth century was the Ādāb al-harb wa'l-shajā’a by the same author, which was written for Aybeg but later dedicated to his successor and the founder of the first Delhi dynasty, Sultan Iltutmish (d. 1235-6/633). One of the remarkable

---

features of this last book is its extensive coverage of military organization and warfare, and there too, supportive traditions abound; the important chapters on political ethic begin with a scriptural citation, preferably a revealed verse. Traditional precedents are sought, wherever possible, in the practice of the early prophets, beginning with Adam and the rightly-guided Caliphs, but other nations and practices not benefiting from divine guidance are also duly incorporated. This Islamic justification of military organization can be understood in the light of the continued importance of and legitimatory function of jihad for the Sultanate of Delhi where the Muslims were a small ruling minority dominating a large Hindu population. Mobārakshāh, who had earlier transmitted the hadīth attributed to the Prophet, “Were it not for the ruler (soltān), the people would eat one another,” also transmitted Nasr-Allāh’s on punishment back to India by citing the same Q.57.25 on the book, the sword and the scale, which was reinforced later by a hadīth to re-emphasize the link between justice and punishment.

Some very influential Persian medieval books were in fact written after the formation of the Delhi Sultanate. Nasir-al-Din Tusi (d. 1275) wrote his major synthesis of Persianate political ethic and the Greek political science, Akhlāq-e Nāseri, at the court of the Esmā’īli ruler of Qohestān in 1235 and published it again as the Counselor to the Mongol ruler, Hūlegū. Sheikh Musleh-al-Din Sa’di’s two major books on ethics are from the same period. His Bustān, written in 1257/655, begins with a chapter on justice and good governance, and the Golestān, written a year later (1258/656, incidentally, the year of the overthrow of the Abbasid Caliphate), with a chapter “On the Tradition of Kings” (dar sirat-e pādshāhān). Sa’di combines the Qur’ānic verses and the traditions of the Prophet eclectically with the Persian and Greek wisdom and the tradition of kings, albeit with his distinctive and exceptional genius for highlighting the paradoxes and moral ambiguities in

---

1 Ibid., p. 13.
statecraft and political ethic. Sa’di’s work traveled fast into India, however, and through India to Malaysia and Indonesia. Tusi’s ideas appear to have been transmitted to India later, toward the very end of the Delhi Sultanate, but then in a major way with the new wave of transmission at the foundation of the Mughal empire.

Nezam al-Mulk had praised the Samanids for their efficient use of military slaves (singular, gholām, mamluk), one of whom, Saboktakin, founded the Ghaznavid dynasty. The Ghurids were a local dynasty of Iranian petty kings, Āl-e Shansab, but the above-mentioned Mo’ezz-al-Dīn, when asked about not having a son to succeed him, reportedly replied: Let other Sultans have one son or two. I have several thousand sons—Turkish slaves—whose inheritance will be my kingdom.

The Mo’ezzi Turkish slaves, Aybég and Ilutmish, did indeed inherit the newly conquered India from him, and established the Delhi Sultanate. State formation in the Delhi Sultanate in the following centuries was the work of Turkish military salves, except for the Khaljis (1290-1320), and the later Afghan dynasty of the Lodis (1451-1526). All the Delhi Sultans, however, drew upon the Persianate conception of kingship.

My concern is not to trace the development of military slavery which became highly institutionalized into the Ottoman devshirme system and was used in a somewhat more ad hoc fashion by ‘Abbās I and his successors to recruit the military-administrative elite of the newly centralized Safavid empire from Georgian and Armenian royal slaves. What I will try to do briefly is to trace the transmissions of certain Persianate symbols of royalty and institutions of government. Suffice it to say that it shared quite a

---

1 One of Sa’di’s poems was inscribed on a tombstone in the Malay city of Pasai in 1420. (Brakel [n.66 below], p. 56)
few features with the *mamluk* regime established in Syria and Egypt two generations later. Nor does the typological characterization of the Sultanate of Delhi as a regime based on collective rule by a military elite recruited and trained as slaves concern me here, except for one feature. The Delhi Sultanate is perhaps best typified as an imperial regime based on military feudalism, where imperial unity was maintained by collective consensus among the Turkish slave-*amirs* on the election and deposition of Sultans, often orchestrated by the non-Turkish viziers,\(^1\) the *dādbeg* and chief kadis.\(^2\) In a manner reminiscent of military feudalism in the Parthian empire, the Delhi Sultan was called the ‘Sultan of Islam’\(^3\) and the ‘king of kings’ (*shāhanshāh, pādshāh*),\(^4\) while the Turkish *amirs* of the highest rank who held the most important Eqtā’ grants assumed the title of *malek* (king). The author of *Tabaqāt-e nāseri* counts twenty-five slave kings under the Shamsid dynasty of Iltutmish.\(^5\)

The idea of the king as the shadow of God (*zell-Allāh, sāya-ye yazdān*) passed on from the Ghaznavids to the Delhi Sultanate, as did the tradition of the covenant of famous kings in the form of their testament to their successors. The paradigmatic testament was that of Ardashir, but there was also the testament of Anushiravān, and more recently of Saboktekin and Mahmud. Sultan Balban (1266-87) is thus credited with a major testament on the rules of statecraft. So did other key symbols of kingship. The

---

1. Usually Tajik, but on occasion Hindu.
4. Ibid., 1: 475, 497.
5. Ibid., 2: tabaqa 22.
great poet Amir Khosrow of Delhi considered Balban’s grandson, Kayqobad, a descendant of his Kayanid namesake and heir the Kayanid farr and crown. The Ghaznavid court’s ceremonial personnel included along the standard-bearer, ‘alam-dār, a bearer of the royal parasol (chatr). The parasol as a foremost royal symbol traveled to India, together with the royal drum (nowbat). Already under the Ghurids and Qotb-al-Din Aybeg, the royal kettle drum had traveled to India. The raising of the parasol became the sign of assumption of regal status, and its bearer (chatrdār) was a state official. The number of times (nowbat) an amir was granted the privilege of having at kettle drum beaten was indicative of his regal rank as a malek. The ceremony of beating the drum at the royal residence and the word ‘nowbat’ passed on from India to the Malay Sultanate in the fifteenth century, and the oldest literary source on Malay kingship tells us that after the Raja of Kedah obtained recognition from the Sultan of Malacca (Melaka) and returned to Kedah, “he had the drum of sovereignty beaten.”

A tract on public law from the late Samanid or early Ghaznavid period, describes the functions of the highest officials of the patrimonial monarchy, including an amir-e dād, corresponding to the caliph’s sāheb al-mazālem, charged with the administration of justice as the cornerstone of monarchy. The institution of amir-e dād in charge of the ruler’s court of

1 Nizami, pp. 93, 97-98.
4 Tabaqāt-e nāseri, 1:417, 419, 444, 454.
5 Ibid., 2:21.
complaints against oppressions (mazālem) was transplanted from the very beginning to the Delhi Sultanate, where it was also called dādbeg, and became the most important office of the state after the vizierate.¹ By the end of the thirteenth century, the more specialized office of the amir-e dād-e lashkar was also created. This latter office of the chief judge of the army can be considered the prototype of the Ottoman kādi esker and the Safavid kādi mo’askar. As for the vizierate itself, Nezām-al-Molk’s Siāsat-nāma became the fundamental manual, as the title itself was bestowed on several viziers of the Delhi Sultanate.² Again, the vizieral title and the book passed on to the Malay Sultanate.³

The Persianate conception of kingship was applied extensively in the writings of the official and historian of the Delhi Sultanate, Ziyāʾ al-Din Barani. Kingship, according to Barani, is “the lieutenancy of the divinity and deputyship (caliphate) of God.” Barani saw the Caliphate as a mere phase in the history of kingship. The shari‘i order was to be maintained by kings who had military power or their successors. Another point of departure for him was the theory of dual power, but he was much more frank than earlier jurists about admitting the possibility of serious clash between monarchy and the shari‘i order. “Prophecy is the perfection of religiosity, and kingship is the perfection of the world—and the two perfections are opposite and contradictory to each other.” That is why Sultan Mahmud, the archetypal "king of Islam", is made to declare to his children that “Rulership is impossible without practicing the tradition and customs of the Persian kings. And all the ulema of the umma know that the tradition and customs of the Persian rulers are contrary to the Mohammedan traditions and to Mohammad's manner of life.” The central paradox of Islamic royalism as expressed by Barani is that,

¹ Tabaqāt-e nāseri, 1: 444.; 2: 40-42; Jackson, pp. 53,84,96.
² Ibid., 1: 459, 494.
in order to protect and promote Islam, the kings of Islam have to commit what is forbidden by the *shari‘at*.¹

Meanwhile, the Mongol invasion of Iran had brought in a new, a Turkic, notion of public law, which was gradually absorbed within the framework of Islamic monarchy. The Turkic notion of divinely-granted sovereignty (*kut*), as attested in the seventh-century Orkhon inscriptions and the eleventh-century mirror for a Qarakhânid prince, *Kutadgu Bilig* (wisdom of royal glory), was inseparably tied to that of law (*törü*): a kagan blessed by divine fortune established a state and his law at the same time. Chengiz Khan thus established the great Yâsâ alongside his universal empire. The notion of divinely granted sovereignty was reinforced by the prevalent astrological theories that calculated the turn in power (*dowlâ*) in terms of auspicious conjunctions of planets, and world conquerors, both Chengiz Khan and Timur, assumed their place alongside Alexander as sâheb-gerân (lord of [auspicious] conjunction), thus bestowing legitimacy upon the imperial dynasties they had respectively established. After the conversion of the Il-Khanids to Islam and under the Timurids, the Yâsâ was gradually assimilated to the qânum.

At the end of the fifteenth century, the Iranian immigrants also played the leading role in state formation in the Deccan. Early in the century, Firuz Shâh Bahmani (1397-1422) would reportedly send empty ships to the Persian Gulf to bring back Iranian soldiers, administrators, traders and artists. One such imported soldier who rose to prominence, Yusof ‘Âdel Khan (1490-1510), founded the dynasty of ‘just kings’, the ‘Âdelshâhi Sultanate of Bijâpur, and emboldned by the news of the rise of Shah Esmâ‘îl in Iran, declared Shiism as the official religion of his kingdom.²

More consequentially, Bābor (1526-30) took a large number of Timurid officials with him to India, and almost a half of the noblemen who accompanied Homāyun after his restoration were Iranians. Iranians were the single largest group (as compared to the Turanians and the Hindus) under Akbar, and their prominence increased under the vizierate of the father and brother of Nur-e Jahān, the favorite Persian queen of Jahāngir (11605-23). They remained conspicuous throughout the seventeenth century, making up a quarter of Aurangzeb’s (1658-1707). The Persianate theory of kingship as universal monarchy had its most lasting impact in India on the creation of the Mughal empire. As Timurids, the Mughal emperors claimed divine sanction and legitimacy as their dynasty had been founded by the great Shāheb-gerān, and Shāhjahān (1627-58) was even called the second Shāheb-gerān. Echoes of the Turkish conception of the law also persisted. Just before ascending the throne, Akbar sharply reminded a disobedient governor who nevertheless demanded special treatment as drinking companion of his father that “the tōra of monarchy (saltanat) is one thing and the law (qānum) of love is another.”

The nomadic patrimonial rule of succession that Bābor had been reluctant to give up (and proved disastrous for Homāyun), however, died with him, leaving the field to the idea of pādshāhi as monarchy over an undivided empire.

As was the case with the transmission of Persianate political ideas to the Delhi Sultanate, it is possible to trace their fresh retransmission to the Mughal empire through the writings of a number of key individuals. Persian books on statecraft traveled with the Ba*bur from Kabul and Herat to India upon its conquest. The Timurid chief Kadi of Herat, Ekhtiyār al-Din Hosayn al-Hosayni, met Bābor after the conquest of India and had an extensive discussion with him on the rules of statecraft, and

---


dedicated to him the *Akhlāq-e homāyuni*, originally entitled *Dastur al-vezārat* (the rules of vizierate). The book was divided into three parts, each called a qānun (law) and in turn divided into two sections called qā'eda (rule). Following Nasir-al-Din Tusi, he assimilated shari’at to nomos, said to work only through a just king. ‘Excellent politics’, required for establishing the Imamate of the king, is the pattern of governance of a king who, as the shadow of God, allows each class of men to achieve perfection according to its competence within the social hierarchy.¹ The aged Timurid bureaucrat and historian Khvāndmir, took with him to India the more Sufi-tinged conception of kingship made definitive be the Safavid revolution,² and expressed it in a book commissioned by Bābor before his death but dedicated to his successor, Homāyun, who was called “the unifier of the real and the apparent sovereignty” (*jāme’-e saltanat-e haqiqi va majāzī*). Homāyun himself devised a ceremony with the king like the sun representing the center of the world while his officials were divided into twelve orders according to the signs of the zodiac to represent the rays of light shining to the corners of the empire.³ More ambitiously, Homayun attempted to constitute the social order of his new empire, dividing society into three orders, the state functionaries (*ahl-e dowlat*), the men of learning (*ahl-e sa’ādat* as equivalent of wisdom/eudaimonia), and, innovatively, men of arts and music (*ahl-e morād*).⁴ In this, he may or may not have been inspired by the record of the mythical institution of social order by Ardashir, the founder of the Sasanian empire, in an *Ā’in-nāma* versified by Ferdowsi.⁵ Among his other innovations was the institution of a “drum of justice” (*tabl-e ‘adl*) to be beaten by those seeking

⁴ *Akhar-nāma*, 1: 524-35.
redress by royal justice by having the drum beaten between one
and four nowbats, depending on the severity of the alleged
violation.1

Abu’l-Fazl ’Allāmi, the learned vizier of Akbar (1556-1605)
was the architect of his imperial ideology. The key imperial
concept was, needless to say kingship (pādshāhi), a gift of God
that was not bestowed easily and had thousands of prerequisites.
“Kingship is a radiance (forugh) from the Incomparable Dispenser
of justice [God] and a ray of the sun, illuminator of the universe…
The contemporary language calls it farr-i izadi* (divine
effulgence), and the tongue of the antiquity calls it kiyān kh’arra.”
This enabled him to push the Persian idea of kingship beyond the
limits of ‘Islamic royalism’ to its logical conclusion as universal
(read, imperial) monarchy. Akbar was indeed not merely the ‘king
of Islam’ but ‘the emperor (shāhanshāh) of mankind’, as
predestined by the first manifestation of his divine origins, the
divine ray of light that impregnated his legendary Mongolian
grandmother, Alanqowa.2 Needless to say, this universalistic
extension of the divine mandate of the Mughal emperors in no way
diluted their Islamic credentials. The coins issued in Akbar’s
royal camp (ordu) referred to it as the ‘seat of the Caliphate (dār al-
khelāfa). Jahāngir and Shāhjahān were called God’s Caliph by
their high ranking kadis, as was Aurangzeb who was also called
the Commander of the Faithful.

As a pantheistic mystic and son of Akbar’s spiritual guide,
Abu’l-Fazl called his royal patron the Perfect Man (ensān-e
kāmel), endowed with great capacity to receive divine
illumination. He may have helped Akbar with the creation of a
special Sufi order of ‘divine unity’ (tawhid-e elāhi) for the
officials of which, not unlike the Safavid order for the Qezelbāsh
amirs, the emperor himself was to be the supreme spiritual guide.
There were four degrees of devotion, and those reaching the

1 Akhar-nāma, 1: 529-30.
2 J.F. Richards, “The formation of Imperial Authority under Akbar and
Jahangir,” in Muzaffar Alam & Sanjay Subrahmanyam, eds., The
Mughal State 1526-1750 (Delhi, 1998), p. 144.
highest would attain the status of disciple (morid).\footnote{Rizvi, pp. 394-409.} But spiritual guidance of the entire people, who looked up to him because of his exalted rank, was also one of the king’s duties. As a keen student of all religions, Abu’l-Fazl would not hesitate to stipulate religious tolerance a prerequisite for he who wishes to attain the exalted dignity of kingship. Tolerance is almost certainly what he meant by the ambiguous concept of solh-e koll (peace for all), where “thousands find rest in the love of the king, and sectarian differences do not raise the dust of strife.”\footnote{Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar’s reign, with special reference to Abu’l Fazl, 1556-1605 (New Delhi, 1975), pp. 354-7,364; translations slightly modified. Furthermore, “kingship is a gift of God, and is not bestowed till many thousand grand prerequisites have been gathered together in one individual.” (Cited in Rizvi, p. 357) }

Sher Shâh Sur (1540-45), who had dislodged Homâyun, came to power with a platform of justice for the subjects and installed an amir-e dâd as the chief judge of his court of complaints (mazâlem). The office remained important after the Mughal restoration, though the title was changed slightly to mir ‘adl. Jahângir installed a gold chain in his palace, in imitation of Anushirvân’s legendary ‘chain of justice’, to assure his constant accessibility to his subjects with pleas and petitions against oppression. The didactic Akhlâq-e Jahângiri by Kadi Nur-al-Din Khâqâni, whose grandfather had served Akbar’s brother in Kabul, versified into a quatrain an old maxim of statecraft that had, incidentally, been cited by the leading Shiite jurist Razi-al-Din Ebn Tâvus in a fatvâ that justified the overthrow of the ‘Abbasid Caliphate by Hülegû: Consider justice and equity, not infidelity (kofr) nor religion (din) // That which is at work in the maintenance of the kingdom. // Justice without religion is better for the order of the world // Than the oppression of the pious (dindâr) king.\footnote{Alam, Languages, p. 73; translation modified.}
In presenting the massive constitution of Akbar’s empire, Ā’in-e Akbarī, Abu’l-Fazl offers the rationale of its division into three parts: “I shall explain the regulations (ā’in) of the household (manzel), the army (sepāh) and the kingdom (molk) since these three constitute the work of a ruler.”

The Mughal emperors maintained the distinctively Turko-Mongolian feature of their mobile court and spent a considerable time outside their capitals, with the government bureaucracy, treasury and the royal court of appeals moving with the royal camp (ordu) that constituted a huge moving city. The household regulations included the personal guidance of the officials by Akbar through initiation into the above-mentioned order. This was continued by Jahāngir, and was indeed expanded to include the entire body of high office-holders who were treated as the emperor’s disciples and given the imperial image and seal to wear. As was the case in the Ottoman empire, provincial administration was absorbed into the military organization, as was much of central administration. The highest office-holders, the mansabdārs, were appointed on the basis of their personal devotion and loyalty to the ruler, as indicated by the adoption of the ethos of mamluk tradition of corporate military slavery, which referred to any officer as ‘slave’ (banda) of the ruler, and by the patrimonial ethos of being khānazād (born to the household), both of which were shared by the Safavids and the Ottomans.

It is not possible to pin down the transmission of Persianate political ethic to Malaysia and Indonesia to known individuals and specific works, as was the case with the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal empire. The Persian theory of kingship and dynastic state (dowlat) traveled to Malaysia via northern India and Gujarat in the

---


2 Richards, pp.
early fifteenth century, however. The Hindu-Buddhist kings of Malacca (Melaka) adopted the title of Syah (šāh) two generations before that of Sultan, which appears with the adoption of Islam as the religion of the royal house by Sultan Muzaffar Shah (1444-59), who codified the laws of Malacca, adding certain provisions of the shari‘a to customary law.¹ There was a basic continuity in the conception of government as kerajān (being in the condition of having a Raja), and the conception of dowlat as divinely-sanctioned state was distinctively coupled with derhaka, or treason toward the Raja as tantamount to sin against God.² Nevertheless, the conception of the ruler became recognizably Perso-Islamicate.

With the Persian theory of kingship also came the maxim of the two powers, as versified by Ferdowski and cited by Nezāmi ‘Aruzi: “kingship and prophecy are two jewels on the same ring.” Our earliest source explains that “the just Raja is joined with the Prophet of God like two jewels in one ring. Moreover, the Raja is as it were the deputy of God.”³ Sultans of Malacca, and following them other Malay Sultans, styled themselves as ‘Caliph’ and “shadow of God on earth” on their coins.⁴ A group of Persian words accompanied the transmission of the Perso-Islamicate conception of government, including āstāna (royal palace), divān (hall of audience), lashkar (army), as well as nawbat (royal drum), shāhbandar (harbormaster) and nākhodā (captain).⁵

The two components I consider distinctive of Persianate Islam were transmitted together to the Malay Sultanate. As the factor second to royal patronage in the spread of Islam was Sufism,⁶ the ruler could also claim spiritual perfection, and represented Islam without the rivalry of the clerical estate, the ulema, the Kadis

---

¹ Sējarah Melayu, p. 50.
³ Sējarah Melayu, p. 111.
⁵ Marrison, p. 55.
⁶ Sējarah Melayu, pp. 32-33, 92-94.
being usually relatives of the Sultan and sometimes a descendant of Sufi Sheikhs. There is yet a third element that appears in the spread of Islam in Southeast Asia. Storytellers (qosṣās) had played a key role in the original wave of conversion to Islam, but then independently of government. In the Malay Sultanate, by contrast, we find a kind of royal monopoly of religious epic stories known as hikāyats. The most important of these was the Hekāyat Eskandar Dhu’l-Karneyn, where Alexander is presented as both a prophet and a Persian king. It is interesting to note that the Malay Sultans typically claimed descent from Eskandar Dhu’l-Qarnayn (Alexander the Great), whose name was taken by the first Raja of Melaka to assume the title of shāh and credited with the establishment of court ceremonies, and by many others, including the 17th century autocrat of Aceh, Iskandar Muda. Alexander, both a prophet and a Persian king, was a convenient figure as the originator of monarchy, and royal descent from him was through other Persian kings, notably Khosrow Anushiravān, the Just.

Another very important epic is the Hekāyat-e Mohammad-e Hanafiya. As the ezāfa for ibn (son of) indicates, it was translated from a Persian Hekāyat-e Mohammad-e Hanafiya, and is a variant of Abu-Moslem nāma and Mokhtar nāma in which the avenger of Imam Hosayn after Karbala is his half-brother, Mohammad—‘Ali’s son by the Hanafi woman. The work was known before the fall of Malacca in 1511. In fact, when d’Albuquerque attacked Malacca in that year, the Sultan’s army insisted on reading the

---

1 As in Iran, the title of makhdum (master, the served) is borne by the early Sufi masters who spread Islam in Malacca, as was the corresponding term for disciple, murid. (Ibid., p. 161)
2 Ibid., p. 42.
4 The Hekāyat probably circulated in the 14th/8th century, as a verse of Sa’di is quoted (Brakel 1975, II.21,338-40, p. 265) and Tabriz is mentioned as the capital of one of Mohammad’s allies. The main extant Persian manuscript was copied in Murshidabad, capital of Bengal in 1721. (Brakel 1975: 12, 55).

40
Hekāyat-e Mohammad-e Hanafiya before the final battle, despite the Sultan’s preference for the story of [Amir] Hamza.1

The Malay Sultanate was, however, very different from the types of political regime that developed elsewhere in the Muslim world. As compared to the rest of the Muslim world, trade and not agriculture was the source of the Sultan’s revenue. The Sultan was the first merchant of his domains, and a committee of merchants assessed the value of the cargo in the presence of the police chief, the tumenggung, who immediately levied the customs duties. Sējarah Mēlayu declared “where there is a dynastic state (dowlat), there is gold.”2 In fact, state formation in these new multi-ethnic mercantile cities can be considered the work of the class of orang kaya (literally, rich man) who constituted the consultative council (mesyurat[mashwarat] bicara) of nobles, and one of whom would often be the Sultan. The four highest officials of the state were the bendahara (grand treasurer and at times prime minister), the tumenggung (police chief), the laksamana (admiral) and the syahbandar[shāhbandar] (harbor master). This last term and office had traveled through the Sultanate of Gujarat. It had developed in the major commercial seaports of Gujarat, where the shāhbandar was in charge of the regulation of trade and collection of customs dues, and survived into the Mughal empire after the conquest of Gujarat in 1572, keeping a register in the customs house in Gujarati and Persian.3 The Sultan was chosen in consultation with the orang kaya, and there was constant rivalry between the Sultan and the bendahara in the manipulation of consensus (muafakat) of the orang kaya in the consultative council.

---

1 Sējarah Mēlayu, pp. 161-63.
3 Farhat Hasan, State and Locality in Mughal India. Power Relations in Western India, c. 1572-1730 (Cambridge, 2004), p. 38.
The legal system of the Malay Sultanate was dualistic. A very clear and basic distinction is made between the law of the land (hukum negeri) and the law of God (hukum Allāh) and is systematically followed throughout, with the [law of] qānun (hukum qānun) as a synonym for the former. The rules of either law are stipulated where appropriate, but in cases when the two vary, provisions of both the qānun and the shari‘a are stated side by side, suggesting that the judge could enforce either. The Kadi enforced the code in his court, but his was not the most important court, and the Bendahara had his own court, as did the Syahbandar, who dealt with maritime and commercial cases. Maritime and commercial matters were covered fairly extensively in the oldest law code, and there is an extant mid-seventeenth century port law of Kedah that promulgated the public law administered by the Syahbandar.

The Sultanate of Malacca, which was multiplied throughout Southeast Asia after the conquest of the city by the Portuguese in 1511, can thus be compared to the Delhi Sultanate, as the second major type of Persianate Muslim regime characterized by collective rule. Johor, where the royal family moved to after its fall and ruled until 1722, was the immediate successor state, but the Sultanates of Pahang and Sumatra also affiliated with it, as did the rulers of Perak. In the Sultanate of Perak in the eighteenth century, the Sultan was the deputy (khalifa) of God on earth, and one of them, Raja Iskandar was typically said to be “blessed with good fortune (tuah), dowlat [divinely ordained sovereignty], wisdom and nobility… [who] governed according to the laws of Allah and of ‘ādat, protecting his people.” The idea of the ruler as the shepherd of the flock also found an interesting maritime supplement, and he is said to be the

---

captain (nākhodā) of the ship of state and his ministers were his crew.¹

Further east, Islam was spread in Maluku (possible derivation from moluk) by the Sultans of Ternate in the sixteenth century, who acted as religious teachers of their people and heads of Islamic institutions and bore the titles of Shadow of God on the Earth and the Perfect Man. The great majority of the population, however, remained unconverted. Sultan appointed a brother or relative as the kali (kadi), and as Islam grew, created two new posts which bore the title of hukm, who conducted judicial hearing “by reason and custom.”² The Malay Sultanate was transplanted even as far away as Cotabato in southern Philippines, where a certain Sarip (sharif) Kabungsuwan, claiming descent from the fallen Melaccan royal family through his mother, established a Sultanate and applied elements of Shāfi’ite law alongside the customary law, which were compiled together into a code of law in the mid-eighteenth century.³

Centralized autocracy could develop from the Malay Sultanate type or regime, but this was rather exceptional. The exemplary case is the rise of autocracy in Aceh, a prosperous mercantile city-state in the sixteenth century consisting of five ethnic colonies. Under Sultan Ṭalāʾ-āl-Dīn Rāʾīš Shāh, Ṭalāʾ-Ṣayyid Ṭalāʾ-Ḥakīm (1589-1604), a title indicative of his claim to be the spiritual guide of his people and the Perfect Man of the Sufis, and his protégé, Iskandar Muda (Young Alexander) (1607-36), we witness the destruction of the oligarchy and centralization of power, creation

³ Thomas McKenna, Muslim Rulers and Rebels, Everyday Politics and Armed Separation in the Southern Philippines (Berkley & Los Angeles, 1998), pp. 48-68.

43
of palace guards, and establishment of royal trade monopoly.\(^1\) It is fascinating to note that Iskandar Muda is not only Alexander Revividus but also the *Mohammad-e Hanafiya ākher zamān*, an allusion to the latter’s return as the Mahdi at the End of Time.\(^2\) Centralized autocracy in Southeast Asia was unstable, however. In Aceh, the mercantile oligarchy made its comeback and perfected a variant of collective rule under reigning queens (1641-99), beginning with Queen Tāj-al-ālam (1641-75). The type also emerged in Sumatra and elsewhere.

As is typical with the advice literature on monarchy, the *Tāj al-salātīn*, compiled from a Persian source for the autocratic Sultan of Aceh in 1603, drawing on the ideas of Nezām-al-Molk, Nasir al-Din Tusi and other Persian authors on statecraft,\(^3\) opens its preface with one of the most favored Qur’anic Verses in statecraft: “Say God, possessor of kingship, you give kingship to whomever you will, and take away kingship from whomever you will” (Q.3.26) The core of *Bustān al-salātīn*, written in the mid-seventeenth century, is a “History of the Prophets and Kings” that begins with a chapter on the Prophets from Adam to Muhammad, followed by one on the Persian kings until the time of ’Omar. There follow chapters on the kings of other nations, the last three being on the Muslim rulers of Delhi, the rulers of Malacca and Pahang, and finally, the rulers of Aceh.

Having taken you so far into Indonesia, let me bring you back to Tbilisi as it is almost time for the reception and you must be thirsty and hungry. *The Collection of Persian Firmāns of Tblisi*, published by our colleagues here in two volumes in 1989, contains

---


\(^2\) We know that the idea of occultation (*gaybat*), eventually appropriated for the Twelve Imam as the Mahdi, first developed in connection with the denial of the death of Mohammad b. al-Hanafiyya. See S.A. Arjomand, “Gayba,” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 10 (2000), pp. 341-44.

\(^3\) Marrison, p. 62.
a mine of information about public law, administration and social life in Persianate empires. Let me conclude by selecting just one feature which is distinctive of the Safavid empire. One of the consequences of the revolution of Shah Esmā’īl, which you can read about in volume 3 of Studies on Persianate Societies on display in the book exhibit, was the introduction of Sufi-Shi’ite conception of monarchy as the rule of a holy dynasty of the putative descend ants of the holy Imams as the house of velāyat. One result of this religious conception of monarchy was the blending of the two ideas of qānun and shari’at, which were quite distinct in medieval Iran, and as we have seen, remained distinct under the Malay Sultanate. The Georgian decrees from the reign of Shah Sultan Hoseyn (1694-1722) typically combine the two ideas into a single “holy law of the shari’at” (qānun-e moqaddas-e shari’at). This is often coupled with “right accounting (hesāb [of taxes]),” as in a decree of Dhi Hejja 1105/1694, which also forbids any act contrary to “the holy law and right accounting” (shar’ va hesāb).¹ A decree of Rajab 1120/1708 similarly orders the governor of Nakhjevān to act according to “God’s holy law and right accounting” (qānun-e shari’at-e khodā va haqq o hesāb).²

Thank you for your patience.

¹ Magali A. Todua & Ismail K. Shams, eds., The Collection of Persian Firmāns of Tblisi, Tblisi, 1989, 2: 259, #8; also 2: 2863, #10.
² Collection, 2: 270, #17.
THE ARTISTIC RIVALRY OF TWO BROTHERS: EBRĀḤIM SULTAN’S REPLY TO BAYSANGHUR MIRZĀ’S SHAHNAMA

Firuza Abdullaeva

The project of digitization of one of the most important manuscripts in the collection of the Bodleian library was brought to life due to the special circumstances of the preservation of the MS and its condition. This is the MS of the Ferdowsi’s Shahnama, produced in Shiraz for Ebrāhim Sultan, most likely in 1432.

In 1952, the keepers of the Oriental MS department decided to unbind the MS, detach its illustrated folios from the rest of the text, and put each in between two glass plates. The main problem

---

1 Dr. Firuza Abdullaeva is Lecturer in Persian Literature, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford, Fellow of Wadham College and the Keeper of the Persian special collection of the Wadham College library. She holds a PhD in Iranian Philology, St Petersburg University, 1989; BA, MA in Iranian Languages, Literature and Art, 1983 (Honours), Faculty of Oriental Studies, St Petersburg University. She has held various positions in the past including: Associate Professor in Persian language and literature, Department of Iranian Philology, Faculty of Oriental Studies, St Petersburg University (1995–2005), Senior Research Associate, British Academy Shahnama Project, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Cambridge, UK (2002-2004), Assistant Professor in Persian, St Petersburg State University (1989–1995), Lecturer in Persian language and literature, St Petersburg State University (1985–1989). Dr Abdullaeva was also Fulbright visiting professor, Middle Eastern Department, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (2001), and is member of the historical school, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton (2002). Her research interests include Persian language and literature; Persian codicology and Book Art; Persian Sufi poetry; courtly patronage of the belles-lettres in medieval Iran, early Persian Koranic exegesis. Her publications include: Modern Persian Poets on the Banks of the Neva (1999); The Courtly Life of a Poet: Farrukhi from Sistan (2000); Early Persian Exegesis (2000); Commentary on the Qur’an (An 11th Century Lahore MS) (2001); Persian Classical Poetry (10-11th Centuries) (2002).
to solve by the project, which is about to start in Oxford is to restore the original order of the text, which was disturbed during one of the latest rebinding, and to reconstruct the MS.

Undoubtedly, the Bodleian MS was made after the Baysunghur Shahnama, the main evidence of which is the preface of an identical redaction. Moreover, the link between these two MSS is well-known: After Baysunghur Mirza (1397-1434) commissioned his MS and sent it from Herat to his brother in Shiraz, Ebrāhim Sultan (1394-1435) was determined to create a princely reply to his brother’s royal gift. The competition was unfair from its start: Baysunghur was sharing his capital city and brilliant court with his father Shāhrokh (1377-1447), who had contributed to the flourishing cultural life of the town, and his library in particular with his prominent artistic atelier in it.

The paper will focus on the frontispiece themes, which on their own represent a relatively independent genre of the Persian book art with its own iconographic tradition, which is difficult to localize between the Herat-Shiraz courts of the two brothers. However, if we try to concentrate only on the Shiraz’ tradition of the Shahnama representations as it was mentioned by Sims, the so many illustrated copies of the Shahnama should have been produced in a very short period after the death of two brothers, when there were so few previous Timurid copies of the poem, princely or otherwise, is puzzling and remains to be satisfactory explained.

So many styles and iconographic traditions can be identified within the Shiraz style from the 14th century. Truly the Bodleian Shahnama demonstrates the edge of the tradition, which is about to stop with the end of the era of princely patronage but as it happened becomes the one which can be considered as a start of the non-princely, commercial MS production in Shiraz for several generations of calligraphers, painters, binders and all others, who were involved into the Medieval book art.

To conclude: the response of Ebrāhīm Sultan could not simply imitate his brother’s gift mainly because he did not have sufficient resources to compete effectively, so he deliberately made the
decision to produce an original version of the poem with its own illustrative program, increasing the number of paintings to 47 compared with 12 in the Baysunghur’s copy. Furthermore, his artists do not seem to have followed any other example but devised the new model of the famous scenes. Were his efforts successful? We don’t know if they were appreciated, if we are optimistic enough to think that Baysunghur had seen it before his death in 1434.
The most part of Persians living in Georgia was concentrated in Tbilisi. They resided in Seidabad District and the territory adjacent to the Narikala Citadel, which were known as the Persian quarter. In spite of the closed nature of the Persian community, centuries of coexistence side by side with Christians noticeably affected their customs and mode of life, including dietary laws.

According to the one-day census conducted in 1876, tradesmen, hawkers, and builders formed the largest professional groups of the Persian population in Tbilisi. Persian master builders were considered skilled craftsmen. From the mid-nineteenth century, most of them were engaged in interior decoration works creating “Oriental” rooms in various buildings (Arshakuni palace in Tbilisi and Tarkhan-Mouravi manor in Akhalkalaki, both around 1860).

From the 1870s, a small Persian community mainly consisted of proprietors of coffeehouses and brokers (dallāl) emerged in Batumi as well. Persian population started growing rapidly in the both cities from the late nineteenth century, due to an influx of destitute people who were forced to leave Iran because of economic grievances and to seek employment in the Russian Empire.

Among the Persian residents of Tbilisi, there were eminent political emigrants, such as the famous representative of the Royal family Bahman Mirza, the Shiite spiritual leader (mojtahid) Mir-Pettak-Seid, who laid out a splendid garden in Tbilisi, and the

---

1 Marina Alexidze is Associate Professor of Iranian Studies at Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University and Senior research fellow of G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies. Her research field is the literature and Culture of Iran. Her publications include "Fazel-Khan Garrusi and Tbilisi", Iran and the Caucasus 7/1-2, 2003, pp. 125-132; "Sheikh San'ān and Tbilisi", Géorgie et sa capitale Tbilissi entre Perse et Europe, Tbilisi-Paris, 2007, pp. 15-23.
poet Fāzel Khan Garrusi. Around 1900, Tbilisi became one of the centers of Persian freethinkers.

In the nineteenth century, many Persian travelers visited Georgia for a short time. Writings of Yahyā Dowlatābādi, Mirza Mohammad Hoseyn Farahāni, and Majd al-Saltana are valuable primary sources for the study of the history of the Persian communities in Georgia.
PASVANDI -ИЧ-УЧ ДАР NОMHOI ÇUÇROFII VODII ZARAFШON

Bahriddin Aliev¹

Vodii Zarafшon az umqi darai Ja\=gnob dar samt\i çanubu \shaq va nohijai Mas\=ch\o h dar samt\i simolu \shaq \ogoz \ßuda, nohijahoi Fal\=garu Pan\=çkandro dar hududi imruz\i To\=chikiston faro megirad. Ta\’rixan r\üdi Zaraf\=shon va vodii Zaraf\=shon az Mas\=ch\o h va Ja\=gnob o\ogoz \ßuda, to Samarqand va az on \ço ba samt\i Buxoro tul meka\=sad. Markazi in vod\=i dar tuli ta\’rix avval \=sh\=ri Buxoro va son\=i \=sh\=ri Samarqand buda\=ast. In vodiro az jak taraf zan\=cirk\=uh\=h\i Zarafшon va az taraf\i digar zan\=cirk\=uh\=h\i Hisor ihota karda\=and.

Pasvandi -ич dar zaboni su\=gd\=i az xususijat\=h\i zerin barxurdor buda\=ast: 1. Az sifat ism mesozad: <“mtyc” \=amt\=i\=ch, \=amt “rost”, \=amt\=i\=ch “rosti”. 2. Az asoshoi fe’li va nom ism va ismi makon mesozad: <qy\=styc> ki\=st “ki\=st\=b”, ki\=st\=i\=ch “ki\=st\=zor”. Dar maqola taqriban 26 nom mavridi barras\=i va re\=sakobi qaror megirand.

¹ Dr. Aliev (Alizoda, Alavi) is a senior researcher at the Institute of Language and Literature, Tajik Academy of Sciences (Instituti zabon va adabijoti ba nomi R\=udakii Akademijai ulumi Čumhurii To\=chikiston).
Comparative analysis of separate lexical Microsystems is an actual method in search of language universality and typological unities. Comparison of Georgian and Persian material has revealed the following fact: a structure of a number of lexical Microsystems is specified to a greater extent by the type of a dominant semantic component, i.e. its semantic component of substantial or functional nature.

The type of dominance of semantic component is stipulated to a greater degree by cultural loading (effect) of the designated subject with its (subject) functional status. These are extra language factors which determine structural features of a number of lexical Microsystems according to various parameters: hierarchical links (hypo-hyperonymy), synonymy, polysemy, especially thematic polysemy, derivational potential of lexical Microsystems as a whole along with separate members.

Lexical Microsystems united by substantial dominant semantic component (for instance, names of metals), in hierarchical respect are more integral, whereas Microsystems united by functional dominant of semantic component (for instance, names of crockery) have a tendency of forming separate hierarchical subgroups.

Presumably the use of material from various languages will reveal a number of typological unities.

---

1 Fati Antadze is a lecturer at the Oriental Department of Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia. She works on the problems of lexical semantics and comparative typology of Iranian and Kartvelian languages.
ANIMALS AND PLANTS IN THE YEZIDI BELIEFS: COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF NEAR EASTERN TRADITIONS

Victoria Arakelova

The syncretic religious traditions of the Yezidis, apart from the idea of xwade ‘One God’, and the holy triad Malak Tawus, Sheikh ‘Adi, and Sultan Ezid, and the pantheon of deities patronizing various spheres of human life, has preserved traces of cults of some animals and plants.

The chameleon is approached as a heaven-born snake (mārā a’zmān) and the Yezidi tradition attributes to him certain supernatural qualities. The rooster is another object of cult, which is the result of association of similarity with the peacock externalizing Malak Tawus, the godhead of the Yezidis.

The present day Yezidi tradition does not emphasize any special attitude to a dog, except for the sheepdogs, typifying all cattle-breeding peoples. Still, Evlia Celebi’s Siāhat-nāma contains data pointing to the real cult of a dog, and especially the black one, which existed among the Yezidis centuries ago. In the materials from this Ottoman historiographer one can reveal at least three elements proving the fact of veneration of this animal: the dog’s high status in the community, its connection with death and funeral rites, and a cruel punishment for killing or mistreating dogs. The cult was later lost, most probably, under the Muslim influence.

Among the plants with special significance in the Yezidi beliefs are onion (Allium cepa L.) and mandragora (Mandragora L.).

This paper will present data on the above-mentioned cults, available from the historical materials and the published Yezidi folklore, as well as those fixed in the modern lore pieces from the authors’ field materials. The research is also an attempt of wide

1 Dr. Arakelova is affiliated with the Caucasian Center for Iranian Studies, Yerevan.
comparative analysis of the described phenomena in various Near-Eastern traditions.
THE FROZEN RADIF: QUARREL OF ANCIENT AND MODERN IN PERSIAN MUSIC

Hooman Asadi

Persian music underwent a series of vital changes in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries. Rapidly growing encounters with the West and two major national movements in terms of the Constitutional Revolution (1906) and the Islamic Revolution (1979) each in turn brought about crucial changes to every aspect of national life and culture, and music was not an exception. Yet, the long-lasting quarrel of the ancients and the moderns remains at the core of all debates. Since early 20th century, there have been three major trends in Persian music discourse. At one end of the spectrum, there have been musicians supporting the idea of “replacing” the “old” with the “new,” while at the other end there have been “traditional” musicians trying to keep their own “tradition” going on intact. In between these two extremes, there raised a third group of Iranian musicians promoting the idea of modernization, with different ideals in various epochs. In spite of all ups and downs in the course of their quarrels and the official

---

1 Hooman Asadi began his music studies by learning the setār and the radif of Persian classical music and studied at the Music Department of the University of Tehran, Faculty of Fine Arts (BA and MA), and Faculty of Arts, Tarbiat Modarres University (PhD), with the doctoral dissertation “The Concept and Structure of the Dustgāḥ in Persian Classical Music: A Comparative Analysis of the Radif.” He has published many scholarly articles in encyclopedias and journals and presented papers to a number of international conferences on music. He is a full-time faculty member and Lecturer in ethnomusicology at the music department of the University of Tehran, faculty of Fine Arts, where he also serves as the director of the ethnomusicology program and deputy for graduate studies. He is also a fellow of the music department of the Academy of Persian Language and Literature as well as the department of art at the Center for the Great Islamic Encyclopedia.
approval or disapproval of each group in various socio-political milieus of each period, throughout the 20th century, Persian music still faces a major crisis. There is a limbo where we are neither modern nor traditional anymore. The traditionalists keep repeating themselves with a superficial understanding of the past, while the modernists keep imitating the West again with a superficial understanding of the West. In fact, in the absence of critical thinking, traditionalistic and modernistic discourses may be regarded as two sides of the same coin. The illusion of equating the consolidation of the tradition, manifested in the frozen repertory of the *radif*, with the end of the tradition paved the way for yet another delusion of equating modernization with Westernization. Is it possible for Persian music to search for an Iranian modernity?
THE AWROMANI DIALECTS OF PERSIAN KURDISTAN

Alice Assadorian

The mountainous district of Awroman is in the west of the Persian province of Kurdistan. The Awroman tribe, together with those of Bājalān, Kandulāy, and Gurān, form the ethno-confessional group of Gurāns, an Iranian-speaking people inhabiting the area north of the main road from Kermānshāh to the Perso-Iraqi frontier near Qasr-e Shirin and comprising the slopes of the Shāhāndālāhū Mountain. The number of Gurānis has now been reduced to some 5,000 households.

An early study on this topic is the collection of notes published in 1921 by Benedictsen, who visited the district fifteen years earlier. He states that the texts were not quite intelligible to him, and that many passages had become comprehensible thanks to Arthur Christensen. In 1957, D. N. MacKenzie documented the dialect of Nawsūda, a village in Awroman-e Luhōn, from an informant visiting London. MacKenzie surmised that the Kurdish of Sulaimaniya and the dialect of Pāwa influenced his informant’s speech.

Hence, there remains much to be done in documentation of Awromani dialects. In this report I will discuss the Awromani dialect I have collected during my several trips to the region, with a focus on the dialect of Awroman-e Takht, a village north of Luhōn with about 50 households.

---

1 Alice Assadorian is a faculty member of the Islamic Open University, northern Tehran branch. She is a doctoral candidate in linguistics at Yerevan State University and a member of the editorial group of the journal Iran and the Caucasus, published by Brill.
EPIGRAPHS OF TRAVEL:
STANLEY’S COMMEMORATIVE INSCRIPTION IN PERSEPOLIS

Grigol Beradze

Henry Morton Stanley (1841-1904), one of the most outstanding Western traveler-explorers of the 19th century, visited Persia in May-June 1870, during his first major expedition from Europe to Central Africa via Transcaucasia and Iran. After a brief stay in Tehran, Stanley, then a special correspondent of the New York Herald, visited Isfahan, Shiraz, Bushehr, and some other places, including the ancient Persepolis where he left a short commemorative inscription. This inscription, as it appears from its photograph taken recently (in May 2005), is still well preserved. It represents Stanley’s autograph, in three lines, dated 1870, inscribed by him on the inner right-hand wall of the western portal of the famous Gate of All Nations.

---

THE MEDIAN-PARTHIAN GROUP
OF THE NORTHWESTERN IRANIAN LANGUAGES

Habib Borjian

As is well known to students of the Iranistics, the Iranian
languages spoken in Persia are classified into the two main groups
of Southwestern (SW) and Northwestern (NW). SW dialects are
centered in the southern province of Fārs, the Persis of the
Classical sources; hence these dialects are usually called Perside,
the group which also embraces the Lori-Bakhtīāri branch and
Persian, once the lingua franca of the Persianate realm and
beyond. All other idioms are NW, including (1) Balochi, (2)
Kurdish, and Gorani (also Zaza, spoken in Turkey) in the
Kurdophone environment, and (3) Caspian, Tatic, and the so-
called Central Dialects (CDs). This classification of the NW
Iranian dialects into three main groups is based on a combination
of genetic relationship, geographic proximity, and ethnic identity,
and less so on typology.

1 Habib Borjian received his academic training in the fields of
engineering and humanities and has taught and published in both
fields. He began taking graduate courses in Iranian Studies at
Columbia University while completing his postgraduate work in solid
mechanics in the late 1980s. He continued his study of Iranian
languages at the University of Tehran and Yerevan State University,
where he earned master and doctorate degrees, respectively (1997,
2004). His research interests in Iranian studies include languages and
dialects, historical geography, Central Asia and the Caucasus, history
of the Eurasian Steppes, history of science and technology, and Persian
literature. His articles on these subjects have appeared in journals and
book chapters, including Encyclopaedia Iranica, to which he is a
regular contributor. His book reviews, often comprehensive, surpass
forty in number, and his own books are Orthography of Iranian
Languages (2000) and Median Dialects of Isfahan (forthcoming), both
in Persian. Borjian’s current research includes documentation of the
northwestern Iranian languages, especially those at the verge of
extinction.
The third group of NW Iranian mentioned above may properly be called Medo-Parthian on both geographical and linguistic grounds: (1) The area in which the dialects are spoken corresponds to the ancient Media. Media Major corresponds to the medieval Köhestān/Jebāl and modern ʾErāq-e ajam ‘Persian Iraq’. Media Minor was renamed Azerbaijan after the Achaemenids. (2) Köhestān/Jebāl was also called Pahlā/Fahla ‘Parthia’, originally corresponding to the ancient Khorasan. This name shift might have been due to the westward movements of the Parthians into the western parts of Media during the Arsacid dynastic rule. Thus, the medieval designation for the dialects is pahlāvi/fahlāvi ‘Parthian’. (3) The fact that no mass migration (except that of the Parthians mentioned above) has been reported into most parts of Media after that of the Medes suggests that the dialects should have ultimately descended from ancient varieties of Median. (4) Parthian influenced most of the dialects.

The distribution of the Medo-Parthian languages and dialects is as follows. (1) Caspian: Gilaki, Mazandarani, Gorgānī (extinct), and the ring of dialects around the town of Semnān east of Tehran (villages of Shahmirzād, Sangesar, Sorkha, Aftar, Lasgerd). (2) Tatic: Talyshi, Tātī-Āzari (spoken in northern parts of Persian Azerbaijan, Khalkhāl, Tārom, Rudbār, Qazvin, Alamut). The designation tāt ‘Iranian, non-Turkic’ is not restricted to these idioms; it applies to any Iranian ethnic and/or linguistic group within a Turkophone environment; thus, tāt is synonymous (and cognate) with tājik. (3) Tatic-Central spoken between Sāva and Arāk in Alvir, Vidar, Vafā and environs. (4) Central Dialects are spoken in more than 200 villages roughly within the quadrangle of Gopāyagān-Kāshān-Yazd-Isfahān and by the Jewish and Zoroastrian communities in larger towns. The outliers of this group are the vernaculars of Semnān and Sivand, north of Persepolis, while the dialects of the Khur area in Central Desert constitute a distinct subgroup.

Documentation of the Medo-Parthian idioms began as early as the Europeans showed interest in collecting Persian dialects: the mid-19th-century materials collected by Aleksandr Chodzko, Il’ya
Berezin, and Boris Dorn should now be considered semi-historical, as some of the dialects have experienced substantial development or even total loss. The most fruitful period was 1880-1940, when Valentin Zhukovskii, Oscar Mann, Colonel Lorimer, and Arthur Christensen, among others, produced works of high quality, which have also preserved considerable material in the genre of 
\[fahlaviyāt\]. Walter Hening’s monumental article “The Ancient Language of Azerbaijan” shed new light on the historical character of the Median dialects and persuaded younger scholars to document them before they perish in the age of mass median and education. After the politically-troubled years that followed World War II, the interest in the dialects was renewed, and scholars such as Wilhem Eilers, Ehsan Yarshater, Pierre Lecoq, and Donald Stilo made significant contribution to the field, only to be interrupted by the Islamic Revolution of 1979 which denied foreigners of fieldwork.

The published linguistic materials, impressive as they are, cover only a tiny fraction of the scholarly work considered necessary before the languages disappear altogether. Among the hundreds of Median-speaking communities, only a few have received detailed linguistic attention. Most dialects remain unknown, and a complete list of the localities in which Median-Parthian is spoken is yet unavailable. The last few pockets of Tatic-speaking communities in Azerbaijan are being lost forever to Turkish (if not already extinct), much the same way as the Central Dialects are being replaced by Persian, village by village (my own observation); in most Median-speaking villages the total language loss looms ahead within one generation or two. Mazandarani and Gilaki, already moribund in favor of Persian among the urban youth, are being increasingly marginalized even in remotest villages. The local dialects of the country have been fading away at an accelerating pace that matches that of the enormous socio-economic changes of the last half-century, and it goes without saying that there is little hope for any survival in the era of globalization.
“Persian” and “Farsi” are two terms currently coexisting in English to address one referent: the national language of Iran. While the former appears in English dictionaries, encyclopedias, and scholarly journals, the latter often appears in newspapers, media, spoken English and, more increasingly, in academic publications. The existence of two names for one language has resulted in lack of common sense and enormous confusion among non-Persian speakers. Moreover, it has caused a heating debate among expatriate Iranians as to which term should be used to address the very language in English.

It is the intention of this paper, first, to examine the two terms from various angles to explain how they differ from one another, and, second, to study the causes that have led to the current chaotic situation. Drawing on textual data, various statements written by the proponents of each term and posted online in Iranian.com (1998-2005), this study tries to shed light on how the choice as to which name is preferred is more social than textual. It depends on who is involved in the naming process and how he wishes to project his own universe and invite others to share it. Moreover, it

---

1 A doctoral candidate at Teachers College, Columbia University, Maryam Borjian holds B.A. in history from University of Tehran, M.A. in ancient languages and cultures from University of Tehran, and M.A. in applied linguistics from Hunter College, City University of New York. She has taught English and Persian at a number of higher institutions in New York area, including Hofstra University, Pace University, Hunter College, and Bransom ORT. Her publications in the fields of socio-linguistics, ethno-linguistics, education, and Persian history have appeared in various journals and reference works, including Encyclopaedia Iranica. Ms. Borjian is currently working on her doctoral dissertation on educational language policy.
reveals that lexicon choices are not merely matters of language alone, but rather matters of language and society. By calling attention to some of the signposts of both side of the debate, the data confirms that words and words choices are not always arbitrary, but rather motivated by basic needs and interests of a particular society, institution and/or individual and by their attitudes towards the self and others.
THE DEHWĀRS OF BALOCHISTAN: PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE ETHNIC IDENTITY

Vahe S. Boyajian¹

Because of a lack of scholarly, at least descriptive, information on the ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity of Baluchistan province in Pakistan, it is difficult to identify and classify the many ethnic and social groups inhabiting that province. The Dehwārs or Dehwārs are one of the least-investigated ones, who are settled mainly in the Kelat region. Scattered ethnographic information on Dehwārs can be found in several descriptive accounts of foreign travellers, particularly British officers, since the second half of the 19th century as well as of native Baluch authors throughout the 20th century. A more or less informative piece is present in the Henry Field’s “An Anthropological Reconnaissance in West Pakistan” (1955). In all these sources Dehwārs are referred to as having a common background with the Persian-speaking Tajiks of Afghanistan, their language simply being a “bastard” Persian, influenced by neighboring Iranian and Dravidian idioms.

It is interesting that the once-social term dehwār ‘peasant, landowner,’ referring to a specific Persian-speaking ethnic unit, today denotes a social group or even groups regardless of their ethnic and linguistic affiliation, thus appearing to be a vivid example of mixed-identity. On the other hand, their language, the Dehwāri, in certain cases raises to the status of an argot, serving as a communication means for peasants engaged in animal husbandry and agriculture.

The present paper, based upon the analysis of the available material, is an attempt to give a multi-sided picture of the core of this group with its historical background, social structure, and interrelations with other ethnic units and social groups. It will also try to distinguish the frames of the Dehwāri identity which is changing rapidly.

¹ Dr. Boyajian teaches at the Department of Iranian Studies, Yerevan State University.
AFGHAN PERSONALITY OF THE 20TH CENTURY:
KHALIL-ALLĀH KHALILI BETWEEN ART AND POLITICS

Vladimir Boyko¹

This paper examines the interrelation of culture and politics in Afghanistan via personal dimension, namely by highlighting the life and works of Khalil-Allāh Khalili (1906-86), the noted Afghan poet and writer in Persian who also enjoyed influential political positions under Mohammad Zāher Shah and later. While in exile in the 1980s, Khalili propagated literally the ideas of Afghan opposition. This research is based on the archival records of Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other works on Khalili.

¹ Vladimir Boyko is a professor of Asian Studies and International Relations at Barnaul State Pedagogical University. He is also Director of Center for Regional Studies, one of few Russian research units focused on historical and contemporary Central Asia. Dr. Boyko’s education includes post-graduate courses and post-doctoral research associateship at the Institute of Oriental Studies (IOS), Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. He obtained a PhD in the History of Asia and Africa from IOS, and his track includes research and visiting fellowships at Harvard University (USA), Ruhr University (Germany), LSE (UK) under Fulbright, DÄD, British council, and other programs. Dr. Boyko’s research was supported by grants of the British Academy, Ford and Soros Foundations, Russian Foundations of Humanities and Basic Research, Center of International Crime and Corruption (American University in Washington), etc. Dr. Boyko is author, co-author, and editor of about ten books and more than 100 articles on the history and contemporary issues of Afghanistan and Central Asia. He has been a frequent participant in international conferences. He is a member of Central Eurasian Studies Society, ASPS (USA), Council of Social Sciences (Pakistan), German Association of Middle Eastern Studies (DAVO), German Research Group on Afghanistan, and the Board of Consultants of the magazine Afghan Communicator (New York).
Since his childhood, Khalili experienced terrifying impact of Afghan politics. His father Mohammad Hoseyn was the mostowfi al-mamālek ‘finance minister’ under Amir Habib-Allāh (1901-19); he was hanged by order of Amān-Allāh Khan for bribery and corruption. Becoming orphan, Khalil-Allāh eventually managed to graduate from the prestigious Habibiya high school. In late 1920s, Khalili, who had grown in a Tajik environment, joined the rebel movement led by Bacha-ye Saqqā. Upon the victory of the latter in winter 1929, the conservative regime of “Kabolestān” appointed Khalil-Allāh the mostowfi of the Mazār-e Sharif province.

The fragile “Kabolestān” fell in October 1929 before Pathan tribal forces of Afghan sardār Nāder Khan, who was proclaimed the king of Afghanistan by the joint approval of the British and Soviets. Khalil-Allāh accused Nader as being British protégé and raised the idea of establishing a new Uzbek-Tajik-Turkmen state in Northern Afghanistan with the Soviet support. To win the support of the Soviet Union, Khalil-Allāh published a decree supporting the incorporation of Transoxiana into the Soviet Union pending the support of it people. He also promised to gather soon the congress of local representatives which would elect a permanent regional government. Soviets were not enthusiastic to this plan of splitting Afghanistan because they found it more favorable for the British. Being suspicious of Khalil-Allāh as a prospective ally, the Soviets suggested maintaining him and his group as the “arms in the Afghan game, the course and output of which is not clear”. In the fall of 1929 Khalil-Allah and his supporters simultaneously with the Soviet consulate staff left for Tashkent. Afghan émigrés were interned here and survived only due support of their compatriots. The Soviets began to feel the burden of Khalil-Allāh as they recognized Nader’s regime. Finally, Nader decreed an amnesty and personally invited Khalil-Allāh to return home. In February 1930 “the hero of Mazār’s events” left for Herat, where his uncle Abd-al-Rahim was the governor, supporting the establishment of a quasi-republican regime in Afghanistan. Khalil-Allāh never had an official position in Herat, but came to terms with the local clergy to fight against the
progressivist Sarwar Jōyā, the editor of the newspaper *Ettefāq-e Eslām*. Being politically inspired (conservative romantic) and adventurist, the young Khalil-Allāh managed to write his first book on the history and monuments of Herat in 1931 and dedicated it to Nāder Shah.

Eventually, Khalil-Allāh joined the administration in Kabul, and held high political and diplomatic positions in the decades to come. He even attempted to establish a royalist political party after WWII, but without success. Meanwhile, he continued poetic and other literary writings, translation included, and became a professor at Kabul University.

After the coup of 1978 Khalili fled to Pakistan, where he joined the opposition. His political views, however, differed from those of radical Islamists. He published a brief story of *Bacha-ye Saqqā*, among many other literary pieces on the contemporary history of Afghanistan. Khalili’s centennial offers an opportunity to recall the turbulent life a man of letters whose fate was exemplary of Afghanistan’s tragic history in the 20th century.
GENDER ISSUE IN THE WORKS OF MODERN PERSIAN WOMEN WRITERS

Mzia Burjanadze

Nowadays, according to sociologists, the concepts of the roles of men and women, gender ideals, job discrimination by gender, and women’s right and responsibilities has changed. The most important contributing factors in breaking down the former clichés were women’s movements, active role in social life and financial independence. This gender issue has been studied in different contexts and has profound echo in literature, and Persian literature is no exception.

For us it was interesting to find out the position of the writers with various backgrounds on the gender issue, and even more interesting was the female writers’ viewpoints regarding the same problem. Regardless of whether they are feminist or not, the big part in their work and writing is dedicated to the notion of the women’s role and place in society. We tried to point out several issues which has been the subject of interest to the female novelist Shahrnush Pārsipour, Goli Taraqqi, and Zowyā Pirzād.

---

1 Mzia Burjanadze, a lecturer at the Tbilisi State University, has authored a number of articles and essays on modern Persian literature. She is a co-author of a Persian textbook and has translated into Georgian the Persian works of Goli Taraqqi, Zowyā Pirzād, Bahrām Sādeqi, Hushang Golshiri, among others.
THE MYTH OF MOSES IN THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION

Houchang E. Chehabi

It is well known that the myth of Imam Hosayn, as embodied in what has been called the ‘Karbala Paradigm’, played an important role in mobilizing Iranians against the Shah’s regime in 1978. In this paper I argue that invocations of the Karbala Paradigm do not exhaust the use of religious mythology during and after the revolution. One very practical reason is that Hosayn b. ’Ali was defeated, at least militarily, while Ayatollah Khomeini won his battle. I argue that equally important was the myth of Moses, as the prophet Musā of the Koran wins his struggle against the evil Pharaoh, making him a more desirable exemplar for the struggle against the Shah. I will first illustrate this contention, and then proceed to show how references to Moses permeate the political theology on which the Islamic Republic of Iran is based. Throughout the presentation, I will adduce evidence for the operation of what may be called the ‘Moses and Pharaoh Paradigm’ from other Muslim cultures.

1 Houchang E. Chehabi studied geography at the University of Caen and international relations at the Institut d’Etudes Politiques in Paris before going to Yale University, where he took his PhD in political science in 1986. He then taught at Harvard University and UCLA, and in 1998 he became a professor of international relations and history at Boston University. He is the author of Iranian Politics and Religions Modernism: The Liberation Movement of Iran under the Shah and Khomeini (1990) and principal author of Distant Relations: Iran and Lebanon in the last 500 years (2006), and co-editor, with Juan J. Linz, of Sultanistic Regimes (1998). His articles have appeared in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Daedalus, Diplomacy and Statecraft, Government and Opposition, International Journal of the History of Sport, International Journal of Middle East Studies, Iran, Iranian Studies, Political Science Quarterly, and several edited volumes. Currently his main research interest is the cultural history of Iran since the nineteenth century.
HIDDEN SAINTS IN ISMA'IILISM BASED ON
BADAKHSHĀN ORAL AND WRITTEN SOURCES

Qudratbek Elchibekov

Presentations on the saints and spirits, the protectors of the world and its inhabitants from disasters and misfortune, form a considerable part of the Muslim imaginary. The origin of the notions on such rejāl al-ghaib ‘mysterious men’ evidently is dated from ancient time. In some trends of Islam this belief on hierarchy of the saints and the spirits-patrons exiting in other world but actively intervene into daily pursuits of living people has received its rationale as philosophical abstraction.

The number of such saints and spirits differ in various sources: Ebn Hanbal named 40 saints, Hojviri 10; according to al-Makki’s opinion they are 300; Ebn al-’Arabi recorded 7. Some of thinkers considered the members of this hierarchy as alive beings, some other interpreted them as only spirits existing in the other world and appearing on the Earth in their physical images only in the urgent cases; this questions still remained unclear.

A great number of stories on rejāl al-ghaib one can reveal in the rich folkloric heritage of Central Asia. The first modern scholar who has described this phenomenon, so-called chel-tans, in details was M.S. Andreev; he recorded some beliefs and rites in Bukhara, Samarkand, and Tashkent. The author came to conclusion on existence of such “mysterious societies of particular

---

saint people possessing supernatural force, great knowledge and hiding their existence from profane people”.

A task to compare images of these rejāl al-ghaibs in “bookish” and “folkloric” materials is absorbing and instrumental for scholarship.

This author aims at presenting peculiarities of the Badakhshānese “saint assistants” on the base of legends and myths spread among the Ismaʿilis of the region and compare their images with those in the local Ismaʿili literature.
WOMEN’S RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN THE POST-
SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

Habiba Fathi

Contrary to the perception that Muslim women occupy a subordinate role in Islam, a study of their religious practices shows that not only they can participate in the religious life of their community, but that they can hold positions of authority. The fruit of personal experience and of investigative fieldwork in diverse regions of the five post-Soviet Central Asian countries, this paper aims to bring to the fore the social role played by women in the Muslim religion. Using the Central Asian example, it proposes to shed light on the status of women in everyday-life Islam and the specificity of their relationship to religion. Beyond the subject of Muslim women, this paper contributes to Central Asian Islam. The spiritual roots and beliefs of Central Asian Muslim remain vital despite the experience of Russian-Soviet colonization and the policy of authoritarian modernization undertaken by the communist regime. Because women of God succeeded in preserving a traditional religious culture, inherited from their pious forebears, Islam survived throughout Central Asia. Since 1991, women’s religiosity has been animated by a quest for its origins and by the discourse of the newly-independent state on national Identity. Now, it is confronted with various neo-Wahhabi groups that seek to impose another Islam and to combat ancestral religious practices rooted in authentic Tradition.

1 Habiba Fathi is a researcher at the French Institute for Central Asian Studies in Tashkent.
INTERNATIONAL MARITIME INTERESTS ACCORDING TO HODUD AL-‘ĀLAM

Manana Gabashvili

Hodud al-‘Ālam was written in the 10th century, when the role of Persians in maritime trade was enormous. Throughout the Persian Gulf almost all sailors and merchants engaged in maritime trade were Persians, who gave priority to sea trade over land trade.

The Hodud enumerates the seas called Green, Great, Rum, Khazar, Georgian, and the Dead Sea, and provides the location and size of each as well as the peoples who lived on their shores. Special attention is given to the Black and Mediterranean Seas, referring to the former as Daryā-ye Gorz/Gorziān ‘the Sea of Georgians’. This designation expresses the interest of the Georgians in the Black sea, on the one hand, and fixes the perception of this interest at the international level, on the other hand. Another contemporary name for the Black Sea was the Sea of Rum, with Rum standing for Byzantium. This name comes to the intensive period of Byzantium-Georgia rivalry, which was intensified by the unification of Georgia under the powerful ruler David Kurapalati (966-1001). He took advantage of the internal and external problems of Byzantium in the reign of Besile II (976-1025). The Hodud’s citation of “the Sea of Georgians” appeared when Georgia was already united and her name was fixed as “Georgia”.

Furthermore, Daryā-ye Gorz(iān) echoes the purely Georgian name of the Black Sea: Šperi. Another closely-related name for the same sea is “the Sea of Lazs”, cited in the 12th-century Persian

---

1 Manana Gabashvili is senior research fellow of the G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies, Georgia. Her research field is the political history of mediaeval maritime. Her publications include: “From the History of Queen Tamar’s maritime politics” (in Georgian), in Collection dedicated to the memory of Prof. V. Gabashvili, Tbilisi, 2003; “Ilhanlı Devlet’inn uluslarası Tyāret Politikası ve Helefi Olan Türk Olan Deleter” (in Turkish), Türkler, 8, Ankara, 2002.
Modjmal al-Tavārikh. It compares quite closely to the Gorz in the Hodud. All these correspond to the Georgian world when it had come to the most intensive period of confrontation with Byzantium and thus had strong implications on the navigation interests.
IRANIAN-GEORGIAN RELATIONS IN THE LIGHT OF THE PERSIAN HISTORICAL SOURCES OF THE 17TH CENTURY

Nana Gelashvili¹

The Safavid age (1501-1722) has long been recognized as a period of special interest. It was a period of rare dynastic continuity and stability, military might, artistic brilliance and economic prosperity. These crucial developments make the relationship between Iran and the outside world a rich and rewarding subject for research. During Safavid reign Persian-Georgian relations entered a new era. Alongside with century-old traditions, the character of these relations were determined by political, socio-economic and cultural circumstances created at that time. The change in the relationship was dependent on the concrete historical situation not only in Persia and Georgia, but in the entire Near East generally.

From this point of view special attention may be paid to the 17th century. All the rising questions in the paper, connected with Persian-Georgian relations, are researched on the basis of the opulent historical materials (Persian, Georgian, Turkish, Russian, Armenian and European sources). It must be stressed, that among them Persian sources appear of the greatest importance as they rely on narration of the eyewitness and contemporaries. Hence, precious factual material, which is kept in the Persian historical writings, is often marked by its originality and uniqueness. Extracts of materials from Persian chronicles have been compared with the different sources. On the basis of critical analysis of them,

¹ Nana Gelashvili is a senior research fellow of the G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies and a professor at the Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. Her filed of research is history and culture of Iran and Georgian-Iranian relations in the Safavid period. Her publications include: From the History of Iranian-Georgian Relations (16th c.) (in Georgian), Tbilisi, 1995; “Iranian Culture of Safavid Period” (in Georgian), Georgia and Near East, 3, 2002.
as well as on succession of the historical events and their logical development in the studied period, there are elucidated the most important moments of Iranian-Georgian many-sided relationship.
AN ATTEMPT TO CLASSIFY THE PERSIAN FOTOVVATNĀMAS

Khachik Gevorgyan

The paper deals with the medieval literary genre of fotovvatnāma in Persianate societies. Composed by representatives of different classes of society, including mystics, theologians and philosophers, chivalrous sodalities and warriors, as well as members of craft guilds, these works had the common goal of presenting the ideas of the fotovvat ideology.

Fotovvat was a kind of Islamic chivalry that focuses on male associations, practiced with unique sets of rituals and codes of behavior. These traditional chivalric behaviors were prevalent in the medieval Middle East. The term is also applied to the ideological and ethical fundamentals of such organizations as braveness, generosity, and altruism. In recent times the term acquired alternate and related definitions.

The richest source on the fotovvat are the so-called fotovvatnāmas, composed by representatives of different social strata, and their main content is the ideology of these organizations. Thus, fotovvatnāma is a collection of regulative and disciplinal norms of spiritual chivalry. They have not preserved attestations of historical events and do not have any documentary value. The main goal of fotovvatnāma is to rear the neophytes and improve them spiritually. Being a variety of the adab literature, they, however, being very distinct from any kind of writing, could be considered as a separate genre.

A deeper scrutiny of the fotovvatnāmas can serve as a basis for revealing the deep inner structure of the fotovvat and its ideology.

---

1 Khachik Gevorgyan defended his doctoral dissertation on Persian Fotovvatnāmas at the Department of Iranian Studies, Yerevan State University, Armenia. He did post-doctoral research under the guidance of Prof. Kreyenbroek at the Department of Iranian Studies, Gottingen University, Germany. Dr. Gevorgyan in now teaching at Arya International University, Armenia.
and present it in a historical perspective. In this paper I aim to classify the material presented in *fotovvatnāma*, according to the time and purpose of their composition, and according to the social groups to which they are attributed.

This unique classification, based on the bipartite classification of *fotovvat* by Henry Corbin: that of warriors and Sufis, divides the *fotovvat* ideology into three main parts: the warriors, Sufis, and guilds. Consequently, in my opinion, the *fotovvatnāmas* must also be divided into three main groups according to particular types of *fotovvat* just mentioned.

My plan is to complete my theory with the argumentation of existence of craftsmen *fotovvat*, and tripartite division of *fotovvat* ideology that is correspondingly represented in *fotovvatnāmas*. 
In Persian poetry we can ascertain the regularity bād ‘wind’ and nasim ‘light breeze’ delivers and brings salām ‘regard’, javāb ‘answer’, payām ‘message’, buy ‘smell’, etc. Under discussion is the case of breach of mentioned regularity in generally accepted reading of the Rudaki’s verse Buy-e Juy-e Muliān āyad hamī .... It is call in question a thesis suggested by us in 1983 about the close connection between the following verse by Hāfez:

Khiz tā khātēr bad-ān tork-e Samarqandi dehim
K-az nasim-ash buy-e Juy-e Muliān āyad hamī
and mentioned reading of the verse by Rudaki.

---

From the Achaemenid times up to the beginning of the 19th century, Persia played a significant role in the history of the Georgian people. The proximity of Georgia Persian Empire made considerable imprints on her political, economic, religious and cultural life.

The Persian presence undoubtedly helped to shape the religion system of the pre-Christian Georgia. The definition of the cult of Armaz, the supreme divinity of Georgia worshipped since the post-Achaemenid through the pre-Christian period, is intimately related both to the problem of dissemination of Zoroastrianism throughout Kartli (i.e. what the Greeks and Romans refer to “Iberia”) and to the conception of kingship originated from the Near Eastern civilizations. In this cultural continent, Persia deserves special consideration.

Examining the problem of definition of the cult of Armaz, about which varied and controversial theories of its derivation from different divinities (Ahura Mazda, Hittitian moon god Arma, Mithra, Hurritian war god Teshub, solar and agricultural divinity, etc.) have been proposed since the end of the nineteenth century, the scholars refer to the evidence given in the Early Christian story Life of Parnawaz. It narrates the establishment of the cult of Armaz by the first Georgian king Parnawaz (the third century BCE): “Parnawaz had fabricated a large idol named after himself, and named it Armaz — for in Persian it was called Parnawaz”.

---

Although the derivation of Armaz from Ahura Mazda is proposed by many from an etymological viewpoint, without having reached deeper layers of their identity. The identification of Parnawaz with Armaz ‘Ahura Mazda’ proposed by this author has been a subject of debate among scholars. As studied by N. Marr and M. Andronikashvili, the root of Parnawaz, parna resp. farnah ‘glory, splendor, happiness’ comes from the Avestan x̄arenah which on its side is derived from the Median farnah/x̄arenah-astema ‘the highest splendor’, an epithet applied to the Iranian supreme divinity Ahura Mazda.

In Iran, the Achaemenid king was neither worshipped as a god nor considered to be of divine origin. However, a special relationship with the gods was the basic element in the legitimating of kingship. Ahura Mazda “and the other gods that exist” entrusted Darius with the kingdom; he was chosen and enthroned “by the grace of vašnā Aḫuramazdāha ‘Ahura Mazda’; he ruled the kingdom with success and became the representative of the gods. In this respect, we may speak with justification of the gods on earth, he is equipped with the farnah, a sort of divine splendor or royal charisma that was given to Persian kings from Ahura Mazda.

The report preserved by Cicero from Dinon (4th century BCE) narrates that Cyrus the Great dreamed that he grasped for the sun three times, foretelling that he would reign for thirty years. The legendary report interpreted by Prof. F. Dvornik in connection with the hvarena, finds a striking parallel with that of given in the episode of Parnawaz’s dream, in which he anoints the sun’s dew before he becomes a king. The hvarena in both cases is brought into the connection with the sun, the royal luminary. The royal glory bestowed on the two kings in dreams became the omen of their reign – the evidence throwing light on the identification of Parnavaz with Armaz ‘Ahura Mazda’, if we consider the closest relation of the notion of hvarena both to the Persian kingship and supreme divinity.
One of the most striking characteristics of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution was the multi-national composition of its forces. Modern scholars as well the contemporaries of the events have recognized that the political and ideological influences of the Transcaucasian revolutionaries on the Iranian Constitutional Revolution were crucial, and that “only the help coming from the Transcaucasian revolutionary coalition protracted ... the resistance ... and made defeat of the government forces possible” (C. Chaqueri, The Armenians of Iran: Paradoxical Role of a Minority in a Dominant Culture, Cambridge, Mass., 1998, p. 89). Almost all sources point out, that from the very early stages of the Revolution, Georgian volunteer corps were among the most efficient and influential forces in the Constitutional resistance both in the Azerbaijan and Gilān provinces. However, comprehensive works that would address all different aspects of the Transcaucasian connections of the Iranian Constitutional Movement are still to be written. The only Georgian source used by modern scholars is a short report by Vlasa Mgeladze (Tria), the Georgian member of Tabriz resistance written in 1910. That is, however, a very small part of the extensive materials on the Iranian Constitutional Movement available in Georgian. These materials consist of letters and reports by the Georgian eyewitnesses of the events, memoirs of the numerous Georgian members of the Constitutional resistance and various essays dispersed in archival documents and Georgian newspapers of the time. Many of them have not been compiled and published even in Georgian. These sources address the Gilān and Tabriz resistance

---

1 Iago Gocheleishvili is a teacher of Persian language at the Cornell University, Us. He received PhD degree in Middle East History in Tbilisi State University. His research field is history of Iran.
movements, provide interesting insights in the political attitudes, strategies, and collaboration of the Iranian and Transcaucasian revolutionaries. They constitute very interesting source to study how the Iranian Constitutional Movement was seen by its Transcaucasian participants, what they deemed to be in the major peculiarities of the Movement in different regions of Iran, and how they saw their role in the events.
CONTRIBUTION OF PERSIAN LITERATURE TO MEDICAL SCIENCES

Mansura Haidar

The Persian language contributed richly to varied forms of literature ranging from romanticism, works on practical wisdom, political stratagem, ethics, maxims of morality, human values, religion, mysticism, History, astronomy, philosophy, logic, fine arts, poetry, and even at some mundane level, the treatises on handicrafts, etc., though they all seem to pale into insignificance when the Persian literature on medical sciences is viewed and evaluated with regard to its relevance for modern times. Undoubtedly, researches on medical sciences and subsequently the works on materia medica served as a panacea for human beings as it taught them through the ages not only to survive but how to live, preserve their health and vitality, prevent sickness to all possible extent and to prescribe proper medicines if the need arose. Understandably, the utility of such literature was, therefore, well-recognized and widely acknowledged equally on all times.

There is a vast treasure of manuscripts preserved in various libraries in the world, compiled not only by the expert physicians and medical practitioners alone but also by those who found the subject absorbing enough to have a claim on their time and energy. Since the study of exact sciences, medicine and other such subjects formed a part of madrasa curriculum on a regular basis and since challenges and intellectual experiments were the most engaging hobby of have-nots having an eye on possible patronage during medieval times, even non-professionals and non-practitioners, therefore, often prepared such works as a pastime, alongside with their proper jobs. The brisk exchanges in the sphere of medicine further continued to enrich both knowledge and experience.

It is interesting to study the occurrence of the diseases like the hypertension, depression, drug addiction, mental and emotional disorders, neurological diseases, asthma, diabetes, cholesterol and a number of other such diseases caused by hectic, challenging,
difficult or sedentary life, so common in today’s world and the
types of medicines prescribed for the same. It is worth examining
whether these diseases were as common and mostly restricted to
particular regions as of now; whether these were curable, and were
the prescriptions and their compositions; whether these contents
are still available; and can they be used now as effective antidotes?

In this paper, an attempt is being made to highlight these as
well as the description and claims of cure of certain other diseases
which are still considered to be difficult to cure. Besides, it will
also be interesting to investigate how much of these prescriptions
are still lingering on and if so what are the ingredients added,
changed or removed. Although the paper may not be of some
direct interest for those who would like to see Persian language as
the monopoly of purely literary genres, but the subject is certainly
important enough to establish the extensive potentialities, richness
and all pervasive character of Persian Language.
This paper investigates the career of Sadriddin Ayni (1878-1954), a leading figure of Tajik intellectual and literary life, as illustrative of the evolution of Central Asian Jadidism from an Islamic to an ethnic sense of community. I wish to show how early in his career Ayni belonged to a cosmopolitan Islamic culture of Central Asia, especially the one that nourished in Bukhara by Persian- and Turkic-speaking intellectuals, and how he accepted the general enlightenment principles of the Jadid reformers. His thought and activities were thus guided by the desire to promote reforms in Muslim schools and by the belief in the supreme value of education as the way to individual fulfillment and general social progress. Before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 he did not make significant ethnic distinctions between Muslim intellectuals, and he wrote in both Persian (later, Tajik) and Turki (Chagatai or, later, Uzbek). He and his fellow Jadids indeed spoke often about millat ‘nation’. Sometimes they applied the term to the Muslims of Central Asia and sometimes, more narrowly, to the Muslims of Turkestan. Thus, at first, ethnic identities were encompassed by the broader, Muslim community. For example, the history taught in the Jadid new-method schools was of Islam, not of Turks and Turkestan, and the language was called Musulman tili ‘Muslim language’. Yet, an ethnic differentiation was present in the thought of some Jadids, as they identified the Muslims of Turkestan as Turks, thereby excluding the Tajiks. But these categories did not become explicit until after 1917.

1 Professor Hitchins is a renowned scholar on Central Asia, the Caucasus, and the rest of Eurasia. He teaches courses on Central Asian nationalism at the department of history, University of Illinois at Urbana. He is the co-editor of the Journal of Kurdish Studies, and the consulting editor for the Caucasus and a regular contributor to Encyclopaedia Iranica.
The Bolshevik Revolution, the Civil War, and the early Soviet period were a period of crisis for Ayni personally and for the Jadids as a group. These events forced them to rethink their sense of identity. The disintegration of the Russian Governorate-General of Turkestan, the ending of the Emirate of Bukhara’s independence, and the nationality policy of the Bolsheviks caused Tajik- and Uzbek-speakers to think increasingly in ethnic terms. As the Turkic speakers organized themselves and promoted an agenda of their own Ayni organized his fellow Tajik-speakers in a similar fashion. Thus, Uzbek-Tajik bilingualism, one of the pillars of early Jadidism, was dissolving. It could not survive the growing national feeling and the burgeoning separate ethnic identities, all of which received added impetus from the Soviet state’s division of Central Asia into ethnically-based republics in 1924 and its subsequent support for indigenous languages and literatures.

Ayni’s writings during the 1920s amply demonstrate his commitment to Tajik cultural and even a kind of national self-determination within the new Soviet order. He grouped Tajik intellectuals around the weekly Communist newspaper, Shu’lai inqilob, published in Samarkand from 1919-21. He promoted a distinct Tajik literature and an awareness of the Tajiks’ deep Iranian roots in Central Asia, and strove to make his prose more Tajik by using the vernacular and folk sayings and by avoiding the use of Uzbek words. He expressed his Tajik identity in editorials in Shu’lai inqilob and its successors Ovozi tojik and Rahbari donish, as well as in his short novel Sarguzashti yak tojiki kambaghal yo ki Odina (published in Ovozi tojik in 1924-25 and in book form in 1927), and in his anthology of Tajik literature, Namunai adabiyoti tojik (1926). I shall also consult his works of history: Ta’rikhi amironi manghitiyai Bukhoro (1923) and Ta’rikhi inqilobi Bukhoro (written in 1920 and published in shortened form in 1926; a complete edition in Tajik appeared in 1987).

In examining Ayni’s career, then, I aim to trace the emergence of a sense of ethnic identity among the intellectual elite of Central Asia and will try to explain its causes. Ayni’s own ample writings
will be my primary sources, and the abundant literature on Jadidism will provide a proper intellectual and social framework.

This paper is an aspect of the author’s book in progress about Sadriddin Ayni’s career.
APOSTASY IN MIDDLE PERSIAN TEXTS

Mahmoud Jaafari-Dehaghi1

Apostasy in Zoroastrian religion is commonly defined as the rejection of religion in word or deed by a behdin. According to Vendidad (15.2), “if a person, being a member of the good religion, willingly accepts the commandments of another religion and speaks pejoratively of Zoroastrian religion, he becomes a tanapuhr ‘sinner’. Manushchihr, the author of Dādestān ī Dēnīg (40.2) states that the punishment for the sin of apostasy is marg-arzān ‘worthy of death’. The subject also occurs in Ardā Wirāz Nāmag (ch. 47), where it says: “… and I saw many people whose heads and beards were shaved and their faces were pale, bodies rotten and over, and reptiles were creeping over their bodies; and I asked: “Who and what are those?” Srōsh the righteous and the god Adur said: “These are the souls of those people who in the world were deceiving heretics, and they ever destroyed men and led them from the law of good (religion) to the law of bad (religion) and spread in the world many unlawful faiths and beliefs.”” The same punishment is mentioned in Pahlavi Rivāyat for the person who is converted (ch. 7.2): “When someone goes over from the religious law to which he belongs to another law, (he is) marg-arzān ….” This evidence illuminates the strong challenges between Mazdean faith and other religions as Christianity, Manichaeism and Islam. It seems that whereas capital punishment for apostasy could have been enforced during Sasanian times, through

---

1 Dr. Jaafari-Dehaghi earned his doctorate on Ancient Iranian Languages and Culture at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in 1996. He was a visiting fellow at Harvard University in 2003. He was Prof. of Persian Literature at University of Shiraz from 1984-2004. He has been is a Professor at the Department of Ancient Iranian Languages and Culture, University of Tehran since 2004. He has edited and published several books and articles such as the Middle Persian text of Dādestān ī Dēnīg, published by Studia Iranica.
inquisitions, as recorded later in Persian Christian martyrologies, when forcible conversion to Islam was commonplace, the Zoroastrian rule of *marg-arzān* would not have been applied. According to the New Persian Rivāyats, if a person of a foreign faith exercises tyranny over a man of the Good Religion and tells him to turn Muslim with his family, then out of helplessness he should commit suicide but he should not turn Muslim (*Persian Rivāyat*, p. 275).

The aim of this article is to compare the Middle Persian texts on apostasy to find out if there are different views on this important issue.
ONE OF THE OLDEST SPECIMENS OF HERMENEUTICS
ACCORDING TO THE OLD GEORGIAN TRANSLATION
OF GORGANI'S VIS AND RĀMIN

Inga Kaladze

It is noted by many scholars of Persian literature, and for good reason, that *Vis o Rāmin* was more fortunate in Georgia than it was in its homeland, because of the famous 12th-century Georgian prose translation. The present paper attempts to explore this unusual claim.

The answer is founded in several places, the most important of all being the creative method employed by the Georgian translator; i.e. the translator dug deeper into the story than its original author had done, and helped the author accentuate the implications. The translator was actually the earliest commentator of the work; he explained what was left unnoticed or interpreted by the earlier commentators, including some nuances of the literary aesthetics of this romance.

Thanks to such characteristics, the Georgia prose translation of *Vis and Rāmin* represents one of the oldest specimens of hermeneutics.

---

THE APPLICATION OF THE PERSIAN WORDS IN THE MEDICINE OF THE ISLAMIC ERA

Yunos Karamati

A survey of Islamic medical texts reveals that as opposed to the Medical terminologies which were mostly Greek (except in ophthalmology), the number of the Persian words in the field of pharmacy and pharmacology was much more than those of Greek or Arabic. Iranians had a long reputation in the filed of pharmacy, and skillful pharmacists were working in Persian hospitals, especially in Jondi-Shapur. It is due to this reason that even in the Arabic manuscripts of the Islamic era the number of the drugs with Persian names is far more than those with the Greek names, while in the field of medicine, it was the opposite?

Actually, the Persian words were so current in the science of pharmacy that even in the pharmacological manuscripts belonging to the western end of the Islamic world, i.e. Spain and Morocco, the number of the Persian pharmacological terms exceeded those of the Greek and Arabic origins. Except the names of the plants and some simple drugs, many of the Persian pharmacological terms have been used in most Islamic manuscripts, especially the Qarabazins, and even in the works of the Syriac writers such as Ibn Sarabiyun. In ophthalmology too the Persian medical terms had a great frequency of use, among which we may note shabkara or shabkur (the decrease of eyesight during the night), ruzkur, and mursarak.

1 Dr. Yunos Karamati is the head of the Department of the History of Science at the Center for the Great Islamic Encyclopedia.
IRAN’S POLICY IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS

George Katsitadze¹

Since the breakup of the Soviet Union and the subsequent independence of the states of the South Caucasus (Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia), Europe and the United States have conducted very different policies toward the new states in the Caspian region. Moreover, Europe and the U.S. view Iran’s policies and the desired role Tehran should play in the region in diverging ways.

Iran’s policy in Central Asia and South Caucasus is based primarily on geopolitical concerns.

When Iran embarked on its bid to build bridges in the South Caucasus, the regional states worried given the Islamic Republic’s reputation of supporting radical Islamic groups. In retrospect, Iran has acted as a moderate and balanced player in the region by placing the geopolitical, economic, and security aspects of its national interests over ideological or religious motives. In an environment where the degree of volatility had dramatically increased due to the emergence of three post-Soviet states, Iran has become preoccupied with securing stability along its borders through pursuing a complex set of economic, national security, and foreign policy interests.

What are the interests that formulate Iran’s pragmatic policy in the South Caucasus?

First, the advancement of economic interests and regional cooperation. Iran’s economic problems and its desire to promote non-hydrocarbon exports have driven it to search for new markets. Newly independent neighbors in the South Caucasus, detached

¹ George Katsitadze is Senior Research Fellow at G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Georgia, Tbilisi; Dean at the Tbilisi Institute of Asia and Africa; Professor at the Tbilisi Institute of Asia and Africa. His major scholarly interests are the problems of modern Iran; South Caucasus and Central Asia; and social and political aspects of the Islamic World.
from the world trade and economy, offered new opportunities for Iranian exports. For them, Iran is a feasible transit route that offers access to the Persian Gulf and hence to world markets.

Second, preservation of domestic stability. Separatist tendencies of Iran’s Turkish-speaking Azeris heavily affect its behavior towards the region. The Azeris in Iran are generally considered a well-integrated component of Iran’s multiethnic society, have a comparatively weak Azeri identity, and consider themselves at last as much Iranians as Azeris. However, the oppression of their nationalist claims by the authorities in Tehran suggests that they constitute a far more pressing problem for Iran than is observed from the outside. In this context, the emergence of an independent Azerbaijan Republic adjoining the Azeri-populated regions of Iran has considerably increased the threat to Iran’s security and internal stability. The fact that the Azeri unification movement exits, albeit behind closed door, in both the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Iranian Azerbaijan, has been an annoying thorn in Iran-Republic of Azerbaijan relations. Iran has thus exerted great effort to force the Azerbaijan’s government to affirm its neutrality toward the movement.

Third, the conflict resolution and enhancement of regional stability. Guided by peaceful resolution of conflicts as a priority in its regional policy, Iran has played a responsible role in trying to mediate the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. When the conflict erupted into a large-scale war, Iran’s fear of an ethnic Azeri uprising at home in solidarity with Azerbaijan prompted it to contain Azerbaijan in support of the Armenians. However, when Armenian military advances threatened to spill the fighting over into Iranian territory, Tehran voiced its criticism of the Armenia. This duality suggests that Iran is in favor of neither a strong Azerbaijan, nor a strong Armenia.

Fourth, the avoidance of an overall geopolitical isolation.

Fifth, the exploration and transportation of Caspian energy resources.

In Sum, the pace and scope of domestic reforms and the movement toward accommodation with the West will eventually
determine the nature of Iran’s short and long term policy in the South Caucasus. Iran currently lacks the resources to become a major regional actor. Because Iran’s relations with the regional states can offer a way out of international isolation, develop alternative trade and economic opportunities, contain conflicts that potentially threaten Iran’s security, and enhance its overall political prominence in the world, Iran will continue to behave as a balanced player in the South Caucasus.
IQBAL’S CONTRIBUTION TO ISLAMIC RATIONALISM

Ahmad Kazemi Moussavi

The twentieth century poet-philosopher Muhammad Iqbal contributed to Islamic rationalism with deep insight in both Islamic values and Western philosophy. As a Hegelian student of Cambridge and Munich universities, Iqbal was well aware of the role of “human development” in the modern thought. He proposed his theory of “human progress” not only to inspire a new spirit of religiosity among Muslims, but also to warn them where Western modernism had scarcity in meeting the human spiritual needs. In his Persian poems *Asrār-e khōdī*, he put forward the development of ego as a “constant becoming” and “self-realization” based on eternal love and quest (*'eshq* and *showq*). The development of ego requires its freedom as well as its possible faults, both of which Iqbal found in the Koran.

Iqbal attached great importance on the reconstruction of Islamic law and its codification. He believed that Islamic renaissance couldn’t be realized without reviewing modern jurisprudence from the Koranic viewpoint. He maintains that the main purpose of the Koran is to awaken in man the higher consciousness of his relation with God. He held that three things are perfectly clear from the Koran: (i) that man is the chosen of God, (ii) that man with all his faults, is meant to be the representative of God on earth, and (iii) that man is the trustee of a free personality which he accepted at his peril.

---

1 Ahmad Kazemi Moussavi is a professor of Islamic law and Persian language and has taught at the International Islamic University of Malaysia (1992-2005) and Fatih University (Summer 2000). Born and educated in Iran, he received his PhD in Islamic studies from McGill University in 1991. Dr. Moussavi has published three books titled *Religious Authority in Shi’ite Islam, Shi’ite ulama and Political Power*, and *Facing One Qiblah*, and has published more than 50 articles in academic and cultural journals. He is currently assigned to lecture “Islam in Iran” at University of Maryland in USA.
The two notions of “human faults” and “free personality” markedly distinguish Iqbal’s thought from those of Muslim traditional ideas on the human spiritual perfection (ensān-e kāmel) as depicted in the writings of Ebn ‘Arabi (d. 638/1240). Iqbal’s idea of free personality stems from his theory of perpetual change and movement in both nature and human history. He identifies the principle of movement with ejtehād in the Islamic law. He calls the closing of the door of ejtehād “a pure fiction suggested partly by crystallization of legal thought in Islam, and partly by the intellectual laziness.”

It is noteworthy that Iqbal has deliberately chosen the language of poetry (mainly Persian besides Urdu) to communicate his ideas. The choice of Persian was expressively due to suitability of the language to the complexity of his thought. The latitude of Persian poetry apparently allowed Iqbal to deal with those “secrets of the universe” expressible only in the language of metaphor.
UNDESIRED CONSEQUENCES OF TRANSLATIVE THINKING IN THE HISTORY OF THE LAST ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF IRAN

Afsaneh Khatounabadi¹

Iranians began to adopt with the Western civilization well over a century ago but even now many basic concepts of Western civilization are misunderstood. This lack of knowledge is common not only among the public, but also among the elite. The latter include those critical of the West. What is the cause of this misunderstanding and what should the Persian translators do to avoid it? This report will try to provide answers to this question by investigating the problems of translation within its communicative, expressive, and aesthetic functions.

¹ Dr. Afsaneh Khatoonabadi is an assistant professor of Persian language and literature in Isfahan.
A CO-AUTHOR OF NEZĀM-AL-MOLK’S SIĀSAT-NĀMA

Alexey Khismatulin

Siāsat-nāma or Siar al-moluk was first published in two parts (text and translation) by Charles Schefer in 1891. Afterwards, ‘Abd-al-Rahim Khalkhāli reedited the text incorporating several additional manuscripts and was published again by (Tehran, 1934). The first Russian translation based on both former editions and supplied with a very good scientific research came into being due to the efforts of B. N. Zakhoder (Moscow-Leningrad, 1949). Since there are incontestable evidences of the later additions and/or inserts in the text, all these researchers had a strong doubt that the text was written by one person, i.e. just by Nezām-al-Molk.

However, Zakhoder made a valid supposition in his research that some chapters were added to the Siāsat-nāma by its first editor Muhammad Maghrebi. But who was that Muhammad Maghrebi, mentioned neither in popular chronicles of those times nor in an outstanding research on the Saljuq era made by ‘Abbās Eqbāl (Tehran, 1959)? In this paper I would like to show a person who appears to have been covered under the nesba of Maghrebi, and to disclose a possible motivation for his “participation” and co-authorship in writing the Siāsat-nāma as well as apparently in the Ghazālī’s Nasihat al-moluk.

1 Dr. Alexey Khismatulin works at the Saint Petersburg branch of the Russian Institute of Oriental Studies.
ABOUT THE TWO ROYAL PALACES IN THE 18TH CENTURY GEORGIA AND ARMENIA

Irene Koshoridze

The Palace of the King Erekle II in Telavi (Georgia) and the Qajar Palace (Sardar Palace) in Yerevan citadel are two unique secular buildings of the 18th century which reflect the local and international artistic tendencies of this époque.

Only one of these monuments, the Palace of Erekle, is extant. Despite the many reconstructions, we still can recognize the main ground floor plan and the walls. The interior decorations, however, are destroyed.

The Qajar Palace in Yerevan no longer exists but in the National Museum of Georgia there are archives, sketches, photos, and some paintings from this palace, according to which we can reconstruct the palace’s ground plan and interiors.

Both Palaces have close parallels with the contemporary palaces of Iran. The palaces have a ground level large columned porch used as the main tālār ‘audience hall’, with one side open to the exterior and supported with columns. The Erekle and Yerevan Sardar palaces repeat the plans of the palace of Kharim Khan Zend in Shiraz and Takht-e Marmar of Fath Ali Shah, but they had some characteristics which reflected the local architectural tendencies

and at the same time the new European traits which had begun to appear with the rise of Russian political power in the region. Examples are the changing of the accent from outdoor ceremonies to indoor Throne Hall in Erekle Palace and the reconstruction of Yerevan Palace for Russian officials in late 1850s by the local artists, which totally changed the ground plan of the palace.
Among the Tajiks marriage ritual is closely linked with ideas of sacrifice and rebirth. The bride herself acts as this victim, as the basis of the reproduction. This is shown, along with the act of coitus, by her habitual weeping, her dress which is blood-red or white, like a mourning dress, and the custom observed in some areas of sacrificing a “substitute” lamb at her feet by the threshold to the groom's house, the bride being led around the fire and many other details.

An example of how resonant modern rituals are with their ancient prototypes may be shown by the lines of a Tajik song (recorded by M. Andreev and N. Kislyakov), sung during the shaving of the groom's head or when wrapping a turban on his head: This is our šāh, this is our pādšāh... // In hot fire you burned us. // In hot fire meat is never burned, We were stone, you turned us to water.

This deals with the cooking of the sacrificial food, which must be cooked according to ancient Vedic and Zoroastrian rules over a fire, and not boiled. The usual Iranian tradition of calling the groom the šāh and pādšāh makes it possible to associate him

1 Dr. Victoria Kryukova is a Senior Research Fellow, Department of Central Asia Ethnology, Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg. She holds a Ph. D. in History, State Museum of History of Religion, St. Petersburg, 1996, and a B.A. / M.A (honors) Department of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg State University, 1991. She is a specialist in Zoroastrianism and traditional culture of Iranian peoples and has authored thirty articles and two books (in Russian): Death and Funeral Rite in Islam and Zoroastrianism (in collaboration with A. Khismatoulin), St. Petersburg, Peterburgskoye Vostokovedeniye, 1997; Zoroastrianism, St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoye Vostokovedeniye, Azbuka-Klassika, 2005.
with god. If the bride is the sacrifice, then the god who receives this sacrifice is the groom. The main action prescribed to the groom-god is the transformation of the stone into water — a well-known image in various mythologies. The closest ancient equivalent is the Vedic hymns of Indra, which almost literally coincide with the Tajik lines. They involve the description of the great deed of Indra presented in two versions — the myth of the killing of the dragon Vṛtra, which blocked the water, and the freeing of cows hidden in the cave of Vala.
ON THE CLASSICAL PERSIAN LITERARY ETIQUETTE:
NEZĂMI’S LEYLI AND MAJNUN

Manana Kvachadze

Medieval poetry in general and oriental poetry in particular follow strict canonic rules. The laws of the prevailing literary etiquette define the relationship between content and form. The system of tropes, thematic shape and motives are strictly determined. The author’s orientation and creative approach are revealed in the selection of the existing orienting points and the variants of artistic means.

Romance as a genre places an important part in the philosophical and religious thinking of the medieval Middle East. The social institute of love has its opinion of the very concept, as well as its literary expression.

The entire creative work of Nezâmi of Ganja and his Leyli and Majnun in particular is a masterful description and literary expression of the norms of etiquette. Nezâmi’s version of the ancient legend was fully in line with the ideological and aesthetic requirements of the epoch, expressed the worldview of the author. It was exactly Nezami’s interpretation that turned Majnun into an ideal of mystique love, which was the basis of the triumphant journey of the characters of the poem into the Middle Eastern literatures. On his analogy it was considered obligatory to create the Khamsa and to include the story of Leyli and Majnun in it. Nezami’s creative work largely determined the literary life of the

1 Manana Kvachadze is Associated Professor of Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. She has published more than 30 scholarly papers, including one monograph and one textbook (co-author). She works in the fields of linguistics and literary studies, is interested in Persian literature, Iranian languages, literary and language contacts. Her research deals with the works of Nezâmi, Rumi, and Jâmi. Mention should also be made of her ethno-linguistic fieldwork, during which she studied the speech and culture of Iranian-speaking ethnic groups.
following period and contributed to the definition of norms of classical Persian literary etiquette.
DAVUD PIRNIA AND THE GENESIS OF THE GOLHĀ PROGRAMS

Jane Lewisohn\(^1\)

The topic of my lecture stems from a major research Grant that I have recently received from which the Endangered Archives Program of the British Library, which aims to thoroughly document, record, analyze and create a sound archive of a series of weekly radio programs aired on Iranian radio between 1956 and 1979. The music and literary repertoire of these programs, known generally as Golhā ‘flowers [of Persian poetry and song]’, covered the entire history of classical Persian poetry, giving marvelous expression to the whole gamut of traditional Persian music and poetry.

I will discuss how Davud Pirnia came to produce the Golhā programs in the 1950s and what motivated him to produce them. I will give an overview of the different types of programs: Golhā-ye jávidān, Golhā-ye rangārang, Barg-e sabz, Yek shākha gol, and Golhā-ye sahrā’i. I will also attempt to show how the Golhā contributed to both literary and music appreciation in Iran during the mid 1950s through 1970s. By using interviews conducted with the participants in the Golhā who are still living, I will demonstrate how the programs were received and appreciated by those that listened to them, as well as how the inspired and encouraged the poets and musicians that took part in them, and conclude with some reflections on their place in the diffusion of Persianate musical culture worldwide.

\(^1\) Jane Lewisohn is affiliated with the Department of Music, SOAS, University of London.
The art of Sohrāb Sepehri, a renowned Persian poet of the 20th century, is a subject of interest for literary historians and researchers. His poetry has been studied from different angles not only in Iran but far beyond its borders. His works are translated into many different languages. Such huge interest is due to the depth and variety of his poetry. Actually, Sepehri, along with Forugh Farrokhzād and few others, has transformed and perfected Persian poetry. But the formal and poetic innovations did not lead to the neglect of traditions. Quite the contrary, Sepehri tried to interpret the literary heritage of the past in verses that correspond to the thoughts and feelings of a contemporary poet. The adoption of the past heritage implies above all the reconsideration of Persian mystical traditions in compliance with modern age. This article studies the ways of transformation of the old within the scope of the new literature founded by Sepehri and marks the synchronic and diachronic specifics of this transformation.

---

1 An Orientalist, Dr. Giorgi Lobzhanidze works at I. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University in the capacity of an associate professor. His interests are in Islamic studies and modern Arabic and Persian poetry. He has translated poems of Jalāl-ad-Din Rumi, Sohrāb Sepehri, and Forugh Farrokhzād from Persian, *Kalila and Dimna* and the Koran from Arabic.
MOURAV BEG’S REVOLT
AND SAFAVID HISTORIOGRAPHY

Hirotake Maeda

The revolt of Mourav Beg (Giorgi Saakadze) in 1625 was a major setback for Safavid authority. It ended the Safavid re-expansion campaigns in the Caucasus and led to the so-called ‘compromised policies’ between the Safavid central authority and Georgian local powers. Thus it contributed to the reshaping of the Caucasian spatial landscape and its relations with the Safavid Empire. It also contributed to the development of Georgian national identity. Notwithstanding its significance, the revolt is not paid sufficient scholarly attention outside Georgia. This report aims to reevaluating the revolt in within the entirety of the Safavid history, while checking the historical narratives given in Fazli’s newly discovered chronicle and compare it with other sources.

Considering the new sources, I will suggest that Shah Abbās’ policy towards the Caucasus had intentions beyond keeping a power balance with the Ottomans (to recover the ‘lost’ territories that had conquered by Shah Tahmāsp). Shah Abbās was eager to integrate the Caucasian and peoples into his realm. The forced migration policy demonstrates his strong intention to reorganize the Caucasus in accordance to his doctrine. In this sense Shah Abbās’ imperial planning, especially in the Caucasus, set a certain

1 Hirotake Maeda is Lecturer at Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, Japan. Dr. Maeda was Research Fellow of Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (2001-2004) and took a PhD from University of Tokyo in 2006. His main research topic is to reveal the details of political lives of the Georgian, Armenian and Circassian converts (gholāms). His publications include “On the Ethno-Social Background of the Four Gholām Families from Georgia in Safavid Iran,” Studia Iranica 32, 2003, pp.243-278; “Exploitation of the Frontier: Shah Abbas I’s Policy towards the Caucasus” in Iran and the World in the Safavid Age, ed. Willem Floor and Edmund Herzig, London: I.B. Tauris, forthcoming.
condition for territorial integration rather than mere tribal raids into the ‘foreign land’ for booty. On the other hand, Mourav’s revolt molds Caucasians’ local reprisal towards neighboring imperialist intentions, which affected the center as well, for the Caucasians had already been an integral part of the country’s elite. Thus Mourav’s revolt symbolizes the new geopolitical phase of Caucasia and its neighbors.
AHMAD SHĀMLU’S SHE’R-E MANSUR ‘NON-VERSE POEM’

Kimie Maeda

The purpose of this paper is to consider the historical concept of the she’r-e mansur ‘prose-poetry, non-verse poem’ and to analyze the poetics of Ahmad Shamlu (1925-2000), the most successful poet in this genre and a good representative of modern Persian poetry. (1) We suggest that the she’r-e mansur has borrowed some historical concepts from the 1920s, and after the appearance of the style of Nima Yushij (1897-1960), the significance of eliminating his “free rhythm” is revealed. (2) she’r-e mansur was set out by the followers of the Nima Yushij. Shamlu was one of them and was Nima’s closest pupil. We examine Shamlu’s she’r-e mansur as a departure from Nima in poetic form, style and poetics, by comparing Shamlu’s non-verse poems with his poems styled after Nima Yushij as well as Shamlu’s poetics with Nima’s. (3) Shamlu has proposed the concept of she’r-e nāb/mahz ‘pure/absolute poetry’, in his interviews and papers. We analyze she’r-e nāb as an essential to his she’r-e mansur, especially regarding his convention that every poem should have the poet’s unconsciousness in composing poetic works, the denial of “narrative” as an essential element of poems, and his philosophy that a poem is really a life, which is ostensibly contrary to the principle of “pure poetry.”

---

1 Dr. Kimie Maeda is a part-time lecturer of University of Tokyo. He earned a doctorate from Tokyo University of Foreign Studies in 2004 and was Research Fellow of Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (2001-2004). Dr. Kimie’s scholarly interests include modern Persian poets Nimā Yushij, Ahmad Shāmlu, Sohrāb Sepehri, and Ahmad-Reza Ahmadi.
NOTES ON THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE PERSIAN IRREVERSIBLE BINOMINALS

Behrooz Mahmoodi-Bakhtiari

This paper intends to study the structure and the Persian examples of what is known as “fixed-order conjuncts,” “fixed-order coordinates,” “irreversible binominals,” “binary pairs,” “compounds,” or more technically, “Freezes”. These words exemplify a class of compounds, in which lexical items form a unit using a conjunction, and the whole product may not be altered with respect to the order of the words. For example, the freeze fish and chips is an example of such units, which may not be accepted as *chips and fish. That is why such binominals are believed to be irreversible. The ultimate goal of the paper is identifying the rules, which operate in the freezing process, by taking a look at different Persian examples. The paper also aims to check the certain rules established earlier for the English data on the Persian ones. A list of the major binominals in Persian is the final part of the paper.

1 Dr. Behrooz Mahmoodi-Bakhtiari is an assistant professor of linguistics and Persian, Tehran University, and a researcher at the Department of Iranology and Linguistics, Center for the Great Islamic Encyclopedia.
FEMINIST HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY OF IRAN

Fatemeh Masjedi

While studying the recent feminist historiography of early twentieth century, I was faced with a shortage of primary sources about women as well as a lack of theoretical sources on how to compose a diverse (in terms of class, region, ethnicity, and religion) feminist historiography of Iran. A shortage of information related to women’s historical sources obliged feminist historians to collect what little information was available in primary sources mostly about women’s general achievements. The problem one often finds in reading feminist historians is that they tend to obscure women’s private lives in the early twentieth century and generalize their diverse experiences.

In this paper, I have utilized contract marriages, which have not been taken into account in feminist historiography, to examine women’s experiences in their private lives and their relationship with men based on socioeconomic conditions through the surviving marriage contracts of the early twentieth century. These contracts have mostly survived from the legal court system of the Constitutional era in the Tehran region and are an excellent source for examining women’s issues that were taken to court. Temporary marriages, daily expenditure or nafaqa and being forced into prostitution were some of the charges against husbands for which women of the time filed suit in a court of law.

The other sources I have used are marriage and divorce procedures in the early twentieth century which were practiced according to Islamic law.

---

1 Graduate student at the Department of Politics and Government, Illinois State University, USA.
GEORGIANS IN IRAN IN THE SAFAVID ERA

Saeid Muliani¹

The Safavid dynasty is an important turning point in the Islamic history of Iran because, after centuries, the nation could regain its national identity and grow to a powerful and independent country. There are several reasons why the Safavids favored population rearrangement in Georgia: preventing the Turks from their military expedition in Georgia. The Safavids forced many Georgians to migrate into the Iranian Plateau. Soon these Caucasians were taken into consideration and held official positions.

The Georgians in Safavid Persia held both political and military functions, and they quickly reached the highest possible ranks. There have been as many as fifty Georgian governors and commanders in Persia, such as Allāhverdi Khan, Emāmqoli Khan, Dāvud Khan, Rostam Khan, just to name a few, or the most successful and responsible ones.

¹ Saeid Muliani is a professor of history at the University of Fereydan west of Isfahan. His research field is Iranian-Georgian relations. He has published several articles and books on the political and cultural role of Georgians in Safavid Persia.
In the 17th century, European travelers and scholars expressed a great interest towards Asia and wrote many works on various issues of the Orient, to the extent that these works were sometimes used as a source for the literary creation of their compatriots. Johannes Biselius' *Illustes ruinae*, which I am going to introduce. I came across this source when I was working on the Slovak school play “Katerina [Ketevan], the Georgian Queen, Decorated with her own Blood, Presented on the Stage” (17001, Skalica, Slovakia).

An anonymous Slovak Jesuit, the author of the aforesaid school play attached to his work the titles of the historical sources which he had used in composing his play. One of his sources was *Illustes ruinae* written by German Jesuit Johannes Biseliuss. Bisellius’s Latin work shows how great interest the Western Europe had in Persia. About Ioanis Bisselii from Societate Jesu we have the following data: he was born in 1601 in Badenhauzen (Shvabia) and died in 1677 in Amberg. He was a German Jesuit. His abovementioned book was edited twice; first during 1654-1664, and then posthumously in 1679. The fact that this book was edited twice in such a short time interval shows, on the one hand, that his work was very popular in the second half of the seventeenth century, and, on the other hand, the great interest Europe had towards Persia. The author pays a special attention to the personality of Persian rulers, their attitude toward Christians, the court intrigues, the Georgian Queen Ketevan, who was martyred to death by Shah Abbas, and finally to toponyms.

---

1 Shota Rustaveli Institute of Georgian Literature, Department of Georgian-Foreign Literary Relations, Tbilisi, Georgia.
SOME PECULIARITIES OF THE USE OF THE PLURAL SUFFIX -JĀT IN MODERN PERSIAN

Nikoloz Nakhutsrishvili

(1) In MP the plural suffix -jāt must be considered as a live, active suffix. (2) From the phonetic point of view the area of its use is not limited to the nouns ending in a (the orthographic hā’-e gheyr-e malfuz); it also attaches to the nouns ending in the long i and u and even to the final consonants. (3) The origin of -jāt from the Arabic plural suffix -āt, widely used in MP is clear, with the j playing the role of a hiatus (a the g in the Iranian plural suffix -ān in the words of Iranian origin ending in short a); but having spread to the nouns ending in consonants, it must be qualified as an independent suffix. (4) In spite of its clear Arabic origin, this plural suffix can be easily attached to the originally Iranian nouns. (5) Semantically, the suffix -jāt not only expresses simple plurality but also the aggregate of the things (goods) or expressions of human (social) activities, belonging to the same category (type).

---

Nikoloz Nakhutsrishvili is now Consular at the Georgian Embassy in Islamic Republic of Iran. He was a senior research fellow at the Institute of Oriental Studies and Professor of Iranian Studies at the Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia. Field of researches: Persian language and literature, Georgian-Iranian language contacts, Georgian-Iranian historical and cultural relations.
COMPLEX VERBS IN MIDDLE PERSIAN

Maya Natadze

The existence of complex verbs is a diachronic characteristic of the Persian language. Their meaning and, accordingly, their frequency was increasing along with the development of the language and its structure. First of all, it was connected to the weakening of inflectional order and the strengthening of analytical order in Old Persian. It was precisely this trend that activated the role of complex verbs in Middle Persian.

As a result of morphological analysis of the Middle Persian complex verbs, the components of two-member word combinations were revealed (nominal and verbal components). The study of prepositional complex verbs proved that the model "preposition + noun + kartan" (according to I. Rubinchic, prepositional complex verbs of modeled type) was expanded sufficiently.

Despite the fact that the number of complex verbs found in Middle Persian monuments is not very great, they reveal the multiplicity in terms of structure and semantics.

---

1 Maya Natadze is a research fellow at the Department of Indo-Iranian Languages of G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies.
NAPOLEON’S ENVOYS’ DATA ABOUT PERSIA’S MILITARY POTENTIAL IN THE CONTEXT OF INDIAN EXPEDITION (1805-1809)

Irène Natchkebia

At the turn of the nineteenth century Napoleon decided to include Persia in the expedition against India. In the present article we attempt to reconstruct military potential of Persia as viewed by Napoleon’s envoys. Our analysis is mainly based on the reports of the French envoys, which are preserved in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Romieux 1805, Rousseau, 1806, Lamy, 1807, Bontems Le Fort, 1807, Trézel, 1808, Fabvier, 1808) and in the National Archive of France (Jaubert, 1807). It is worthy to note that the majority of the abovementioned sources preserved in these archives are unpublished.

The first piece of information about military potential of Persia during the first decade of the rule of Fath Ali Shah is preserved in the reports of the adjutant-commandant Romieux and Jaubert, the private secretary-interpreter of Napoleon. Romieu was astonished because of the military weakness of Persia. Like Romieu, Jaubert notes the numerical disadvantage of the military forces of Russia in comparison with the Persian army in the Russo-Persian war, but, unlike Romieu, his attitude towards Persia was positive.

1 Dr. Natchkebia is a senior researcher in the Department of Modern and Early Modern History of the Middle East, G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies, Tbilisi. From 1996 to present she has been collaborating with the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, department of Indo-Iranian (National Center of the Scientific Research) in Paris. She was a professor at the Institute of Africa and Asia and at the Faculty of the Oriental Studies of Tbilisi State University from 1991-2000. Her topic is the political interest of Europe in Persia, the Ottoman Empire, and the Caucasus at the late eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century. She has authored Studies in the History of Franco-Iranian Diplomatic Relations (First Decade of the 19th Century), Tbilisi, 2002 (in Georgian, with French summary) as well as several conference and journal papers.
The mission members of the Plenipotentiary Minister General Gardane (Persia, 1807-1809) were very much surprised when they found out that there were no military institutions and it should be pointed out that exactly the French officers (captains Lamy, Verdier, and Pepin and lieutenants Fabvier and Reboul) laid the foundation of the French military system in Persia in accordance with the Article 7 of the Treaty of Alliance between France and Persia (4 May 1807). The study of the reports of Napoleon's envoys testifies that neither Persia nor France was ready for accomplishing a function of a coalition army in the expedition of such a large scale.
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BIDEL IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF LITERATURE IN TRANSOXIANA

Jurabek Nazriev

The significance of Bidel (1644-1721) cannot be restricted to his influence on the intellectual history of India; he has made a great contribution to the entire Persianate culture. He is known as the father of the Indian style in Persian poetry, which gained currency soon after Bidel. A good command of this style requires mastery of an extensive vocabulary as well as brilliant imagination and deep knowledge of the history of Persian language and literature.

According to the available literature, the first adoption of the Indian style in Transoxiana goes as far back as the 1640s. At the very beginning, however, the complexity of the style was not welcomed by the literary circles in Transoxiana. The first poet who became a sincere follower and flaming propagandist of Bidel was Showkat of Bukhara (d. 1695-1699). By the second half of the 18th century, the Indian style had conquered the hearts of the bulk of poets in Transoxiana, including Akāber Khāja Akbar, Afsah, and Gol-Mohammad the Afghan. The best poets of in this style in Afghanistan have been Qāri Abd-Allāh and Khalil-Allāh Khalili.

1 Dr. Nazriev Jurabek is the director of the Institute of Oriental Studies and Written Heritage of the Academy of sciences of Tajikistan. he is a corresponding member of the Academy of sciences of Tajikistan. he finished the Tajik State University (1968), was a senior scientific worker of the Department of the Oriental Studies (1968-75), Interpreter in Afghanistan (1975-76), Senior scientific worker of the Institute of Language and Literature (1976-81), Director of the United literary-memorial museums of the Academy of sciences of Tajikistan (1981-91), and from 1991 the director of the Institute of Oriental Studies and Written Heritage of the Academy of sciences. his works include Maktabī Sherozī va dostonī “Lailī va Majnūn”-ī u, Dushanbe, 1983; Qissai Sulaimonu malikai Sabo dar nazmi Forsu Tojik, Dushanbe, 1996; Noma va nomanigori dar Shohnoma, Teheran, 2000; and more than 10 monographs and more than 100 articles published in Tajikistan and abroad.
Comparison of their works will provide us with the peculiarities of literary development throughout the Persianate societies.
AMIR KHAN GORJI, THE LAST COMPOSER OF THE SAFAVID PERIOD

Amir Hosein Pourjavady

In 1108/1697 Shah Sultan Hosayn, the last Safavid ruler, commissioned Amir Khan Gorji, a Georgian servant of his court, to write a musical codex. A former professional court composer who was no longer actively involved in the field of music, Amir Khan was 78 years old when he completed his codex.

The codex can be divided into four major parts. Beginning with a preface and an anonymous treatise, the third part contains the theoretical tract and song-text collection of Aqa Mo’men Mosannef (d. after 1648), the chief of Safavid court musicians and composers in the first half of the seventeenth century. The fourth part incorporates a theoretical tract by Amir Khan and also a collection of song-texts compiled by the author which represents the vocal repertoire of the Safavid court in the second half of seventeenth century.

This paper aims, in general, to show the significance of Amir Khan's codex in the cultural studies of the Safavid period. Based on the information contained in song headings it discusses several issues such as the occasions in which the songs where composed, accounts of musicians and composers, courtly compositional genres and finally musical interactions between the Safavid and Ottoman courts.

1 Dr. Amir Hosein Pourjavady is Assistant Professor of Ethnomusicology, University of Tehran.
The present article includes some most important novel views, suppositions and analysis of data belonging to the morpho-syntax constituents of the Persian Language. The subjects and facts, mentioned below, seems to be also of a great importance to the practice and learning of language, not only to the theoretical but also the historical linguist. Both the theoretical applied linguistics will be considered here.

The questions as sequences of taxemes and separate elements represented and observed are the following: 1. Object marking and partial polypersonality; 2. Mobile clitical morphs as certain different grammatical and semantic groups; 3. Oblique subject in different special constructions; 4. Prepositional functions by detailizations of roles; 5. Innovations in functioning of the preposition tu(ye): directional tu as synonym of be; 6. Alternative and mixed object marking; 7. Nominal phrases-nominal style (v omitted); 8. The postposition -rā as indirect in modern Persian: cycles; innovations of -rā: post-verbal mark and mark change; 9.

---

The suffix -i and postp. -rā are used together simultaneously: pragmatic arguments; 10. s psychological pragmatic subject (situational syntax and pragmatic semantics); 11. Word order problems: normative tendency and free inverted versions; standard and special word orders; 12. Subject intransitive mark: secondary marking: cycles and innovations.

My current study includes Persian morpho-syntax and syntax. Among the different morphosyntactic clustering, taxemes, separate elements and constructions, two main sequences may be singled out: 1. The cyclic or repeated changes, that is some older diachronic features, functions and/or roles are reproduced and repeated on the later diachronic level, including Modern Persian, as a new remake; 2. Modern Persian in both literary and colloquial levels demonstrates these novelties. All such developments should be interpreted as transpositional innovations in Modern Persian morphosyntax. Transpositions are of a different nature: the functional semantics, the semantic features to grammatical arguments, the pragmatic innovations and elements changes, etc.

The phenomena represented in my report as morpho-syntactic innovations are the followings: 1. The dual (split) semantics of preposition tu expressing in CLNP mainly the location “in, into” as a synonym of dar-ː in colloquial Persian (MP) it shows the clear stressed secondary semantics of “direction” and “move”, as a synonym of be- “to”. This usage has transferred from the colloquial to written level. 2. The new usages of -rā in colloquial MP (CMP) are unique by all the retrospective range: (a) as verbal clitic (b) as intransitive verb object instead of transitive: ketāb-i-rā ke ruy-e miz migozāram, sangin ast; mard-i-rā ke to mibini, dust-e pedar-am ast (i.e. in both (a) and (b) the pragmatic, communicative semantics of actualization, stress the unique definition and demonstrative meaning.) (c) the adverbial function of –rā, beginning roughly in the 20th-century, is used in CMP too. 3. The partial alternative (mixed) marking occurs sometimes in compound verbs as a rare but important specific usage of both the personal object marker and the -rā simultaneously: dar āyande avaz-āš-rā mikonid, harf-eš-o nazanid, cekār-eš konam bace-rā. 4.
Indefinite or singular article -i is used sometimes together with – rā, the definitive direct object marker in MP. This usage stresses the pragmatic semantics of “singularity”: 5. The MP tendency of subject verb agreement by number (plural) to inanimate subjects is also one of innovated features by NP range.
ACTIVITIES OF IRANIAN COMMUNITY IN THE 19TH CENTURY TBILISI

George Sanikidze

From the Beginning of 19th century the capital city of Georgia, Tiflis (Tbilisi), became the administrative, political and commercial center the Caucasian region. Georgia and Tbilisi played a key role in relations of the Russian Empire and Qajar Persia and Georgia was also one of the main roads between Western Europe and Persia. Complex history and culture of Georgia, as a crossroad of civilizations, played a unique role in this function as mediator, by reinforcing its own identity with elements of cultures of the Western and Oriental worlds. The city became then an active and prosperous cosmopolitan capital on the borders of Russian, Ottoman and Persian empires.

It was in Tiflis that a general consulate of Persia was established and the Persian associations of beneficence and cultural and educational establishments were functioning. Persians represented considerable part of Tbilisi's population, where many

---

Persian merchants and artisans lived and worked. Native Persians played an important role in political and economic life of the city.

Iranian intellectuals had the possibility of propagation of ideas of Persian humanism. This report also analyzes activities of Persian intellectuals in Tbilisi. Particular interest is given to activities of Qeyrat and Sharq, the Persian editorial houses of Tbilisi.
AHMAD AL-SIRHINDI’S MAKTUBĀT AS A SOURCE FOR STUDY OF ISLAM’S DEVELOPMENT IN THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT

Caroline Sawyer

Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1624) was the first Naqshbandi leader during the Mughal period to be born in India, away from the order’s birthplace in Central Asia. Except for a few visits to Delhi and Agra, he spent most of his life in his native Sirhind, a small city in the Punjab between Lahore and Delhi. Writing and teaching under the rule of the emperors Akbar and Jihangir, he devoted his career to promoting the Sunnah as the sole basis for both government and mystical practice.

Scholars continue to argue the extent of Sirhindi’s influence on Mughal policy, with apologists making the case for his direct influence on the Mughal Empire’s shift toward a more rigorously Islamic policy under Jihangir (Jehāngir) and, especially, Aurangzeb (Owrangzēb). Based on concepts articulated in his writings, collected in a three-volume work called the Maktubāt, Sirhindi’s followers proclaimed him to be the “Mojaddad”—the Renewer of the Muslim Millennial Age that began in A.H. 1000/C.E. 1591-92, a title continues to be applied to him.

One of the most commented on aspects of al-Sirhindi’s thought is his emphasis on wahdat al-Shohud in his mature thought. The practical implication of this abstract conception—the affirmation of Prophethood, wahy and shari’ah for Muslims—fits well with modern Wahhabi conceptions, on which al-Sirhindi’s followers and disciples may have had some influence, as I will argue. However, the content of his writings demonstrate a view that is much more complex, including ideas that from a modern perspective seem heterodox or dualistic. In his Journey of the Soul (Sayr fi Allah) there are similarities to the Illuminationism (Ishrāqiya) of a Shiite contemporary of his, Mollā Sadrā, in Persia.

1 Caroline Sawyer is an associate professor at the History and Philosophy Department, SUNY College at Old Westbury.
Through an examination of selected passages of the Maktubāt, along with presentation of varied influences on his thought, my presentation will work toward an assessment of complexities and subtleties of this important thinkers work that have tended to be overlooked thus far.
MUGHAL IMPERIAL VISIONS AND THE WRITING OF LITERARY HISTORY

Sunil Sharma

Persian biographical dictionaries (tazkeras) were attempts by literati to provide a comprehensive record of the major achievements of the literary past, as well being historical and geographical compendia that mapped the spread of empires and culture. The earliest biographical dictionaries in Persian such as ʿOwfi’s Lobāb al-albāb and Dowlatshāh’s Tazkerat al-shoʿarā encompass a united view of the larger Persianate world, but new developments took place in the sixteenth century that ultimately bifurcated into two separate traditions in the eighteenth century: an Iran-centric view of the literary past and an Indo-Persian one. Whereas Safavid poets seemed to have had a more local and narrower sense of the literary world, the Mughals had a more ambitious vision of the Persianate world that would accord them a legitimate place in literary history. In studying the high point of this phenomenon particularly in the Mughal context, I would like to answer questions such as: How influential were biographical dictionaries in setting the tastes and preferences in the literary cultures of their time? What are the larger problems regarding canonization and national literatures that this legacy has left for modern scholars of Persian literature? What were the imperial underpinnings in the patronage and production of works like the Haft Eqlim and Arafāt al-āsheqin?

1 Sunil Sharma is Senior Lecturer in Persian at Boston University. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago with a specialization in Persian Language and Literature. Previously he was the Persian Bibliographer at Harvard University’s Widener Library and Junior Fellow at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin. He is the author of two books: Persian Poetry at the Indian Frontier: Masʿud Saʿd Salōmān of Lahore (2000), of which a Persian translation is in press in Tehran, and Amir Khusraw: The Poet of Sultans and Sufis (2005), and has also published a number of scholarly articles and literary translations.
ON THE PROBLEM OF IRANIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE WORKS OF MOHAMMAD-ALI ESLĀMI NODUSHAN

Tea Shurghaia

One can hardly find any formula through which the identity of one or other nation could be established; but there are many available ways and tools for creating certain identity. The analysis of the works of the Iranian writer and thinker Mohammad-Ali Eslāmi Nodushan (b. 1925) lead us to believe that his works have contributed to the development of the Iranian national identity.

Many works of Nodushan are dedicated to the problem of Iranians national identity. We even find him addressing this issue in some of his writings in which the major issue is not the question of Iranian identity. In his essays Nodushan seems to be more of a scholar of culture than a historian or a literary critic, though he is the author of many literary essays and he often turns to the study history as well.

To establish Iranians national identity Nodushan investigates the past and the present of his nation and the concept of being an Iranian, as cited in the Persian language and Literature. He regards Iran as: (1) the first empire in the world, having clearly defined its individuality; (2) a part of the Oriental world, but different from other representatives of this world; (3) the country, where a political empire was replaced by a cultural empire after the Arab conquest.

Nodushan’s major principles include the notion that “Iranian-ness” is rather a cultural than ethnical notion, and one of the peculiarities of this notion have been the coexistence of mysticism

---

1 Tea Shurghaia is an assistant professor at I. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, and a senior researcher at G. Tsereteli Institute for Oriental Studies. She is the author of over 20 scholarly articles (including those written in Persian and English languages and published in Iran and the United States), 17 literary and one scientific translation, and several contributions to collected works.
and *shari'a* and the tendency of Persians towards *eshrāq*. He holds three characteristics for the Persian culture: it is self-defensive, synthesizing, and reactive. Nodushan attaches particular significance to the Persian language and literature in the process of formulation and preservation of the national identity. According to him, Persian literature best demonstrates the talent, power, and generosity of his fellow countrymen.
THE SYMBOLIC MODE OF THE KABUL’S ZIYĀRATS: ON THE CROSSROADS OF THE ISLAM AND MAGIC

Marek Smurzynski

In this paper I will try to analyze the symbolic specificity of the pilgrimage places such as Panja-ye Shir, Tamim-e Ansārī, and Qadamgāh-e Khezr located in the south of Kabul in a necropolis known as Shohāda-ye Sālehin. Comparing them with ziyarats scattering over Kabul I will trace their common imagery the roots of which returns to the first encounter between the predominantly Buddhist environment and Islam. Preserving very slight and free links with a dead person the ziyarats form the separate reality and a different kind of the common knowledge about the surrounding Islamic world. The ziyarats of Kabul are a unique evidence of the particular process of reformulating the signs of the Islamic world and their meanings to create their alternative and very specific microcosms.

1 Marek Smurzynski is at the Jagiellonian University of Krakow, Poland.
WHAT'S IN A CITY:
AN EXAMINATION OF MOQADDASI'S WORK ON
URBAN SYSTEMS IN THE TENTH-CENTURY ISLAMIC
WORLD

Manu P. Sobti

The relentless process of the great Arab tamsir and the spread of Islamic urban traditions imparted great significance to the role of Arab armies as the agents of urban transformation. The immediate solution was to settle them between successive campaigns in military camps strung along the desert fringe, known to the Arab historians as the amsār. In effect, during the first three or four centuries after the Hijrah, the urban hierarchies of large regions of the Middle East, southwest and Central Asia, and North Africa were augmented in two significant ways. At a first level, the physical landscape of these areas was affected by the incorporation of several classes of ‘created’ cities, which included the amsār, rebāt, princely establishments and spontaneous foundations. As a second manifestation of the eastwards movement of the Arab forces and the establishment of control centers, distinct urban regions appeared in the Islamic world, caused in large measure by the intense political fragmentation of the centralized empire. These urban regions were characterized by several settlements of varying size, though sharing common spatial and functional characteristics – features that differentiated them from settlements in other regions. Scholars such as Wheatley have described this development as the “transmutation of regions into systems of urban forms.” Wheatley’s elaboration of these distinct regions within urban systems should be viewed in light of the geographer al-Moqaddasi’s elaborate descriptions of the provinces of the Islamic domain (mamlakat al-Eslām) in his Ahsan at-taqāsim fi ma’refat al-aqālim. Moqaddasi’s writings were in some sense documenting the important urban developments that had

---

1 Dr. Manu P. Sobti is an assistant professor at the School of Architecture and Urban Planning, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.
characterized the few centuries prior to tenth century, reaching their climax by the eleventh century.

Scholars believe that the identification of this framework of urban systems within the contemporary Islamic realm is the other significant aspect of Moqaddasi’s work, besides its obvious value in terms of documentation. Based on his essential grounding within the geographical traditions of the so-called Balkhi School of Islamic Geography and Cartography, Moqaddasi had proposed the sub-division of the Islamic world into distinct regions or eqlim. In his judgment, his fourteen eqlim became functional (as opposed to formal) urban regions, wherein the city was recognized as the locale in which the essential qualities of larger systems of social relations are concentrated and intensified. With only three exceptions, his eqlim comprised structured systems of hierarchically ordered spatial interaction focused on a single metropolis. Simply put, Moqaddasi was suggesting that by examining the essential, unique qualities of an urban environment within a specific region, it was possible to reflect on the general nature of developments within that region, provided of course that the metropolis (one or more) was critically chosen for this examination.

Al-Moqaddasi’s exposition of the spatial and hierarchical arrangement of urban forms in the cultural realm of the tenth-century Islamic world, in a zone up to two thousand miles wide extending for nearly a quarter of the way around the earth, must rank as one of the most ambitious studies of human organization ever attempted in the medieval world. Nor was it to be repeated for almost a millennium, since other topographers and scholars who worked within similar Islamic traditions never reached the level of abstraction represented by Moqaddasi’s work on urban systems. Even the legendary Ebn Khaldun (1332 - 1406), who was no doubt aware of Moqaddasi’s work, aimed to elicit from the flux of events around him the internal (bāten) rational structure that gave form and meaning to external (zāher) manifestations. However, he paid little attention to the spatial expression of the institutions whose nature and evolution he was investigating. Moqaddasi’s
conceptualization of the *eqlim* is seen as an exemplar in this paper, particularly in its illustration of how a select number of cities may be employed to study the nature of cities within a geographical region such as Sogdiana in Central Asia.
PRINCE SELIM AND HIS CAMPAIGN IN GEORGIA

Mikheil Svanidze

In Georgian and Turkish historical sources, there are different arguments about Prince Selim’s war campaigns in Georgia. Nowadays it is still arguable as to when, where and how many times Selim conducted military campaign in Georgia. Mainly, the historical sources as well as contemporary scientific literature prove that Prince Selim’s invasions in Georgia took place in the following years: 1504, 1508, 1509, 1510, 1512 and 1514.

Our recent research shows that Prince Selim invaded Georgia three times: The first invasion took place in Chaneti and Adjara in 1504. The second time, Selim attacked the Georgian land situated between Baiburt and Erzinjan, also called “Gurjistan,” from May until June of 1508. The third time was when Selim raided Kutaisi and Gelati in Imereti in 1509.

---

UNDERSTANDING THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN CONTEMPORARY IRAN

Kian Tajbakhsh¹

Any attempt to understand the nature of government and political power in contemporary Iran, which most observers admit is of unique complexity, is made more difficult by the fact that many of the concepts of western political theory, such as state, government, civil society, and public sphere, do not carry the same meaning when employed in Iran. For example the lack of clear distinction between dowlat ("government" or "public administration") and hokumat – which can only be partially mapped on to the term "state," are well known. Both dowlat and hokumat fall under what can be called the public sphere. Therefore, this paper seeks to describe the institutional framework of the public sphere in Iran drawing primarily on legal and constitutional formulations that define the scope of the public sphere. The paper will examine the implications of the institutional framework of the public sphere for the sociological distinctions between public and private spheres in contemporary Iran.

¹ Formerly a professor of urban studies at the New School in New York, Dr. Tajbakhsh is now an independent scholar in Tehran.
THE SAVIOR AND THE HOLY VIRGIN IN PERSIAN POETRY

Magali Todua¹

1. The Koran mentions the Savior and the Holy Virgin with reverence, and this holy scripture of the Moslems set the trend for the whole Islamic literature, including Persian literature. However, many Islamic legends as well as traditions of the Old and the New Testaments and the Apocrypha found their way into Persian poetry. Jesus Christ and the Holy Virgin have a special place and function in Persian poetry. According to the Koran, Jesus is “the Word of God (the True)” (4,169) and “the Soul of God” (66, 12).

2. But if Jesus is “the Lord’s soul”, and the Lord’s soul cannot be mortal, so Jesus is immortal. In the Koran, Jesus Christ seems to be placed next to the so-called main apostles: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Mohammad; but it is only a declaration, as Islam has granted Christ a higher level in the hierarchy: it believes in the Ascension of Jesus into Heaven and his taking abode there, in the Fourth Sphere (4,155). The Koran does not acknowledge the idea that Christ shall sit at the right hand of God at the Second Coming and judge the righteous and the sinners; but it does mention Christ’s being with God (5,117).

3. To help the listener to understand better how these two figures were reflected in Persian poetry, it should be underlined that their

¹ Magali Todua is the head of the Department of Persian Literature of the Institute of Oriental Studies, and Professor of Iranian Studies at Kutaisi State University, Georgia. His field of Research is Classical Persian literature and Georgian-Persian literary contacts. His publications include The Persian's books of Wisdom a complete prose account of Ferdowsi's Shahnama (in Persian), Guilan University Publication, 2000; 'Isā-nāma the savior and the Holy Virgin in Persian poetry I (in 4 vols.), Kutaisi, 2002; Tbilisi collection of Persian Firmans I, Tbilisi, 1995.
images can be found in the works of almost all the Persian poets from Rudaki (10th c.) to Khomeyni (1902-1989) and so frequently that this phenomenon should cause surprise. For instance, in his lyrical poems Khâqâni of Sharvân (d. 1199) refers to the Christ with great reverence 202 times and to the Holy Virgin 47 times, while Mohammad is mentioned only 21 times. And what is more, Rumi (1207-1273), the great Muslim poet, the founder of the best-known Sufi order Mavlavia, mentions Christ 250 times in his verses.

4. According to the texts I have analyzed: (a) Jesus is a healer, a doctor who cures the sick with medicines. (b) Jesus heals with word and raises people from the dead by word too. (c) Jesus is merciful. (d) He is generous. (e) Table set by Jesus is wonderful. (f) Jesus is the paragon of loyalty. (g) Jesus sees certain virtues even in the events and things devoid of any kind of merit. (h) Jesus is modest. (i) He is eloquent. (j) He is a musician. (k) Jesus is handsome. (l) The smile of Jesus by its charm revives the world. (m) Both Jesus and the house of Jesus (church?) radiate light. (n) Jesus smells sweet and sends forth fragrance. (o) The color of the garments of Jesus is beautiful. (p) Jesus grants color to things. (q) It is an ideal even for a Muslim king to possess the nature of Jesus. Christ is the model of a Moslem’s morality.

5. In Persian mystic poetry Christ serves as an example for both mythological heroes and Sufi poets whose ideal is to ascend into Heaven. (a) It was not because of his high dignity of state that Jesus was taken up to Heaven, but because he took upon himself great suffering; he was crucified. (b) Persian poets are mystics and to preach their Neo-Platonic ideas, they very successfully use the image of Jesus. In this way, they once more emphasize the neo-Platonic teachings, according to which, man is God’s emanation and if he wishes to become immortal, he should abandon this world and merge with Him again after having passed certain stages.
6. Persian poets resort to the Savior and the Holy Virgin, as well as Biblical prophets and other characters mainly to create poetic imagery, but in Persian poetry the Savior is also depicted as a divine power, for He is the Son of God! (a) “Open your mouth and pray before the icon of Jesus (Call forth the image of Jesus)” (b) “May our life be sacrificed to the welfare of [Jesus]!” (c) “I swear by the name of Jesus, the Son of Mary”. (d) “Hurry to pray before the icon of Jesus like a [Christian] monk!” (e) “Watch out, Antichrist has come, and make way for Christ!”

7. (a) The Holy Virgin is the symbol of immaculateness. (b) The Holy Virgin is beautiful (she is the model of beauty). (c) The Holy Virgin, like the Saviour, smells sweet; she sends forth fragrance. (d) The Holy Virgin and Jesus in her lap are models of nature’s beauty.

Although the Virgin is a saint and her son ascended into Heaven as far as the Fourth Sphere, She is not a divine creature.
ORGANIZING IMPERIAL TERRITORIES, CIRCA 1600: INTENT AND RATIONALE

Kirti Trivedi

There are varied perspectives on the making of the edifice of the Mughal empire. While functions and contributions of measures like revenue reformation, molding heterogeneity of the nobility into homogeneity, taming of the orthodoxy have been discussed in some details; there are certain other features, with varying measures, that appear to be vital for shaping the superstructure of the Mughal empire in such a manner that it emerged not only as a formidable state under Akbar, these also created an aura around the state and the ruling house that none could brace up to replace it. Some how these features have not received adequate attention by the scholars. While mansab and jāgir systems have been discussed in some details, the logic and intent of suba formation needs further attention.

Before the coming of the Mughals, several dynasties had occupied the seat of power at Delhi for more than three hundred years that have been clubbed together to project an image that the Turks made an unprecedented change in the political horizon of northern India from the thirteenth century onwards. However, what stares at us are dethroning of one ruling dynasty by another, each founded by an erstwhile notable, and yet none, despite their varied experiences, had the capacity to sustain political hold for more than two or three generations.

The Mughal edifice created by Akbar is magnificent from all accounts. Along with the organization of ranking system

---

1 A Graduate in history from Aligarh Muslim University, Dr. Trivedi is a retired as professor of history from the Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi. Currently he is the project director of the university grants commission’s major project on urban history. He has published a book and a number of articles in national and international scholarly journals. He uses Persian, Hindi and English language sources for his research.
(mansab), systematization of disbursement of remuneration for the services through assignment of revenue (jagir), arrangement and organization of imperial territories into smaller units (subas ‘provinces’) were all unprecedented.

This paper, through a reinvestigation of the available data, related to survey work undertaken during the 1570s, intends to discuss designing of the subas both from political and economic angles. In the process, it also looks as to how this exercise intended to stymie any design of Rajput chieftains from expanding their territorial influence on the one hand, and also containing the ambitions of lower level local potentates within smaller divisions of the suba.
Sacred history of the Shiites is inseparably linked with the early history of Islam, the life of the Prophet and his family, struggle for the caliphate and the tragic events related to the death of Imam Husayn, the grandson of the Prophet and the son of Ali. The story of the confrontation of the Abbasids and the Alids, which led to the death of Husayn and his adherents in the battle of Karbala, became the basis of numerous religious subjects reflected in Iranian art.

By the 19th century the so-called “icons” (Arabic-Persian shəmāʾel), portraits of Shiite saints, the most worshipped of which were Ali images, became generally recognized. Representation of Ali surrounded by his sons, Hasan and Husayn, often depicted with several other personages, like Qanbar or Salman the Persian, became the favorite subject of religious painting. Being extremely popular in Iran at the turn of the 20th century, such paintings gradually appeared in private collections in Russia. A few of these small collections have preserved in Saint Petersburg.

In the collections of the Oriental Department of the State Hermitage Museum there are four Shiite icons, which were acquired in 1962 from the owner, orientalist S. Szapszal.

Five more icons, both paintings and prints, are kept in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera). They constituted part of the collection of the prominent Russian orientalist Valentin Zhukovskii and were acquired by the Museum in 1919 after the death of their owner. None of these icons, marked in the fund inventory as images of saints, have ever been published.

---

1 Ms. Daria Vasilyeva is a postgraduate student at of the St Petersburg branch of the Institute for Oriental Studies. She is also a junior researcher at the Oriental Department of the Hermitage Museum.
In the Print Department of the National Library of Russia there are four lithographs with images of Shiite saints, which are not registered in the inventories and don’t have any shelf numbers. We do not possess any data about the circumstances and the time of their acquisition by the Library. Presumably these lithographs could be widespread among Turkish-speaking Shiite communities and could have had Turkish origins.

Along with the development of religious painting and ta’ziya performances in Iran there was formed such a theatrical art as the art of pardadāri (also known as pardakhānī and shama’e’lgardānī). The performance included the demonstration of parda painting, dedicated to the tragic events of Karbala, accompanied by the storyteller’s narrative. There isn’t much data about the origins of this performance; nevertheless, there is some evidence that storytellers in Iran as early as the 16th century demonstrated images of Shiite saints.

In compositional decision of parda one can see the central battle scene between Abbas, imam Husayn’s stepbrother, and his antagonist from the enemy’s camp. These are the largest figures of parda, with other separate scenes, constituting independent subjects of Karbala battle, grouping around them. The central battle scene marks two zones in the space of parda: the left side is the space of heroes; the right side is the enemy’s camp. Karbala scenes occupy all the left and central parts of the painting. The utmost right part of parda is often dedicated to the representation of the Judgment Day, weighing the deeds of the dead, scenes of paradise and hell.

Among traditional parda canvases one painting from the private collection of M. Rodionov is particularly worth mentioning. Unusual proportions and considerable canvas width, which might have caused trouble to the storyteller during the demonstration, allow us to suppose that the latter wasn’t used for pardadāri storytelling, but could probably be commissioned as a decorative curtain. Bearing distinctive stylistic features, this painting didn’t preserve to the full traditional parda canvases’ inner dynamics and expressiveness, though this didn’t much
influence the main subject schemes and artistic methods. In compositional decision one can see the above-mentioned division of the two parties, the heroes and the enemies, which can be traced in the upper row and the figures of Abbas and his adversary in the centre of the battlefield.

The development of Shiite iconography in the 19-20th centuries became an outstanding phenomenon of cultural and religious life in Iran, having added a new page to the history of Iranian art. Due to collectors, some of them remaining anonymous, samples of religious painting took their place in Saint Petersburg collections.
Some scholars have advanced the theory that during the period of the great Sheikhs the Chishti Selsela possessed a highly integrated central structure, which controlled and guided the activities of those associated with it. It is further asserted that after Sheikh Nasir-al-Din Mahmud the central organization of the Chishtis broke down and provincial khanqahs, which did not owe allegiance to any central authority, came into existence. It is maintained that among the Chishtis there was an established tradition to nominate one of their morids (disciples) as Chief or Principal Successor who was specially chosen for the purpose to succeed the Sheikh in his place and look after the functioning of this organization and head the central authority. Transfer of the spiritual authority was supposed to be accomplished through the means of the bestowal of tabarrokāt (relics) coming down from the elders of the selsela. Some of these, such the kherqa, are even supposed to have come down from the Prophet himself. These relics have been variously described as insignia, regalia or instruments of succession. Through this means major portion of the barkah and spiritual authority associated with the deceased Sheikh was transferred to the person chosen to succeed him and take his place. This was an indication that the recipient will occupy the position vacated by the Sheikh in his spiritual territory (welāyat) and will perform the same mediatory role between God and the members of the society around him. It is believed that the spiritual authority and the barkah had passed this way successively from Khwāja Mo’īn-al-Din Chishti to Sheikh Qotb-al-Din, Sheikh Farid-al-Din, Sheikh Nezām-al-Din and finally to Sheikh Nasir-al-Din and, according to some, to Sayyed Mohammad Hosayn-e

1 Professor at Aligarh University.
Gēsu Darāz as well. Names of some the most eminent scholars in the field of Sufi studies are associated with this proposition.

However, there does not seem to be sufficient evidence on the subject to warrant such assertion. The ideological and practical implications of this theory do not seem to have been taken into consideration. Coming down to Sheikh Nasir-al-Din and Gēsu Darāz the problem becomes more intractable. The so-called instruments signifying the transfer of the spiritual authority differ in the case of different Sheikhs and therefore the various objects handed down by the great Sheikhs to their disciples could not be justifiably termed as insignia or instruments of succession and means of the transfer of spiritual authority. The problem becomes more complex in the case of Sheikh Nezām-al-Din Awliyā and Sheikh Nasir-al-Din Mahmud who got the relics they received from their pirs buried with them.

An attempt will be made in this paper to examine these and other related issues afresh in the light of evidence contained in the hagiological and historical sources and determine whether such an institution really did exist with its all India character. As the Chishti selsela enjoyed pre-eminence during the sultanate period and exercised great influence both over the ruling elite and the masses, it is important to understand the working and organizational set up of the selsela.
پیامی و نقدی در مورد فریم اورانی

و سرزش‌هایی مرت که گویید نقدی پرچال می‌کنند. قدم می‌ماند گویان که می‌رایند و آنان که معتقدند فیلیپ‌س را به سوی اخلاقی که امام می‌شود و امروز می‌شود رهبری خواندن بر اخلاق خود اخلاق دارد و مس از بین افکاری و فلسفه‌ای در شناختی بهبود و پیشرفت قابل جمله عقلان را فیلیپ او و اورانی به آنها که که می‌رود فیلیپی نشان کرد. هرچگونه راه زبان و کلمه و سیاست اعتقاد دانستگی‌اندی کرده. ایران‌زبان رفتن شهرهایی چنان‌باران و آنان عالم را پنجره‌ای شده‌اند. این اعتقاد دانستگی‌اندی که ایران‌زبان از آن انگیزه ارگ‌زایی گسترده‌است. بنابراین من این اعتقاد که در پی‌گاه این چهارگزاری چه‌گونه دیده نگه‌داشته‌اند؟

نحوه‌ی مراجعه به روی‌روی گری که به بی‌درفت‌باشد به‌گونه‌ی می‌گوید مرجعیت سیاست‌سازان از "یافته" به‌چنین آمیک که غیر از این عبور یک‌جانبه و شرکت در این عبور با انتقاد از قابلیت‌های چگونه، انجام و رفتاری چگونه با انتقاد راه‌یافته از واردان برای کمی از ایران‌زبان دیدن فراموش می‌شود که چه‌گونه بی‌توجهی کامیابی و شش‌ان و گردد، و به‌گونه‌ی تصور ای است، این نظر از ایران‌زبان نمایه و شاخص شده ای که و نشان‌گری خاصی را نشان می‌دهی که گفته گرایش‌گرانی شد. این نظر از ایران‌زبان و راه‌یافته در این نظریه که بین شده‌اند و اگرشی و راک‌سایی به این نظریه در کاری‌ها و طرح‌های کردنی اعتقاد به تأثیر دعو و دخورین در گردن‌دان‌ید بخش و اقباله نبوده‌اند گرایشها و رفتاری گرایی نمایندگی به خودگویی و رفته‌اند به‌ین‌دی و ویژگی‌ها و ایستاده‌می‌دانسته‌اند. صرفاً تأثیر دعو در میان تصور. قدمی بخش است. یک‌نی چون متقاعد شده که نخستی خودند به‌ین‌دی خودی ره بودمی‌دانسته‌اند و گونه‌ای می‌توانستند ویژگی و دعو و گروه‌های مبادران به‌ین‌دی و در گویان بین دو واقعیت وام اگره و پرداختن م به‌ین‌دی و می‌گویند به‌ین‌دی و پیشینه‌های مبادران همچنین، الام و اثرات‌می
برداشتی می‌تأخیر از می‌خشد زدز زنیش نصیرت "موحه" و امیدت شریعت‌آمیزی نهنگنش از اشکار اسرار و کم‌پردازی از ان کسی قُبل به‌درجه و تنگ‌سو در شریعت بی‌زمانی به‌دراد و دل‌هوشی‌زار و امید

گفت بی‌می‌باشیم به‌سراپیق گفتندن ای می‌خشد با برگ‌بردی و به‌شکوری دم‌ید

آش‌ها، اوی‌های زرن‌تانی، بحث‌ها، زوایا، مرزها، مر، حزک، یاک‌ین‌های واره

بخش، عیالات، سندر، کشکاخ
چند نکته از روش تدریس زبان فارسی در ارمنستان

1. اورستاگان

نام ارمنستان‌یادگارگاه دولتی اورستاگان

در ارمنی‌شناسی در ارمنستان امروز یلدا از رشته‌های بیشترین درس‌های اصلی از زبان‌شناسی مورد بررسی قرار گرفته است. غلامرضا ایرانی استاد لد زبان‌ها، دانشگاه بزرگی را شروع کرده و ایجاد کننده شهر سنگینی، گروهی که می‌تواند دربرگیرنده بزرگی‌های هنری، مادی، نویسندگان و نیز نویسندگان رشد زبان‌شناسی‌ای است. زبان‌شناسی اصلاحاتی از نظر ارمنی‌شناسی اصلی، لر و این امر این‌گونه ارمنی زبان‌شناسی‌های ارمنی و چندین از زبان‌شناسی‌های اثبات کرده و بسیار اورستاگان را نگهداری داشته و به طور مطالعه‌ای ارمنی کرده و گفته شده‌است. روش‌های تدریس زبان ارمنی‌اشین نیز ادامه داده ایست. ارمنی‌شناسی و بیشتر زبان‌های ارمنی‌اشین نیز ادامه داده ایست. ارمنی‌شناسی و بیشتر زبان‌های ارمنی‌اشین نیز ادامه داده ایست.

در ارمنستان ارمنی‌اشین نیز ادامه داده ایست. ارمنی‌شناسی و بیشتر زبان‌های ارمنی‌اشین نیز ادامه داده ایست. ارمنی‌شناسی و بیشتر زبان‌های ارمنی‌اشین نیز ادامه داده ایست.

۱ Dr. Lucia Ghazarian is a professor of Persian at Yerevan State University.
کاشان‌نامه چند نمونه از فرهنگ گویش‌های اصیل خط ارای

آیدی جفت‌دری‌بود چرم

بعضی موارد کاشان‌نامه بسیاری از گویش‌های در اسیران اصفهان و موز از تاریخ و لحیده خصوصی ایرانی شمال غربی دیده می‌شوند. شایر روز امای چند و یک نگرده و این مر چند زبان می‌خوارند این است که زبان مادری این افراد مادری نیوزون و غربی نیوز قرن پیش و دو دشتی های خوش را به‌طور کم گویش‌ها در زرقاء ساله رازه، نیروز، ده‌های نارسی سیب‌رده‌ها، معنی کشیده‌اند به‌طور کم به‌طور کمی زبان فارسی چنین در لحیده، این که اگزون در میدان، قره‌ده می‌آت می‌زایند، نسبت به‌طور شرودن و در مؤتافال زبان رسی می‌پا می‌خورد لیکی گویش‌ها با پرچه از سرهاش را به‌طور کمی می‌کوشند. با این مه ذخیره‌رسی دی‌ی، ۱۱، یک‌درویی، قروش، چرچ‌یانی، می‌پذیری مورد محصله ای‌پرویدایاد اردنی‌تایانی، و به‌خور کشیده لحیده‌ای گویش‌های اسیران غربی زبان‌های که در ۴۰ ه میلیون نتر (ر) امرت برزور دیده که در دو طرف در اصفهان از بیای می‌پیچی‌های ۲۵ کیلومتر بی‌طرف غرب به‌جا می‌آید. هری چه، یاری، ردیبان‌ها، جنگ‌نامه، طرده، ابتدای، و نیزگر، می‌پذیری سرداد، به‌دیده و نیزگری‌های موز بسیاری از علاقه‌اری‌ها و اصل ضایع را یافته‌ای این گویش‌ها جنگ‌نامه‌های اند در این مقاله به‌طور کم از نیوزه‌ای ارایه می‌آید کاشان‌نامه از فرهنگ گویش‌های اصیل خط‌کشته‌ی بزرگ‌گریخته‌گدید.

1 Dr. Mahmoud Joneydi Jafari, University of Tehran.
یک در فضای زبان آذری در کشورهای اوراسیا از لحاظ آخرا

دارم و می‌گویم گرگوریان
دانشگاه دولتی اوراسیا، ارمنستان

میرم نواحی شمال غربی اوراسیا از زبان‌های دیاری به زبان‌های ارمنی، ترکی، بزرگ‌ترین سرفاوی در دنیای تاریخ بزرگ را آمده‌اند. لچه‌ای، مخاطبی و مربوط به سومه‌ها و دیگر اساتید اکثریت زبان‌های این کشورها است. در این منطقه، بیش از تمامی دیگر مناطق، زبان‌های ایرانی به‌طور قابل توجهی دارند. در اینجا، در این منطقه، زبان‌های ایرانی به‌طور قابل توجهی دارند.

در این منطقه، زبان‌های ایرانی به‌طور قابل توجهی دارند. در اینجا، در این منطقه، زبان‌های ایرانی به‌طور قابل توجهی دارند.

Dr. Hasmik Kirakosian is a professor of Persian and Iranian at Yerevan State University.
مواد زبان فارسی در هند

علي میرانصوری

با چهار سیرگی، در شرایط سرعت و به طور همگامی در جهان نما 260 نسخه بوده و 250 نسخه را در نمایی از مجموعه شده. بیود. و آماده همکاری با مورد انتخابی و نامیده. فیزیک، شماره‌بندی و اثر انگیزی و همگی، از مواردی که از زبان اول، انگلیسی، به همراه سیرگی، به مدیریت و نظریه، آمده و پایه‌گذاری که زبان‌های به جهان نما، در 2002 در این اثر و

شکل یکی می‌تواند، برخی از شرکت‌های تاریخ و فرهنگ هنر و ادبیات، از نظر اینکه، به طیف و انعطاف‌پذیری، از جمله زبان‌ها و انگیزه‌های از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، از جمله زبان‌های نمایش، هر دو بخش، به درجه آماده کردن، درختی و اکنون، اз

Ali Mir-Ansari studied Persian literature at Tehran University and has been working at the Center for the Great Islamic Encyclopedia since 1986. He also worked at the Iran National Archives Organization (1995-2002) and Iran Cultural Foundation (1985-86). He has published scores of books and articles and read papers in various conferences. His Research interests include contemporary Persian literature form the late Qajar to the Pahlavi, intellectual’s movements and ideas as well as dramatic Persian literature.
ظورش: اول دای مذهبی شیعی در فلت ایران

مهدی مهدیزاده ۱

اران، اثر زیادی را به ریشه‌سازی مورد مطالعه برداشت‌های ایرانی سری‌سازی کرده و در این مطالعه اقدام به معرفی مواد و آموزه‌های انسان‌شناسی اصفهان‌یهای متعدد می‌کند. کتاب حاضر می‌تواند به عنوان یک اثر مهم در زمینه تحقیقات ادبیات ایرانی در نظر گرفته شود.

۱ Mehdi Mohammad Zadeh et Doctorant en cotutelle à L’EPHE-Sorbonne et L’Université de Genève.
مزه‌ای از چای صرف‌اش و در نزدیکی بی‌واسطه منابع آب‌مانند سرده سرشکسته می‌گردد و بدین دلیل بنابراین ایفای امور جنگی نمی‌تواند کاربرد آپوزیتیوری.
Vardan Voskanian is professor of Iranian languages at Yerevan State University.

1