THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF PERSIANATE SOCIETIES

8TH BIENNIAL CONVENTION

March 15-18, 2018

Tbilisi, Georgia

Ilia State Univesity, G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies

Program and Abstracts

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF IRANIAN STUDIES
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PERSIAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION

**ASPS CENTRAL EURASIA
RESEARCH FUND**

THE EIGHTH BIENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF PERSIANATE SOCIETIES (ASPS)
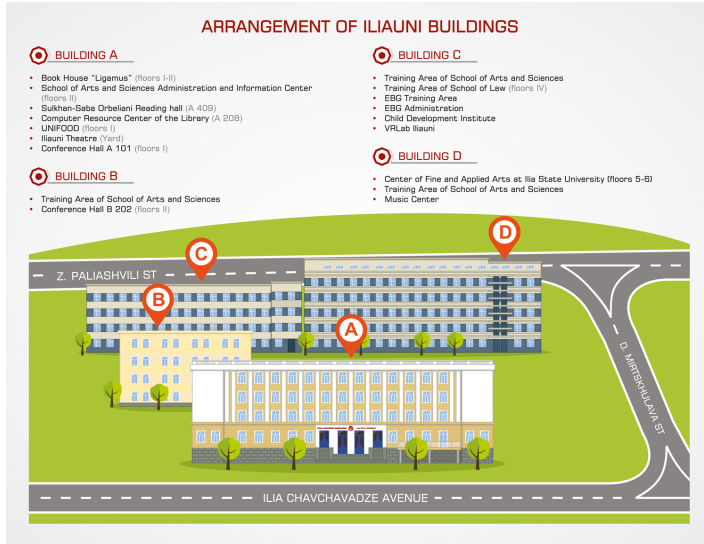
15-18 March 2018
Tbilisi, Georgia

VENUE:

ILIA STATE UNIVERSITY   G. TSERETELI INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

Kakutsa Cholokashvili Ave 3/5   3, Academician G. Tsereteli Street
Tbilisi 0162, Georgia
Buildings B, G & S

Buildings Map

ARRANGEMENT OF ILIAUNI BUILDINGS

BUILDING A
- Book House "Ligamus" (floors I-II)
- School of Arts and Sciences Administration and Information Center (floors II)
- Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani Reading hall (A 409)
- Computer Resource Center of the Library (A 208)
- UNIFOOD (floors I)
- Iliauni Theatre (Yard)
- Conference Hall A 101 (floors I)

BUILDING B
- Training Area of School of Arts and Sciences
- Conference Hall B 202 (floors II)

BUILDING C
- Training Area of School of Arts and Sciences
- Training Area of School of Law (floors IV)
- EBG Training Area
- EBG Administration
- Child Development Institute
- VRLab Iliauni

BUILDING D
- Center of Fine and Applied Arts at Ilia State University (floors 5-6)
- Training Area of School of Arts and Sciences
- Music Center

Building B (Reception and Inaugural Ceremonies)
32, I. Chavchavadze Ave.

ARRANGEMENT OF ILIAUNI BUILDINGS

BUILDING E
- Chancellery (floor I)
- Development Department (floor II)
- Foreign Relations Department (floor II)
- UNIFOOD (floor I)
- Business School Administration and Training Area (floors II, III, and IV)
- Ilia Reading Hall (floor II)
- Computer Resource Center of the Library (E 307)
- Students Area (floor I)
- Addictology Institute
- Institute of Energy and Sustainable Development
- International School for Caucasus Studies
- Institute of Fundamental and Interdisciplinary Mathematics Study

BUILDING F
- Rector (floor I)
- Administration Head Office (floor II)
- University Administration: departments and services
- Research Halls (F 104)
- Dimitri Uznadze Institute of Psychology
- Institute of Economics and Business
- Institute of Linguistic Research
- Savle Tsereteli Institute of Philosophy
- Institute of Comparative Literature
- Institute of 4D Research
- Healthcare and Insurance School
- Department of Student Affairs (F 105)

BUILDING H
- School of Natural Sciences and Engineering Administration
- Training Area of School of Natural Sciences and Engineering
- Computer Gaming Laboratory (GAMELAB ILIAUNI)

BUILDING G
- Conference Hall G 106 (floor I)
- Training Area of School of Natural Sciences and Engineering
- Institute of Applied Physics
- Institute of Ecology
- Institute for Theoretical Physics
- Institute of Medical Research
- Institute of Chemical Biology
- Tengiz Oniani Laboratory of Sleep-wakefulness Study
- Natural Sciences Education Center SALIS

BUILDING S
- Laboratory of Future Innovation (FABLAB ILIAUNI)
- The Hall of Austrian Centre (S 506)
- The Hall of Italian Centre (S 501)
- The Hall of Oriental Studies (floor IV)
- Institute of Biophysics
- Giorgi Tsereteli Institute for Oriental Studies
- Evgeny Kharadze Abestumani National Astrophysical Observatory
  - Institute of Zoology
  - Institute of Demography and Sociology

Building G – 1, Acad. G. Tsereteli str. **Building S** – 3, Acad. G. Tsereteli str. (Panel Locations)

THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION
Carlo G. Cereti
Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza"

PAKISTAN
Muhammad Saleem Mazhar
University of the Punjab

RUSSIA
Pavel Basharin
Russian State University for the Humanities

TAJIKISTAN
Umed Mamadsherzodshoev
Institute of Humanities, Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan

CONVENTION ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

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Tbilisi
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Tamar Mosiashvili (*Ilia State University, G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies*)
Nikoloz Nakhutsrishvili (*Ilia State University, G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies*)
Irina Koshoridze (*Georgian National Museum*)

PROGRAM

Thursday, March 15, 2018

13:00-16.00 REGISTRATION	Venue: B201

16.30- 18.30 INAUGURAL CEREMONIES	Venue: B201

MASTER OF CEREMONIES:

Professor Rudi Matthee, ASPS Vice-President

WELCOMING ADDRESSES AND INTRODUCTIONS:

Professor George Sanikidze, Ilia State University

Professor Giga Zedania, Rector of Ilia State University

Academician Thomas V. Gamkrelidze, Honorary President of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences

Dr. Ghazzal Dabiri, ASPS Secretary and Conference Chair

Professor Jo-Ann Gross, CERF Director

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSIANATE SUFISM FROM THE 9TH/3RD TO THE 14TH/8TH CENTURY
BY
Professor Saïd Amir Arjomand, ASPS President

CONCERT OF IRANIAN AND GEORGIAN ARTISTS

19:00-21:00 INAUGURAL RECEPTION	Venue: B201

Friday

March 16, 2018

SESSION I

9:00-10:30

1. Iranists and Iranian Studies in Georgia and Europe   Room: G106

Panel Chair: **George Sanikidze** (*Ilia State University*)

Tea Shurgaia (*Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University*)
  The Contributions of Georgian Iranologists to Iranian Folklore Studies (Achievements, Challenges, and Perspective)

Evan Siegel (*City University of New York*)
  A Georgian Memoir of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution

Tamar Demetrashvili (*Ilia State University*)
  From the History of the Georgian-Iranian Linguistic Interactions: Parsadan Gorgijanidze and His Lexicographic Legacy

Maia Sakhokia (*Ilia State University*)
  Achaemenian Inscriptions and the *Shahnameh*: Literary Art Nature Genre and Relationships with Epos (*Shahnameh*) (Experience of Georgian Translation of Old Persian Inscriptions)

2. Forms of Political Authority in the Post-Mongol Persianate World I
Room: S712

Panel Organizers:
Nobuaki Kondo (*Tokyo University of Foreign Studies*) and
Kazuo Morimoto (*The University of Tokyo*)
Panel Chair: **Judith Pfeiffer** (*Universität Bonn*)

Osamu Otsuka (*The University of Tokyo*)
Kingship and Titles of Ilkhanid Rulers: Do They Really Claim Themselves Pādhshāh-i Īrān?

Evrim Binbas (*Universität Bonn*)
Contractual Political Ideas in the Timurid Period

Kazuo Morimoto (*The University of Tokyo*)
The Earliest 'Alid Genealogy for the Safavids Revisited

Satoshi Ogura (*Tokyo University of Foreign Studies*)
Political Legitimacies and Their Perceptions in the Multilingual Society of Sultanate and Early Mughal Kashmir

3. The View from Within and Without: Writing the Other in the Pre- and Early Islamic Periods
Room: S201

Panel Chair: **D Gershon Lewental**
(*Shalem College and University of Oklahoma*)

Robert Hoyland (*New York University*)
Pre-Islamic Iran in Early Muslim Histories

Khodadad Rezakhani (*Princeton University*)
Between Gil and Arman: The Revolt of Babak-e Khorramdin within the Context of South Caucasian History

Daniel Beckman (*Princeton University*)
 Mithridates Eupator and Tigranes the Great: Hellenistic
 Propaganda in an Iranian Context

Christian Sahner (*University of Cambridge, St John's College*)
 Zoroastrians in Early Muslim Society: Evidence from Some
 ʿAbbasid-Era Pahlavi Sources

4. Cancelled: Representing Celestial Kingship
 in the Persianate World   Room: S401 (Library)

Mohammed Vaez (*University of Tehran*)
 Celestial Symbolism in Gonbad-e-Qabus: Tracing Cosmic
 Order at the Tomb of the Solar King [Withdrawn]

Peyvand Firouzeh (*Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz*)
 Between Textile, Talisman, and Poetry of Space: The "Chelleh
 Khaneh" at the Shrine of Shah Nematullah-e Vali in Mahan
 [Withdrawn]

COFFEE BREAK

10:30-10:45 Building G Hall

SESSION 2

10:45-12:15

5. Classical Persian Poets and Texts   Room: S201

Panel Chair: **Marina Alexidze**
(*Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University*)

Sherzod Davrukov (*University of Central Asia*)
عثمان مختاری غزنوی و سهم او در انکشاف قصیده

Julia Rubanovich (*The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*)
> Joseph and His Two Wives: Patterns of Cultural
> Accommodation in the Judeo-Persian Tale of *Yūsuf and
> Zulaykhā* by Shāhīn

Eliza Tasbihi (*McGill University*)
> Apocryphal Texts in Sufi Literature: Revisiting "Book Seven"
> of Rūmī's Mathnawī [Withdrawn]

6. Modern Iranian Architecture and Urban Planning
Room: G106Panel

Chair: **Mary Elaine Hegland** (Santa Clara University)

Mary Elaine Hegland (*Santa Clara University*)
> From Agriculture to Urban Real Estate: A Twenty-first century
> Perspective on the 1962 Aliabad Land Reform

Ali Mozaffari (*Deakin University*) and
Nigel Westbrook (*University of West Australia*)
> Culture and Development: Architecture and the Design of
> Heritage in 1970s Iran

Niloofar Kakhi (*University of St Andrews*)

Towards the Formation of a 'Representative' Architecture: The Role of Archaeology in the Formation of Architectural Histories in Iran

7. Forms of Political Authority in the Post-Mongol Persianate World II   Room: S712

Panel Organizers:
Nobuaki Kondo (*Tokyo University of Foreign Studies*) and
Kazuo Morimoto (*The University of Tokyo*)
Panel Chair: **Saïd Amir Arjomand** (*SUNY, Stony Brook*)

Golriz Farshi (*University of Michigan*)
A Struggle for Legitimacy: *Tārīkh-i Sulṭān Muḥammad-i Quṭb Shāhī*

Giorgio Rota (*Institute for Iranian Studies OEAW*)
Lessons Hard Learnt: Legitimacy and Survival in post-Safavid Persia, 1722-1796

Nobuaki Kondo (*Tokyo University of Foreign Studies*)
The Early Qajar Form of Political Authority

8. Social Constructions and Interactions across Asia from Late Antiquity   Room: S401 (Library)

Panel Chair: **Lindsay Allen** (*King's College London*)

Garnik Asatrian (*Russian-Armenian State University*) and
Alice Assadorian (*Islamic Azad University, Tehran North Branch*)
Ancient Elements in the Aturpatakan-South Caspian Hydro-toponymy

Farnaz Masoumzadeh Jouzdani (*Tarbiat Modares University*)
تصویرسازی مفهوم بخشندگی در کتیبه‌های نوشتاری ظروف گِلابه‌ای سامانی

Manabu Kameya (*Hirosaki University*)

Eastern Fars in the Early Islamic Period: Analysis from Numismatic Evidence

Ellen Giunashvili (*Ilia State University*)

Sixth Century Georgia and Sasanian Iran: Issues of Historical-Religious Interrelations in the Light of Old Georgian Hagiographic Writings

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LUNCH BREAK

12:15-14:00

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SESSION 3

14:00-15:30

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9. Genealogy and Religious Identity among the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshan   Room: S401 (Library)

Panel Organizer: **Jo-Ann Gross** (*The College of New Jersey*)
Panel Chair: **Jalal Badakhchani** (*The Institute of Ismaili Studies*)
Panel Discussant: **Kazuo Morimoto** (*The University of Tokyo*)

Jo-Ann Gross (*The College of New Jersey*)

Knowledge Production and the Genealogical Traditions of Badakhshan

Daniel Beben (*Nazarbayev University*)

The Place of Nasir-i Khusraw in the Genealogical Traditions of the Pirs of Badakhshan

10. Cross-Fertilization of Myths and Legends   Room: G106

Panel Chair: **Abolala Soudavar** (*Independent Scholar*)

~~**Ali Rezaee Pouia** (*University of Tehran*) and~~
~~**Leyla Fouladian** (*Independent Scholar*)~~
~~تحلیل بینامتنی زراتشت‌نامه بهرام پژدو~~   [No Show]

Yazdan Safaee (*University of Tehran*)
Where Two Goddesses of Earth Meet: The Absolute
Connection's Possibility: "Scythian Api" and "Zoroastrian
Armaiti"

Manya Saadi Nejad (*Concordia University*)
The Indo-European Dragon-slaying Myth: Dragons, Saviours,
and possible Connections to the Iranian River Goddess Anāhitā

Hanieh Rouhani Nejad (*Allameh Tabataba'i*)
بررسی تطبیقی شخصیت‌های گُردآفرید و آرتمیس

11. Art and Makers of Art in the Persianate World   Room: S201

Panel Chair: **Umed Mamadsherzodshoev**
(*Tajikistan Academy of Sciences*)

Layah Bigdeli (*University of Minnesota*)
Colorful Buffware from Nishapur

Rushongul Shofakirova (*Shirinsho Shotemur*)
The Pamiri House *Chid*

12. Text and Illustrated Manuscripts
Room: S712

Panel Chair: **Grigol Beradze** (*Ilia State University*)

Simon Rettig (*Smithsonian Institution*)
Illustrating Firdawsi's *Shahnama* in Early Nineteenth-century
Iran: The Case of the Ezzat-Malek Soudavar Manuscript

Oya Pancaroglu (*Bogazici University*)
  Degrees of Visual Narrativity in the Illustrations of *Varqa and Gulshah*

Tawfiq Da'adli (*The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*)
  Investigating a "Sufi" Reading of Timurid Manuscript Paintings

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COFFEE BREAK
15:30-16:00 Building G Hall

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SESSION 4

16:00-17:30

PRESIDENTIAL SESSION

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Ecology, Architecture and Clothing in Persianate Culture
Room: G106

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Panel Organizer: **Simin Ghodstinat** (*Tradition Alive*)
Panel Chair: **Simin Ghodstinat** (*Tradition Alive*)
Panel Discussant: **Nudra B. Abdel-Majeed Mian**
(*The Alam al-Khayal Foundation*)

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Kaveh Seyedahmadian (*Independent Scholar*)
  سفري به ميراث طبيعي ايران

Sayyed Akbar Helli (*Independent Scholar*)
  معماری شهرهای مرکزی ایران بروایت معماری اقلیمی کاشان

Nudra B. Abdel-Majeed Mian (*The Alam al-Khayal Foundation*)
  Textiles and the Silk Road

Saturday

March 17, 2018

SESSION 1

9:00-10:30

13. Sociology in the Persianate World
Room: S201

Panel Chair: **Mehdi Faraji** (*New York University*)

Younes Nourbakhsh (*University of Tehran*)
Iranian Modernity from the Qajar Period to the Present [No Show]

Gevorg Poghosyan (*Armenian National Academy of Sciences*)
Educational Migration from Iran to Armenia [Withdrawn]

Mehdi Faraji (*New York University*)
Shifting "Selves" between Piety and Sin: Nonlinear Paths and Incoherent Spaces in Iranian Everyday Life

Rudi Matthee (*Delaware University*)
A Safe Space for the Shah and His Women: The Practice of Quruq in the Safavid Period

14. Identity and Religion: A Diachronic View

Room: S401 (Library)

Panel Chair: **Victoria Arakelova** (*Russian-Armenian State University*)

Abolala Soudavar (*Independent Scholar*)
> The Lasting Effects of Darius' Monotheistic Revolution on Abrahamic Religions

Victoria Arakelova (*Russian-Armenian State University*)
> Yezidis and Orthodox Christianity: Shaping of a New Identity

Lior Sternfeld (*Pennsylvania State University*)
> Iranian Constitution and Religious Redemption: Iranian Jews between the Constitutional Revolution and the Balfour Declaration

15. Ethics, Society, and Classical Literature

Room: G106

Panel Chair: **Daniel Beben** (*Nazarbayev University*)

Austin O'Malley (*University of Chicago*)
> Utterance, to Maxim, to Text: The Auspicious Sayings of Abu Saʿid

Ghazzal Dabiri (*Ghent University*)
> Reading ʿAttar's *Ilahinameh* as Sufi Practical Ethics and Exemplary Hagiography

Domenico Ingenito (*University of California, Los Angeles*
> The Political Dimensions of Saʾdī's Literary Commitment

Kamran Talattof (*University of Arizona*)
> Sublime Métier: The Source of Nezami Ganjavi's Ethics

16. Science and Culture in Badakhshan   Room: S712

Panel Chair: **Tea Shurgaia** (*Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University*)

Haydar Tavakkal (*Khorog State University*)
  The Tradition of Singing *Maddah* in Badakhshan

Sabohat Donayorova (*Khorog State University*)
  Nawruz Traditions in Badakhshan

Umed Mamadsherzodshoev (*Tajikistan Academy of Sciences*)
  The Contribution of Ghyas al-Din Isfahani in the Development
  of Astronomy in Badakhshan

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COFFEE BREAK

10:30-10:45 Building G Hall

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SESSION 2

10:45-12:15

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17. The Development of Persian and Persian Literary Criticism
Room: G106

Panel Chair: **Kevin Schwartz** (*Czech Academy of Sciences*)

Babak Rahimi (*University of California, San Diego*)
  Digital Persianate: Participatory Culture and Technology in a
  Networked Era

Hossein Parviz Ejlali (*Institute for Management and Planning Studies*)
  Changes in Patterns of Nomenclature in Contemporary Iranian
  Society

Aria Fani (*University of California, Berkeley*)

What is *Adabiyāt?:* Forging Persian Literature and Its Domain
(1860-1944)

Shahla Farghadani (*University of Michigan*)
A Genealogy of *Sabk*: Khan Arzu and the Rise of Stylistic
Criticism

18. The Ties That Bind: A Thematic Survey of Religious and Political Bonds
Room: S201

Panel Chair: **Evrim Binbas** (*Universität Bonn*)

Beatrice Manz (*Tufts University*)
Examining the Turkic Tradition of Shared Rule

Leonardo Gregoratti (*Durham University*)
Too Many Great Kings? Some Considerations on Parthian
Kingship

Louise Marlow (*Wellesley College*)
The "Histories" of Isfahan from Arabic into Persian

Muhiba Mahmadjonova (*Academy of Science, Tajikistan*)
Shams and Mavlana: School of Mentoring and Discipleship

19. Representations of Women and Womanhood in Modern Literature and Society
Room: S401 (Library)

Panel Chair: **Mahvash Vaheddoost** (*Orumieh University*)

Afarin Tavakoli (*Yazd University*)
برسی تطبیقی کاریکاتور زنان در نشریات سالهای (1285-1357)
(Caricature Representations of Women in early Twentieth
century Iranian Periodicals)

Mahvash Vaheddoost (*Orumieh University*) and

Naser Omari (*Independent Scholar*)

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ویژگی های روان شناختی شخصیت های زنان در آثار هوشنگ مرادی کرمانی

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Soheila Alirezanejad Gohardanie (*Islamic Azad University,*
Garmsar)

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تحول روایت زنانه عشق و تاثیر آن بر ازدواج و طلاق: پژوهشی
مردم نگارانه در تهران

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20. The Politics and Sociology of Shi'ism   Room: S712

Panel Chair: **TBA**

Ghulam Ahya Hossaini (*University of Göttingen*)
    Were There Sunnis of a Twelver-Shiite Leaning? [Withdrawn]

Kamran Amir Arjomand (*University of Halle*)
    The Impact of Darwinism on Shi'ite Thought

Magdalena Rodziewicz (*University of Warsaw*)
    The Concept of 'Aberu' in Iranian Shiism

Banafsheh Keynoush (*Independent Scholar*)
    Shia Mobilization in the Persian Gulf in the 1950s and 1960s
    Case Studies of Oil Nationalization and Israel's Statehood

LUNCH BREAK

12:15-14:00

SESSION 3

14:00-15:30

21. The Qajar and Safavid Periods   Room: G106

Panel Chair: **Giorgio Rota**
(*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*)

Ayse Baltacioglu-Brammer (*Binghamton University (SUNY)*)
Origins of the Safavids: Sectarian Rupture vs. Continuity

Naofumi Abe (*University of Tokyo*)
Indigenous Armenians under Safavid and Qajar Sovereignty

Irakli Paghava (*Ilia State University*)
Minting Safavid Currency on the Black Sea Shore: The
Georgian Principality of Odishi between the Ottomans and
Safavids

Camille Cole (*Yale University*)
To Make Khuzestan Abadi: Engineering, Reform, Empire, and
Nationalism in the Work of Najm al-Mulk

22. Sasanian Rule and Iranian Expressions of Power in the South Caucasus   Room: S201

Panel Organizer: **Alison Vacaa** (*University of Tennessee, Knoxville*)
Panel Chair: **Alison Vacaa** (*University of Tennessee, Knoxville*)

Alison Vacca (*University of Tennessee, Knoxville*)
Echoes of Sasanian Rule in the North

Scott McDonough (*William Paterson University*)
"A Crown, Robes-of-Honor, and the Royal Standard":
Patronage and Power in Sasanian Caucasia

Iain Gardner (*University of Sydney*)
Backgammon and Cosmology at the Sasanian Court

23. Pre-Modern Women Writers and Society
Room: S401 (Library)

Panel Chair: **Tamar Lekveishvili** (*Ilia State University*)

Piotr Bachtin (*University of Warsaw*)
　　The Caravan of Pilgrims: On the Interpersonal Relationships of
　　Iranians on Their Way to Mecca: Based upon a Pilgrimage
　　Diary from 1892-94 by Anonymous Lady from Kerman (Bânū-
　　ye Kermânī)

Waleed Ziad (*Habib University*)
　　Bibi Sahiba at Qandahar, Kabul, Sindh, and Bukhara:
　　Reconceptualizing Female Religious Leadership within the
　　Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi Order

Anna Kollatz (*Bonn University*)
　　An Inside View: Perceptions of History in Gulbadan's
　　Humāynāma

Irene Schneider (*University of Göttingen*)
　　Female Petitions to Nasir al-Din Shah: Linguistic, Legal and
　　Political Implications

24. Cancelled: Iranian Culture and National Character
Room: S712

Panel Organizer: **Mohammad Reza Javadi Yeganeh**
(*University of Tehran*)
Panel Chair: **Mehdi Faraji** (*New York University*)

Mohammad Reza Javadi Yeganeh (*University of Tehran*)
　　Self-Stupidity as a Survival Mode in Qajar and Pahlavi Courts
　　and Society [No Show]

Saeedeh Zadghanad (*Institute of Culture, Art and Communication*) and
Mahdi Montazeri Moghaddam (*Independent Scholar*)
　　دروغ‌گویی؛ افتراق معنایی در دو ساحت روایت نخبه‌گرایانه و روایت اجتماعی
　　[No Show]

27

SESSION 4

16:00-17:35

25. Merchants and the Fortunes They Make   Room: G106

Panel Chair: **Salma Farooqui**
(*Maulana Azad National Urdu University*)

Richard Foltz (*Concordia University*)
Merchants Across the Indian Ocean Basin up to the 17th Century

Ali Gibran Siddiqui (*Institute of Business Administration, Karachi*)
The Naqshbandiyya after Khwaja Ahrar: Networks of Trade in Central and South Asia [Withdrawn]

Hunter Bandy (*Duke University***)**
Magic in the Making of Deccan Fortunes

26. Regional and Local Politics in the Sasanian and Early Islamic Periods   Room: S201

Panel Chair: **Ghazzal Dabiri** (*Ghent University*)

Robert Haug (*University of Cincinnati*)
The Circulation of Local Elites in the Bukhara Oasis before the Rise of the Samanids

Michael Shenkar (*The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*)

28

Ardašīr's Coronation and the Status of Ctesiphon in the Third century

Khashayar Norouzi (*University Jamalodin Asadabadi***)**
بازتاب اهمیت طبرستان در نامه تنسر به گشنسب [No Show]

D Gershon Lewental (*Shalem College and University of Oklahoma*): Armenians, Georgians, and Albanians and the Initial Sāsānian Response to the Arab-Islamic Expansion

27. Performance and Literature
Room: S401 (Library)

Panel Chair: **Tamar Mosiashvili** (*Ilia State University*)

Kevin Schwartz (*Czech Academy of Sciences*)
A Macro-Analytical Approach to the Persian Tazkirah Ecosystem

Maryam Kohansal (*Islamic Azad University, Shiraz Branch*)
The Role of Theater in Voicing Iranian History Based on the Analysis of Bahram Beyza'ee's Drama

Badrosadat Alizadeh Moghadam (*Payam Noor University of Isfahan***)**
Investigating the Role and Functions of Coffee Shops from the Viewpoint of Nasrabadi's *Tazkiratul Shoara*

Eva Orthmann (*Bonn University*)
"It Was a Day of Great Splendor": Receptions and Audiences in the Ghaznavid Empire

28. The Influence and Legacy of Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman
Room: S712

Panel Organizers:

Judith A. Lerner (*Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, NYU*)
and **Yuka Kadoi** (*Independent Scholar*)
Panel Chair: **Judith A. Lerner** (*Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, NYU*)

Jennifer Scarce (*University of Dundee*)
The Nerangistan: A Qavam House at Shiraz

Joachim Gierlichs (*Independent Scholar*)
Arthur Upham Pope and His Relationship with German Scholars before the Second World War

Carol Bier (*Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley CA*)
A Woman's Work: Phyllis Ackerman and the Study of Textiles

Meeting of Board of Directors and Regional Offices

(closed session)

Time: 18:00-19:30

Location: S201

Sunday

March 18, 2018

29. Politics, History Writing, and Literature in the Pre-Modern Period

Room: S201

Panel Chair: **Daniel Beben** (*Nazarbayev University*)

Ferenc Csirkes (*Tübingen University*)
A "Panther-like Poet": Sadiqi Beg's Attack on Fayzi and the "Fresh Style" of Persian Poetry and Its Implications for Safavid Turkic Poetry

Aftandil Erkinov (*National University of Uzbekistan*)
Translations from Persian in the Turkic Palace: The Khivian Khanate from the Second Half of the Nineteenth century to the Beginning of the Twentieth century

Mehrdad Mozayyan (*Zayed University*)
Mirza Ali Akbar Khan a 19th century Polymath [Withdrawn]

Irine Natchkebia (*Ilia State University*) and
Nikoloz Nakhutsrishvili (*Ilia State University*)
Diplomacy and Poetry: Joseph Rousseau and his Persian *Qasida* (1806)

Giray Fidan (*Gazi Univeristy*) and
Ayşe Gül Fidan (*Ankara University*)
Seljuks in Chinese Sources: A New Interpretation

31

30. Book Culture, Letter Writing, and Record Keeping in the Persianate World
Room: S401 (Library)

Panel Chair: **Jo-Ann Gross** (*The College of New Jersey*)

Asim Zubčević (*University of Sarajevo*)
The works of Persian Language and Literature as Recorded in Sarajevo Inheritance Inventories 1763-1828

Naciem Nikkhah (*University of Cambridge*)
Text and Image: A Comparative Approach to Collecting and Album Making in India and Iran [Withdrawn]

Kaveh Niazi (*Stanford Online High School*)
The Correspondence between Qaṭṭān Marvazī and Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwaṭ

31. Iranian-European Relations
Room: S712

Panel Chair: **George Sanikidze** (*Ilia State University*)

Bahman Zakipour (*Hoso University*)
رابطه فلسفه تطبیقی و شرق شناسی وارونه در ایران [Withdrawn]

Ezra Tzfadya (*Otto Friedrich University of Bamberg*)
Modern Iranian Philosopher Kings? Two Modes of Theopolitical Esotericism in Persianate Modernity

Ali Mohammad Tarafdari (*National Library and Archives of Iran*)
ايرانشناسي اروپايي و ظهور تاريخهاي ملي در دوران معاصر ايران

Tayebe Naderabadi (*Heiderlberg University*)
Ḡarbzadagī, "Orientalism in Reverse"? Conception of "the Occident" and "the Orient" in Jalāl Āl-e Aḥmad's Worldview

Alessandro Cancian (*The Institute of Ismaili Studies*)

Traditonalist Sufism in Europe and Iranian Mysticism: A Case of Failed Cross-Pollination

Film Screenings   Room: G106

TAQ KASRA - Wonder of Architecture: A Documentary Film by Pejman Akbarzadeh
Presented by: **PejmanAkbarzadeh**

JAMSHID GIUNASHVILI: A Documentary Film by **Babak Rezvani**
Presented by **Babak Rezvani**

COFFEE BREAK

10:30-10:45 Building G Hall

SESSION 2

10:45-12:15

32. Social, Religious, and Intellectual Bonds from the Safavids to the Pahlavis   Room: S201

Panel Chair: **Nobuaki Kondo** (*Tokyo University of Foreign Studies*)

Stanislaw Jaskowski (*University of Warsaw*)
        Ahmad Kasravi and the Intellectual Heritage of the Qajar Period

Gholamreza Vatandoust (*American University of Kuwait*)
         Nationalism and Social Transformation during the Formative Years of the Pahlavi Regime

Aharon Vardanian (*Yerevan State University*)
        Sociolinguistic Situation in Xalxal Region

Maryam Moazzen (*University of Louisville*)

Religion and the Public Sphere: Competing Claims in the Work of Shaykh al-Islam 'Ali Naqi Kamarchi versus Abu 'l-Fazl 'Allami

33. Figurative Decorations and Inscriptions: From the Safavid to the Qajar Period　　　　　　　　　Room: G106

Panel Chair: **Niko Kelbakiani**
(*Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University*)

Grigol Beradze (*Ilia State University*)
Victory Inscribed: Portuguese Cannons with Emamqoli Khan's Commemorative

Rehab Ibrahim Ahmed Ahmed ElSiedy (*Cairo University*)
Figurative Scenes through the Arms and Armours Collection at Gayer Anderson Museum in Cairo [Withdrawn]

Irina Koshoridze (*Georgian National Museum*)
Some Notes about the Newly Discovered Palace Decorations in 19th century Georgia

34. Ismāʿīlī Transmission of Knowledge through the Centuries and the Study of Ismāʿīlī Islam　　　　Room: S401 (Library)

Panel Chair: **Alessandro Cancian** (*The Institute of Ismaili Studies*)
Panel Respondent: **Farhad Daftary** (*The Institute of Ismaili Studies*)

Jalal Badakhchani (*The Institute of Ismaili Studies*)
The Role of Nasir al-Din Tusi and Hasan-i Mahmud-i Katib in the Shaping of the Nizari Ismaili Literature of the Alamut Period

Daryoush Mohammad Poor (*The Institute of Ismaili Studies*)
The Double Identity of Ismāʿīlīs in the Post-Alamūt Period

Dagikhudo Dagiev (*The Institute of Ismaili Studies*)

Ismailism in Russian and Soviet Studies

35. Political and Social Changes from the End of the Safavid Period to the Modern Period
Room: S712

Panel Chair: **Serkan Kececi** (*The London School of Economics and Political Science*)

Serkan Kececi (*The London School of Economics and Political Science*) Employing Military Intelligence or Forming Military Diplomacy: The First Russian Voennyi Agent/Military Attaché -I. F. Blaramberg- in Tehran, 1836-1841

Stephanie Cronin (*University of Oxford*)
The Hungry 1890s: A Prelude to the Constitutional Revolution

William Jenkins (*London School of Economics, U. Leipzig/ ANU*)
Trade, Territory, Treatises: Globally Recasting Imperial Entanglement between Tsarist Russia and Qajar Iran from Turkmanchay to Constitution (1828-1906)

Jabbar Rahmani (*Institute for Social and Cultural Studies*)
در باب مفهوم " قسمت" در فکر و فرهنگ ایرانی

36. Translation, Language Appropriation, and Control in the Achaemenid Empire
Room: S311

Panel Organizer: **Caroline Waerzeggers** (*Leiden University*)
Panel Chair: **Jason Silverman** (*University of Helsinki*)

Caroline Waerzeggers (*Leiden University*)
Cuneiform Literacy and Control in the First Persian Empire [Withdrawn]

Jason Silverman (*University of Helsinki*)
Imperial Scribes in Marginal Provinces

Lindsay Allen (*King's College London*)

> Mesopotamian Knowledge Transfer in the Persianate Sphere from the Achaemenids to the Safavids: The Implications of 'Substitute Kingship'

Uzume Wijnsma (*Leiden University*)

> Lost in Translation? The Provenance and Historical Context of Pap. Amherst '63'

LUNCH BREAK
12:15-14:00

SESSION 3

14:00-15:30

37. Social, Political, and Cultural Issues in Contemporary Persianate Literature   Room: G106

Panel Chair: **Nikoloz Nakhutsrishvili** (*Ilia State University*)

Farshid SadatSharifi (*Mcgill University*) and
Masoud Hooshyar (*Independent Scholar*)

> The Role of Individuation in Deepening Our Understanding of Ahmad Shamlou's Attitude towards "Loneliness and Solitude" Based on His Five Initial Works and Overnight Poems

Keith Hitchins (*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*)

> The Evolution of the Hero in Tajik Fiction, 1950s-1980s

Maryam Musharraf (*Shahid Beheshti University*) and
Masoome Talebi (*Shahid Beheshti University*)

> Mirror of Modernity and Unrest

38. Sense and Perception in Manuscripts
Room: S201

Panel Chair: **Irina Koshoridze** (*Georgian National Museum*)

Florian Sobieroj (*Friedrich Schiller-University Jena*)
Ibn Khafīf and His Culture of Prayer. Ms. Süleymaniye,
Feyzullah Efendi 1296

Karen Ruffle (*University of Toronto*)
Sensational Muharram in *Ḥadīqat-e Salāṭīn*; Sensory
Aesthetics in a Qutb Shahi Manuscript

39. Cultural and Social Issues in Zoroastrianism
Room: S401 (Library)

Panel Chair: **Daniel Sheffield** (*Princeton University*)

Sadaf Jaffer (*Stanford University*)
The Ethical Zoroastrian: Transformation in the Autobiography
of Dastur Dhalla

Paulina Niechciał (*Jagiellonian University*)
Femininity in Contemporary Zoroastrianism

Masoumeh Bagheri Hassankiadeh (*Shahid Bahonar University of
Kerman*) and
Abbas Azarandaz (*Shahid Bahonar University of Kerman*)
نشانه های فرهنگ مردسالاري اقوام هند و اروپایی در زبان اوستایی

Shervin Farridnejad (*Austrian Academy of Sciences*)
One Hundred Chapters on Religious Traditions and Customs:
Aspects of Zoroastrian Culture in the Middle Ages and the
Early Modern Period [Withdrawn]

40. The Return of the Pahlavan: Sequels, Spin-Offs, and Reflections of Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*   Room: S712

Panel Organizer: **Cameron Cross** (*University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*)
Panel Chair: **Alexander Jabbari** (*University of Oklahoma*)

Cameron Cross (*University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*)
رام کردن اژدها: ادامه مسئله شرارت در کوش‌نامه و بهمن‌نامه ایرانشان بن ابی‌الخیر

Shiva Montazeri (*Shahid Beheshti*):
شاهنامه و ناسیونالیسم مدرن ایرانی: تاثیر شاهنامه بر سروده‌های شاعر ملی‌گرای عصر مشروطه، عارف

Marian Smith (*University of Michigan*)
The Ṣāḥib Qirān Versus the Khan of Khans: Tīmūr, Toqtamish, and Rival Claims to Chinggisid Authority in 'Abd Allah Hātifī's Tīmūr-nāma [Withdrawn]

COFFEE BREAK

15:30-16:00 Building G Hall

SESSION 4

16:00-17:30

41. Saʻdi and His Literary Legacy   Room: G106

Panel Chair: **Kourosh Kamali Sarvestani**
(*The University of Hafez-e Shiraz*)

Alexander Jabbari (*University of Oklahoma*)
Seek *Adab* Even Unto China: The Chinese Translation of the *Gulistan* of Saʻdi

Kayvan Eslahpazir (*Asatir-e Pars*) and
Farshid SadatSharifi (*McGill University*)
> Discovering Saadi's View of "Power" by Analyzing Dramatic
> Factors in the First Chapter of Gulistan

Renata Stauder (*University of California, Los Angeles*)
> "The Moment You Entered, I left Myself": The Body as the
> Mark of Mundane and Mystical Desire in Sa'di's Ghazals
> [Withdrawn]

Ghodsieh Rezvanian (*University of Mazandaran, Babolsar*) and
Leyla Ebrahimpour
> بازخوانی گلستان سعدی با رویکرد تاریخی گرایی نو

42. Textual Criticism   Room: S201

Panel Chair: **Kamran Talattof** (*University of Arizona*)

Nadereh Nafisi (*Islamic Azad University*)
> Textual Stylistics of Parsik Texts

Nafiseh Sadat Asadi Kakhki (*University of Tehran*) and
Zahra Gerami (*University of Tehran*)
> **تحلیل گفتمان انتقادی داستان «مزدک و انوشیروان»**

Zahra Gerami (*University of Tehran*) and
Nafiseh Sadat Asadi Kakhki (*University of Tehran*): حلیل کتاب "کلثوم ننه" از منظر تحلیل گفتمان انتقادی

43. Persianate International Relations   Room: S401(Library)

Panel Chair: **Garnik Asatrian** (*Russian-Armenian State University*)

George Sanikidze (*Ilia State University*)
> Georgia and Iran: Reflections on the Past 25 Years' Relations

Tamar Lekveishvili (*Ilia State University*)

Some Aspects of Nader Shah's Policy towards Eastern
Georgia: Continuity and Changes

Lana Ravandi-Fadai (*Russian Academy of Sciences*): Iranians and
Repression under Stalin: The Factor of Ethnicity

George Bournoutian (*Iona College*)
Erasing the Iranian Heritage in the South Caucasus: "Success
or Failure" The Case of Soviet Armenia

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44. Pre and Post-Conquest Zoroastrian Texts   Room: S712

Panel Chair: **Ghazzal Dabiri** (Ghent University)

Ali Rezaee Pouia (*University of Tehran*) and
Leyla Fouladian (*Independent Scholar)*
تحلیل بینامتنی زراتشت نامه بهرام پژدو [No Show]

Daniel Sheffield (*Princeton University*)
Toward a Social History of Late Pahlavi (Zoroastrian Middle
Persian)

Samuel Thrope (*National Library of Israel*)
A Cloud in Trousers: The Poetics of Dualism in the Zoroastrian
Bundahišn

General Assembly

Time: 18:00-19:00

Location: G106

Conference Banquet

Time: 20h
Location: The Orangery Garden & Restaurant
Mosashvili 13, Tbilisi, Georgia 0162

Monday

March 19, 2018

Mtskheta Excursion (Optional)

Time: 09:00-14:00

Meeting Point: Acad. G.Tsereteli 3, Building S entrance

ROOM ASSIGNMENTS BY PANELS

Friday March 16, 2018

SESSION 1   9:00-10:30
1. Room: G106
2. Room: S712
3. Room: S201
4. Room: S401 (Library)

COFFEE BREAK 10:30-10:45 – Hall of the building G

SESSION 2   10:45-12:15
5. Room: S201
6. Room: G106
7. Room: S712
8. Room: S401 (Library)

LUNCH BREAK   12:15-14:00

SESSION 3   14:00-15:30
9. Room: S401 (Library)
10. Room: G106
11. Room: S201
12. Room: S712

COFFEE BREAK 15:30-16:00 – Hall of the building G

16:00-17:45
PRESIDENTIAL SESSION   Room: G106

18:00-19:30
Meeting of Board of Directors & Regional Officers (closed Session) Room: S201

Saturday March 17, 2018

SESSION 1   9:00-10:30
13. Room: S201
14. Room: S401 (Library)
15. Room: G106
16. Room: S712

COFFEE BREAK 10:30-10:45 – Hall of the building G

SESSION 2   10:45-12:15
17. Room: G106
18. Room: S201
19. Room: S401 (Library)
20. Room: S712

LUNCH BREAK   12:15-14:00

SESSION 3   14:00-15:30
21. Room: G106
22. Room: S201
23. Room: S401 (Library)
24. Room: S712

COFFEE BREAK 15:30-16:00 – Hall of the building G

SESSION 4   16:00-17:30
25. Room: G106
26. Room: S201
27. Room: S401 (Library)
28. Room: S712

18:00-19:00   JPS Editorial Meeting (closed session)
Room: S201

Sunday March 18, 2018

SESSION I   9:00-10:30
29. Room: S201
30. Room: S401 (Library)
31. Room: S712
Film Screenings   Room: G106

COFFEE BREAK 10:30-10:45 – Hall of the building G

SESSION II   10:45-12:15
32. Room: S201
33. Room: G106
34. Room: S401 (Library)
35. Room: S712
36. Room: S311

LUNCH BREAK   12:15-14:00

SESSION 3   14:00-15:30
37. Room: G106
38. Room: S201
39. Room: S401 (Library)
40. Room: S712

COFFEE BREAK 15:30-16:00– Hall of the building G

SESSION 4   16:00-17:30
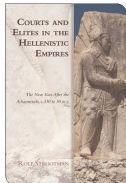41. Room: G106
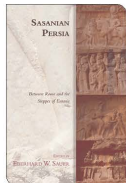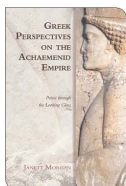42. Room: S201
43. Room: S401 (Library)
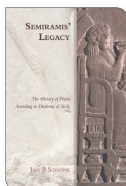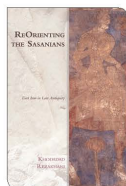44. Room: S712

General Assembly   18:00-19:30   Room: G106

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The Eighth Biennial Convention of the Association for the Study of Persianate Societies

هشتمین گردهمایی انجمن مطالعات جوامع فارسی‌زبان

Tbilisi, March 15-18, 2018

ABSTRACTS

New York and Tbilisi

2018

ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF PERSIANATE SOCIETIES

The Eighth Biennial Convention

Tbilisi, Georgia

March 15-18, 2018

ABSTRACTS

Editor:

Mehdi Faraji

New York and Tbilisi

2018

EDITOR'S NOTE

The present volume contains the abstracts of the Eighth Biennial Convention of ASPS, to be held at Tbilisi. The Abstracts are divided into two sections according to the language in which they were submitted, one in English, the other in Persian. Each section is arranged in alphabetical order by author's name. The transliteration system used in this booklet is that adopted by the authors, and no attempt was made to unify their various transliterations.

Mehdi Faraji

New York University, New York

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Saïd Amir Arjomand

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSIANATE SUFISM FROM THE 9TH/3RD TO THE 14TH/8TH CENTURY

My last presidential address in Istanbul focused on the paradoxical outcome of the long process of transformation of Sufi world renunciation into a basis for the legitimation of worldly domination of millennial kingship in the early modern Muslim empires in the early sixteenth century. Today, I will look back at the formative period of Persianate Sufism, which can be said to begin in the ninth through the thirteenth century, culminating in the great love mysticism of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Din Rumi. I will stretch it to the fourteenth century in order to be able to include the great Hāfez, but also link it to the development of the Sufism of popular protest under millennial or Mahdistic leadership whose paradoxical result was examined in my previous address. The flourishing of Sufi literature in the eleventh and twelfth centuries supply an inexhaustible source for the analysis of this formative period as they include biographical hints about the great Sufi masters of the ninth and the tenth centuries. They merge with the popular epic stories of the underworld of the `ayyāran and the *futuwwat* orders in which Sufism was deeply blended and were committed to writing in the fourteenth century or possibly earlier.

Over the past decade in the pages of the *Journal of Persianate Studies*, two distinctive features have emerged as distinctive of Persianate Islam, deriving respectively from the pre-Islamic idea of kingship and the mystical interpretation of Islam by the early Sufi masters. The focus of the inaugural address is on the blending of these two elements—that is the sublimation of royal imagery in the eleventh and early twelfth century writings culminating in mystical knowledge (`erfān), on the one hand, and the carnivalesque travesty by Persian/Tajik urban groups of the notions and images of Iranian kingship into an idiom of popular protest against the Sultanate of the Turko-Mongolian nomadic empires.

PRESIDENTIAL SESSION:

ECOLOGY, ARCHITECTURE AND CLOTHING IN PERSIANATE CULTURE

NUDRA ABDEL-MAJEED MIAN, SIMIN GHODSTINAT, SAYYED AKBAR HELLI, KAVEH SEYEDAHMADIAN

The presentation by Kaveh Seyedahmadian will be based on his extensive travel to document Iran's landscape photographically. It will consist of images and videos of different parts of Iran, taking the viewers on a journey as on google maps, showing Iran's geographical situation, different ecological regions, and continuing with unseen landscapes in each of these regions. Images of the will include Alborz mountains, Zagros mountains, Central deserts and Coastal areas in south of Iran will be included as well as those from his latest project on ancient dams of Iran. Within this broad natural and ecological setting, he will focus on the ecology of the arid zone in Central Iran and its architecture as a mode of life within and adaptation to it.

The next presentation by Memar Sayyed Akbar Helli, the leading architect in the movement for the restoration of traditional houses in his native city of Kashan and elsewhere, will address the ecology and culture of human habitat, discussing the evolution of the traditional architecture of the Iranian arid zone and of the cultural tradition that was framed by it and in turn informed it. In his illustrated lecture, he will first discuss the ecology and architecture of Central Iran. In the past, nature and culture played a major role in traditional architecture, he maintains. Traditional architects were cognizant of this, and showed considerable wisdom in shaping their work accordingly, displaying not only theoretical sophistication but also much practical wisdom. Helli will then focus on the city of Kashan since antiquity. The main distinctive features of traditional housing in Kashan are discussed and copiously illustrated. In the final section, he will turn to the contemporary upsurge of interest in preservation of the traditional architectural heritage and the movement to restore old houses in Kashan and his role in it.

The third presentation is by Nudra Abdel-Majeed Mian. She offers a novel approach to inter-faith dialogue through textiles, architecture and identity

along the Silk Road. Her talk will be illustrated by slides of current couture juxtaposed with traditional couture. Textiles talk, she argues, and clothes speak a distinct and definitive language. Conversation between architecture and attire began in the second century BCE, and Simin Ghodstinat's work continues the conversation of the Silk Road. Her work is presented as a continuation of the subtle, soft yet powerful vehicles of interfaith dialogue, displaying inclusivity as well as exclusivity and reflecting Iranian, Uzbeki, Pakistani motifs.

Dress exteriorizes the spiritual or social function of the soul. By manifesting a function, it represents, thereby, the virtues corresponding to it. The art of dress has importance almost as great as architecture, both speak a language—the language of the ancient Silk Road, the language of tradition, which continues until today with different colors, textures, designs and nuances, whose message is not to follow one form over another (i.e. traditional over modern) but to understand the language. Its goal is to make discerning choices knowing ourselves and understanding the world we live in.

ENGLISH ABSTRACTS

Naofumi Abe

Indigenous Armenians under Safavid and Qajar Sovereignty

Armenians in Iran have attracted and continue to attract attention from many scholars until now. A number of scholars discuss the Armenian global trade network, diaspora community, and particularly silk trade with Europe in the Safavid period based on Armenian and Persian sources. Related to this issue, the newly established Armenian settlement, New Jolfa, in the vicinity of the Safavid capital Isfahan, is also studied. Other researchers examine the Armenian roles at the Safavid royal court as "slave elites." On the other hand, Armenians who were living in Iran out of New Jolfa as a religious minority group under the suzerainty of Muslim rulers remained less explored in Iranian history. This paper is my preliminary study on the survival strategies used by indigenous Armenians in Safavid and Qajar Iran. Based on Persian archival materials, particularly royal edicts (*farman*s) and princely orders (*hokm*s), I investigate the status of Armenians living in Azerbaijan, particularly Maku, Tabriz, and (old) Jolfa regions, focusing on their relationship with political authorities and local notables, and then the changes caused by the Russo-Iranian wars in the 19th century will be examined. I will also see how "continuity" of kingship concept affected "Zimmis" in the Iranian plateau in a long-time span, which addresses to the background and mechanism of historical coexistence of Muslims and non-Muslims in Iran.

Lindsay Allen

Mesopotamian Knowledge Transfer in the Persianate Sphere from the Achaemenids to the Safavids: The Implications of "Substitute Kingship"

This paper explores the implications of the performance of a kingship ritual by Shah Abbas I in the Safavid court in 1593 that correlates in many respects to the method of averting evil omens from the person of the neo-Assyrian king attested in the eighth to seventh centuries BCE (e.g. Parpola 1983). A pervasive scattering of substitute-like events or metaphors in narratives referring to Achaemenid Persian legitimacy (sixth to fourth centuries BCE), including the last days of Alexander in Babylon, are well-

known. These have been attributed to either the survival of the "Mesopotamian" practice in Babylon or to the adoption of substitution as a narrative motif in oral tradition. Neither of these explanations can account for the mathematical and astrological elaboration of the Safavid example, which is associated in contemporary historians with "secret Persian knowledge" of the Nuqtavi sect (e.g. Babayan 2002, 12). Modern histories associate Nuqtavi pre-Islamic revivalism with their access to "Mazdean" or pre-Islamic Persian religious texts. The apparent knowledge-transfer of the substitution ritual to the Persianate sphere is unexpected, given the exclusive social and scribal networks of the late Babylonian elite. I ask which pre-Islamic mechanisms could facilitate the appropriation of such specialized knowledge, and also consider whether this in any way adds to our analysis of the Safavid revival.

KAMRAN AMIR ARJOMAND

THE IMPACT OF DARWINISM ON SHI'ITE THOUGHT

Mohammad Hosayn Shahrestani (1839-1898) wrote an extensive treatise (*Ayāt-e Bayyenāt*, 1882) as an outright rejection of natural evolution. He was the first Shi'ite *marja'* to do so and called the proponents of evolution *molhed*, and *kafer*. Since then, there have been various efforts by Shi'ite thinkers to accommodate evolutionary ideas in Shi'ite doctrines concerning creation. Thus, Mohammad Reza Esfahani (1870-1943) wrote *Naqd Falsafat Dawun* (2 vols, Baghdad 1912). He was prepared to accept evolution as an established fact but criticized Darwin in a number of issues. However, his contribution seems to have had no immediate impact on the Islamic or mainstream Shi'ite thought. In mid-twentieth century Darwinism became once again the topic of discussion. Iranian Marxists who saw evolution as a tenet of materialism were involved in numerous discussions with Moslem Intellectuals who adhered to the Qur'anic description of creation. Yadollah Sahabi, a positivist Muslim Intellectual wrote *Khelqat-e Insan*, in the sixties to take the wind out of the sails of the materialists by trying to show that the Qur'an can be so interpreted as to imply that evolution was involved in the creation of mankind. Sahabi's book aroused a considerable reaction on the part of highest Shi'ite authorities. Since then, there has been a more tolerant view towards Darwinism. Darwinists are no longer considered to be *molheds*, but they

could be good Muslims as well, as long as they see a divine design in the act of creation. In this paper, I shall explore the extent of the impact of Darwinism on Shi'ite thought with regard to the doctrine of creation and the descent of man.

VICTORIA ARAKELOVA

YEZIDIS AND ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY: SHAPING OF A NEW IDENTITY

For the last decades, the Yezidi identity, whose main marker was for centuries based on a unique religion, the Sharfadin, has undergone specific transformations. One of the most stable trends, playing a crucial role in the mentioned process, is the spread of Orthodox Christianity, particularly among the Yezidis of Georgia and Russia. This phenomenon is especially interesting regarding the fact that, unlike neo-Protestant missions, Orthodox Church has never been active in proselytism particularly among the Yezidis; there have been no Orthodox missions which would focus their activities on this group. Yet, the number of the Yezidis converting to the Orthodox Christianity gradually grows.

The paper is an attempt to analyze the background of this phenomenon, its reasons, and perspectives. It is based on the materials collected through interviews and questionnaires among the converted Yezidis of Georgia and Russia. The paper focuses on several particular cases, whose participants had different paths to and within the Orthodox Christianity. Some preliminary notes on this subject were presented by the author at Inalco's seminar "Current researches on the Yezidis and Minorities in the Kurdish Speaking Region" (1-2 April 2016, Paris). The present paper will reflect another stage of the research; its special accent being made on the shaping of the principally new identity when Christian Weltanschauung replaces the Yezidi eclectic religious outlook.

GARNIK ASATRIAN AND ALICE ASSADORIAN

ANCIENT ELEMENTS IN THE ATURPATAKAN-SOUTH CASPIAN HYDRO-TOPONYMY

Iranian hydro-toponymy of the South Caspian and Aturpatakan regions once inhabited by pre-Iranian local peoples is a rich source on the historical ethno-demography of the area. A closer look at this lexical system reveals that it abounds with Old Iranian and even pre-Iranian lexemes, and represents, in fact, kind of frozen vestiges of the past. The paper presents a preliminary report on the recent work of the author on the historical study of the Iranian hydronymic and toponymic denominations predominantly from the South-Caspian region. Special focus is made on those terms whose etymologies could help to reconstruct the ancient ethno-demographic map of the region.

PIOTR BACHTIN

THE CARAVAN OF PILGRIMS: ON INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS OF IRANIANS ON THEIR WAY TO MECCA – BASED UPON A PILGRIMAGE DIARY FROM 1892-94 BY ANONYMOUS LADY FROM KERMAN (BÂNŪ-YE KERMÂNĪ)

This paper aims at demonstrating the various forms of social interactions among the Iranian Shiʿa pilgrims, as they were described in a late 19th-century pilgrimage account penned by a nameless upper-class woman. The author of the travelogue, tentatively called Lady from Kerman (*Bânū-ye Kermânì*), originated from the nobility of Kerman in eastern Iran. She went on the hajj in 1892 and, after having performed the pilgrimage, spent about 18 months in Tehran, being a frequent guest at the royal harem of Naser al-Din Shah from the Qajar dynasty (r. 1848-96). Her pilgrimage diary is one out of a few known female-authored Iranian travelogues. It is a valuable source of knowledge about different aspects of Iranians' lives in the late Naseri period in general – and the Iranian women's lives in particular.

In this paper I try to discern the character of interpersonal relations maintained by Lady from Kerman and her fellow pilgrims. My chief objective is to show to what extent they were conditioned by such factors

as gender and social affiliation. The account testifies that the female pilgrims socialized mainly with other women of their social class, often developing tight bonds of affinity and friendship. Yet the author's struggle for independence from the control of her male travel companion proves that men-imposed restrictions on women outside the domestic sphere as well, and even prohibited them to partake on their own in religious observances – counter to a theoretical egalitarianism of the hajj obliterating the difference between the sexes.

JALAL BADAKHCHANI

THE ROLE OF NASIR AL-DIN TUSI AND HASAN-I MAHMUD-I KATIB IN THE SHAPING OF THE NIZARI ISMAILI LITERATURE OF THE ALAMUT PERIOD

The eventful emergence of the Nizari Ismailis in Iran is best known to history by their occupation of the fortress of Alamut, by the more than one hundred fortresses they built, and their severe political conflicts with the Seljuqs, the local rulers of northern Iran and the Mongols. The eclipse of the Nizari Ismailis' political power was similarly a dramatic event when, almost after 175 years, the fortress of Alamut fell, and its occupants surrendered to the Mongol warlords. What seems to have been less well-known to posterity is the Nizari Ismaili contribution to science, Islamic theological philosophy, and their own Ismaili religious literature. The present paper deals, albeit in brief, with knowledge production in Alamut beginning with Hasan-i Sabbah and covering the contribution of the Nizari Ismaili Imams and the role of two outstanding figures, the scientist/philosopher Nasir al-Din Tusi and the theologian/poet Hasan-i Mahmud-i Katib.

AYSE BALTACIOGLU-BRAMMER

ORIGINS OF THE SAFAVIDS: SECTARIAN RUPTURE VS. CONTINUITY

The story of how the Safaviyya family metamorphosed from a mystical order into a ruling state has been the subject of sustained interest among historians. Apart from a few exceptions, historians, most of whom are the products of a rigidly sectarian worldview, have placed the founders of the

order within the borders of an uncompromising madhhab/mezhep, either Sunni or Shi'ite, while depicting a clear-cut transformation from a mystical order into a military movement that happened "overnight." As opposed to these politically driven explanations and anachronistic distortions, I argue that the division between Sunni and Shi'ite Islam in late medieval/early modern Iran was not definitive and binary, though the schism ultimately became the defining characteristic of the religious atmosphere by the late fifteenth century. An examination of pro- and anti-Safavid chronicles, as well as European sources, points to a religiously syncretistic milieu in Iran during the fourteenth and much of the fifteenth centuries, where confessional identities at the public level were not as well defined as they would be in the following centuries. More specifically, the transformation of the Safaviyya order represented a gradual crystallization of a non-sectarian mystical order into a Shi'ite political entity as a product of specific socio-political and religious dynamics of the "age of confessionalization." A new approach is, therefore, needed to connect this era to recent studies that emphasize continuities instead of ruptures in the religiosity(ies) of the late medieval/early modern Islamic period. Examining the origins of the Safaviyya order, as well as its leaders up until the sixteenth century, from this angle is crucial to understanding not only the contemporary socio-political and religious characteristics of the era and their influence on this process, but also the spread of Safaviyya doctrine among surrounding regions, mainly Anatolia "like wildfire" in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

HUNTER BANDY

MAGIC IN THE MAKING OF DECCAN FORTUNES

After a long siege in 1632, the Mughal army of Khān-i Khānān Mahābbat Khān (d. 1634) still failed to take the fortress city of Dawlatābād. Arguably the most important stronghold for rebuffing northern invaders, its control remained key for the Deccan Sultanates further south. Ultimately, it was not military might but the clever magical spell of hakīm, Nizām al-Dīn Gīlānī, which tilted control of that city over to the Mughals. Jealous of the credit that his court attendees paid to the hakim, Mahābbat Khān burned Gīlānī's library, forcing him to retreat deeper into the Deccan to serve the Qutbshāhs, who may have held a greater appreciation for his magic. This

episode stands within a longer history of magic used to build, protect, and defeat the rulers of the Deccan.

How can the practice and pursuit of magic offer an alternative narrative of Persianate political practice and religious power in the 16th and 17th century? My paper will present manuscript and historical evidence from Deccan sources to show how the logic of magic may be used to explain the endowment and maintenance of power more so than discursive modes of more formalized religious order, like law. Longstanding networks between Bījāpūr and Shīrāz witnessed the importation of 'Alid magic at the hands of Iranian hakīms. Later developments in Gīlān and Astarābād pushed more scholars like Mīr Mo'min and Nizām al-Dīn Gīlānī into the Deccan where they assumed positions in Golkonda to practice their craft. Counter-magic treatises illuminate the anxieties surrounding dynastic protection, amidst a highly trans-religious, trans-linguistic, and mobile human geography. Finally, I will highlight the enduring legacy of Deccan occultism presented in encyclopedic literature authored with geomancy and astrology assuming chief epistemological sanction in Muhammad Qāqshāl of Berār's The Ten Intellects, which he dedicated to Aurangzeb, conqueror of the Deccan.

DANIEL BEBEN

THE PLACE OF NASIR KHUSRAW IN THE GENEALOGICAL TRADITIONS OF THE PIRS OF BADAKHSHAN

In this paper, I will explore the place of the eleventh-century Ismaili philosopher and missionary Nasir Khusraw within the genealogical traditions of the Nizari Ismaili pirs of Badakhshan. While the doctrinal literature produced within Nizari circles has continuously emphasized the primacy of the Imam as the apex of authority, in the writings produced by the families of the pirs we also see a concomitant emphasis on a genealogical and initiatic lineage tracing back to Nasir Khusraw. In this paper, I argue that the diverse array of devices by which these claims are advanced reveal distinct historical and regional layers within the history of the Badakhshani Nizari tradition, which underwent a process of synthesis and consolidation during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. During this same time, the growing economic and political influence of the Nizari

imamate in Iran and later in British India enabled it to perform an increasingly interventionist role among the Nizaris of Badakhshan. Consequently, claims to direct authorization from the imamate occupied a more important role for the community, which in time came into tension with the more archaic genealogical claims. While the "internal" and the anachronistic role of these genealogical claims within the Nizari community has been noted elsewhere, here I argue that these claims also performed a critical "external" function in legitimating the presence of the Ismaili tradition within the increasingly silsilah-conscious religious environment of early modern Central Asia. To a great extent, the debates witnessed within the Ismaili community over the proper role of genealogy in claims to spiritual authority echoes those seen in many of the Sunni Sufi traditions of Central Asia during this same period.

DANIEL BECKMAN

MITHRIDATES EUPATOR AND TIGRANES THE GREAT: HELLENISTIC PROPAGANDA IN AN IRANIAN CONTEXT

Much of the research concerning the Asia Minor region focuses on the wars between Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontos (reigned c. 120–63 BCE) and Rome. Although Tigranes of Armenia (reigned 95–55 BCE) and several Parthian kings, namely Mithridates II (reigned 121-91 BCE), were Eupator's most important allies, they have an insufficient presence in the modern literature, as they do not feature as prominently and dramatically in the Classical sources as does Eupator. In my paper I will examine the propagandistic strategies that Eupator and Tigranes employed in their efforts, in which they were both allies and competitors. Eupator not only had to simultaneously court Asian and Greek audiences, but also had to distinguish between several Iranian audiences: Iranian Scythian tribes of the Black Sea region; Zoroastrian religious centers from Cilicia to Armenia; and the royal courts of Armenia and Parthia. Eupator relied on traditional Iranian visual themes (presented mainly on coinage and in public events) and literary motifs (delivered orally). I argue further that his manipulations of the historical characters Cyrus, Darius, and Alexander were reserved for his Greco-Roman audience, and not Iranians. There is little evidence that Iranians possessed historiographical traditions that would have made them receptive to such claims; further, if Eupator had

claimed to be restoring the borders ruled by the Achaemenid King of Kings, this would have put him into direct competition with his most important backer, Mithridates II of Parthia. In contrast, Tigranes was able to make better use of traditional Iranian titles and methods of rule. Plutarch (*Lucullus* 26) describes the many kings who joined Tigranes' ranks, having been seduced not only by his favors and gifts, but also by his rhetoric, "full of barbarian hopes and courage." Such displays helped him to build a network of vassals in Armenia, Syria, and Media.

GRIGOL BERADZE

VICTORY INSCRIBED: PORTUGUESE CANNONS WITH EMAMQOLI KHAN'S COMMEMORATIVE INSCRIPTIONS

The paper discusses the Persian triumphal commemorative inscriptions with the date 1031 A.H. (1622 A.D.) inscribed on a number of Portuguese bronze cannons, which were captured in the very same year at Hormuz by the Safavid forces led by Emamqoli Khan. Several such guns are now being stored or displayed in Iran (Hormuz, Qeshm, etc.), Tanzania (House of Wonders Museum, Zanzibar), Oman (Nizwa Fort Complex) and Portugal (Military Museum of Lisbon).

Persian inscriptions inform us about the capture of these guns by the above-mentioned Emamqoli Khan (d. 1633), then the governor-general of Fars, Lar and Kuhgiluye, and the de-facto ruler over most of Southern Iran. They contain almost identical texts, differing from each other only in the shape of their cartouches and some minor textual or graphical details. Although the Persian epigraphs were designed and executed by unknown local masters, there can be no doubt that the text's draft was in all cases previously prepared and/or approved by Emamqoli Khan himself.

Inscriptions under discussion – fairly specific and rare epigraphs per se – represent the earliest known Persian-language "report" on the victory of Shah 'Abbas I's army at Hormuz in 1622. At the same time, they acquaint us with Emamqoli Khan's very first attempts to declare openly (in written form) his special personal role in this important military event. More ambitious next step in this direction consisted in the commissioning by him (for his own palace in Shiraz) of paintings depicting various episodes from the same "Hormuz story." According to Thomas Herbert, who

visited Emamqoli Khan at his Shiraz palace in March 1628, a richly carpeted and decorated banqueting hall of this magnificent palace complex was embellished with wall paintings of battle scenes showing the capture of Hormuz by Emamqoli Khan and his soldiers with the naval assistance.

CAROL BIER

A WOMAN'S WORK: PHYLLIS ACKERMAN AND THE STUDY OF TEXTILES

Early in her career with Arthur Upham Pope, Phyllis Ackerman took on the study of textiles from Persian embroideries, figural silks, and woven patterns, to Gothic tapestries and 19th-century wallpaper designs. She forged a field that was new, attempting to remove textiles from decorative arts, placing them within fine arts. Considering extant textiles and archaeological fragments, she related textiles to textual references and pictorial representations in other media.

Although much of her work has been superseded due to scholarly advances in the analysis of woven textile structures, weaving technologies, and scientific analysis of dyes, as well as in theoretical modeling, her work set the study of textiles on a firm course. From her *Wallpaper: Its History, Design, and Use* (1923), to *Tapestry: The Mirror of Civilization* (1933) and *Embroidery in Persia* (c.1934), and catalogues of private collections and loan exhibitions, to her chapters on pre-Islamic and Islamic textiles in *A Survey of Persian Art* (1938), this paper re-examines her approaches to the study of textiles as works of art. Ackerman's focus on style and iconography, coupled with technical analysis and the emphasis she bestowed on the centrality of Persian textiles between East and West is highlighted in relation to the historiography of textiles in the ensuing decades of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries of scholarship. Ackerman's sometimes odd interpretations of motifs and negative space as sexually charged symbols have not fared well in the test of time and remain unsubstantiated, as do several of her hypothetical attributions that linked extant textiles with textual sources. But the careful incorporation of her analyses of weave structure and textile technologies sets her work apart from many others, indicating an early critical awareness of relational aspects of craft and technology.

LAYAH BIGDELI

COLORFUL BUFF WARE FROM NISHAPUR

Among the most remarkable artifacts of the early medieval Islamic period (800-1250's CE) is a series of colorful buff ware ceramics from Nishapur, Iran. These pieces are an early instance of multicolor glaze technology exhibiting images of humans and animals. These ceramic designs and images are unique and unseen in the neighboring regions of Nishapur hence display cultural traditions and visual representation that is local.

 The Nishapur buff ware ceramics have not been extensively studied even though it is the most abundant type. The study of motifs and colors have the potential to reveal information on the particularity of trade, as these objects were only produced and communed locally. Also, elaborating on the position of local polities in producing these ceramics and their distinctive designs. The extensive subject matter of the buff ware still fascinates and excites the curiosity of scholars. Nevertheless, few art historical analyses have explored the iconographical themes and motifs of these ceramics because the vast majority of these pieces are unprovenanced.

Unfortunately, the documentation of Charles Wilkinson's excavations was not done systematically. The finds were cataloged but stratigraphic layers were not recorded properly. Hence, the chronology of the site is unclear. Some of the objects recovered from legal or unsolicited excavation were patched wherein which pieces that don't go together are attached to make the bowl seem complete. Almost 60 years have passed from the initial Nishapur excavations, and not a single inquiry has been made about the condition and authenticity of these polychrome ceramics. This paper is dedicated to researching the preservation conditions of these ceramics while dealing with the question of authenticity and ultimately swaying their interpretation.

ILKER EVRIM BINBAS

CONTRACTUAL POLITICAL IDEAS IN THE TIMURID PERIOD

In recent years ample attention has been paid to the rise and development of absolutist political ideas in the fifteenth century. These studies have demonstrated that various forms of eschatological, 'Alid-loyalist, or Messianic ideas were articulated to formulate novel forms of political ideas. However, reactions to these nascent early modern Islamic absolutist ideas in the Timurid Empire remain to be an understudied genre. In my paper, I will discuss two such texts, both of which were written for Shāhrukh, son of Timur. The first treatise, Jalāl al-Dīn Qāyinī's *Nasā'ih-i Shahrukhī*, was written between 813-820/1411-1417 in Herat during the heat of the first Timurid Interregnum between 1405 and 1418. It is a voluminous text espousing a contractual political system with the promise that the ruler has the capacity to renew the religion. The second treatise is the *Tuhfat al-salātīn*, and it was written by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Bistāmī around 847/1443 soon before the great rebellion of Sultān-Muhammad b. Baysunghur towards the end of Shāhrukh's reign. *Tuhfat al-salātīn* is similar to Qāyinī's text, but it is more open in its criticism of the prevalent philosophical currents of the time. In my paper, I will provide a summary of the main political ideas in these two texts. In my discussion, I will emphasize issues such as the nature and identity of the ruler, limits to his authority, and the relationship between political authority and economic redistribution.

GEORGE BOURNOUTIAN

ERASING THE IRANIAN HERITAGE IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS: "SUCCESS OR FAILURE" THE CASE OF SOVIET ARMENIA

Armenian texts written in the 17th and 18th centuries are full of Persian terms, many with Armenian suffixes. Even after the Russian conquest of Iranian Armenia in 1828, hundreds of Persian words remained in the spoken language of the people in Yerevan, which is best demonstrated by Khachatur Abovian in his novel The Wounds of Armenia (1848), the seminal work in eastern Armenian. After Sovietization, the Communist government not only made a concerted effort to remove all such words but also encouraged new literary works written in eastern Armenia. Despite their great success, some Persian words remain in the daily speech of the Armenian population.

ALESSANDRO CANCIAN

TRADITIONALIST SUFISM IN EUROPE AND IRANIAN MYSTICISM: A CASE OF FAILED CROSS-POLLINATION

The ṭarīqa Niʿmatullāhiyya is by far the most important Sufi order active in Iran in the modern period. An offshoot of the Qādiriyya, the masters of the order migrated to the Indian subcontinent in the 15th century. In Deccan, the order gradually embraced Shiʿism, and by the end of the 18th century, when it returned to Iran, it flourished as a fully-fledged Twelver Shiʿi Sufi order, which split into different branches. In this paper, I will be dealing with Riḍā ʿAlī Shāh's (d. 1966) account of his encounter in Paris with Michel Valsan (d. 1974), the then master of the traditionalist Parisian branch of the Shādhiliyya. The encounter, occurred in 1955, while Ridā ʿAlī Shāh was accompanying his father and master of the most important branch of the Niʿmatullāhiyya, on a trip to Geneva, where he had to be treated after falling severely ill. The encounter highlights the doubts that an Iranian Sufi master entertained with regard to the competence and authority of the charismatic leader of a Sufi order who sought initiation in Iranian Sufism. Later in the 20th century, in spite of this first, overall non-positive encounter, many European intellectuals, as well as Iranian, will enter or re-enter Islam – and Shiʿi mystical Islam for that matter – through the gateway of Guénonian traditionalism, indirectly informing areas of the intellectual layout of Shiʿi Iranian Sufism. In this paper, I will provide an account of the encounter, its context, and background, and will analyze it in the framework of the history of Sufi traditionalism in the Europe.

CAMILLE COLE

TO MAKE KHUZESTAN ABADI: ENGINEERING, REFORM, EMPIRE, AND NATIONALISM IN THE WORK OF NAJM AL-MULK

In 1881, Hajji Mirza Abd al-Ghaffar Najm al-Mulk set out from Tehran towards Khuzestan to evaluate the possibility of repairs to the dam and irrigation works at Ahwaz. This paper will use the travel narrative he wrote then, as well as one written after his second trip, as a window on science, reform, nationalism, and European imperial expansion in late Qajar Iran. Najm al-Mulk's unique perspective, forged through his

experience of travel on the periphery of Qajar Iran, enables us to reconsider alternate possibilities for the articulation of nationalism, reform, and science and technology. Najm al-Mulk was particularly concerned with four issues: engineering as a means of reform; Ottoman Iraq as a point of comparison and touchstone for reform; Khuzestan's place within the national body of Iran; and the significance of English imperial incursions. For Najm al-Mulk, all four issues were really part of the question of Iran as a unified national body. His participation in a science-based "infrastructural turn," like his concerns about the growing English presence in the region, was ultimately aimed at ensuring the integration of Khuzestan within Iran, territorially as well as ethnically and civilizationally. Najm al-Mulk's nationalism revolved around the concept of "*abadi*," which can be loosely translated as "civilization," or in a more modern register, "development." His advocacy for *abadi* as a solution to Khuzestan's precarious position drew on the embodied experience of local travel to offer solutions to Khuzestan's precarious state. By following Najm al-Mulk in looking at Iran from the vantage points of Khuzestan and Ottoman Iraq, we gain access to a different strand of nascent Iranian nationalism. And while Najm al-Mulk's proposals for reform never gained traction among his Qajar-era peers, his developmentalist approach in many ways foreshadowed the kinds of reform which ultimately triumphed in the twentieth century.

STEPHANIE CRONIN

THE HUNGRY 1890S: A PRELUDE TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION

This talk will look at the conditions of the urban poor in Iran at the end of the nineteenth century, focusing in particular on the repeated crises caused by sharp rises in the price of bread. It examines the evidence which supports the notion that Iran experienced a "golden age" of bread riots in the 1890s and early 1900s, just before and indeed contributing to the outbreak of the constitutional revolution. The 1890s are often seen as an interregnum, a period between the Tobacco Protest of the early 1890s and the constitutional revolution of 1905, when political activity was in abeyance or semi-clandestine, revolution finally galvanized as much by external events as domestic politics. Yet the story of the bread riots paints

a different picture and writes into the narrative of these years the experience of the urban poor. Iran's cities in these years were convulsed by popular protests at intolerable conditions. From the perspective of the hungry poor, the revolution of 1905-6 appears, not as the project of a discontented intelligentsia, dazzled by European constitutionalism, nor of a modernist, oppositional clergy, but as the logical outcome of a deepening political and social crisis.

FERENC CSIRKES

A "PANTHER-LIKE POET:" SADIQI BEG'S ATTACK ON FAYZI AND THE "FRESH STYLE" OF PERSIAN POETRY, AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR SAFAVID TURKIC POETRY

The paper discusses how the "Fresh Style" (*taza-guyi*), misnomered in modern scholarship as "Indian Style," was critiqued by Sadiqi Beg (d. 1018/1609-10), one of the most prominent painters of Iran in the Safavid period, who was also a bilingual litterateur of Persian and Turkic in his own right. The immediate subject of his criticism was Fayzi (d. 1004/1595), the poet laureate of Akbar's court in Mughal Delhi, whom he attacked in a lampoon entitled Sahw-i lisan, "The slip of the tongue," mocking Fayzi's heavily intellectualizing and innovative poetry as irrational and abstruse. I argue, on the one hand, that Sadiqi's conservative attitude is rooted in his own poetics, his Persian poetry following the heavily rhetorical, emulative style in vogue in the 15th century under the Timurids and the so-called "Incidentalist Style" (*vuqu'-guyi*) that crystallized in the late 15th century and was the dominant style through most of the 16th century. On the other hand, illustrating that it is these latter two styles that characterize Sadiqi's Turkic output, too, I also argue that, as opposed to what happened in Persian and Ottoman Turkish poetry, the "Fresh Style" could never take root in Safavid Turkic poetry, mainly because the latter was addressed to the Qizilbash tribal elite, whose intellectual make-up and poetic traditions were markedly different from the audience of the "Fresh Style."

TAWFIQ DAʿADLI

INVESTIGATING A SUFI READING OF TIMURID MANUSCRIPT PAINTING

This paper considers decoding and reinterpreting some paintings from Late Timurid Herat by pointing to a character, called here a focalizor, whose function is to highlight a specific event. By situating focalizors in a central place in the composition, thereby establishing eye contact between them and the observer or another feature in the painting, the painter attracts the observer to the focalizor itself or to the object of its gaze. The focalizor in the paintings becomes the lens through which the observer can 'read' the illustration. This reading can, I suggest, be mystical in nature, which would be in keeping with the cultural context of Herat under Sultan Husayn Bāyqarā.

The focalizor will be presented in three illustrations from two different manuscripts, the Khamse of Nizami illustrated in 1490-1499 and the Hasht Bihisht of Amīr Khosrau Dihlavī illustrated in 1485. Two illustrations, *Hārūn al-Rashīd in the hammām* (folio 27b) and *the garden master and the maidens* (folio 190a), are from the Khamse kept at the British Library under Or.6810 and *the king who turned into a parrot* from the Hasht Bihisht kept at the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. Per. 163.38. The Sufi focalizor in the illustration *Hārūn al-Rashīd in the hammām* furnishes the painting with mystical meaning wherein cleansing the body and entrance to the deepest part of the *ḥammām* may be paralleled to the cleansing of the soul and progress to the inner heart, where the real spiritual treasure lies. Another figure, concealed behind window shutters and gazing upon the viewer in the illustration, *the garden master and the maidens*, could also act as a focalizor despite his seemingly hidden stance. This man invites beholders to overcome their passions and walk the path of truth, like the garden master who battled his lower soul in the garden of temptations. Another figure acting as a focalizor, sitting between the prostitute and money-changer in the illustration, *the king who turned into a parrot,* urges the observer to polish his mirror, and thus his heart, since an impure heart fails to reflect divine truth.

These figures, I suggest, might function as a specific type of focalizor, imbued with a Sufi-mystical role intelligible in the cultural context of Herat under the last Timurid sultan, Husayn Bayqara. There is evidence

that focalizors are still 'hiding' in paintings produced by other schools, but these await examination against the backdrop of their respective cultural contexts.

GHAZZAL DABIRI

READING 'ATTAR'S *ILAHINAMEH* AS SUFI PRACTICAL ETHICS AND EXEMPLARY HAGIOGRAPHY

Farid al-Din 'Attar is counted among the most influential medieval Sufi poets and hagiographers whose spiritual-quest epic, *Mantiq al-Tayr*, and hagiography, *Tazkirat al-Awliya* have enjoyed wide-spread popularity and taken the lion's share in scholarly attention.

This paper turns the spotlight on to one of 'Attar's little studied works, *Ilahinameh*. The *Ilahinameh*, the paper argues, has much to offer in terms of better understanding 'Attar's corpus as a whole and his religio-political thought world. Both points are best illustrated by reading the *Ilahinameh* in light of the *Mantiq al-Tayr*, and especially, the *Tazkirat al-Awliya*. The paper first will illustrate the extents to which the *Ilahinameh* takes up the content and formal characteristics of both and then it will discuss its unique goals. Upon a close reading of these texts, we see that in the *Tazkirat al-Awliya*, saints are generally infallible in their encounters with people from a cross-section of society. The *Tazkirat al-Awliya* places the power and authority of saints on full display since, according to 'Attar, the saints words (and deeds) are closest to God after the Qur'an and the *hadith*. The *Ilahinameh*, by contrast, offers its audiences with accessible, everyday, exemplary models to imitate. Everyone from every social class and religion is invested at one time or another with power and authority, and oftentimes, over saints and kings. Common folk, then, have an important role to play equal to that of saints in the *Tazkirat al-Awliya* and kings in practical ethics and mirrors. Indeed, in the *Ilahinameh*, the public has a triple responsibility; towards faith and spirituality, towards each other, and towards the maintenance of social justice and stability. Thus, the paper argues, the *Ilahinameh* may be read as a Sufi practical ethics in its vision of a moral and just society, and in building an exemplary life according to the tenets of Sufism (the frame story of the caliph whose six sons need spiritual guidance), it may also be read as a *type* of exemplary hagiography.

69

DAGIKHUDO DAGIEV

ISMAILISM IN RUSSIAN AND SOVIET STUDIES

This paper is a thorough contribution to the analysis of Russian and Soviet scholarship on the study of Ismailism in Central Asia. It focuses on the lengthy development of Russian studies on Ismailism from the Russian colonial domination to the entire period of Soviet rule, down to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the last two decades of post-Soviet history. These studies, conducted along the lines of various disciplines in the span of more than one hundred years, have resulted in a large amount of scholarly contributions. This paper aims at probing the virtues and shortcoming of such scholarship. Particularly, our investigation of the specialised fields in the Russian-Soviet Studies has required laborious researches in Russian and Central Asian libraries, which have enabled us to provide a guide through this literature, assessing its ideological leanings and qualities, institutions and level of scholarship.

Despite some shortcomings, due to Marxism and the Communist Party's authoritarian rule over the socio-religious life of the people and religious communities, Soviet studies have produced many positive insights on Ismailis studies. These captured almost every aspect of the life of the Ismaili community from anthropology to archaeology, ethnography, history, philosophy, ritual practice and most importantly collection and preservation of Ismaiili manuscripts, which will be examined and assessed in this study.

TAMAR DEMETRASHVILI

FROM THE HISTORY OF THE GEORGIAN-IRANIAN LINGUISTIC INTERACTIONS: PARSADAN GORGIJANIDZE AND HIS LEXICOGRAPHIC LEGACY

Iran and Georgia have had cultural and political relations for centuries. However, it was in the 16th-17th centuries that these relations became especially close. One of the prominent figures of this period was Parsadan Gorgijanidze. Parsadan Gorgijanidze was active during the reign of Rostom, King of Kartli (1565-1658). In 1656, he was recommended by King Rostom to Iranian Shah Abbas II as a tarugha of the capital city of

Isfahan. Parsadan converted to Islam and lived in Iran for 40 years. He was favored by the Safavids, had great influence at the royal court and held high administrative positions over the years. In addition to his political activity, Parsadan Gorgijanidze is also known as a man of letters. He held not only important administrative positions at the Persian royal court but was also well-informed about Georgia. He compiled the major Iranian sources on Georgia to "fill in the blanks" in the least chronicled period of the Georgian history, i.e. from the 14th to the 17th century, with extensive new and important data. He greatly contributed to Georgian lexicography as an author of the first trilingual Georgian-Arabic-Persian dictionary. His dictionary is one of the oldest Georgian dictionaries. Parsadan Gorgijanidze mostly relied on a concise Arabic-Persian dictionary by 14th-century Iranian writer and philosopher Abu Nasr Farahi. It must be noted that this concise 17th-century dictionary includes vocabulary which may now be considered "obscene" or "offensive," and was never included in the official dictionaries of the Georgian language published during the Soviet period, such as The Explanatory Dictionary of the Georgian Language, and studies in this field are still scarce.

SABOHAT DONAYOROVA

THE TRADITION OF NAWRUZ IN BADAKHSHAN

Nawruz has been practiced in Badakhhshan for more than 1000 years and has unique features unseen in other parts of Tajikistan. Badakhshanis consider Nawruz the awakening of nature. People gather together as the weather becomes warmer and farmers begin working the land. Badakhshani people cook special meals, clean their houses, play Nawruz games, and practice post-Nawruz traditions such as pichiromch, lash, salom salom, alowparak and folbini (fortune-telling).

The philosophy of Nawruz is connected to the relationship between people and nature and is not dependent on religion. Rather, the tradition connects people around the world, as demonstrated in UNESCO's recognition of Nawruz as an international holiday. During the Soviet period, the Nawruz holiday was under threat of survival, but it never lost its status, and in the post-Soviet period CIS countries resumed the celebration of Nawruz with great enthusiasm. The tradition of Nawruz in

Badakhshan has not been studied in depth. This paper seeks to rectify this by discussing the variety of traditional practices of the Nawruz holiday in Badakhshan.

HOSSEIN PARVIZ EJLALI

CHANGES IN PATTERNS OF NOMENCLATURE IN CONTEMPORARY IRANIAN SOCIETY

One of the pressing needs of any language society is the continuous nomenclature of new goods, services, technologies, institutions, and activities. In order to fulfill this goal, it must coin new words in own language, absorb foreign words, invent equivalents for foreign words, or grant new meanings to old words by analogy. Meanwhile, any language society has its own patterns of neology. In each pattern, two types of agents are involved; *Formal Agents* including academia, educational system, translators, authors, and mass media and *Informal Agents* composing of private sector enterprises and ordinary speakers of that language which belong to different social classes, generations, regions, and ethnic groups.

In this paper I intend to discover the patterns first and follow the observable changes in them in the course of time later in Iranian society. In order to provide a clear image of the issue, I have reviewed both natural trends and intended policies in two distinct realms of academic-professional and everyday life since the dawn of the 20th century. Our findings witness a relatively successful performance of formal agents in the realm of academic-professional terms, though individualism in the realm of coining Persian equivalents of terms, relative purism, and ideological-political bias towards English or Arabic, has been recognized as important obstacles in this regard.

In contrast to the academic-professional realm, the formal agents have lagged behind the informal agents in naming products, services, companies etc. Asynchrony, relative purism, and bureaucracy are the main pitfalls of these agents. As far as natural trends are concerned, since the beginning of the twentieth century until now, three main changes can be observed. First, in the course of time, Farsi, which all classes speak and write, have become more exact and at the same time flatter. The Persian

of older generations which was known as a language rich of proverbs, poems and metaphors does not exist anymore. Second, using European (English) words and expressions in Farsi, once a characteristic of higher classes' dialect, has been spreading among all classes due to ITC and virtual space. Third, nowadays we encounter a relatively fast trend of relexification of everyday life words in colloquial Persian among young generation.

REHAB IBRAHIM AHMED AHMED ELSIEDY

FIGURATIVE SCENES THROUGH THE ARMS AND ARMOURS COLLECTION AT THE GAYER-ANDERSON MUSEUM IN CAIRO

The Gayer-Anderson museum is located in Cairo, Egypt. It is originally two houses which are dated back to the Mamluk period and Ottoman period. However, Major Gayer-Anderson was the last owner of these two houses. As a military officer and an important collector of antiquities, he recommended for the houses to be a museum for his collection after he left for England in 1942. Actually, there are an impressive collection of arms and armors through the whole collection of the museum, most of them dated back to the nineteenth century and some belonged to Iran in the Qajar period. In particular, there are three distinguished objects among them: a helmet, an ax, and a primer. Noticeably, these figurative elements were considered as one of the important methods to decorate and embellishment some of the objects in the Qajar period (1200-1344 / 1785-1926). The various subjects which they represent and the artistic aesthetics which distinguish these elements reflect the new taste which characterizes the Persian art from the end of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century.

This research is interested in publishing three different kinds of arms and armors in the Gayer-Anderson museum. Additionally, it aims to highlight the variety of the figurative scenes and their artistic value which has been used to decorate such objects and its main purpose.

AFTANDIL ERKINOV

TRANSLATIONS FROM PERSIAN IN TURKIC PALACE: THE KHIVIAN KHANATE FROM THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the Khivian Khanate at the period of the Kongrats dynasty (1804-1920), there was a development in culture. This Khanate was conquered in 1873 and became a protectorate of the Russian empire. In that period the Khanate was ruled by Mukhammad Rakhim-khan II (1864-1910). Under the Russian protectorate, it could not act independently in the political sphere. As a result, he devoted attention to the development of culture. So, for example, there were few hundreds of rewritten manuscripts among which there were works in Persian. Mukhammad Rakhim-khan II wrote poems himself and a poetical environment was created in his palace. In the Khivian Khanate from the beginning of the nineteenth century till the end of the twentieth century, more than 120 works in Arabian, Persian, and other Turkic languages were translated into the Chagatay language. A variety of texts were translated in this period, including fiction (such as *Yusuf va Zulayha*, *Shahu Gada*), poetry, didactics, tazkira, histories (such as *Tarikh-i Tabari*, *Tarikh-i Kamil*, *Zafar-nama-yi Yazdiy*, *Ravzat al-Safa*), memoirs, theology, Sufism, fiqh, commentary, and hadith. Through the study of the topics and the genres of the present works, cultural and esthetic characteristics of the Khivian cultural environment can be defined.

KAYVAN ESLAHPAZIR AND FARSHID SADAT SHARIFI

DISCOVERING SA'DI'S VIEW OF "POWER" BY ANALYZING DRAMATIC FACTORS IN THE FIRST CHAPTER OF GULISTAN

This article is a case study on the first chapter of Gulistan and an exploration of Sa'di's view of power by investigating eight dramatic factors: the protagonist, antagonist, mediator, knotting, crisis, conflict, suspension, and resolution, as well as their relations with literary genres of the stories. The results are as following:

1. Three literary genres are the most frequent: humor (when power is in revealing insecure conditions); a combination of humor and tragedy (in conditions leading to power decadence); moral types (the concordance

between power and its inferiors due to keeping its majesty and existence). Therefore, Sa'di's view of power is mostly revealing the decadence, and the continuous presence of the moral genre indicates the tendency towards accrediting the power through morality. This view, concerning Sa'di's epoch, is considered revolutionary and inexpensive.

2. Suspension plays the least role in his stories, which means he objects the absence of power and thinks it leads to evil and corruption. In these stories, power is always meaningful and significant and also decays inevitably and is replaced by a new power. This reflection is a combination of Sa'di's view and the instability of his time.

3. Finally, Sa'di believes that power is indispensable; but also he is dubious about it. He seeks a way in which intellectuals, not entangled in impurity, can control the power in the righteous path. Thus, the stories in the first chapter of Gulistan are Saadi's resolutions to the paradox of power and morality: he advises the intellectuals to avoid power and the power to consult the intellectuals, where intellectuals are secure against power and power benefit from their moral knowledge. In other words, NGOs are equal to what he meant by intellectuals, as they are not a part of power, but they have an impact on it.

ARIA FANI

WHAT IS *ADABIYĀT*? FORGING PERSIAN LITERATURE AND ITS DOMAIN (1860-1944)

Few terms have been embedded into the Persian cultural imagination as much as *adabiyāt*, yet there is much ambiguity surrounding the history of its usage and meaning. This presentation examines the genealogy of *adabiyāt* in order to unpack the historical process by which Persian-language literati forged the concept of literature in the early decades of the twentieth century as a literary discourse. The modern concept of *adabiyāt* as a written body of valued works with a civilizing force was first constituted in the works of reform-minded intellectuals such as Fath'ali Akhundzadeh (d. 1878) and Aqa Khān Kermani (d. 1897). But the notion of literature found its expression in the writings of Mahmud Tarzi (d. 1933) and Mohammad 'Ali Forughi (1942). Tarzi and Forughi did not only define literature, but also forged a blueprint for their

institutionalization in emerging nation-states of Afghanistan and Iran. In the 1930s and 1940s, *adabiyāt* was institutionalized by literary journals and faculties of letters that created Persian literature as an academic discipline. *Adabiyāt* as a concept is unprecedented in Persian even in the early decades of the ninetenth century. This paper examines the cultural ideology and political forces that rendered its existence possible and sustained it as a social enterprise.

MEHDI FARAJI

SHIFTING "SELVES" BETWEEN PIETY AND SIN: NONLINEAR PATHS AND INCOHERENT SPACES IN IRANIAN EVERYDAY LIFE

Saba Mahmood in *Politics of Piety* (2005) creates a binary opposite in life in which the religious and the secular are considered non-reconcilable. Rather than representing life with its inconsistencies and complexities, Mahmood offers a totalizing notion of piety as though people were either religious or secular. Such a picture tells us very little about everyday practices. I argue that, contrary to Mahmood's one-dimensional narrative of life, everyday life is characterized by contradictory values and expectations and by shifting attitudes and behaviors. I argue that boundaries between religious morality and temporal aspects of life are as blurry and fragile as people pass them routinely in their daily life practices. Drawing on two special periods of piety in Iran (the 1980s, and Ramadan and Muharram), I will show how pious teenagers, as subjects of an idealist ideology, enjoy a mixture of freedom, fun, and piety in their lives by moving in different domains of everyday life. I will illustrate that life has a contradictory nature, and people, even those who identify themselves as pious, routinely shift in their everyday lives between religious and secular practices, and between pious and secular modes. I argue that these common shifts in lifestyle and attitude, whether problematic or smooth, are representative of the ambivalent and inconsistent nature of life.

SHAHLA FARGHADANI

A GENEALOGY OF *SABK*: KHAN ARZU AND THE RISE OF STYLISTIC CRITICISM

Persian tazkirahs (biographical dictionaries of poets), particularly those written in the eighteenth century, are of significant scholarly importance as they reveal critical viewpoints and can be considered the earliest source of Persian literary criticism and stylistics. In this paper, I will focus on reading the tazkirah of Majma'al-Nafā'is written by Sirāj al-Dīn 'Alī Khān Ārzū, as a crucial and pioneering work that provides stylistic views and critical insights about Persian poetry. I will argue that the tradition of literary criticism and stylistics initiates a new phase with works like Majma' al-Nafā'is that culminates in modern works like Bahar's Sabkshināsī, which canonize the concept of stylistics in Persian literature.

What I am interested in exploring in this paper is to demonstrate that the idea of style (sabk) is an important development emerging out of Indo-Persian literary criticism. Ārzū's Indo-Persian context, from which the critical concept of style gains currency, generates the practice of discussing the works of different poets based on their stylistics (sabkshināsī), a concept which did not exist before. I will argue that Persian literary tazkirahs, particularly those written in India during the Mughal era, served as a crucial standard for early modern Persian literary criticism and stylistics.

SHERVIN FARRIDNEJAD

"ONE HUNDRED CHAPTERS" ON RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS AND CUSTOMS: ASPECTS OF ZOROASTRIAN CULTURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

The treatises Sad Dar "Hundred Chapters" or "Hundred Gateways" are miscellaneous popular collections of Zoroastrian religious lore and customs, which range from theological discussions on the treatment of good and evil animals, the avoidance of different forms of pollution, various sins and penalties to the sompographical???, eschatological, ritual and juridical matters, resembling the Pahlavi (Middle Persian) Rivāyāts.

They seem to have had a high and explicit authority among Zoroastrians for a long time, as they have been cited extensively in almost all later Revāyat Literature. Being the earliest Zoroastrian texts known to Western scholars, they reveal important aspects of Zoroastrian culture and life in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period.

GOLRIZ FARSHI

A STRUGGLE FOR LEGITIMACY: TĀRĪKH-I SULTĀN MUHAMMAD-I QUTB SHĀHĪ

This paper analyzes the attempts in legitimizing the sovereignty of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty as presented by the Tārīkh-i Sultān Muhammad-i Qutb Shāhī (TQS). Specifically, the paper focuses on the genealogical narrative put forward in the introduction to the chronicle, which is most likely a rendition of the Tārīkh-i Turkmaniyya, the text of which is no longer extant. The TQS was written in 1617, long after the demise of the Qara Quyūnlū dynasty in 1467 and is the only historic source about the Qara Quyūnlū, the ancestors of the Qutb Shāhīs, that portrays the Turkmen rulers favorably. This paper identifies and analyzes the authorial efforts at legitimizing the Qutb Shāhī dynasty through legitimizing their genealogical past.

In doing so, the paper closely analyzes two dream narratives that effectively function as legitimizing tools to substantiate the Qara Quyūnlū's, and by extension the Qutb Shāhī's, right to divine sovereignty and rule as well as to locate the ancestry of the Turkmen tribe within an accepted Islamic lineage. Focus is placed on the TQS's version of Oghuz Khan Narrative, placing the Qara Quyūnlū and the Qutb Shāhī dynasty within the Mosaic ethnology of the world, together with the chronicle's attempts at substantiating the dynasty's professed Shīʿism and their primacy in it all the while setting themselves apart from their contemporary Shīʿi compatriots, the Safavid Dynasty. A thorough examination of the aforementioned passages sheds light on the Qutb Shāhī's struggle for legitimacy, as well as their efforts to set themselves apart from their contemporaneous Muslim rulers, be they Shīʿi or otherwise, and their stance vis-à-vis their Oghuz lineage in the context of

the political milieu of the 17th century Persianate world, all the more important since the TQS is the first attempt of the Qutb Shāhīs at creating a dynastic history.

GIRAY FIDAN AND AYŞE GÜL FIDAN

SELJUKS IN CHINESE SOURCES: A NEW INTERPRETATION

The Seljuk Empire (1037-1194) and its successor state in Anatolia, the Sultanate of Rum (1077-1307) and their possible reflection in the Chinese sources, is the primary concern of this paper. Chinese sources including Ling Wai Dai Da, Zhu Fan Zhi, Song Shi, San Cai Tu Hui, Song Hui Yao, Ming Shi and Ming Shi Lu are the primary sources for the paper. The paper will analyze a broad range of Chinese historical accounts between the 12th to the 20th centuries including official dynastic records regarding the names of the lands under Seljuk domination. Formerly, some of these resources were translated and interpreted by some leading scholars in the field of sinology such as Frederick Hirth. The main argument of the paper is based on a new interpretation of several place names in the Chinese sources and it examines the place names such as Meilu guguo (The country of Malik), Meilu Gudun (Malik-al Rum), Lumei (Rum), Fulin and Daqin. The paper also aims to examine the Chinese historical sources and shed light on China's historical perception of the Seljuks in West Asia and Anatolia.

PEYVAND FIROUZEH

BETWEEN TEXTILE, TALISMAN, AND POETRY OF SPACE: THE "CHELLEH KHANEH" AT THE SHRINE OF SHAH NEMATULLAH-E VALI IN MAHAN

The shrine of Shah Ne'matollah-e Vali (d.1431), the Sufi-poet, started as a single dome chamber in the fifteenth century. During the reign of the Safavid ruler Shah Abbas (r.1588-1629) the shrine was expanded by the addition of a vaulted gallery housing a room (2x3 m.) in its corner, known as the chelleh khaneh, which is the focus of this presentation. The room was a place of retreat for the followers of the order and is covered with

dazzling colourful non-figural imagery and inscriptions in verse, a project carried out by a disciple of the order in the Safavid period.

By examining the role of text and image in the formation of space, this presentation considers the visual features of this room as an opportunity to explore questions of inter-materiality, the relationship between architecture and textiles, and furthermore, to think about architecture as textile. The interior displays the kind of visual and epigraphical arrangement that is analogous to tightly inscribed talismanic undershirts worn in battles. The talismanic effect of the space is manifested in the heavily inscribed images of swords above the dadoes and the devotional Sufi hat on the ceiling, as well as in the content of poetry on themes of wars of faith and pious invocations for protection. Painted at a time when followers and influential members of the order – who held high status positions under the Safavids – had taken up the role of warrior-Sufis and engaged in Safavid campaigns such as the battle of Chaldiran (1514) against the Ottomans, I argue that this room was a talismanic space where the warrior-Sufis came to pray and meditate hoping that the words and images embellishing the interior activated forces that would accompany and protect them on the battlefield.

RICHARD FOLTZ

IRANIAN MERCHANTS ACROSS THE INDIAN OCEAN BASIN UP TO THE 17TH CENTURY

Iranian seafaring merchants were active in India Ocean trade as early as Achaemenid times, and by the Sasanian period they largely dominated the trade networks of the region. As with many other domains, during the Islamic period Iranian actors in the Indian Ocean region are often mistakenly identified as Arabs, even though their names are often Persian and identify their places of origin in Iran. The earliest Muslim writings on India and China are attributed to Iranian authors such as the sailors Bozorg.b. Shahriyar and Soleyman al-Tajjer. Iranians were most prominent in the Muslim merchant diaspora communities that flourished along the coasts of India and China from the tenth century onward, and they were present along the Swahili coast of Africa as well. They played an important role in local government administrations and were key

intermediaries in relations with the Islamic heartlands. Iranian Sufis were central to the spread of Islam throughout South and Southeast Asia. The famous "Chinese" medieval sea captain Zheng He was of Iranian origin. His case was typical in that Iranian merchants most often married local women, leading to their gradual assimilation over the course of several centuries. Thus, in the modern period when sea trade came to be dominated by European powers at the expense of Iranians, the Iranian diaspora of the Indian Ocean basin lost its distinctiveness by the 17th century, but traces of their cultural influence live on there even today. This paper highlights and clarifies the Iranian presence across the Indian Ocean basin in pre-modern times and their lasting cultural legacy throughout the region, in terms of cultural traditions, architecture, language and other realms.

IAIN GARDNER

BACKGAMMON AND COSMOLOGY AT THE SASANIAN COURT

The early history of boardgames and their role in classical courtly culture has been a topic of sustained scholarly interest. The well-known Middle Persian text *The Explanation of Chess and the Invention of Backgammon* (Wizārišn ī Čatrang ud Nihišn ī Nēw-Ardaxšīr) is commonly dated to the sixth century C.E. and the reign of Xusrō I (e.g. T. Daryaee, "Mind, Body, and the Cosmos: Chess and Backgammon in Ancient Persia", *Iranian Studies* 35, 2002: 281-312). It describes a kind of contest between the Persian and the Indian kings who are represented by their leading wise men. The famous sage Wuzurgmihr not only defeats his Indian counterpart at chess but he invents the game of backgammon, the board being given cosmological significance and the turning of the counters according to the roll of the die corresponding to the nature of fate.

This paper will present a new and unexpected textual source where many of the very same themes are evident: the courtly context, the competition between rival sages from Persia and India, the interpretation in terms of cosmology and fate. However, this new source is demonstrably from the mid fourth-century C.E. or earlier, and the personages involved are different; this raising a number of vital questions about the history of the topic and its development in Persian and other late antique literatures.

JOACHIM GIERLICHS

ARTHUR U. POPE (1881-1969) & HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH GERMAN SCHOLARS BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

This paper will explore the widely untold relationship of A.U. Pope with some influential German scholars active in the first part of the 20th century, mainly Friedrich Sarre (1865-1945) and Ernst Kühnel (1882-1964). In the center of our interest is Friedrich Sarre, whose relationship with Pope is manifold. Sarre, about 15 years older than Pope, and one of the major figures in field of Islamic Art History in the 1920s and 1930s in Germany, Europe and beyond, contributed to Pope's Persian Exhibitions in Philadelphia (1926) and London (1931) by lending objects, more than 20 from his own collection for the famous Burlington House exhibition. He also participated in the 2nd International Congress of Persian Art (London 1931) presenting a paper not on Islamic but on Parthian Art, a topic he also wrote on in the Survey of Persian Art (1938-39). But there is also a secret aspect in this relationship: In the late 1920s as well as during the 1930s Pope also helped Friedrich and Maria Sarre to sell objects from his private collection to some US collections.

The second key figure is Ernst Kühnel, who, of the same generation as Pope, and successor of Friedrich Sarre as director of the Islamische Abteilung of the Berlin Museums, was also in close contact with Pope on occasion of the London conference in 1931, and as a contributor to the Survey of Persian Art writing on the important topic of Persian Miniature Painting. Special attention deserves Kühnel's appreciation of Pope's relationship with art dealers especially in Persia in the case Dimand (MMA) vs. Pope, discussed and arbitrated during the 2nd International Congress of Persian Art in London.

ELLEN GIUNASHVILI

SIX-CENTURY GEORGIA AND SASANIAN IRAN: ISSUES OF HISTORICAL-RELIGIOUS INTERRELATIONS IN THE LIGHT OF OLD GEORGIAN HAGIOGRAPHIC WRITINGS

The 6th century was a difficult period for the East Georgian state of Kartli (Iberia), as it was totally dominated by Sasanian Iran. The kingship was abolished, administrative system was significantly changed, new social

institutions were established, and Iranian religious dominance was increased. Records reflecting this epoch are rather miscellaneous. These are, Georgian historical sources ("Kartlis Cxovreba"– the "Life of Kartli"), Armenian and Greek chronicles, archaeological material, and epigraphic and art objects (seals, rings), including a number of numismatic specimens – Georgian-Sasanian coins.

Six-century Georgian hagiographic records of Saints (vitae) ("The Passion of Saint Eustace the Cobbler" and "Martyrdom of Saint Bishop Abibos by Fire-Worshippers") present the most valuable and authentic data for reconstructing the historical reality of Kartli in that period. They contain vivid descriptions of the social-religious life of the state within the Iranian commonwealth, giving us insight into the history and aspirations of an important branch of the Eastern Church, and into its relationships with Zoroastrian Persia.

Six-century Old Georgian hagiography has been an object of intensive research. However, many issues referring to these texts have not been examined systematically. In this respect, "The Life of Abibos Nekreseli (Abibos of Nekresi)" is particularly interesting hagiographical text, devoted to one of the Thirteen Syrian Fathers who popularized monasticism throughout the Eastern Georgia in the sixth century.

LEONARDO GREGORATTI

TOO MANY GREAT KINGS? SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON PARTHIAN KINGSHIP

On several occasions in the history of the later Parthian empire at the head of the state, that is to say on the throne of the Great King, there was more than one man. Sometimes two pretenders fought for supremacy until the defeat of one of the two, sometimes two or more pretenders to the throne found a mutual agreement which implied the partition of the satrapies under control and the creation of two spheres of influence. Furthermore, cases of co-rule of heir princes along with their fathers and Great Kings are attested. This paper aims at taking into consideration all the situations in which the highest authority of the Arsacid state was put into discussion by the existence of different candidates or shared by more personalities. The analysis will focus on the cases of coexistence of two or

more Great Kings in order to establish if this situation represented an effective political crisis, expression of the chaotic nature of the Parthian state according to western chroniclers, or another concept of kingship, a concept difficult to understand for western historians. In a strongly confederative state where local authorities enjoyed great autonomy, maybe that for certain periods also the role of Great King could be considered as collective and exerted in a shared way. This idea would force the scholars to think about late Parthian kingship more in terms of collegiality than before. The real element of continuity and legitimacy in the Parthian state and therefore the real leading power would not be then represented by the figure of the Great King alone but by the entire Arsacid house.

JO-ANN GROSS

KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION AND THE GENEALOGICAL TRADITIONS OF BADAKHSHAN

This paper focuses on the genre of genealogy as a familial archival practice in Badakhshan in Tajikistan and Afghanistan, specifically the nasab-namahs of Isma'ili pīrs of Badakhshan that have been preserved for generations by their descendants. The nasab-namas of Badakhshan demonstrate the ways in which Nizari Isma'ili identity (sayyid, imami descent) has been articulated genealogically over time as a diachronic record linking the past to the present, and, one can argue, to the future. Using nasab-nāmas and oral narratives (mostly dating from the 19th-20th century, but several of which date back to the 16th century), collected during recent field research, my paper discusses the construction of confessional identities and claims to sayyid pedigree, and the expression of genealogically-based sanctity and authority. I consider the relationship between the textualized genre of genealogy and oral narrative tradition, and how confessional identities reveal an ambiguous, sometimes contested relationship between ʿAlid, Ithnaʿashari Isma'ili and Sufi sentiment that raise questions about commonly accepted notions of uniformity. The nasab-namas of Badakhshan, furthermore, draw attention to the "family archive" as a local, private space in Badakhshan in which individual agency and historical consciousness has and continues to direct the knowledge production of genealogical histories connecting the past and present.

ROBERT HAUG

THE CIRCULATION OF LOCAL ELITES IN THE BUKHARA OASIS BEFORE THE RISE OF THE SAMANIDS

Descriptions of the Bukhara oasis found in geographical texts written in Arabic and Persian from the ninth and tenth centuries CE, as well as the local history written by Narshakhi (d. 959), describe a city surrounded by a series of concentric walls, the largest of which had a circumference of over two hundred and fifty kilometers. Within these walls, these texts describe a network of villages and fortified estates all centered on the city itself. The estates, numbering in the thousands, were associated with agricultural lands including farms and orchards. We may presume that these were the homes of the dihqans, the landed gentry. From the sixth century into the early Islamic period, a line of indigenous kings with the title Bukhar Khudah sat at the center of this network, ruling the oasis as an autonomous unit. These same sources also detail series of markets, festivals, and other obligatory gatherings including military service which would appear to keep the dihqans and other elites in regular movement between their estates and villages, the estates and villages of their neighbors, and the urban core, especially the palace of the Bukhar Khudah. This presentation will focus on the circulation of local elites within the Bukhara oasis as detailed by our sources for the early Islamic period in an attempt to understand how communities were bound together in this historically secluded part of Transoxania as well as the impact the arrival of Islam may have had on such networks. This paper will also examine the breakdown of this circulation as markets and festivals were closed down and the agricultural estates and villages which had been the backbone of the dihqans fell out of their possession and became increasingly tied to the state and religious institutions at the beginning of the Samanid era.

MARY ELAINE HEGLAND

FROM AGRICULTURE TO URBAN REAL ESTATE: A 21ST CENTURY PERSPECTIVE ON THE 1962 ALIABAD LAND REFORM

Through anthropological participant observation, open-ended interviewing, and oral history conducted in 1978-1979 and during six additional research stays in Aliabad from 2003 to 2015 totaling another

year, the author investigates the short-term and long-term aftermath of the 1962 land reform: 1. The immediate result was violence and conflict, as villagers learned that only half of the land was to be distributed among cultivators: the landlord, knowing about the upcoming land reform, sold half of village land to his main village supporter. 2. Because of violence, on-going conflict, and lack of sufficient land received to make a livelihood, almost all of the younger men turned to work outside of the village. 3. Lack of attention to sources of irrigation and increasing household use of water exacerbated the decline of agriculture. 4. The highly contentious 1962 land reform process helped to bring about a village divided between supporters of and enemies of the man who bought much of the village land before land reform. Lack of fairness in how the land was subsequently assigned further angered villages. Purchase of half of village land before land reform caused further strife after the 1979 Iranian Revolution when villagers took over and planted the land under contention. Supporters of the buyer of land even had to move to Shiraz to avoid disputing villagers. 5. With the growth of the real estate market in this settlement close to Shiraz, by the early part of the 21st century, people were turning agricultural land into cash and real estate speculation. Many Aliabad residents became wealthy and enjoyed a much higher standard of living. 6. As land because highly valuable, family members fought over land, and suffered alienation from each other. 6. Aliabad produces little and has become a community of consumers. The settlement has been formally incorporated into Shiraz.

KEITH HITCHINS

THE EVOLUTION OF THE HERO IN TAJIK FICTION, 1950S-1980S

In this paper I trace the changes that occurred in the character of the leading figures, male and female, in the Tajik novel and short novel (povest) between roughly the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953 and the period of perestroika and glasnost' under Mikhail Gorbachev, 1985-1991. At the beginning of this period the heroes tended to exhibit the behavior and mental attitudes that were typical of much of the fiction of the time, which was intended (by the ideological supervisors of literature) to extol the virtues of the Communist society that was being built and mobilize the population to commit itself fully to the new economic and social order.

The heroes were usually easy to identify, and the story line followed a predictable course, in which the heroes and the ideals they stood for triumphed. The representatives of the old order, the villains, in a sense, who inevitably were defeated, also stand out. I contrast the heroes and their adversaries with the more complex personalities in the fiction of the 1970s and 1980s and explain how this evolution of character took place. They clearly reflected the changing intellectual climate of the time and were responses to social and cultural changes in Tajikistan.

GHULAM AHYA HOSSAINI

WHERE THERE SUNNIS OF A TWELVER-SHIITE LEANING?

Outbreaks of religious conflict between the Shiites and Sunnis have made major headlines in the press in recent years. The question that comes to mind is: How old is this conflict, and more importantly: Has there ever been a peaceful period between these sects? A recent theory has proposed that there was a religious development in Iran in the ranks of the Ahl Sunna during the 13th-15th centuries, the main characteristic of which was to show respect and adoration for the Twelve Imams very much in line with the Shiite beliefs. This has been designated as the "Sunnis of a Twelver-Shiite leaning." In this paper, an attempt has been made to check this proposal against the developments in Herat, the capital city of the Timurid in the fifteenth century. For this propose, the works of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī one of the elites of Herat will be analyzed. The data seems indeed to support the existence of such leanings.

ROBERT HOYLAND

PRE-ISLAMIC IRAN IN EARLY MUSLIM HISTORIES

It has been generally assumed that the information on pre-Islamic Iran in early Muslim histories goes back to a Persian national history composed in the late Sasanian period. The speaker has been translating the sections on the pre-Islamic Persians found in the histories of Ya'qubi, Mas'udi and Hamza al-Isfahani, and on the basis of this work some thoughts will be offered that tend to suggest a more pluralistic transmission process,

involving different sources. It is also clear that many different works on pre-Islamic Iran were composed in the early Islamic period and circulated widely, being very popular texts. it will also be discussed how far these texts represented a genuine historical picture of Iran's past or made it anew.

DOMENICO INGENITO

THE POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF SA'DI'S LITERARY COMMITMENT

Soon after the seizure and subsequent devastation of Baghdad (1248), the Mongol conquerors started securing their firm control throughout Iran. Nevertheless, Shiraz, during the "short century" between the Mongol destruction of the central Asian cities of Samarkand and Bukhara (1220) and the downfall of the Abbasid Caliphate, enjoyed some of the most politically and culturally flourishing decades of its premodern history. These are the decades when Abu Mohammad Mosleh al-Din gained renown as Sa'di Shirāzi by attaching himself to the court of the Salghurid Atabeg Abu Bakr ben Sa'd and his son Sa'd ben Abi Bakr. The glory of their reign was short-lived, as soon after the destruction of Baghdad, both the prince and his father died between May and June of 1260.

Conspiracies, dynastic vendettas, and sedition were the context in which 40 or 50-year-old Sa'di desperately started seeking new patronage, and possibly an opportunity to export his literary prestige elsewhere. A new chance arose when the Mongol ruler Hulegu Khan appointed the young Shams al-Din Joveyni Great Minister of the Ilkhanid empire. Shams al-Din was well-versed in the art of statesmanship as well as literary patronage, and somehow became acquainted with Sa'di's ghazals and prose works. The commencement of a courtly and literary affection between the poet and the minister is attested to by lengthy panegyrics that were probably composed between 1264 and the late '70s of the 13th century.

This paper analyzes the patterns of continuity and disruption that characterize Sa'di's direct involvement with the political events of one of the most troubled periods of medieval Iran and of the Islamic world. An in-depth and comparative analysis of some of Sa'di's most unstudied praise poems will offer the opportunity to gauge the role that this poet played in the shaping of new political paradigms.

ALEXANDER JABBARI

SEEK *ADAB* EVEN UNTO CHINA: THE CHINESE TRANSLATION OF THE *GULISTAN* OF SA'DI

Sa'di Shirazi's 13th century *Gulistan* ("Rose Garden") is among the best-known and most widely read works in the history of Persian literature. Study of this text was a traditional staple of education throughout the Persianate world for centuries, and remains so today in several countries, both Persian-speaking and otherwise. It was introduced into Chinese Muslim education in the 16th century by Hu Dengzhou, who also translated the Qur'an and other texts into Chinese. A Chinese-Persian bilingual edition of the *Gulistan* was produced in 2012, described as China's first bilingual *Gulistan* and the most complete and accurate Chinese translation. This paper examines the approach taken to translating and domesticating this text, through engagement with Chinese translation theory from the influential translator Yan Fu (1854-1921). It also closely compares the Chinese translation to the Persian original in order to shed light on how the 13th century Persian Muslim ethos of the *Gulistan* has been adapted to meet the needs of 21st century China's Muslim population. Finally, this paper reflects on expanding the boundaries of the 'Persianate' and Persianate Studies to better incorporate material from the peripheries of the Persianate world such as China.

SADAF JAFFER

THE ETHICAL ZOROASTRIAN: TRANSFORMATION IN THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF DASTUR DHALLA

The autobiography of Dastur Dr. Maneckji Nusserwanji Dhalla (1875-1956), the high priest of Karachi, provides his nuanced recollection of the transformations that took place both in his own life as well as in the South Asian Zoroastrian community over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Originally a self-professed orthodox priest, Dhalla eventually comes to the conclusion that ritual practice is not as important as an ethical understanding of religion, yet he maintains that there is a pristine core of Zoroastrianism and it is this core that should be the focus of a united community. In this paper, I argue that the transformation

Dhalla highlights within his personal philosophy is one of progress from outdated customs to a religion of reason and ethics, which has powerful implications for Zoroastrian practice, belief, and community boundaries.

STANISLAW JASKOWSKI

AHMAD KASRAVI AND THE INTELLECTUAL HERITAGE OF THE QAJAR PERIOD

Although Ahmad Kasravi often presented himself as a creator of an entirely original movement encompassing religion, society and politics, called Pakdini, one can easily find influences of other intellectual and religious movements in his works. He was also heavily influenced by other movements, such as Esperantism and – especially – thoughts of various thinkers from the Qajar period. These included both Iranian intellectuals – such as Akhundzade, Mirza Agha Khan Kermani, Talebov, Mirza Malkam Khan or Mirza Jalal ad-Din Assadabadi, as well as others, such as those of the authors of the journal Molla Nasr ad-Din published in Caucasus and those from some Arabic newspapers and journals.

The goal of the present paper is to present an overview of some of these influences, focusing mostly on the impact of the thinkers of the Qajar period. This is achieved by comparing various elements of Kasravi's thought with those of the thinkers that had preceded him. At the same time, some attention is given to Kasravi's argument, that although some people held positions similar to his, he differed from them in various aspects and thus one cannot consider these influences to be direct loans from previous intellectuals – an argument that cannot be ignored. As it seems, Kasravi created an original system, yet he borrowed many of its elements from his predecessors. At the same time his skepticism towards other ideas, which became popular during the Pahlavi period – such as socialism or even national socialism – allows us to present him rather as a person closer to the modernist ideas of the Qajar period, than those of the Pahlavi era.

WILLIAM JENKINS

TRADE, TERRITORY, TREATIES: GLOBALLY RECASTING IMPERIAL ENTANGLEMENT BETWEEN TSARIST RUSSIA AND QAJAR IRAN FROM TURKMANCHAY TO CONSTITUTION (1828-1906)

This paper challenges reductionist historiography of imperial entanglement between Tsarist Russia and Qajar Persia from 1828 to the empires' respective revolutions of 1905-1906. It uses concepts of territoriality and empire in a global context—but at translocal and transregional levels—for empirical re-evaluation to assert the primary role that economics and commerce played in Russo-Persian imperial entanglements up to the early 20th Century. It demonstrates that the "quickening pace of the commercial economy" in this period meant that securing and protecting access to markets and trade in intertwined locales became the defining imperial struggle, preceding and precipitating the military and geopolitical events conventionally taken to define the historical period from 1828 - 1906.

The paper contrasts the real historical asymmetry of intertwinement between the two empires on several social and economic scales with the geopolitical militarist narrative of imbalanced imperial entanglement resulting from abstract notions of state- and euro-centric elite politics. The construction of a series of military and geopolitical cataclysms customarily seen to have weighed irrevocably against Qajar Iran lacks historicity in the late Qajar period and is a retrospective projection from 20th Century historiography onto the contested commercial history at the real intersections of the empires. It evaluates the effects of treaties and trade capitulations/concessions, commercial networks' and real historical actors' (merchants, consuls, regional politicians, peasantry) contested agency in creating overlapping extraterritoriality as well as trans-border class relations on the peripheries of inter-imperial migration. With spatial awareness, it recasts "dependency" and "penetration" narratives as uneven and contested Russo-Persian imperial entanglement on various interrelated and reinforcing scales—of geography, technology, economics, politics—that conditioned the actual historical Russo-Persian imperial encounter in the "Eurasian Revolution." It demonstrates the non-linear and contested development of Russo-Persian commercial relations and the complex reconfiguration of imperial spaces between them over the nineteenth century.

NILOOFAR KAKHI

TOWARDS THE FORMATION OF A 'REPRESENTATIVE' ARCHITECTURE: THE ROLE OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE FORMATION OF ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIES IN IRAN

Since the early twentieth century, the primary question that dominated the Iranian architectural circles has not been 'how to create the perfect building', but 'how to design, Iranian'. This has also been the most critical point of concern in every encounter between the architects and the Iranian governments for the past hundred years, as the representative characteristics of the built environment could convey and represent selected aspects of national and collective identities. Despite the arrival of modernist architecture along with the extensive modernising plans of the early twentieth century, what has been considered as the representation of Iranian national identity in the field of architecture, has been dominated by the incorporation of visual historic references into the design of new buildings. Yet, what Iranian architects know of such historic references is in itself a highly political matter and based on a very particular way that this knowledge was transmitted from archaeology to architecture. This paper will look at the early stages of the production of architectural knowledge in Iran between the 1920s and 1940s and traces the ways in which archaeology has shaped architectural history and the discourse of 'national architecture' in Iran.

MANABU KAMEYA

EASTERN FARS IN EARLY ISLAMIC PERIOD: ANALYSIS FROM NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

The situation of Fars region in the early Islamic period is not so clear for us. According to narrative sources, compiled in the Abbasid period or later, it seemed that Arab-Muslim army conquered it very quickly, and moved away into more distant regions like Khurasan, Kirman, Sistan, and Sind. They built no Misr, the garrison town, in Fars. Numismatic evidence shows another image of Fars region in the early Islamic period. During the early Umayyad period, mint towns in this area were operated, and they issued comparatively large amount of silver coins. Among them, Darabjird, a town in eastern Fars, issued coins with unique character. Firstly, they

had unique decoration, three-pellets, in the obverse margin. This type of marginal decoration was adopted in the early Umayyad period and only used in the Khurasan region later. Secondly, the coins issued by Darabjird mints sometimes bore Caliph's name, with the title of Amir al-Mu'minin. It is very strange that Caliph's name was engraved in the coins because almost all coins issued in the eastern region of the Islamic community in this period bore Amir's or lesser authority's name. Darabjird was located far from Capital city of the Caliph, Damascus for Muawiya and Abd al-Malik, or Mekka for Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr. We have little information about this phenomenon in the narrative sources.

In this paper, the issue of the coins in the eastern Fars region, from the late Sasanian times to the late Umayyad period, is examined from the viewpoint of the changes of the location of main mints and quantity of the issued coins. The analysis based on numismatic evidence shows unique roles of the mints in the eastern Fars in the early Umayyad period.

SERKAN KECECI

EMPLOYING MILITARY INTELLIGENCE OR FORMING MILITARY DIPLOMACY: THE FIRST RUSSIAN VOENNYI AGENT/MILITARY ATTACHÉ -I. F. BLARAMBERG- IN TEHRAN, 1836-1841

This paper examines the intelligence-gathering methods and the formation of the military diplomacy of the Russian empire in Iran between 1836 and 1841. During the Napoleonic Wars, the Russian military administration had been obliged to adapt its intelligence-gathering capabilities and strategies to the French military mechanism. In this direction, not only permanent ambassadors but also voennyi agents (military agents/attachés) were sent to the several European capitals. Russian voennyi agents had been employed in the military-diplomatic mission which was one of the four basic means of intelligence-gathering about imperial rivals – i.e. reconnaissance, military-scientific expeditions, military-diplomatic missions, and clandestine intelligence. As a continuation of this process, the first Russian voennyi agent, I. F. Blaramberg was assigned to the Russian embassy in Tehran just on the eve of the siege of Herat, in 1836. He was chronologically followed by V. A. Frankini, A. I. Domontovich, P. V. Charkovskii, D. D. Kuz'min-Karavaev, N. Ia. Shneur, V. K. Bel'grad

and, V. A. Kosagovskii until the beginning of the twentieth century. Russian voennyi agents were to perform their active services in a limited area - only in the Iranian centre until the first decade of the twentieth century - and were expected to send detailed and comprehensive intelligence reports on the strengths and weaknesses of the Iranian imperial structure.

MARYAM KOHANSAL

THE ROLE OF THEATER IN VOICING IRANIAN HISTORY BASED ON THE ANALYSIS OF BAHRAM BEYZA'EE'S DRAMA

The theatre is one of the most dynamic and most vivid routes of communication with history. In the Iranian theater, one of the most prominent writers who dealt with this issue is Bahram Beyza'ee. Beyza'ee uses historical accounts and tells the story of people whose names are off the record but have someday existed. Beyza'ee, as a playwright and scholar, depicts Iranian mythology, rituals, and history in his plays. He makes artistic reproductions of silent voices and untold stories to the audience. Analyzing Beyza'ee's dramatic works, this research tries to foreground the importance of theatre regarding voicing history and examine the analyses of writers and theatre audience about the untold stories of the history. Also, this study is an attempt to establish the position of theater in narration of history and even the formation of the historical movements in society.

ANNA KOLLATZ

AN INSIDE VIEW: PERCEPTIONS OF HISTORY IN GULBADAN'S HUMĀYŪNNĀM

This paper focuses on perceptions of History in a text different from the "historiographical mainstream" of its time. On the example of Gulbadan Bīgum's Humāyūnnāma, it will analyze the historical awareness from a point of view inside the Mughal dynasty and court. Gulbadan's history has largely been neglected by research. This is all the more surpising, as the text may be rated as singular even beyond the context of the Mughal Empire. We do not know texts similar to it, e.g. from the Ottoman

Empire. The text offers the singular possibility to look behind the screens of the official parts of the Mughal Court and its historiography. It contains valuable information, e.g. on the political role of female members of the dynasty. Though written in a rather informal, personal style, the text does not stand behind its contemporaries written by male historiographers concerning the functionalization of the historiographic discourse. The paper will discuss Gulbadans ways of sense-making: Her strategy of staging a common (Mughal) identity as a means of legitimation, and her presentation of a continuum of past, present and future as driving force behind the course of history. It will especially focus on the presentation of the emperor.

NOBUAKI KONDO
THE EARLY QAJAR FORM OF POLITICAL AUTHORITY

The legitimacy of the Qajar state (1796–1925) has been discussed mainly through the framework of Shiʿi political theory. The theory of *ghayba* and the mojtaheds' recognition of their rule are important issues in this discussion. However, the early Qajars had problems other than religious legitimacy. When they first established their rule over Iran, they sought to legitimize it by other means. Just as Nadir Shah sought legitimacy after the Safavid rule, as discussed by Tucker (2006), the early Qajars needed legitimacy to establish a stable rule. This paper examines how the early Qajars claimed their rule to be legitimate. In the first part of the paper, I will focus on the activity of Aqa Mohammad Khan, who began his campaign to seize the whole of Iran after the death of Karim Khan Zand in 1779. Early Qajar chronicles, such as *Tarikh-e Mohammadi* and *Tarikh-e Molk-ara*, in addition to several published and unpublished documents, will be analyzed. The most important issue was the coronation of Aqa Mohammad Khan in 1796, which has not been considered adequately appropriately in the secondary literature on Qajar history, partly because of the complicated early Qajar historiography. In the second part, I will analyze accounts of the Qajars' origin. Four early Qajar writers presented their own views, but none of them became official or dominant later. The accounts will indicate the Qajars' interest (or otherwise) in their genealogy. Through discussions in this paper, I will demonstrate the late-18th and early-19th centuries' methods of establishing dynastic legitimacy, which were quite different from those of the medieval dynasties.

IRINA KOSHORIDZE

SOME NOTES ABOUT THE NEWLY DISCOVERED PALACE DECORATIONS IN 19ᵀᴴ-CENTURY GEORGIA

In the architectural style of 19th-century Georgia, Orientalism was one of the mainstreams in which the main administrative buildings were built. The style was introduced by Russian authorities in response to the fashion of that time, but there were buildings in the early 19th century that were clearly affiliated with "real" Oriental influences. The Palace of Persian nobleman Aqa Mir Fattah mujtahid (1794-1852), who moved to Georgia after Persian-Russian wars, was one of them. The Russian Empire welcomed his ally after he left Tabriz. 50 "desiatina" lands wwere given to him on the left bank of the river Mtkvari in Tbilisi, where he built a palace, pavilion and beautiful gardens called later Mushtaidi gardens. In 1830-ies Aga Mihr Fattah Mushtaidi left Georgia. In 1908 Caucasian Kustar (Handicrafts) Committee was granted the land on these territories, where they built the museum and several other buildings.

The newly discovered materials –mosaics and wooden latticework- (mashrabiya) windows, in the storages of the Museum and their comparative study with archives and other materials confirm that they belonged to the Palace of Aga Mihr Fattah Mushtaidi which was built according to the fashion of that time and which had parallels not only with Persian and Persianate, but also with the European style.

TAMAR LEKVEISHVILI

SOME ASPECTS OF NADER SHAH'S POLICY TOWARDS THE EASTERN GEORGIA: CONTINUITY AND CHANGES

There are several primary sources describing Nader Shah's political and military activities in Iran, as well as in Caucasian countries (Mirza Mohammad Kazem, Mirza Mohammad Mehdi Khan Astarabadi, Hakob Shemakhets'i, Abraham Kretats'i, Jonas Hanway, etc). However, for exploration of events and facts related to Nader Shah's activities in the Caucasus and especially in Georgia, it is important to explore Georgian primary sources. These sources contain significant information which are unknown to Iranians and other authors and sometimes contradict

information of their works. Distinguished and reliable Georgian chroniclers of that period, such as Papuna Orbeliani, Vakhushti Batonishvili, Oman Kerkheulidze, and others give comprehensive and interesting references about peculiarities Nader shah's policy carried out in the Eastern Georgia during the 1730-40ies.

In this paper, some of the lesser-known aspects of Nader Shah's Caucasian policy are examined, based on such kind of sources. Special attention is given to the analysis of the peculiarities of Nader shah's religious policy towards Orthodox Christian Georgia and its political consequences.

D GERSHON LEWENTAL

ARMENIANS, GEORGIANS AND ALBANIANS AND THE INITIAL SĀSĀNIAN RESPONSE TO THE ARAB-ISLAMIC EXPANSION

Although nearly a decade elapsed from the start of the Arab-Islamic expansion until Muslim fighters made their initial forays into the Caucasus, Muslim and non-Muslim annals record the participation of soldiers from Armenia, Albania, and Georgia in fighting from the outset. A comparative examination of the sources shines light not only on the course of the expansion, but also instructs regarding the attitudes of Caucasian peoples towards the momentous events of the age.

Armenian and Georgian writers offer a unique perspective into the events of the Seventh Century. The Caucasian historical literature includes some of the earliest reports on the conquests, giving added value—and perhaps reliability—to the information contained, including details not found elsewhere on the earliest stage of the Arab-Muslim expansion. The participation of Caucasian fighters in the first battles against the Muslims can likely be attributed to the Espahbodān family, which governed Āźarbāyjān and which dominated Sāsānian Iran in the empire's final years. Rostam b. Farrokh-Hormozd, the power behind the Sāsānian throne, served as commander-in-chief of the imperial army and led the initial defence against the Arab invasion. His death at al-Qādisiyyah triggered the demise of the empire and likewise facilitated the rapid disengagement of Caucasian fighters from the Sāsānian war effort.

The complex and often tense relations between Caucasian dynasties and the Sāsānian and Byzantine superpowers who frequently intervened in local affairs tempered the Caucasian response—especially after the reassertion of autonomy by local authorities. Thus, a comparative study reveals much about the identity and loyalty of the Caucasian peoples, heretofore caught between the dominant Byzantine and Sāsānian Empires, as they redefined themselves against the backdrop of the demise of the latter, the dramatic retreat of the former, and the rise of a new Islamic power that filled the void.

MUHIBA MAHMADJONOVA

SHAMS AND MAVLANA - SCHOOL OF MENTORING AND DISCIPLESHIP

The school of mentoring in Sufism is one of the amazing phenomena of the culture of the Middle East. Without going through the school of mentoring, it was rare for a great Sufi to reach his spiritual heights. In the East, the tradition of discipleship in spiritual cultivation has deep roots and differs in its structure and affiliation from other similar traditions. Mentoring is inherent in both religious-philosophical and non-religious traditions, in particular, mashshaya _ eastern peripateticism. Following the Aristotelian principles of the development of scientific and cultural thought, the Eastern Peripatetic thinkers adopted all the Aristotle traditions. Unlike the Sufis, the Peripatetics would directly chose Aristotle as a teacher.

Irfan and Sufism that appeared in the bosom of Islamic culture and tradition, at first, tended to be distant from the society, while the tradition of adherence to aesthetics _ love of music, literary language, fine arts, calligraphy and architecture _ began with the first Sufis.

This debate became the starting point in a new understanding of man and his role for Mavlana, after this conversation he looked from a different angle both at the new role and significance of man in earthly life, and at the place of a mentor in his own life.

The Sufi mentoring Institute in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries was not just a practical "management" of the student from one spiritual and intellectual parking lot to another. Acquisition of the "Pir" (Teacher) was the moment of the discovery of a new world, intellectual horizons and knowledge, and the development of the philosophical talent of the pupils, indicating acquaintance and adherence to philosophy of Aristotle and Plato, which had many signs of ancient Greek spiritual education.

UMED MAMADSHERZODSHOEV

THE CONTRIBUTION OF GHIYĀS AL-DĪN ISFAHĀNĪ IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ASTRONOMY IN BADAKHSHAN

This paper is a first step in researching and elucidating the development of astronomy in Badakhshhan. To date, there has been no in-depth study on this important topic, other than articles that briefly mention the fact that in past centuries scholars of Badakhshan were very productive in the field astronomy. One important Iranian scholar was Ghiyās al-Dīn Isfahānī (Tajik, Ghiyosidin Ali Isfahoni), the founder of astronomy in Badakhshan in the fifteenth century. Despite the fact that no madrasas existed in Badakhshan at the time, astronomers taught their followers in their private schools about the galaxy and planets to determine auspicious and inauspicious times.

Ghiyās al-Dīn Isfahānī was one of the celebrated Ismaili daʿis sent to Badakhshan by Imam Mustansir Billāh II (d. 880/1475) in the fifteenth century. In Badakhshan, during the rule of Abū Saʿīd Gurgānī (Abusaidi Gurgoni), he wrote the following scientific works: 1) *Risāla-i Nujūm*; 2) *Sahīfat al-Nāzirīn*; 3) *Dānish-nāma-i Jahān*. These works became very well known in Badakhshan. It should be mentioned that scholars initially (erroneously) attributed *Sahīfat al-Nāzirīn* to Sayyid Suhrāb Valī Badakhshanī (Said Suhrobi Vali). The works of Ghiyās al-Dīn Isfahānī became very well known in Badakhshan. This paper will introduce the importance of the development of astronomy in Badakhshan and the important contribution of Ghiyās al-Dīn Isfahānī.

BEATRICE MANZ

EXAMINING THE TURKIC TRADITIOM OF SHARED RULE

In his magisterial work, Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion, V. V. Bartol'd stated that in Turkic and Mongolian tradition the realm was considered the property of the family of the ruler, and governance was divided amongst the group. This analysis has become a widely accepted among historians of the Islamic world and has been coupled with the observation that Turco-Mongolian societies practiced lateral succession, allowing several legitimate candidates for the throne. These two traits have served to explain perceived tendencies towards decentralization and frequent succession struggles under steppe dynasties in the Middle East.

In the last years, some scholars have questioned the usefulness of these concepts in understanding the politics of the Seljukid dynasty. They have raised two points: first, that shared rule and lateral succession were practiced by numerous dynasties unconnected to the steppe, and second, that the Seljukid rule was at times centralized. In this paper I will take the question further, examining the Mongol and Timurid periods, posing the question of how useful these paradigms are for our understanding of dynastic politics during the middle periods of Islamic history.

I suggest while traditions of clan sovereignty and of lateral succession existed in the steppe, we should not assume either that all steppe societies practiced them in the same way, or that they were unique to the steppe. Thus, they should not be used to differentiate Turkic and Mongolian dynasties from Iranian and Arab ones. Furthermore, we must see these traditions as balanced by imperial traditions promoting centralization. Finally, for Turco-Mongolian dynasties as for others, the political and geographical situation cannot be omitted from the calculation.

LOUISE MARLOW

THE "HISTORIES" OF ISFAHAN FROM ARABIC INTO PERSIAN

The "translation" (more accurately, as many scholars have noted, adaptation) of acclaimed and prestigious Arabic texts into Persian is a topic that has attracted considerable scholarly attention in recent decades. Research has tended to focus on the earliest 'translations', notably the

Persian versions of the History and Tafsīr of al-Tabarī, commissioned in the Samanid kingdom in the tenth century as part of that dynasty's legitimising assertion of a distinctive courtly authority. Less attention has been paid to translations made from Arabic into Persian in later centuries. Informed by the studies of Jürgen Paul and David Durand-Guédy, this presentation explores the Arabic Risālat Mahāsin Isfahān, composed by the Isfahani littérateur Mufaddal b. Saʿd Māfarrukhī during the reign of the Seljuk Sultan Malikshāh (r. 465-85/1073-92), and Husayn b. Muhammad b. Abī l-Rizā Āvī's Persian Tarjameh of Māfarrukhī's text, made in 729/1328-9. Whereas Māfarrukhī's text is implicitly dedicated to Nizām al-Mulk's son, the governor of Isfahan, Fakhr al-Mulk Abū l-Fath (d. 500/1106), Āvī, who portrayed himself as a newcomer to Isfahan, explicitly dedicated his translation of Mahāsin Isfahān to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muhammad (d. 736/1336), vizier under the Ilkhan Abū Saʿīd (r. 716-36/1316-35). Often discussed in the context of local historiography, Mahāsin Isfahān is a work of adab; it is reminiscent of fadāʾil literature and recalls the poetic anthology. Comparing the Arabic and Persian versions of Mahāsin Isfahān, this presentation highlights the prominence of viziers in both texts and explores the ways in which each author produced a text that straddled literary genres to accommodate his specific purposes.

RUDI MATTHEE

A SAFE SPACE FOR THE SHAH AND HIS WOMEN: THE PRACTICE OF QURUQ IN THE SAFAVID PERIOD

This presentation will chart the evolution of the term and practice of *quruq*, قرق, also sp. *qūruq*, قورق, or *qurūq*, قروق. Originating as a Mongol term denoting a burial site or a hunting ground taboo and off-limits to anyone but the ruler, *quruq* in the course of the Safavid period came to stand for an embargoed zone protecting females of high rank and in particular women of the royal court. Using Persian-language sources and European travel accounts, I argue that this shift in meaning and the sudden appearance of *quruq* as an enclosed space for court women at the turn of the seventeenth century clearly reflects the transition of the Safavids from a steppe dispensation to a sedentary order and the attendant loss of mobility of the shah and his entourage. *Quruq* thus was a function of

urban living and the seclusion it mandated, substituting, in a paradoxical way, controlled mobility for the free-range mobility of the erstwhile ambulant court. Shah `Abbas's choice of Isfahan as Iran's first real capital is a signal moment in this development, and it is no accident that our first real description of *quruq* involves an all-female spectacle on the royal square and the adjacent bazaar during that shah's reign. As Shah `Abbas's successors more and more retreated into the palace, the incidence of *quruq* only grew, allowing the women of the court to enjoy at least a modicum of "freedom," certainly compared to their Ottoman sisters, who, immured in the Topkapı Palace, in this period never seem to have gone out riding, or for that matter, the royal women of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Russia, who lived cloistered lives in the *terem*, an institution similar to the harem. With that, the nuisance these royal outings created for the common people living in the way of the cavalcade was substantial and growing, as is amply documented by the foreign observers who, encountering them, were forced, like all males, to vacate their homes or make detours and incur delays. In the course of the seventeenth century *quruq* became common but it always remained a custom; it never became institutionalized by being included in the bureaucratic apparatus and nomenclature. The term and the practice thus do not appear in any of the surviving Safavid manuals of state.

SCOTT MCDONOUGH

"A CROWN, ROBES-OF-HONOR, AND THE ROYAL STANDARD": PATRONAGE AND POWER IN SASANIAN CAUCASIA

Heroic opposition to the hegemony of Sasanian Iran was a central topos of early Armenian literature, whose authors sought to articulate a new Christian "national" identity for their land. Yet, even those writers most hostile to the Sasanians expend great energy describing the rewards these kings handed out the aristocrats of Caucasia. With little sense of irony, authors gush about nobles fêted at court, honored with Sasanian titles, given crowns (tʻag) and diadems (patiw), robes (patmučan) and armor (zēn) from the King of Kings, dining on plates furnished by him, campaigning in his tents (χoran) and pavilions (maskapačen), even sitting on cushions (gah) provided by the Iranian sovereign.

To a degree, this was a simple acknowledgment of aristocratic realities. Elites in Armenia partook of an essentially Iranian aristocratic culture, defined by shared markers of status and achievement. Indeed, the works of Cyril Toumanoff, Nina Garsoïan, James Russell and Stephen Rapp have demonstrated how deeply Caucasia was embedded within the Iranian cultural sphere, and how little Christianization altered that socio-political orientation.

Nevertheless, the royal gift-giving described in Armenian sources should not be quickly set aside as a cultural curiosity. In Armenia, royal patronage served to legitimize Sasanian power won through victory and (in Armenian eyes) treacherous betrayal. In the fourth and fifth centuries, Sasanian benefactions pulled the aristocratic clans of Armenia directly into the orbit of the King of Kings, effectively marginalizing the Armenian Aršakuni monarchy. Even in the last Sasanian centuries, often presented in modern scholarship as an era of political "centralization," royal patronage trumped any attempt at institutional rationalization of the Sasanian polity. Indeed, I argue that Armenian descriptions of royal giving are indispensable contemporary witnesses to a central pillar of the Sasanian rule.

MARYAM MOAZZEN

RELIGION AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE: COMPETING CLAIMS IN THE WORK OF *SHAYKH AL-ISLAM* 'ALI NAQI KAMAREHI VERSUS ABU'L-FAZL 'ALLAMI

'Ali Naqi Kamarehi (d. 1650), a student of Majid Bahrani (d. 1619), was the judge of Shiraz before serving as the *Shaykh al-Islam* of Isfahan during the reign of Abbas II (d. 1666). He authored a number of important works that are still in manuscript format. His main work, *Himam al-Thawaqib* (kept at the Motahhari University, no. 161), contains Kamarehi's advice for Shah Safi (d.1642) as well as his criticisms of the shah's religious policies. He wrote *Himam* six years after Shah Safi assumed power; based on those six years of observation, Kamarehi argues that the shah and the leading religious scholars should run the society together. He specifies that the shah should entrust religious scholars with legal as well as religious matters, and always seek their company and advice. However,

to Kamarehi's dismay – as he explains in *Himam* – Shah Safi has shown some ecumenical tendencies, such as commissioning Mulla Sadra to translate al-Ghazali's *Al-Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din* into Persian. Apparently the shah also expressed a keen interest in the works of Abu'l-Fazl 'Allami (d. 1602), and appointed scholars that Kamarehi believes are Abu'l-Fazl's followers to important religious offices while ignoring Shi'i scholars.

In *Himam*, Kamarehi furiously criticizes the works and ideas of Abu'l-Fazl, a scholar who regarded Islam as universally true, but did not argue that it was exclusively true. Indeed, Abu'l-Fazl had come up with an ideology known as universal peace (*solh-i koll*) that – in the spirit of which Akbar's government – integrated diverse cultural groups into a stable administrative and military system. Kamarehi also condemns the works of Abu'l-Fazl's older brother, Fayzi (d.1595). According to Kamarehi, Fayzi denied the prophet-hood of Prophet Muhammad as well as the divine origin of the Qur'an in his commentary on the Qur'an.

This article argues that the new climate of opinion promoted by Akbar I, Abu'l-Fazl and Fayzi – that, according to Kamarehi, was promoted by some Iranian scholars and Shah Safi – made conservative religious scholars fearful of their prospects within the court and among the Safavid subjects. They saw this development as a threat to their continued rising power. Kamarehi therefore urges the shah to focus exclusively on maintaining the supremacy of the shari'a and 'ulama and to associate himself more with learned and pious men. But despite the fact that the Safavid rulers were not faced with an extreme religious divide, similar to the Mughal Empire, there were various religious clashes: Muslim vs. non-Muslim, Sunni vs. Shi'i, as well as tensions with various mystical Muslim beliefs. Shah Safi perhaps wished to promote tolerance for all religions; but Kamarehi was fiercely devoted to promoting Islam as the one legitimate universal faith, and more specifically he championed the supremacy of Shi'ism and the Shi'a.

BADROSADAT ALIZADEH MOGHADAM

INVESTIGATING THE ROLE AND FUNCTIONS OF COFFEE SHOPS FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF NASRABADI'S *TAZKIRATUL SHO'ARA*

One of the most important sources about social history of the Safavid era is *Tazkiratul Sho'ara* (Poets' biographies), written by Nasrabadi. In this work, Narabadi describes different aspects of social and cultural life of people in the Safavid era including life in *qahva-khaneh* (coffee shop). Although the history of coffee shops goes back to the beginning of the Safavid era, these centers were promoted and faced considerable developments in the Shah Abbas I period. This article attempts to explain the role and functions of coffee shops in Safavid community from the viewpoint stated in *Tazkiratul Sho'ara*. According to Nasrabadi, *qahva-khaneh* facilitated relations between different social classes, filled a part of people's leisure times, and provided an appropriate space for exchanging views and ideas among elite class.

DARYOUSH MOHAMMAD POOR

THE DOUBLE IDENTITY OF ISMĀʿĪLĪS IN THE POST-ALAMŪT PERIOD

Following the collapse of the Alamūt state at the hand of the Mongols, Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs effectively survived under the guise of Sufism. Before the collapse of the Nizārī state, Ismāʿīlīs already had intimate relations with major Sufi figures and extensively used their ideas and language in articulating their doctrines. These major figures include Sanāʾī Ghaznawī, ʿAyn al-Qudāt Hamadānī and Aḥmad al-Ghazālī among others. In the aftermath of the Mongol invasion and by the time the Anjudān revival period began, Ismāʿīlīs had become more deeply involved with various Sufi communities, including the Hurūfīs and the Nuqtawīs but more prominently the Niʿmat Allāhī Sufis. This later involvement lasted from almost the time of Mustanṣir Biʾllāh II (d. 885/1480) until the final days of the life of Aga Khan II (d. 1302/1885), which is a period of almost 400 years.

During this period, Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs gradually developed a dual identity which was at the same time Ismāʿīlī – in the sense that it recognised the

authority of the present living Ismāʿīlī Imam descended from Nizār b. Mustaʿlī – and Ithnā ʿAsharī in the sense that they frequently spoke about the twelve Ithnā ʿAsharī Imams and there is plenty of evidence about such expressions. This paper will look at some of the published and unpublished documents and manuscripts trying to explain how this shift took hold and how it was eventually eliminated from Nizārī Ismāʿīlī identity.

KAZUO MORIMOTO

THE EARLIEST ʿALID GENEALOGY FOR THE SAFAVIDS REVISITED

In 2010, in an article entitled "The Earliest ʿAlid Genealogy for the Safavids: New Evidence for the Pre-dynastic Claim to *Sayyid* Status" (*Iranian Studies* 43-4), I reported the discovery of a genealogical chart from the latter half of the fifteenth century (i.e., from the pre-dynastic period) that presented the Safavids as descending from Musa al-Kazim through the "official genealogy" famously propagated during the dynastic period. Regarding the recording of the genealogical chart in the manuscript examined, I concluded that it took place most probably in the second half of the 860s/first half of the 1460s and stated that "that this genealogy was composed in Iraq (most likely in Najaf), at some distance from Ardabil, suggests the circulation of this genealogy was rather widespread at the time."

Further investigations into the manuscript in question, especially into its marginal notes, now necessitate revisiting and revising those observations. It has become clear that the genealogist who recorded the chart in the manuscript, ʿAli b. Qasim al-Musawi al-Najafi, actively travelled around Iran and the neighboring regions. It is now also known that al-Musawi al-Najafi attended the courts of Sultan Abu Saʿid of the Timurids and the Shirwanshah Farrukh-Yasar/Siyar. It is even possible that al-Musawi al-Najafi met Shaykh Jaʿfar of the Safavids during Sultan Abu Saʿid's fatal campaign in Azerbaijan in 1468-69.

Revising some of the observations I made in the previous publication regarding the ʿAlid genealogical chart is not all that I will undertake in this presentation. The newly discovered information about the activities of al-

Musawi al-Najafi, especially his association with the courts of the dynastic rulers of the time, offers useful insights as to the significance ʿAlid legitimacy had in the religious and political milieus in which that genealogist operated in the last half century of the era of so-called "confessional ambiguity."

ALI MOZAFFARI AND NIGEL WESTBROOK

CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT: ARCHITECTURE AND THE DESIGN OF HERITAGE IN THE 1970S IRAN

Our paper attempts to trace the contours of the relationship between development (which is often expressed in relation to theories of modernization), cultural traditions and the built environment, with a specific focus on Iran in the latter part of the twentieth century. We argue that built environment in general and architecture in particular, constitute an arena within which various conceptions and aspects of development coalesce in tangible, concrete form. Thus, for example, once the shortcomings of modernization theories were realised, this had inevitable corollary effects on the discourses of the built environment. The effects of this change can be seen in policies for the design of built habitat in 'developing' societies. Approaching the transformations of Iranian architecture from this angle, we argue that the architecture of this period is the outcome of international exchange of both ideas and professional expertise, technological advancement, and anthropologically-based studies of tradition and development of traditional social groups. Without reducing the diversity of practices into a singular strand, we suggest that the turn to local traditions and the vernacular in the architecture of this period has to be interpreted in light of the relationship between development and culture. In this light, architecture is a productive discourse, one that produces, rather than just represents, various forms of heritage. This interpretation recasts the role of architectural production, both as a negotiating vehicle for modernity, but equally, as the producer of cultural heritage. In this regard, our position, especially on the Iranian state-sponsored architecture of the 1970s, marks a departure from much of the existing scholarship's almost singular obsession with power. We will illustrate our argument by referring to a selection of architectural projects at different scales.

MEHRDAD MOZAYYAN

MIRZA ALI AKBAR KHAN A 19TH-CENTURY POLYMATH

All as part of a modernization effort that had begun in 1811, the third and last group of 19th-century state-sponsored students, which numbered forty-two, was sent to France in 1859. They remained in Paris between three to nine years. Among these students, Mirza Ali Akbar Khan's contributions stand out, particularly as an educator and artist. Not only did he publish numerous influential and groundbreaking books, but he is also often introduced in Iranian sources as the father of theater, academic painting, musical notes, and a pioneer in adopting a comprehensive approach to teaching French. His introduction is particularly appropriate here, as he also spent a year in Shiraz, as deputy to the young prince Shoā al-Saltaneh, when in 1901, the latter was appointed by his father to the governorship of the province of Fars.

Due to the disparate nature of Qajar sources, and the often unreliable writings on this period, the present study has been highly challenging. The research on Mirza Ali Akbar Khan has been a work in progress for over two decades and is part of a larger work covering all the state-sponsored Iranian students who studied in Europe during the 19th century. Lack of any detailed analysis of this topic has left a clear void in studying the life and times of these students, particularly the lifelong contributions of a Persian polymath who played a major role in the modernization of various Qajar art forms and education. Consequently, myriad writings have appeared which only exasperate our incomplete understanding of this period by breathing new errors into the topic. This presentation aims to pave the road for adopting a more detailed and scrutinizing approach to the study.

MARYAM MUSHARRAF AND MASOOME TALEBI

MIRRORS OF MODERNITY AND UNREST NIMA AND WHITMAN

Modern literature in Iran is usually considered to be influenced by French literary movements. The role of English literature in the formation of modern Persian Literature has been underestimated. Working in this field for a research project, I learned that the American poet Walt Whitman

had an enormous impact on the establishment of Persian Free verse. This impact is apparent in both form and content. In this paper, I intend to unveil many similarities and common achievements in the poetry and thoughts of Walt Whitman and Nima Yushij. In my belief, it is not a coincidence that both great poets are called the father of modern literary movement by their compatriots. In addition to fighting against traditional reactionary forces, both poets played a significant role in social and political movements of their time, and they both paid the price by long-term suppression, poverty, and loneliness; although they both turned out to obtain fame and great achievements. What is the impact of these two on the thought and practice of the revolutionary streams of their time? How did they manage to survive under pressure of tradition and how did they succeed to open a new horizon? These are questions that I am going to investigate in this lecture.

TAYEBE NADERABADI

ḠARBZADAGĪ, ORIENTALISM IN REVERSE? CONCEPTION OF THE OCCIDENT AND THE ORIENT IN JALĀL ĀL-E AHMAD'S WORLDVIEW

In 1962, sixteen years before Edward Said published his Orientalism, first copies of Jalāl Āl-e Ahmad´s book, *Ḡarbzadagī,* were distributed in the circle of Iranian intellectuals. Āl-e Ahmad´s definition of the East and the West and his conception of intellectual in *Ḡarbzadagī* received critiques from its very early appearance in 1960s. However, amongst the enthusiastic upheavals of the time that lurched far more toward polarities, these critical voices were lost and *Ḡarbzadagī* remained an influential thesis on which revolutionary forces drew in their discourses both before and after the 1979 Revolution.

As far as the content of *Ḡarbzadagī* is concerned, the main tendency of scholars has been to interpret Āl-e Ahmad´s conception of the West in this work as "Occidentalism" or "Orientalism in reverse." These categories can describe reconfiguration of *Ḡarbzadagī* in political domains that have instrumentalized its ideas as ideological tools. However, "Orientalism in reverse" or "Occidentalism" fail to explain the complexities in which *Ḡarbzadagī,* as a concept, was born and various

cross-cultural meanings and experiences that are embedded in this concept.

This paper tries to answer two main questions: how *Ḡarbzadagī*, as a concept embodied in the form of a book with the same name by Āl-e Ahmad, was shaped in 1960s Iran? And how does *Ḡarbzadagī* define the Orient and the Occident? To explain the processes that formed the concept, this paper situates *Ḡarbzadagī* in relation to socio-cultural conditions of the time that fostered its genesis and traces philosophical and literary texts from *the Orient* and beyond that shaped the author´s horizons of vision. Based on the findings of this close reading, analytical problems of the Orientalism-Occidentalism categories will be discussed, and, at the end, this paper argues labeling the concept of *Ḡarbzadagī* as "Orientalism in reverse" or "Occidentalism" omits complex layers of meaning that are embedded in the concept and tries to explain transculturality of its formation.

IRINE NATCHKEBIA AND NIKOLOZ NAKHUTSRISHVILI

DIPLOMACY AND POETRY: JOSEPH ROUSSEAU AND HIS PERSIAN QASIDA (1806)

In the present paper, we focus on the "Persian qasida, 19 bayts to the glory of Napoléon." This manuscript in nasta'liq calligraphy is kept in the catalog of Persian and Turkish manuscripts at the University Library of Languages and Civilizations in Paris. It is not signed or dated. We assume that it belongs to Joseph Rousseau, who was proficient in many Oriental languages and was a connoisseur of Persian literature. In 1806 he wrote in Persian the "Persian Ode in honor of Napoléon." Its French version precedes Rousseaus's manuscript – Tableau général de la Perse moderne (1806) – kept in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France. By this way, Rousseau, the great supporter of the Indian expedition, tried to be actively involved in French Oriental policy and to introduce himself as an excellent expert in the affairs of Persia.

The investigation into "Persian qasida" has shown that it is not dedicated to the French Emperor only. In our opinion, it had been written in the context of the mentioned expedition, where French Emperor attributed strategic significance to Persia. In these nineteen bayts both of the

monarchs (Napoleon and Fath-Ali shah) have been represented as "magnificent and noble sovereigns," "impartial judges," "having divine nature." Ex.:

بمغرب تاجدارى عدل پرور
بمشرق شهريارى دادگستر

The major ornament of the "Persian qasida" is its high-flown language, rich in metaphors typical for the Oriental poetry. Probably, this is the only piece written on the issue. All bayts written in compliance with Persian-Arabic genre of lyric – qasida, demonstrate that Joseph Rousseau was quite a good poet and a brilliant popularizer of the Persian literature.

KAVEH NIAZI

THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN QATTĀN MARVZĪ AND RASHĪD AL-DĪN WATWĀT

A prominent scholar of the Islamic world, Qattān Marvzī (1072/1073 – 1153 CE) is known to have written many works on such topics as literature, medicine, engineering, and astronomy. His sole surviving work, however, is a text on astronomy, *The Kayhān Shinākht* (Knowledge of the Cosmos) - one of the earliest known Persian texts on the subject. That Marvzī was highly regarded by his contemporaries and successors can be seen by the fact that he is singled out as a scientific authority by Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 1328 CE) in his discussion of the sighting of the crescent moon. Other historical evidence regarding Marvzī comes from a partially preserved correspondence that he held with Rashīd al-Dīn Watwāt (d. 578/1182) the sāhib dīvān-i inshāʾ (chief secretary) under the Ḵhwarazmshāhī ruler Atsïz (1127-56). What has been preserved in this correspondence are the letters of Watwāt (saved in multiple sources), through which the contents of Marvzī's letters must be deduced. In addition to highlighting Watwāt's powers as an adīb these letters provide a compelling window on the lives of two prominent scholarls of the twelfth century. While the Kayhān Shinākht was written by Marvzī when he was in his late twenties, the correspondence between Marvzī and Rashīd al-Dīn Watwāt provide details about Marvzī's life as an old man and highlight his significance as a renowned ʿālim.

PAULINA NIECHCIAŁ

FEMININITY IN CONTEMPORARY ZOROASTRIANISM

This paper comments on some preliminary research on gender issues in Zoroastrianism. It will focus on the idea of femininity – understood as a set of attributes, behaviors, and roles generally associated with girls and women – in contemporary Zoroastrianism. The paper will cover:

1). The short historical introduction into the research on women's position and image in Zoroastrianism;

2). The comment on contemporary situation of women in Zoroastrianism (e.g. engagement of women in religious activity beyond the domestic sphere; opening the male-only priesthood to women, especially in Iran, where it is enforced by structural factors as the need of reinforcement of collective identity and distinguishing the community from the dominant group, that means Muslim Iranians, as well as the lack of male priests);

3). The analysis of the femininity patterns promoted within the contemporary Zoroastrianism on the basis of the qualitative research of a variety of data, as Zoroastrian publications, leaders' speeches etc. (e.g. the idea of equality of men and women promoted by the Zoroastrian leaders in Iran in order to indicate that the source of certain adverse practices and behaviour towards women originates in Arabic culture).

NACIEM NIKKHAH

TEXT AND IMAGE: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO COLLECTING AND ALBUM-MAKING IN INDIA AND IRAN

This paper is concerned with the albums that were created in the sixteenth and seventeenth century in Iran and India. With a close analysis of two albums: the so-called 'Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh Album,' from the Golestan Palace Library and the H.2155 album of the Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi, the paper investigates which poems and what verses are selected for the pages of calligraphy that were gathered in the albums; which poets are often favoured by the calligraphers and the collectors; and what is the message conveyed collectively by the gathered verses of poetry.

Selecting the period between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries is deliberate; choosing to write about albums that were produced in Iran and in India is also intentional. Painters and calligraphers moved between the Safavid and Mughal courts, where their works were collected by their contemporary courtiers and occupied the imagination of the nobilities for centuries later. Furthermore, admiration for classical Persian poetry encouraged literary inspirations and innovations in both Iran and India.

However, in the previous scholarly approaches to the textual content of the albums, words are often analysed for their aesthetic appeal rather than their meaning; calligraphers are often noted, while the poets are seldom identified. The textual component of the album includes either single-pages of calligraphy, or small pieces of paper with verses of poetry that have been cut and pasted around a painting to serve as a bordering device. Often these poems convey messages of morality, praises for a beloved, or sometimes translations of verses of the Quran. While the verbal message does not always directly relate to the painted image, identification of the verses collected in the album could point to the reception and perception of Persian poetry in the Mughal and Safavid courts.

YOUNES NOURBAKHSH

IRANIAN MODERNITY FROM THE QAJAR PERIOD TO THE PRESENT

The following study investigates Iranian's religious lifestyle.

The theoretical methodology of this study is based on Emile Durkheim and Max Webber's thoughts on ethics and religion. This research follows a historical comparative approach and solicits aid from quantitative content analysis to analyze the data. Ethics and lifestyle have fallen into the five key categories as below: Rationality, Religious and Social Tolerance, Religious Rituals and Beliefs, Clerical and Monarch Status (Religion-government Interaction), and Women. The following paper intends to delve into this topic through sociological, historical and comparative aspects by conferring with the aforementioned evidence and documents.

According to the findings of this research and excerpted data, it seems that Sufi beliefs' spread and the lifestyle associated with such belief has

had tremendous impact on the rise in irrational criteria during the Safavid. Such criteria can be categorized as social indifference, lack of future mindfulness, superstitious beliefs, slothfulness and contentment.

To illustrate clerical and monarch status (religious and government interaction), we can say that despite the fact that sparks of traditional constitutional dominance can be observed, the charismatic and monarch dominance were common place. People at that era attributed charismatic and supernatural characteristics for their monarchs and kings.

SATOSHI OGURA

POLITICAL LEGITIMACIES AND THEIR PERCEPTIONS IN THE MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY OF SULTANATE AND EARLY MUGHAL KASHMIR

Since about the fourth century, South Asia witnessed the expansion of what Sheldon Pollock has called the 'Sanskrit cosmopolis,' a trans-regional and centerless network of linguistic culture, in which similar kinds of claims about the nature and aesthetics of polity and universality of dominion spread (Pollock 1996; 2006). After the intermittent expeditions of the Ghaznawids beginning at the end of the tenth century and the establishment of the Delhi sultanate in 1206, the trans-regional culture of the 'Persian cosmopolis,' which spanned South, Central, and South West Asia, permeated into the greater part of North India and even in South India, where the two cosmopolises had coexisted (Eaton and Wagoner 2014), and diglossia, bilingualism, and multilingualism developed in societies beyond a religious community. Under such historical circumstance, Muslim rulers in less-Islamized South Asia employed strategies of legitimation without limiting them to Islamicate models, and ruled people received their legitimation(s) in various ways. The case of Kashmir is not exceptional.

Two provincial Muslim dynasties, the Shāhmīrids (1339–1561) and the Chakids (1561–1586) ruled Kashmir before its annexation to the Mughal Empire in 1586. The Shāhmīrids used both Persian and Sanskrit as the languages of political and cultural activities, cultivating both Hindu Brahmins skilled in Persian and Muslim intellectuals having knowledge of Sanskrit. Such multilingual literacies were not limited in the court but

spread among the public. Consequently, the rulers claimed both Islamicate and Indic political legitimacies: patronages and matrimonial relationships to Sayyids and Sufis/claiming a genealogy descended from a *Mahabhārata* hero etc. Moreover, it frequently occurred that non-Muslim audiences received Islamicate legitimacy claimed by the rulers in Indic way, while Muslims received Indic legitimacy in Islamic way. This paper explores paralleling and crossing relationships between languages (Persian/Sanskrit) and political legitimacies (Islamicate/Indic) in the multilingual society of sultanate and early Mughal Kashmir.

AUSTIN O'MALLEY

UTTERANCE, TO MAXIM, TO TEXT: THE AUSPICIOUS SAYINGS OF ABU SAʿID

Few holy figures loom larger in the Persianate religious imagination than the eleventh-century preacher and mystic, Shaykh Abu Saʿid. A community of disciples formed around his person while he lived, and after he died, his shrine became an important node of economic and political power in eastern Iran. A century later, the shrine was destroyed in the Ghozz rebellions, after which Ebn Monavvar—one of Abu Saʿid's descendants—collected the sayings of the shaykh and various anecdotes about him into a hagiographical work, *the Secrets of God's Oneness* (*Asrâr al-Towhid*). Scholars like Nafisi, Meier, and Shafiʿi-Kadkani have meticulously combed through the Secrets in an attempt to reconstruct Abu Saʿid's historical identity, but the hagiographical function of the Secrets itself has attracted little attention. In this project, I examine how the Secrets presents itself to its audience while reinterpreting the shaykh's legacy for a wider readership. Specifically, I argue that the historical Abu Saʿid was primarily a preacher whose utterances were preserved in oral traditions that circulated in the shrine community; after the shrine's destruction, this oral tradition was threatened with extinction. Ebn Monavvar compiled the Secrets to preserve the community's knowledge in a textual form, but this also entailed a reimagining of the Abu Saʿid's posthumous spiritual power for a new kind of devotee, for whom the text itself—especially its reproduction of his verses and epigrammatic sayings—replaced the shrine as the primary vector for the manifestation of the saint's blessings. This

analysis will thus not only shed new light on Abu Saʿid and the Secrets but also illustrate larger changes in Persian Sufism as it grew from a disparate set of orally transmitted, local traditions to a dominant mode of spirituality rooted in a widely disseminated textual discourse.

EVA ORTHMANN

"IT WAS A DAY OF GREAT SPLENDOR" – RECEPTIONS AND AUDIENCES IN THE GHAZNAVID EMPIRE

The Ta'rikh-e Baihaqī is an astonishing rich source for court ceremonial and daily observances in the Ghaznavid Empire. In most cases, public audiences are rather mentioned at random. They were generally hold every day, sometimes followed or preceded by private meetings. The latter are described in more detail, since the really important government affairs were discussed there. Some public audiences were however conducted with great pomp, observing an elaborate protocol, and distributing huge amounts of money and gifts. The offering of robes of honor was an important element of such courtly ceremonial, too. Splendid audiences took place at specific occasions, like the reception of envoys. One of the most remarkable descriptions of an audience delineates the reception of a caliphal envoy who came to Amīr Masʿūd to convey the new caliph's investiture certificate for him. The Ghaznavid ruler diligently prepared this reception and did his best to impress the envoy. Another very remarkable passage describes a feast which was celebrated when the ruler's new Golden throne was inaugurated.

The information provided by Ta'rikh-e Baihaqi allows us to understand social ranking and etiquette in the Ghaznavid Empire. Abū l-Fazl Baihaqī, its author, again and again emphasizes that he was present at specific events as an eyewitness. Nevertheless, the reliability of his information has also to be asked for.

OSAMU OTSUKA

KINGSHIP AND TITLES OF ILKHANID RULERS: DID THEY REALLY CLAIM THEMSELVES PĀDHSHĀH-I IRAN?

Ilkhanid period (1256-1357) has been considered as one of the important turning points, in which the notion of Iran was established, and political identity and self-consciousness of Iran and Iranians emerged. It is commonly believed that by means of adopting the title "the king of Iran" (*pādshāh-i Īrān*), Ilkhanid rulers reanimated the political notion of Iran, the political connotations of which had been lost since the breakdown of the Sasanian dynasty (224-651). As the basis for argument, Bert G. Fragner's remark has been frequently quoted. Fragner repeatedly mentions that the 7th Ilkhanid ruler Ghāzān Khān (r. 1295-1304) proclaimed formally as "king of Iran and Islam" (*pādshāh-i Īrān wa Islām*), without showing primary sources which he used. However, as opposed to the case of the title "the king of Islam" (*pādshāh-i islām*), there has been almost no serious discussion on this title in previous studies.

In this presentation, for reconsidering Fragner's remark, I will analyze different kinds of titles (*sulṭān*, *pādshāh*, *khān*, *shāhanshāh*, *īlkhān*, etc.) used by successive Ilkhanid rulers in several historical materials (1. Prefaces on literature works dedicated to Ilkhanid rulers, 2. Official letters issued by Ilkhanid rulers, 3. Coins struck by Ilkhanid rulers, 4. Inscriptions on Ilkhanid religious architecture, and so on), and show if Ilkhanid rulers really proclaimed themselves "the king of Iran" (*pādshāh-i Īrān*), and how they legitimized their kingship. Through this discussion, I will demonstrate a new perspective on the political reanimation of the notion of Iran in the Ilkhanid period.

IRAKLI PAGHAVA

MINTING SAFAVID CURRENCY ON THE BLACK SEA SHORE: GEORGIAN PRINCIPALITY OF ODISHI BETWEEN THE OTTOMANS AND SAFAVIDS

Our goal is to publish/review the Safavid type currency with the mint name "Dadian." We show that these coins were minted in the West-Georgian principality of Odishi, and the mint name was related to the

local ruling dynasty of the Dadianis. However, the term "Dadian" also had a certain geographical connotation, as it was employed in contemporary Persian and Russian (but not Georgian) texts to indicate the dominions of the Dadianis. In our opinion, the actual mint was located in Zugdidi or Rukhi, several kilometers from the Black Sea shore. The coins were minted in at least two denominations ('Abbasi and half-'Abbasi), in the name of 'Abbas I and Sulayman, by at least two representatives of the Dadiani dynasty: Levan I (1611-1657) and Levan III (1661-1680). The calligraphy of the legends was particularly slipshod, evidently, reflecting the absence of celators experienced in engraving the Arabic/Persian graphemes on the dies. The coins were issued (according to A. Lamberti) to facilitate trade relations with Persia and Persia-dominated areas of the Caucasus. We have also conjectured that the activity of the "Dadian" mint was related to the eastward (Europe, Ottoman Empire, Safavid state) flow of silver and Odishi's involvement in both silk-production and silk trade. On the other hand, it reflected the Odishi's strained relations with the Sublime Porte and political orientation towards the Safavids.

OYA PANCAROGLU

DEGREES OF VISUAL NARRATIVITY IN THE ILLUSTRATIONS OF *VARQA AND GULSHAH*

Varqa and Gulshah, an eleventh-century epic-like romance by the poet 'Ayyuqi, survives in a single thirteenth-century manuscript (Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, H. 841) that is copiously illustrated with paintings. These paintings have simple yet bold compositions that relate to the narrative of this particular love story but also to a wider visual context of non-narrative figural representation as seen especially on fine objects produced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As the only surviving illustrated copy of a Persian romance from the thirteenth century, this manuscript is an invaluable conduit to understanding the complex interface between narrative and non-narrative representation in medieval Persianate art. This paper will examine in particular the illustrations that depict the two lovers together as a means to evaluate the role of visual conventions associated with non-narrative or generic images of companionship when applied to a narrative context.

GEVORK POGHOSYAN

EDUCATIONAL MIGRATION FROM IRAN TO ARMENIA

During the last 10-15 years, the influx of Iranian students to study at different universities in Armenia has significantly increased. Especially this flow of Iranian students was significant in 2005-2012. It should be noted that it is precisely this year that the peak of Iranian post-graduate students also falls. In other words, we are talking about those students from the Islamic Republic of Iran who enrolled in postgraduate studies in different, including academic, institutions of Republic of Armenia.

To represent the extent of such educational migration, it will suffice to say that only in the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia that I directed, in the mentioned years, there were about 30 Iranian postgraduate students. They were mostly postgraduates in such scientific disciplines as law, psychology, sociology and political science. Many of them successfully completed postgraduate studies at our Institute and defended their theses for a Ph.D. Currently, three more graduate students continue their studies in our Institute and have almost completed their dissertations. However, this is actually the last three graduate students from that large stream of young people who were going to study in Armenia. The stream of students increased very unexpectedly ten or fifteen years ago just as it stopped unexpectedly.

BABAK RAHIMI

DIGITAL PERSIANATE: PARTICIPATORY CULTURE AND TECHNOLOGY IN A NETWORKED ERA

An attempt is made to discuss theoretical and historical ways of teaching the Persianate in early modern courses at the University of California, San Diego's Making of the Modern World Program, one of the university's General Education curriculum programs. The paper looks at challenges and opportunities in teaching the Persianate to an undergraduate population at the university's Eleanor Roosevelt College, one of six undergraduate institutions. The main argument is that the most challenging feature of incorporating the Persianate in early modern history

is to maintain a balance between macro and micro historical processes while offering an account of major transformations in the Later Middle Period, during which the Persianate played a critical role in shaping the early modern Islamicate civilization. The paper also looks at educational opportunities in terms of innovative ways in which the Persianate can be taught in the context of cultural, economic, political and religious transformations from the Mongol Conquest in the 13th century to the end of the Mughal imperial rule in the 19th century. Finally, the paper discusses student responses to the Persianate and ways in which they engage with the concept in exams, class discussion, and lectures.

LANA RAVANDI-FADAI

IRANIANS AND REPRESSIONS UNDER STALIN: THE FACTOR OF ETHNICITY

This paper focuses on Iranians living in the Soviet Union during the period of "The Great Purge." Were Iranian victims of the purges targeted due to race, and did they suffer more or less than other ethnicities? In searching for an answer, the paper examines roughly two categories of repression: execution and imprisonment, and forced deportation. Research found that although many Iranians met with extremely tragic fates, they suffered comparatively less imprisonment and executions than other groups in the vast purges. Nonetheless, Iranians received particular attention from the NKVD (secret police) and were subjected to mass forced deportation. In the 1930s and 1940s, around 50 ethnic-national groups were deported from the Soviet Union in large numbers. Of these, 14 groups were removed en masse. Iranians numbered among these, especially those in southern Soviet Azerbaijan. Despite the massive numbers involved, the deportations were not publicized and access to relevant documentation appeared only after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. While racial motivating factors are difficult to pinpoint, subsequent research did not yield evidence that Iranians were targeted due to their ethnic background per se. Indeed, many of those who had come to the Soviet Union from Iran were of non-Persian ethnic backgrounds, including Azeris and Armenians. Yet the concept of "foreign-aligned" or "non-integrated alien" was certainly at work in decision-making by the

upper echelons of the Soviet leadership, especially regarding loyalty to the Soviet government as war with the Axis became increasingly imminent.

The paper presents a wide range of archival documents to draw a picture of the fates of Iranians during this period and provides glimpses into the personal difficulties many of the deportees encountered during and after resettlement.

SIMON RETTIG

ILLUSTRATING FIRDAWSI'S SHAHNAMA IN EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY IRAN: THE CASE OF THE EZZAT-MALEK SOUDAVAR MANUSCRIPT

A recent gift of Ezzat-Malek Soudavar's collection to the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in Washington, D.C. includes a lavishly illustrated manuscript of Firdawsi's *Shahnama* (S2014.17.4). The copy by calligrapher Vali ibn Ali Taklu in 1610 may have been completed in Shah Abbas I's *ketabkhane* in Isfahan and intended for a member of the royal entourage. If the script and illuminations are undoubtedly Safavid works, the whole illustrative cycle however – forty-eight paintings in total –was added under the Qajar dynasty sometime in the first decades of the nineteenth century. This paper investigates the making of the illustrations and the genre of portraiture around 1800. Beyond using standardized compositions inherited from the Safavid and Zand periods, the artist individualized some heroic and kingly characters with portraits of contemporary figures, first among them Fath Ali Shah Qajar (reigned 1797–1834). Through a comparison with other works on various mediums, I argue that the insertion of paintings was a royal commission and that it occurred no later than 1820. Additionally, it may be attributable to a yet unidentified artist who worked for the court and practiced closely to the luminaries of the time Mirza Baba Shirazi and Mihr Ali.

KHODADAD REZAKHANI

BETWEEN GIL AND ARMAN: THE REVOLT OF BABAK KHORRAMDIN WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF SOUTH CAUCASIAN HISTORY

The study of the southern Caucasus history is largely divided along ethnic, linguistic, and confessional borders, with the region and its events being seen either as strictly peripheral (viewed from Byzantium, Iran, or the Islamic world) or vehemently central and isolated (when considering locally produced histories). In this environment, events that do not place clearly along the border are either neglected or understudied. Alternatively, they are made to conform to pre-assigned definitions, making them appear as part of a pattern. Perhaps one of the most glaring examples of this is the rebellion of Babak-e Khorramdin, the early ninth century political-religious leader whose revolt constituted a major crisis for the Abbasid Caliphate. Viewed within its Islamic context, it provided an existential threat to the Caliphate. In modern Iranian history, Babak and his rebellion are seen as the heroic efforts of a great leader aiming to dispel the "Arab" leaders and restore the "Iranian" elements. Bizarrely perhaps, modern Azerbaijani history has assigned the same role to Babak, this time turning him to a hero of the Azerbaijani cause against a sort of Iranian hegemony. A neglected setting for his activities, however, is the Armenian and Georgian context, where at first instance, his rebellion is seen as the disastrous invasion of a foreign conqueror, in fact appearing much like the Arab Muslims. On the other hand, a closer reading of these sources and corroboration with Arabic and Persian ones would provide us with a different view of Babak's life and activities. Using these sources and applying a trans-regional methodology, this presentation would contextualize the career of Babak within the history of southern Caucasus and argue for a less polemic and much more nuanced context for his rebellion. Points of genealogy, local power structures, and larger geographical setting of his rebellion would be used in order to show a high amount of continuity and local relevance for the rebellion of Babak and the possible reasons for the emergence of hostile historical accounts in the subsequent periods.

MAGDALENA RODZIEWICZ

THE CONCEPT OF *ABERU* IN CONTEMPORARY IRANIAN SHI'ISM

The term *aberu* can be traced in many examples of classical Persian literature, starting from the national epic Shahnameh, where it denotes the good fame of mythical kings and heroes, through the popular folk stories of Samak-e Ayyar to the moral poetry of Sa'di, where it stems from a person's social reputation and respect. The concept is also present in the religious narration of contemporary Iranian Shi'ism, which, as it is frequently argued is based not only on the text of Qur'an itself, but also refers to Hadiths. By introducing the term *aberu* into the religious discourse, the scope of its meaning expanded and it came to be considered one of the most important moral concepts of Iranian Shi'ism. In this religious perspective, *aberu* is highly valued, even more than human life or property and as such it is presented as something that should be guarded as it plays a crucial role in the moral life of a believer. The current paper focuses on the ethical aspect of the concept of *aberu*, its place, status and its importance in contemporary Iranian Shi'ism through an analysis of contemporary translations of the most fundamental Shi'a religious books: Nahj al-Balaghe, the collection of sermons, letters and thoughts attributed to the first Shi'a imam Ali (written by Sharif Razi), the four main collections of Sh'ia Hadiths (by Kulayni, Qumi and Tusi), and few secondary collections which present the legacy of Imams written mainly as a commentary or supplement to the above-mentioned texts between 10th to 15th century.

GIORGIO ROTA

LESSONS HARD LEARNT: LEGITIMACY AND SURVIVAL IN POST-SAFAVID PERSIA, 1722-1796

The fall of Isfahan to the Afghans (1722) and the subsequent end of effective Safavid rule over Persia represented a major turning point and a shock, given the role played by the Safavid dynasty in Persian history and the sheer length of its political life. Later rulers, who tried to fill the vacuum, had to cope with two similar and closely intertwined problems: legitimacy and the actual survival of their own rule and of their dynasty. To this effect, they adopted different strategies, which were without doubt

shaped, or at least influenced, by the experiences made by their predecessors. The present paper will look at the different attitudes and strategies displayed by five of these rulers. The first ruler to be investigated will be Nader Shah Afshar (1736-1747), himself a product of late-Safavid Persia as well as a self-made leader who could count, at the moment of his ascent to the throne, on a military prestige unrivalled within the country. He will be followed by Karim Khan Zand (1750-1779) and Ahmad Shah Dorrani (1747-1773), who can be construed as "disciples" of Nader Shah, by Shahrokh Shah Afshar (the son of Nader Shah and a Safavid on his maternal side: 1748-1795) and Aqa Mohammad Khan Qajar (1779-1797). The paper will try to assess which factors (for instance military prowess, dynastic legitimacy, tribal retinues, puppet rulers) were at work in the quest for political stability and legitimacy during the period between 1722 and 1796, when Agha Mohammad Khan was crowned.

JULIA RUBANOVICH

JOSEPH AND HIS TWO WIVES: PATTERNS OF CULTURAL ACCOMMODATION IN THE JUDEO-PERSIAN TALE OF YŪSUF AND ZULAYKHĀ

The Tale of Yūsuf and Zulaykhā is part of a voluminous religio-epic poem, Bereshit-nāma (Book of Genesis), which was completed in 1359 by the Judeo-Persian poet Shāhīn. Composed in classical Persian with an admixture of Hebraisms and written out in Hebrew characters, this tale was enormously popular within Persian-speaking Jewish communities and was frequently copied on its own under the title Yūsuf-u Zulaykhā. The paper focuses on two episodes from this story: Yūsuf's marrying Osnat/Asenath and Zulaykhā.

Shāhīn was active in the late Ilkhanid and early post-Mongol periods, when new forms of patronage over literary and artistic production emerged seeking to blend different cultural worlds. The poet indeed fashioned unique amalgams of Jewish and Perso-Islamic traditions, both in form and content. The two episodes constitute small case studies for exploring Shāhīn's diverse array of sources and for determining the thematic and structural ramifications of this fusion. To this end, I

compare analogous episodes in the Midrashic literature and Islamic exegesis (i.e., selected works of the tafsīr and qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ genres) as well as in two Persian narrative poems: Yūsuf-u Zulaykhā, erroneously attributed to Firdausī and most likely composed in the late 11th – early 12th centuries, and – to show a continuity – Yūsuf-u Zulaykhā by Jāmī (composed in 1483). The paper pinpoints how Shāhīn accommodated and adapted Jewish and Islamic materials and demonstrates that though writing in Judeo-Persian, the poet had firmly ensconced himself in a Persianate cultural sphere. If we are to enhance our understanding of Shāhīn's oeuvre and, more generally, the entire corpus of classical Judeo-Persian poetry, his literary activities must be viewed within the ambit of classical Persian literature as the only methodologically sound interpretative frame.

KAREN RUFFLE

SENSATIONAL MUHARRAM IN HADĪQAT-E SALĀTĪN: SENSORY AESTHETICS IN A QUTB SHAHI MANUSCRIPT

This presentation will examine the ways that the five senses were engaged in the propagation of Shiʿism by the Qutb Shahi sultans of Hyderabad in the seventeenth century as described in Nizam al-Din Ahmad ibn ʿAbdallah Saʿidi Shirazi's Hadīqat-e salātīn (ca. 1643). Hadīqat-e salātīn, which chronicles the first nineteen years of the reign of the seventh sultan, ʿAbdullah Qutb Shah, is one of the only locally produced descriptions of Muharram that we have from the Qutb Shahi dynasty. In describing Muharram, Hadīqat-e salātīn simultaneously narrates a litany of deprivations of sensual pleasures and an account of sensorial excess. When the new moon of Muharram is sighted, the sumptuous royal vestments are exchanged for the simple black clothing of mourning; the rich meat kormas are forbidden for ten days and the citizens of Hyderabad are fed communal vegetarian meals of rich vegetable curries and thirst is sated with rosewater sharbats. In the brief chapter describing the events of Muharram, most noticeable is its lack of discussion of Imam Husain and his suffering. Karbala is remembered sensationally: One felt and experienced Muharram with all five senses. What were these sensations and how might we make historical sense of the complex interweaving of both Islamic-Shiʿi and Indic sensoria by the Qutb Shahi

sultans in Muharram ritual and material practice? This presentation will focus on the sensorial (and intersensorial) experiences of vision, taste, smell and the role of touching earth in Muharram ritual in Hadīqat-e salātīn.

MANYA SAADI NEJAD

THE INDO-EUROPEAN DRAGON-SLAYING MYTH: DRAGONS, SAVIOURS AND POSSIBLE CONNECTIONS TO THE IRANIAN RIVER GODDESS ANĀHITĀ

By focusing on the male hero, Calvert Watkins fails to explore the significance of water and the water goddess in Indo-European myths of dragon-slaying. Various water-related rituals and their attendant myths arose out of the vital dependence of the prehistoric Indo-European peoples on rivers to maintain their way of life. "Killing a dragon" was a symbolic way of exercising control over the potentially chaotic vicissitudes of flowing water. In performing this task, the dragon-slaying hero ensured fertility and thus the continued survival of his community. It is therefore pertinent to look at the relationship between the dragon (holding back the waters) and women (representing fertility) in the Indo-Iranian version of the dragon-slaying myth. In light of the connection between dragons and rivers in Indo-European mythology, we may further consider whether dragon-slaying myths can be connected to the Iranian river goddess, Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā.

In the Avesta, the evil figure Aži-Dahāka is himself a dragon (NP *ejdehà*), while Fraŋrasiian (NP Afrāsīāb) *behaves* like a dragon by drying up the rivers in Sīstān. Both are "demonic" characters, created by Ahriman, and Anāhitā, the goddess of the waters, does not accept their sacrifices. On the contrary, she accepts Θraētaona's supplication that he gains the power to slay the dragon Aži-Dahāka. In the *Ābān Yašt*, Θraētaona sacrifices to Anāhitā, asking her to help him to defeat Aži-Dahāka and to obtain the dragon's two captured wives, Saŋhauuāci and Arənauuāci. These two women are described in terms of fertility: both as natural phenomena and in terms of the seasonal freeing of the waters.

The paper draws largely from a comparative textual analysis of passages in the Avesta and the Rig Veda pertaining to dragon-slaying, with references

to the *višap* (dragon) figure in Armenian mythology where Vahagn (Vərəθraɣna) together with Ahura Mazdā-Aramazd and Anāhitā-Anahit is referred to by the epithet *višapakʿaɫ/drakontopniktḗs*, "the strangler of dragons."

FARSHID SADATSHARIFI AND MASOUD HOOSHYAR

THE ROLE OF INDIVIDUATION IN DEEPENING OUR UNDERSTANDING OF AHMAD SHAMLOU'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS "LONELINESS AND SOLITUDE" BASED ON HIS FIVE INITIAL WORKS AND OVERNIGHT POEMS

Every individual, based on his attitude towards life, selects some phenomena of this world and reflects it in his world-vision. The more different attitude the poet has, the more specific his individualism is. An individualism which leads to individuation. However, the important point is the continuity of diversity in the individual attitude of the poet. If the poet can acquire a different experience each time facing a new phenomenon, his singularity will be more specific and as a result, not only the reader will not get bored with a poem but also he will develop a more profound relationship with it. In fact, the individual attitude of poet towards a phenomenon may result in an independent poem that is relevant to that phenomenon and his other poems. In this paper, we are going to investigate how Ahmad Shamlou has experienced loneliness and solitude and reflected it in the considered poems. His five initial works are significant as some social and family-related events took place in that part of his life that were so crucial in the formation of his language and thoughts. Meanwhile, one of his works called Overnight poems is chosen because these poems consist of twelve works of the poet and as a research sample, it can indicate different ways of the poet's attitude towards loneliness and solitude in all of his poems. Finally, the present research shows to what extent social and family factors can be effective in understanding poet's experience of loneliness and solitude and what kind of loneliness and solitude existed inside Shamlou.

YAZDAN SAFAEE

WHERE TWO GODDESSES OF EARTH MEET: THE ABSOLUTE CONNECTION'S POSSIBILITY; "SCYTHIAN API" AND "ZOROASTRIAN ARMAITI"

There are a few scattered research on the Scythians, the northern Iranophone tribes, particularly on the status of their religion. Among classical sources, there is a narrative in Herodotus' Histories that informs us on the costumes, history, and religion of the Scythians and also mentions their gods in a paragraph as well. Api, the goddess of earth, is one of these gods/goddesses in Herodotus' narrative which the researcher will observe its details under the lens of different issues in this article. On the one hand, Aməša Spənta Armaiti is related to the earth in Zoroastrianism and has some features that, in its comparative sense, can be compared to the Scythian goddess, Api. They both are the goddesses of earth and likewise, are related to the water. They are also the daughters/ wives of the great god in the Scythian and Iranian pantheon, respectively. In the case of Api, one may doubt, for some terminological reasons, the accuracy of Herodotus' account. However, one should point out that archaeological excavations will emphasize Herodotus' knowledge of the Scythian religion. Furthermore, there is a parallel account in the Geography of Strabo that could be used as a strong argument to confirm the reliability of Herodotus' narrative. On the other hand, Api and Armaiti are both in connection with a river. These features exist in Aramati, the Indian parallel of Armaiti. Very well attested cultural and linguistic connection between Iranophone Scythians and Iranians could be measured as the last reason for this possibility that Scythian goddesses Api and Zoroastrian Armaiti are in a sheer connection and affinity.

CHRISTIAN SAHNER

ZOROASTRIANS IN EARLY MUSLIM SOCIETY: EVIDENCE FROM SOME ʿABBASID-ERA PAHLAVI SOURCES

In the wake of the Arab conquests, Zoroastrians constituted a significant portion of the population in Iran. Yet historians of Islam rarely consult Zoroastrian texts to understand how Islamization and Arabization affected this extremely important religious community. There are several

Middle Persian sources, however, which shed light on the early encounter between Zoroastrians and Muslims. These texts, most of which were written in the ʿAbbasid period, help enrich a story that is usually studied only from the perspective of Arab Muslim authors. Zoroastrian literature from the early Islamic period is largely didactic and polemical in nature. What is more, it is often difficult to securely date texts and manuscripts. Yet when reading alongside Muslim (and Christian) sources, these Middle Persian works help to create a balanced portrait of how Islam embedded itself in Iranian society and interacted with pre-existing communities on the ground.

This paper investigates Zoroastrian-Muslim interactions through the lens of two Middle Persian texts. The first is the Rivāyat of Hēmīd ī Ašawahištān, high priest of Fārs and Kirmān in the tenth century, who composed a collection of responsa pertaining to theological, ritual, and social concerns for Zoroastrians living under Muslim rule. Of special interest are sections dealing with conversion to and away from Islam, inheritance, circumcision, and mixing with Muslims in bathhouses. The second is the Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg, an anonymous text of the late ninth or early tenth century dealing with a wide array of ritual, ethical, eschatological, and folkloric topics. Of special interest are passages dealing with apostasy, xwēdōdah and conversion, slaveholding and non-Zoroastrians, sharing food with members of other religions, and the restoration of Zoroastrianism at the end of days. This paper will contextualize these sources by comparing them with passages in Muslim and Christian texts of the same period.

MAIA SAKHOKIA

ACHAEMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS AND SHAHNAMEH: LITERARY ART NATURE GENRE AND RELATIONSHIPS WITH EPOS (SHAHNAMEH) (EXPERIENCE OF GEORGIAN TRANSLATION OF OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS)

The object is the Genre of Old Persian Achaemenian Inscriptions by Typological Comparison with Shahnameh. The Basis is Experience of Georgian Translations of Old Persian Inscriptions. The special style of textual structures of origins is revealed in corresponding Georgian texts by

different literary forms, poetry and prose: rhythmic prose, free verse, rhymed verse, etc. I agree with the opinion of different researchers that the Achaemenian Chronicle Old Persian Inscriptions are holding in full a lot of Literary Features Specifications (as: alliteration, etymological figures, tautology, repetitions, formulas, etc.), size/metre (metric fragments) and rhythm. I suppose that the Old Persian Texts are clearly of a Literary Art Nature. These Aspects (Parameters) of Old Persian Inscriptions Style show a Typological Similarities with the New Persian Epic Literature, with "Shahnameh" at first. Both themes and traditional forms of precise descriptions, the system of repeated expressions, etc., show the certain relationships with diachronic epic traditions, and with the retrospective cultural heritage. The communication shows some real patterns of emotional poetry fragments by Typological parallels of Achaemenian Texts and Shahnameh Textual Structures. The special analysis of these Typological Parallels reveals a lot of common themes with the correspondent similar rhetorical vocabulary, as: Architecture, Art, Building Materials, God, Battles, War, Borders, Kingdom, Navigation, etc. The typological thematic-semantic and especially rhetorical-lexical similarity of Old Inscriptions and Shahnameh is important to codification of Achaemenian Textual Genre. The similar common Rethoric is the most important feature. The main conclusions: 1) The Achaemenian Text Structure is of the Art Literary Nature. In my opinion, the Old Persian Origins belong to Literary Fields too. 2) The Typological Rhetorical textual data between Achaemenids and Shahnameh of Ferdousi are revealed 3) These relationship should be examined more precisely.

GEORGE SANIKIDZE

GEORGIA AND IRAN: REFLECTIONS ON THE PAST 25 YEARS RELATIONS

In the paper are studied main characteristics of Georgian-Iranian relations during the last 25 years. At the beginning a brief survey of Georgian-Iranian historical interactions and the problem of historical perception of Georgia by Iranians are presented. After following questions are analyzed: Iranian politics towards the South Caucasian states after the dissolution of the Soviet empire and the place of Georgia in it; the influence of the political issues on economic relations of the two countries – how Western

orientation of Georgia and its aspiration to become a member of NATO affect Georgian-Iranian relations; activities of Iranians in Georgia; positive and negative aspects of interactions; how the nuclear agreement can affect Georgian-Iranian relations.

In sum, Iranian politics towards Georgia is determined by the following factors: 1) Iran, as a big territorial state, has no pretension towards neighbors, including Georgia; 2) Iran does not want the USA and NATO to gain influence in the Caucasus, for which reason it supports Russian interests in the region; 3) Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline does not correspond to the Iranian economic interests and diminishes the importance of Iran as a transit route for Caspian oil and natural gas. 4) Iran is interested in Georgian transit routes to Black Sea and Europe; and 5) Iran draws attention to the Muslim minorities of Georgia, which causes competition between Turkey and Iran and recently with salafis from different Arab countries.

The collation and analysis of the major aspects of Iranian-Georgian relations demonstrates that because of the obligations towards its Western partners, Georgian authorities were sometimes obliged to take undesirable and even harmful steps for Iran. Iranian side, despite the critical assessments, treated 'with understanding' this situation considering that Georgia wasn't independent in making such decisions. At the end, positive and negative aspects of Georgian-Iranian relations during the last 25 years are analyzed.

JENNIFER SCARCE

THE NARENGESTAN - A QAVAM HOUSE AT SHIRAZ

Shiraz, despite the major demolition and rebuilding schemes of the 20th century, still preserves, apart from public structures of the Zand and Qajar past, some rare surviving private residences. One of its most important buildings is the townhouse, the Narengestan, commissioned in 1879 by Ibrahim Khan, governor of Fars, and completed in 1886 by Muhammad Reza Khan Qavam (later restored in the 1960s). The house follows traditional principles of separating the private family (*andarun*) from the public quarters (*biruni*) where business was conducted and guests received and entertained. Within retaining walls, a sequence of reception and

supporting rooms enclose a spacious courtyard. The *biruni* of the Narengestan is distinguished for the range of the techniques, materials, and themes of its decoration. Carved stone and marble friezes, mosaic and glazed tilework, painted panels are worked into floral bouquets and garlands, graceful figures of attendants, contemporary hunting scenes and narratives inspired by the reliefs of Achaemenid Persepolis. My presentation will discuss the Narengestan as a major example of architecture.

IRENE SCHNEIDER

FEMALE PETITIONS TO NASIR AL-DIN SHAH: LINGUISTIC, LEGAL, AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

The petitioning system in the Islamic world is based on the traditional institution of mazālim (pl. of Arabic mazlama, literally meaning "complaints") and has only recently attracted the scholarly attention it deserves. It was an integral part of the Islamic legal and political culture, deeply rooted in traditional Islamic and Iranian conceptions of power and kingship. Being an institution for safeguarding the rights of the subjects and implementation of justice on their behalf, the institute of mazālim also functioned as a controlling device in legal and political matters. In this paper, I will look at petitions women submitted to Nasir al-Din Shah. The original petitions seem to be lost but their microfilm is preserved in the University library of Tehran. I will examine around 45 petitions by women among a sample of 850 petitions delivered to the Qajar court between 1881 and 1883. I will discuss in what way they differ from men's petitions and look at the categories of complaints, the social profile of the petitioners, the wording and style of the petitions, the decisions given by the Shah, and the petitioning procedure. Furthermore, I will analyze the gender roles and gender relations as reflected in these petitions and focus not only on the legal, but, in particular, on the political dimension of the petitioning system.

KEVIN SCHWARTZ

A MACRO-ANALYTICAL APPROACH TO THE PERSIAN TAZKIRAH ECOSYSTEM

The tazkirah (biographical anthology) of Persian poets represents one of the most widely produced and circulated genres in the early modern and modern Persianate world. Recent scholarship has demonstrated how critical engagement with these texts can elucidate transregional interconnectivity and dissonance on topics regarding social identity, cultural norms, literary stylistics, and collective memory, among others. Fewer studies have sought to understand the production of tazkirahs across the Persianate world in a broader fashion by exploring the general characteristics that defined this vast literary ecosystem. Where and when were tazkirahs of poets most voluminously produced in the Persianate world? How did political developments affect the emergence, migration, and disappearance of centers of production? What tazkirahs were cited most widely? This paper explores the wide-ranging Persian tazkirah ecosystem in an attempt to chart its development, general structure, and major features across space and time through digital mapping. It uses a macro-analytical approach (Jockers, 2013) to understand how the ecosystem of tazkirah production developed, morphed, expanded, and contracted. While attention will be given to tazkirahs produced prior to the eighteenth century, the primary focus will be on the post-Safavid and Mughal period as it represents the highpoint of tazkirah production across the Persianate world. This paper also hopes to demonstrate the general benefits and challenges of utilizing digital maps for exploring topics in Persian literary history.

DANIEL SHEFFIELD

TOWARD A SOCIAL HISTORY OF LATE PAHLAVI (ZOROASTRIAN MIDDLE PERSIAN)

While it is generally recognized that the majority of the texts which survive in the Pahlavi (Zoroastrian Middle Persian) language were redacted in the ninth-tenth centuries CE, Zoroastrian priests continued to receive traditional educations in the Pahlavi language well into the nineteenth century. Though most Zoroastrian literary texts composed in

Iran after the Mongol conquest were written in New Persian, learned priests continued sporadically to compose new texts in Pahlavi into the nineteenth century. Likewise, though Indian Zoroastrians had reportedly forgotten Pahlavi by the fifteenth century, the language was revived through contact with the Iranian priestly establishment such that Indian priests too came to compose Pahlavi texts. Indeed, during the late Mughal period, it was not uncommon for learned Zoroastrians not just to read but to author new texts in Persian, Sanskrit, Gujarati, and Pahlavi. What are we to make of this remarkable linguistic survival? In this talk, I sketch out the history of the little-studied "Late Pahlavi" literature within the context of what we know about Persianate Zoroastrian education. I discuss certain features related to the circulation, genre, and language of these texts. I argue that the heterolingualism of medieval and early modern Zoroastrianism allowed Zoroastrians to express different forms of religious selfhood which were simultaneously part of an atemporal Zoroastrian tradition, while at the same time situated historically within the broader Persianate world. At the conclusion of this paper, I briefly consider the impact that European philology and the historicization of "dead languages" has had upon Zoroastrian communities.

MICHAEL SHENKAR

ARDAŠĪR'S CORONATION AND THE STATUS OF CTESIPHON IN THE THIRD CENTURY

The paper discusses the date, the venue, and the nature of the ceremony of coronation of Ardašīr I – the founder of the Sasanian dynasty. His only coronation and proclamation as *šāhān šāh* occurred in 223/224 on the field of battle after his victory over the last Parthian ruler. The year 226/227 from which some sources count the beginning of the Sasanian era is better explained not by an unattested second coronation in Ctesiphon, but by Ardašīr's victory over an Arsacid claimant who issued coins in Mesopotamia in 227/228.

It is further argued that the coronation of the early Sasanians was a continuation of a Hellenistic ceremony, which was essentially the act of binding a diadem around one's head. It seems that the common practice was of a king-to be binding the diadem himself in the presence of selected

circle of courtiers or only in the presence of the gods. Contrary to what is stated in a number of primary sources and taken at face value in modern scholarship, Ctesiphon was not the capital and not even the most important residence of the early Sasanians, and no ceremony of coronation took place there in the third century.

RUSHONGUL SHOFAKIROVA

THE PAMIRI HOUSE "CHID"

The main purpose of the article is to introduce the Pamiri house "Chid." Throughout the centuries, the dwellers have preserved its primary architectural structure. From the cosmological and religious point of view, Chid was intended to serve as a shrine to pray and to observe all traditional rites in. For that, there was no any mosque in Pamir even after conversion to Islam. The construction of Chid consists of five parts. First part: Three stages, "Sanjen," are the embodiment of mineral, flora, fauna, and human being. Second part: Five pillars, "Sitanen," are symbolizing the five Aryan angels; Surush, Mehr, Anohito, Zamyod and Ozar that were renamed as Muhammad, Ali, Fotima, Hasan, and Husayn. Third part: Two long bearing timbers, "Wusen," are the embodiment of spiritual world, "Mainyu," and material world, "Geti." Forth part: Six of thirteen beams, "Sipokhchen," are the embodiment of Vakhumana (good thoughts), Asha (order and justice), Khshatravayra (power), Spenta Armaity (resignation), Khaurvatat (health), Ameretat (eternity) that were changed into six world prophets. Fifth part: a benched ceiling, "Chorkhona," consists of four row squares, is the embodiment of air, fire, water, and land. The house hearth, "Kitzor," is the women place. They were obliged for keeping the sacred fire. Two of five pillars standing alongside are linked with a transversal board. The carving on board embodies Aryan symbols: The Sun, "khir," the Swastika (cross) "Shamshod."

TEA SHURGAIA

THE CONTRIBUTION OF GEORGIAN IRANOLOGISTS TO THE STUDIES IN IRANIAN FOLKLORE

Iranian folklore has always aroused an interest in Georgia, but at the first stage studies of Iranian oral literature often played a subsidiary role in researches on the problems of Persian and Georgian literary contacts. The scholarly publications dealing with the Georgian versions of "Shah-nameh" and some other monuments in Persian are prominent examples of the phenomena. Moreover, Persian folklore turned out to be of paramount importance for the researchers in the original Georgian literary monuments as well. Comparative analyses of Persian popular Dastans and their Georgian versions still can be a perspective trend in future. Georgian translation of Persian folk literature (tales, proverbs) as well as scholarly works in the field have been published since 1960s up to the present. Main issues for the Georgian iranologists has been: Persian folk tales (D. Omiadze, L. Kotashvili, M. Chachava), Dastans (A. Gvakharia) and, Persian proverbs (T. Shurgaia). Georgian scholars have made contributions to Ossetian oral literature as well as to Kurdish folklore. Comparative and typological studies in the rich oral poetry of Iran and Georgia, as well as children's folklore of the two countries show a lot of promise. The results of the studies carried out from this standpoint will be valuable to both Georgian and Iranian researchers. The presentation aims to show the importance of the achievements of Georgian scholars in the field for Iranian Studies.

ALI GIBRAN SIDDIQUI

THE NAQSHBANDIYYA AFTER KHWAJA AHRAR: NETWORKS OF TRADE IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH ASIA

This paper re-imagines the Ahrari and the Juybari branches of the Naqshbandi Sufi tariqa, or order, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as examples of trust networks and circulation societies and thus reappraises their roles in the Persianate belt between Central Asia and India. Rooted in the Khwajagani Sufi movement popular among Central Asian merchants, the Naqshbandi network grew out of the organizational changes pioneered by the Sufi leader Khwaja Ubayd Allah Ahrar (1404-

90). Commanding a considerable number of followers and property in cities across the Persianate world, Khwaja Ahrar controlled the movement of people and goods across Asia. Though his network collapsed following the Shibanid Uzbek invasion of Transoxiana in the early sixteenth century, Khwaja Ahrar had set a precedent for the creation of a second, more extensive Naqshbandi network controlled by the Juybari Sufis Khwaja Muhammad Islam (d. 1563) and his son Khwaja Saad (d. 1589).

As trust networks, the Ahrari and the Juybari networks employed several strategies to reduce the risk of loss associated with dishonest commercial transactions in long-distance trade in the pre- and early-modern periods. Shaykhs, or Sufi leaders, personally limited tariqa affiliation to individuals screened for their honesty. With the use of Persian-language correspondence, shaykhs also employed a vast trans-regional network of members to report on the honesty and dishonesty of travelling members. The shaykh also used his political influence to ensure the safe passage of caravans in foreign lands. These methods thus reveal that the network was centralized around the figure of the shaykh.

EVAN SIEGEL

A GEORGIAN MEMOIR OF THE IRANIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION

Georgian participating in the Iranian constitutional revolution has been a subject of fascination for students of this movement. Georgian scholarship has revived the study of this with important documentary and analytical studies. Unfortunately, the language barrier has interfered with this important work reaching researchers at large. In 2001, a lengthy piece summarizing this research during the Soviet period was published (four articles in Siegel, http://iran.qlineorientalist.com/) followed by the work of a Georgian scholar (Iago Gocheleishvili, "Introducing Georgian sources for the historiography of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution (1905-11)", in Martin and Chehabi (eds.), *Iran's Constitutional Revolution (1910)).*

The centerpiece of this body of work is the memoirs of one of the Georgian revolutionaries who answered the call to support the Iranian national cause, Sergo "Gurgi Sergo" Gamdlishvili. He left behind memoirs

of his participation in the fighting in defense of the Iranian constitutional cause, serialized as "sparsetis modzraobis istoriidan" in the Social Democratic journal Akhali Sxvivi between February and March 1910. These articles have been analyzed ably by Giorgi Chipashvili, *Sergo Gamdlishvili "Sergo Gurgi"da misi iranuli dghiuregi* (1983), although they have not, regrettably, been published in their entirety. I am preparing a complete a translation of these memoirs into English based on the original Georgian text and an analysis of them in the context of Iranian constitutional history and historiography on the one hand and the political outlook of the journal in which it was published on the other. It is the latter analysis I intend to present at the upcoming conference.

JASON SILVERMAN

IMPERIAL SCRIBES IN MARGINAL PROVINCES

The surviving Aramaic archives from the Achaemenid Empire evince scribal conventions that spanned the empire's space and duration. Yet, the mechanism for this standardization and the implications for the elites within the empire is less well understood. Taking the famous complaint about language loss in Nehemiah as a starting point, this paper explores the various administrative and status implications involved in the local use of scripts and languages. The Persian period texts from Yehud and Samarina include mixed Hebrew and Aramaic texts, and epigraphic remains include both Aramaic and paleo-Hebrew scripts. Given the small size of both provinces and likely small number of literate individuals, this means individuals were making various choices in similar contexts. These choices, in turn, may have implications for the social contexts of literature production, such as Nehemiah itself.

FLORIAN SOBIEROJ

IBN KHAFĪF AND HIS CULTURE OF PRAYER. MS. SULEYMANIYE, FEYZULLAH EFENDI 1296

One of the early patron saints of Shiraz, Muhammad ibn Khafīf (d. 371/982), is known as the author of many books on his distinctive brand of Sufism which is characterized by a synthesis of the sophisticated

mysticism of the school of Baghdad and the religiosity of the pious forbears of the first few generations after the Prophet. This synthesis can be recognized in differing degrees in his extant writings: the ʿAqīda, on correct belief; the Wasiyya, advice for Sufis; the Fadl al-tasawwuf, on the excellence of Sufism; and the K. al-Iqtisād, on training novices.

In my research done in the Süleymaniyye library of Istanbul in recent years I have discovered what seems to be the only extant Ms. copy of a work Ibn Khafīf wrote on the subject of "the special qualities of Quranic verses and transmitted prayers" (cf. title inscribed in the fly leaf of the Ms.: K. Sharh khāssiyyat al-āyāt al-bayyināt wa-jawāmiʿ al-daʿawāt fī al-awqāt al-mukhtalifāt).

As a perusal of the Ms. shows, the subject referred to in the second half of the work-title outweighs the one mentioned in the first half by far. Therefore, in my paper, besides giving an outline of this literary work and explaining its codicology, I will focus on prayer as an essential component of Ibn Khafīf´s spirituality. The transmitted prayers mostly traced back to Muhammad and occasionally (only) to any of the early religiosi such as Fudayl b. ʿIyād or Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, show that specific prayer formulations were available to him for any circumstance including e.g. traveling, confrontation with snakes and warfare. It will be attempted to determine the role of prayer within the wider literary work of Ibn Khafif and in his life as reflected in his biography.

ABOLALA SOUDAVAR

THE LASTING EFFECT OF DARIUS'S MONOTHEISTIC REVOLUTION ON ABRAHAMIC RELIGIONS

The monotheistic ideology that Darius imposed on the nascent Achaemenid state resulted in a religious revolution with far reaching effects, as it reverberated throughout the region on two different levels. At the top level, the imposition of an omnipotent abstract god, Ahura Mazda, created a sharp reaction that led to the general massacre of the opposition termed as Magophonia by Herodotus. Darius's revolution, however, came unprepared as it lacked an established clergy and well-thought doctrines. Several centuries of development led to Zoroastrianism, a religion marked by two important traits, the art of compromise on the one hand, and

virulent rhetoric on the other. While the Zoroastrian influence on Abrahamic religions has mainly been investigated in respect to borrowed concepts such as Paradise or Day of Judgment, its influence on clerical training in the language of compromise and rhetoric has been neglected. If Zoroastrianism mastered these two techniques, it is because it faced an underground opposition that constantly challenged it. Oddly, the influence of this low-level underground opposition, mainly organized as brotherhoods, was no less than that of Zoroastrianism. This underground opposition primarily affected early Christianity, while the activities of the Iranian clergy mostly influenced the Judaic priesthood that got enmeshed in Achaemenid politics. Together, they ended up much affecting Islam. Like America today, the Achaemenid Empire was a dominant power that facilitated exchanges among different entities and set new trends. As a result, the different entities of that empire got affected not only by the ideology and techniques of its power elite but also by its inner conflicts.

RENATA STAUDER

"THE MOMENT YOU ENTERED, I LEFT MYSELF": THE BODY AS THE MARK OF MUNDANE AND MYSTICAL DESIRE IN SA'DI'S GHAZALS

A central debate in traditional Sa'dian scholarship concerns the issue of generic divisions of the poet's ghazals. At the heart of this debate is the desire to strictly catalog Sa'di's ghazals in such a way that assumes that the aesthetic and rhetorical devices of Sa'di's love and mystical poems contain no overlapping language or features. The mundane ghazal is thought to deal exclusively with the physical and the bodily, whereas the mystical is assumed to deal with the esoteric and otherworldly. This paper will show that the body and physical encounters represent both the utmost in the erotic experience as much as it does the mystical. This argument runs counter to the claim that mystical ghazals by Sa'di's time had become reliant on an experience that was internalized and entirely removed from the physical realm. The textual foregrounding of the body as both physical and metaphysical place, I suggest, demonstrates Sa'di bringing the temporal planes of both realms into a relationship with one another. The Sa'dian body—or its marked absence—on the one hand, highlights the oscillation between different forms of desire, both mundane and mystical,

and on the other, how those forms of desire are felt or remembered. By using the body to describe both a physical and metaphysical experience simultaneously, I argue, Sa'di has made it the necessary vehicle through which revelation and desire are expressed. The result is that the Sa'dian body is both an aesthetic trope but also a physical caesura in the text, in which these dualities of space and time collapse.

LIOR STERNFELD

IRANIAN CONSTITUTION AND RELIGIOUS REDEMPTION: IRANIAN JEWS BETWEEN THE CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION AND THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

In 1906-11 Iran had undergone a Constitutional Revolution. This revolution made a promise to turn all Iranian subjects to Iranian citizens, regardless of their ethnic or religious affiliation. Iranian Jews overwhelmingly welcomed the new political movement. However, the change did not occur overnight, and the power of the promise was weakened as time passed and no substantial progress had been made. By 1917 a new ideology of redemption was offered to them by Zionism. Thoughts of redemption in the holy land as brought to them by the message of Zionism started a conversation among Iranian Jews regarding the political path they should pursue as communities and individuals. This paper is tracing and analyzing the options for redemptions as appeared in the Jewish writings and publications.

KAMRAN TALATTOF

SUBLIME MÉTIER: THE SOURCE OF NEZAMI GANJAVI'S ETHICS

I contend that Nezami's ethics and indeed his morality are not solely derived from religion or any metaethical notion. I elucidate Nezami's system of ethics in terms of the situation he sets up in his highly allegorical works. In his portrayal of characters and concepts, he relies overwhelmingly on allegories (*tamsil*) that are short, on comparison technique (*tashbih*), and on metonymy (*badi'*, *degargui*); his style of allegory or his version of *tamsil* only shows a minor difference in comparison with metonymy and in his *tashbih*, the comparisons and similes are imagined. In

his allegory, however, the comparison and similes are based on imaginative reasoning; i.e., he analogizes by using two set of elements that function in a remotely similar way. Nezami ignores this fine difference and combines the two thus creating his own type of *balaghat* (eloquence) and *badi'* (rhetoric). The reason for this re-designation is that often the words that indicate the similarity of the compared elements are absent in poetry. I conceptualize this process as Nezamian allegory, a mini allegory if you will, in which an object or a concept is equated with the meanings that exist outside the narrative without a clear story line on either side leading to his type of *ibham* (ambiguity) and *iham* (double meaning, polysemy). Nezamian allegory is only somewhat longer and more extended than a simile, metaphor, or metonym, and is often an expression with two meanings, literal and figurative, and with only a hint to an absent story. I will illustrate this mechanization in a textual and discursive analysis of the themes that might deceptively seem to critics as Nezami's source of ethics particularly to those who limit their analysis to structuralist or ideological readings; i.e., I believe his métier explains not only his style of creativity but also his ethics.

ELIZA TASBIHI

APOCRYPHAL TEXTS IN SUFI LITERATURE: REVISITING "BOOK SEVEN" OF RŪMĪ'S MATHNAWĪ

It is commonly accepted by Rūmī scholars that the Mathnawī is composed of six volumes. Scholars have also argued that due to Rūmī's illness the last story of the Mathnawī, "The King and His Three Sons," remains incomplete, which further supports the idea that Rūmī's masterpiece was written only in 6 volumes (Furūzānfar, 1936/1315, p.158). However, a few sources indicate the possibility of an extra volume known as *Book Seven* of the Mathnawī. As related by Kātip Çelebi, among early Mathnawī commentators, only Anqarawī (d.1631) attributed the seventh book to Rūmī. This book, however, was likely forged and was based on a text copied in 814 A.H. (Kashf al-Zunūn, Istanbul: vol II, p. 1587-1588). Nevertheless, several copies of this book survive in manuscript form in the Suleymanieh and Konya libraries in Turkey among others.

It is the aim of this paper to examine this alleged *Book Seven* and outline its differences with the rest of the Mathnawī. I will also endeavor to explain why this extra book of the Mathnawī might have been penned and why Anqarawī included it in his commentary. I will point out to the major grammatical flaws and the difference in the style of poetry in the seventh book in comparison with the rest of the Mathnawī. I will also examine the Sufi expressions attributed to Rumi, which were commonly used by Mevlevīs. I argue that production of a "spurious" text along with absorption of it into the Mevlevī tradition through detailed commentary is a further dimension of the license of mystical exegesis, as well as part of the ongoing intellectual movement through which the Mevlevīs sought to validate and expand their religious and political authority, and, hence, extend their popularity and influence both amongst the masses and the Ottoman rulers.

HAYDAR TAVAKKAL

THE TRADITION OF SINGING MADDAH IN BADAKHSHAN

"Maddoh" comes from the Arabic word "Maddoeh." This term is used by Tajiks and Iranians in relation to the singers of panegyric poetry. In Badakhshan, including Shugnan, Rushan, and Roshtqala, this concept includes an element of the spiritual life and is based on a combination of the texts and melodies. Among the residents of Ishkashim district the same kind of songs, "*qasoid,*" (the singular form qasida) could be found. The Ismailis of Darwaz call it "Haydari." Madhya is one of the most extensive genres and is responsible for the spread of poetic music in the region of Badakhshan. It is not only a unique phenomenon of Pamir traditional music, but it also has a close connection with the genre form of *na't* – praise, which is popular in other areas of Tajikistan. Madhya has played an important role in the spiritual life of the population of Gorno – Badakhshan. This genre is directly related to the religious tradition and outside the Soviet ideology.

SAMUEL THROPE

A CLOUD IN TROUSERS: THE POETICS OF DUALISM IN THE ZOROASTRIAN BUNDAHIŠN

The distinction between the spiritual and material worlds (mēnōg and gētīg) is one of the basic elements of Zoroastrian theology, especially as it appears in Middle Persian Zoroastrian texts. Long studied in the scholarly literature, the differentiation, mixture, and interdependence between these two forms of existence bears on creation, eschatology, and human life in the everyday world. This paper is devoted to the literary, as opposed to theological, aspects of the interplay of the concepts of mēnōg and gētīg. In other words, the paper aims to consider the question of how these two concepts, and the relationship between them, are expressed in the literary styles and structures and narrative techniques of Middle Persian Zoroastrian texts. The paper will focus on chapter twenty-one of the Iranian Bundahišn, a chapter devoted to the role of the rain, winds, and clouds in the battle between Ohrmazd's good creation and the Evil Spirit Ahriman. Specifically, the paper will analyze the section of the chapter devoted to clouds. Clouds, as the Bundahišn states, are "spiritual creations that hold material water," partaking of both the spiritual and material worlds. The paper will explore how the Bundahišn deploys various poetic devices—including citation, allusion, metaphor, genre, etc.—to represent the distinction between mēnōg and gētīg in regard to this liminal and ambiguous natural phenomenon.

EZRA TZFADYA

MODERN IRANIAN PHILOSOPHER KINGS? TWO MODES OF THEOPOLITICAL ESOTERICISM IN PERSIANATE MODERNITY

The paper will use two core discourses in German-Jewish political theology as a framework to understand the esoteric-exoteric distinction as presented by Ayatollah Khomeini and Henri Corbin. Khomeini and Corbin's esotericisms selectively melded elements of Shiite Wilāya in its cosmological dimensions, the Persianate tradition of sovereign kingship, Greek notions of ethical monotheism rooted in the true autonomy granted by philosophic rigor, fundamentalist law, and the "Modern-Western State" in order to seemingly establish the rule of "philosopher-

kings." These "philosopher-kings," whether wielding coercive power like Khomeini or having the intimate ear of a coercive sovereign like Corbin, were obsessively concerned with esoteric/exoteric distinctions and modes of dissemination in order to renew the vigor of what they perceived to be authentic religion in the context of modernity.

Khomeini, alongside a deeply developed and openly projected Gnosticism, radically developed an explicitly political notion of exoteric Wilāya rooted in the legal personhood of the jurist deploying reason as a legal tool for the protection of ethical monotheism. Corbin, on the other hand, largely avoided any rigorous textual wrestling with the exoteric in terms of law and ethics. His mission, as Steven Wasserstrom has described it, was to free a cosmologically conceived esoteric religion on both the textual and political levels from the burdens of legal and ethical reasoning. This abrogation, one could say, underlie his support of a modernizing and secularizing king, Reza Shah Pahlavi. This was a sovereign intent on harnessing and reviving mythic notions of Persianate kingship in order to recover a true Iranian- Shiism, one that implicitly rendered exoteric religion into "Protestant" cages of belief, culture and nationalistic myth for the secularizing masses, and the esoteric taste of the cosmological for the phenomenologically initiated and their politically powerful disciples. In both schematics, however, the publically acknowledged power of "the esoteric" is rendered into an epistemo-political anchor of the polity.

Franz Rosenzweig's understanding of the modern State as particularly conducive for the furthering of an open secret of esotericism rather than the death of esotericism, along with Leo Strauss' notion of a return to the medieval esotericism of the philosopher-statesman relationship as a corrective to Protestant modernity, will guide the discussion.

ALISON VACCA

ECHOES OF SASANIAN RULE IN THE NORTH

The northern provinces of Armenia and Caucasian Albania were caliphal territory from the time of the Marwānid Reforms to the death of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861. Caliphal armies protected the frontier from Khazaria and Byzantium, caliphal governors minted Arabic-Islamic coins in Dabīl/Dwin and Bardhʿa/Partaw, and local Muslims built mosques and

networks of knowledge in the North. Modern scholars have long employed the word ostikan, an Armenicized version of the Middle Persian ōstīgān, meaning "trustworthy," to refer to the caliphal governor over the North. The incumbents of this position have occupied a premier place in the historiography of caliphal Armenia, as scholar after scholar attempts to account for every scrap of extant literary and numismatic evidence about the governors.

This paper takes an alternative approach to the study of the ostikan by addressing the Sasanian marzpanate and the ʿAbbāsid-era ostikanate in comparative terms. Taking into account the challenges of relying on ʿAbbāsid-era sources to tell the story of Sasanian rule in the South Caucasus, it looks first at descriptions and duties of the governors, especially their military roles and their relationship with the local nobility. Second, this paper hones in on the identity of the governors and their interregional ties. The networks of power shifted considerably with the rise of the Caliphate. The relationship between the Caucasian governors and the center (whether Ctesiphon, Damascus, or Baghdad) changed accordingly. These networks of power demonstrate significant differences between late Sasanian, Marwānid, and early ʿAbbāsid rule, but they also clearly illustrate how the North was integrated into the broader discourse of caliphal power. This integration occurred in the administrative sphere through the adaptation of Sasanian antecedents and in the literary sphere through the manipulation of Sasanian legacy.

MOHAMMED VAEZ

CELESTIAL SYMBOLISM IN GONBAD-E QABUS: TRACING COSMIC ORDER AT THE TOMB OF THE SOLAR KING

Gonbad-e Qabus, the tower-tomb of the monarch who entitled himself "the Sun of the Heights" has been the interest of many architectural investigators. Nevertheless, the possible astronomical orientation of the building has remained unexplored until recently. Thus, the association of one of the ten exterior flanges with marking the noontime shadow has already been discovered. Data compiled from the analysis reveal possible astrological and pre-Islamic significance of the single window, connecting it with the "fall" of the Sun at the beginning of Great Winter and

Rapithwin, the Mazdean Yazata of noon-time and summer warmth. The location and height of the door could have also been on the basis of celestial considerations as the numerical symbolism of the solar year was also discovered hidden in the design of the tower's elevation. Taking into consideration written records left by Qabus himself, his cosmological notions on the finite concept of time and movement of the universe towards "final perfection" sheds light on the monarch's cosmic beliefs that were likely represented in the design of his monument. Therefore, the tower could be referred to as an "Axis of Cosmic Order," revealing the life-giving power of the Ahuric Sun that generates the times of light and darkness by its movement across the heavens and the symbolic death and rebirth cycle behind the changing of seasons, a movement that is to be continued till the time of the eternal perfection.

AHARON VARDANIAN

SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION IN XALXAL REGION

This paper aims to investigate the sociolinguistic situation in Xalxal region, Shahrud district (ten villages: Asbu, Askestan, Derav, Kolur, Shal, Diz, Gilavan, Glavrzan, Karin, and Lerd). It discusses the differences of the language between various groups of people according to their age. Some differences also can be seen in different parts of the same village. Finally, it can be concluded that there is no Turkification of the mentioned region: though Turkish is spoken here (mostly among the people under 25), it is a dominant language here, and the population of Xalxal speaks its mother tongue New Azari dialects. All the materials of the paper were collected during the field works of the author in 2013-2014.

GHOLAMREZA VATANDOUST

NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION DURING THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF THE PAHLAVI REGIME

Among the major policies of Reza Shah were to unify, centralize and secularize Iran, strengthen its armed forces, and encourage nationalism by emphasizing Iran's pre-Islamic "splendor." Simultaneously he would downgrade the strength and power of the Shi'i ulama by removing their

control over the judicial and educational institutions. Reza Shah imported the French educational system and revamped and modernized traditional schooling. This served as an important vehicle to consciously promote pre-Islamic "Persian" nationalism and the Aryan identity. Among other points of emphasis was patriotism, loyalty to the monarchy, and a disseverment from Iran's Islamic and "Arab" identities. It was Reza Shah's way of distancing the country from its Islamic past and implementing secularization policies by royal decree.

The present study aims to display that authoritarian rule and pre-Islamic nationalism were the prevailing trends prior to World War II. Literary giants such as Sadeq Hedayat emphasized the Persian national identity while authoritarian rule and the Aryan persona were projected through primary and secondary textbooks endorsed by distinguished historians such as Egbal Ashtiani, Falsafi, Rashed Yasami, Farhoudi and Sheibani, who were among those faithfully committed to implementing the change. The study will also show that historical textbooks served as an important vehicle in the humanities for advancing a new narrative, one of aggrandizement of Iran's pre-Islamic past, and the promotion of nationalism through the glorification of the Aryan race. Proportionately, the space allotted to the teachings of Islam and Islamic history was diminished. This trend was on the rise as we approach the fall of Reza Shah in 1941. Thus, Reza Shah's removal by the Allied Forces for his pro-German sympathies was fully compatible with the new narrative in Iranian historiography.

CAROLINE WAERZEGGERS

CUNEIFORM LITERACY AND CONTROL IN THE FIRST PERSIAN EMPIRE

When Cyrus conquered Babylonia in 539 BC, he did not only add a huge territory to his growing empire, but also a highly multi-ethnic populace. In previous decades, especially due to Nebuchadnezzar II's politics of deportation, the south-eastern part of Mesopotamia had become a multi-lingual region where dozens of non-native communities had been settled to live in exile under Babylonian rule. This region now assumed critical strategic importance in the formation of the Persian Empire, both as a

corridor between three major centres of rule (Elam, Persia, Babylonia) and as a source of labour and agricultural income. How did the Empire control and exploit this region? This paper will look specifically at the role of cuneiform literacy in these efforts. In recent years, several exilic communities of south-eastern Mesopotamia have become known to us through the "archive of Yahudu" — an archive of c. 250 cuneiform tablets recording financial transactions by and involving communities of forced migrants bound to the state through a system of land-allotments and labour obligations. These records allow us for the first time to study the transition of these communities from Babylonian to Persian rule, and to map the changing administrative structures that were put in place by the Persian Empire better to control and exploit their productivity. On a more fundamental level, we need to ask why and by whom this documentation was produced, and why in an area where Aramaic was the principal means of oral communication among a multi-lingual population, and in an empire that used Aramaic as the language of imperial administration, Babylonian cuneiform was, and continued to be, used to record legal transactions in a politically and economically highly sensitive region.

UZUME WIJNSMA

LOST IN TRANSLATION? THE PROVENANCE AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF PAP. AMHERST 63

Papyrus Amherst 63 is a fourth-century BCE Egyptian papyrus containing an amalgam of mostly religious texts. The papyrus is a prime example of the creative use of language and script within the Achaemenid empire: while the script of the papyrus is Demotic, its language is Aramaic - with possible differences in Aramaic dialects and even some passages in Aramaicized Hebrew. Although the combination of an Egyptian script or language with a foreign one has been attested multiple times, those instances mainly concerned words or phrases embedded in an otherwise Egyptian-language context; Papyrus Amherst 63 is unique in Egypt in its lack of such a context as well as the sheer length of the combination. Indeed, a script-language combination of such length is rare in other times and places as well. The question rises why such a peculiar combination was used: was it a question of pragmatism, symbolism, or both? And if the

149

combination had some symbolic value, which would that have been? This paper will try to illuminate such questions by, on the one hand, grounding the papyrus firmly within its historical context, and, on the other, by using comparative cases of other times and regions that similarly played with such lengthy script-language combinations. It forms a part of the broader panel on "Translation, Language Appropriation, and Control in the Achaemenid Empire."

WALEED ZIAD

BIBI SAHIBA, AT QANDAHAR, KABUL, SINDH, AND BUKHARA: RECONCEPTUALIZING FEMALE RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP WITHIN THE NAQSHBANDI-MUJADDIDI ORDER

This paper centers on the female Sufi saint and scholar Bibi Sahiba (d. 1804), who was designated as the khalifa-e awwal of the principal lineage of the Naqshbandi Mujaddidi (Mujaddidi) Sufi order based in Kabul, with branches from Xinjiang to the Indian Ocean. Through her story, I explore the emergence of a new form of female sacred-scholastic authority, which was critical in enabling the spread of Sufi orders throughout the Sunni Persianate world in the 18th and 19th centuries.

I will begin by tracing Bibi Sahiba's career, following her journey into the Durrani Afghan heartlands, and onwards to the Holy Sanctuaries in the Hejaz. Her story draws to a close in the sacred epicenters of Transoxiana. I will outline the evolution of her practical office as a female inheritor of the Mujaddidi path, and the development of the haram sarai as a parallel sacred space. I will also trace how her authority and sanctity has been conceived and reimagined in the Mujaddidi biographical tradition. I will then discuss how Bibi Sahiba and her contemporaries engendered a new prototype of Islamo-Persianate female religious leadership distinct from earlier models of women's sainthood; it de-emphasized the 'theology of servitude' ideal, in favor of a novel interpretation of the Fatima paradigm, of the publically engaged and practical spiritual leader, scholar, and devoted daughter. And practically speaking, empowering women as active participants in the order – as both teachers and disciples - was critical to the expansion of the order in a sacred geography extending towards Sindh. The case of Bibi Sahiba ultimately warrants a drastic reconceptualization

150

of the implications of Sunni Naqshbandi orthodoxy on the role of women in esoteric and exoteric knowledge transmission and production.

ASIM ZUBČEVIĆ

THE WORKS OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE AS RECORDED IN SARAJEVO INHERITANCE INVENTORIES 1763-1828

The paper gives an overview of book ownership among the citizens of Sarajevo based on a study of inheritance inventories for the period 1763-1828 with a focus on Persian books and their owners. The author argues and demonstrates that in spite of certain limitations the inventories give us a better insight into the popularity and distribution of Persian works across society than would be the case on the basis of extant book collections alone. The findings confirm the importance of Persian language and literature in Bosnian Muslim book culture during Ottoman period.

PERSIAN ABSTRACT

SOHEILA ALIREZANEJAD GOHARDANIE

تحول روایت زنانه عشق و تاثیر آن بر ازدواج و طلاق: پژوهشی مردم‌نگارانه در تهران

این مطالعه برای شناخت ماهیت تجربه زنانه عشق در تهران آغاز شد و حدود 50 زن از متولدین دهه‌های 1320 تا پایان 1360 هجری شمسی را در برمی‌گیرد. مصاحبه‌های عمیق متعدد به همراه مشاهده در گردآوری این اطلاعات به کار گرفته شده است. یافته‌های این پژوهش نشان می‌دهد که نگاه این زنان در خلال این مدت در باره عشق دگرگون شده است. متولدین تا نیمه دهه پنجاه، ازدواج را به مثابه یک ضرورت نگریسته و معمولاً در جستجوی عشق نبودند. در صورت توجه به عشق، عمدتاً تجربه آنان از نوع عشق رومانتیک سنتی بود که رابطه جنسی جای چندانی در آن نداشت. برخی از آنان دوست‌داشتن را بر عشق اولویت می‌دادند. بعضی از مشارکت‌کنندگان عاطفه عاشقانه را پدیده‌ای خطرناک برای زن ارزیابی می‌کردند. زنانی که عشق را در زندگی لازم می‌دانستند، موقعیت معشوق را برای زن به رسمیت شناخته و عاشق‌شدن را به مثابه مخاطره تلقی می‌کردند؛ درحالی‌که زنان جوان‌تر در پی کسب موقعیت عاشق بودند. به ویژه در بین متولدین نیمه دهه پنجاه به بعد، عشق به یک درخواست برای زندگی تبدیل شد. به تدریج نوع عشق از مدل عشق رومانتیک سنتی به عشق رومانتیک مدرن تغییر کرده و رابطه جنسی از اهمیت هرچه بیشتری در رابطه عاشقانه برخوردار شد. این تغییر به سوی عشق توامان، با کاهش احساس تعهد همراه بود و رابطه ناب را جایگزین فرد مطلوب در پیمان‌های عاشقانه کرده و عمر رابطه را کوتاه‌تر می‌نماید. بدین ترتیب ازدواج از شکل سنتی به شکل عاشقانه تغییر کرد. در این دوره چالش معشوق/همسر در بین زنان به نحوی بسیار جدی ظاهر شده و نشانه‌های تمایل به فانتزی حرمسرا از مردان به زنان تسری یافته است. عشق مدرن تاثیر مثبتی بر روند تمایل به طلاق، به نمایش می‌گذارد.

NAFISEH SADAT ASADI KAKHKI AND ZAHRA GERAMI

تحلیل گفتمان انتقادی داستان «مزدک و انوشیروان»

روایت داستانی «مزدک و انوشیروان» از جمله داستان‌های عامیانه‌ای است که طی ادوار تاریخی مختلف بارها بازنویسی و بازخوانی شده است. از این رو هر یک از نسخه‌های آن برای مطالعه فضای اجتماعی، فرهنگی، عقیدتی و سیاسی عصر خود حایز اهمیت است. در این پژوهش بازنویسی این داستان در دوره‌ی صفویه مطالعه می‌شود. پژوهش حاضر در دو قسمتِ تصحیح نسخه‌ی خطی داستان (در بخش اول) و تحلیل متن داستان (در بخش دوم) ارایه می‌شود. با توجه به پرسش اصلی روش تحلیل گفتمان انتقادی با رویکرد فرکلاف برای مطالعه‌ی این متن مناسب تشخیص داده شد. چرا که با استفاده از این شیوه می‌توان دریافت که گفتمان‌های موجود در متن به خلق و بازتولید مناسبات نابرابر قدرت میان گروه‌های اجتماعی می‌پردازد یا درصدد تغییر در ساختار قدرت است. مطابق این روش متن داستان

در سه سطح 1- توصیف زبانی 2-تفسیربینامتنی 3-تبیین گفتمانی مطالعه می‌شود. بررسی انجام شده نشان می‌دهد نویسنده‌ی داستان که از طبقه‌ی رجال مذهبی به شمار می‌رود با این روایت خاص به دنبال ایجاد همخوانی میان انوشیروان و حکومت صفویه و تثبیت قدرت طبقه‌ی علمای دینی و منتسبان ایشان در ساختار قدرت می‌باشد.

Masoumeh Bagheri Hassankiadeh and Abbas Azarandaz

نشانه‌های فرهنگ مردسالاریِ اقوام هند و اروپایی در زبان اوستایی

زبان یک نهاد اجتماعی و بازتاب آشکار باورهای ذهنی انسان‌هاست. بنابراین جای شگفتی نخواهد بود اگر اختلافات مربوط به جنسیّت که همواره دغدغۀ زندگی انسان‌ها بوده، ردّپای خود را در زبان بهجا گذاشته و زبان جنس‌گرا را بهوجود آورده باشد. تاکنون دربارۀ جنسیّت‌زدگی زبان فارسی پژوهش‌های متعدّدی انجام شده است که همگی به مقولۀ جنسیّت در لایه نحوی زبان پرداخته‌اند، ولی بدون توجّه به این نکته که زبان فی نفسه جنسیّت‌گرا نیست، مگر آنکه فرهنگ غالب جامعه در گذر تاریخ، مردانگی را در مرکز قرار داده و زنانگی را به حاشیه رانده باشد. بنا به گفته دیل اسپندر، زمانی مردان در موقعیّتی از قدرت، سلطه و کنترل قرار داشته‌اند که توانسته‌اند، جهان را از زاویۀ دید خودشان نام‌گذاری کرده و قواعد زندگي و زبان را بسازند. البّته باید توجّه داشت که عامل اساسی در قدرت‌یابي مردان، گسترش دامداري در میان اقوام بوده است. پرورش حیوانات اهلي نیازمندآن بوده که خانواده‌ها به دنبال چراگاه، دست به مهاجرت‌هاي فصلي بزنند. و یا گاه مردان، جهت تأمین غذاي خانواده، به همراه گلّه از خانواده جدا شده، به دنبال چراگاه بروند. چون جنس این کار با ویژگي‌هاي مردانه سازگارتر بود، به تدریج در اوایل هزارۀ سوم پیش از میلاد انقلاب پدرسالاري رخ داد. درنتیجه، تملّک «اختصاصي-خانوادگي» جایگزین تملّك «قبیلهاي» گردید و عامل «ناف-مادر» جاي خود را به عامل «پدر-سرور» بخشید و «مرد» جایگاه نخست را در خانواده و قبیله یافت و زبان که مورد استفاده قرار داد، به تدریج کاملاً مردانه شد.

Cameron Cross

رام کردن اژدها: ادامه مسئله شرارت در کوش‌نامه و بهمن‌نامه ایرانشان بن ابی‌الخیر

شرارت چه بهصورت جلوه‌های بیرونی همچون دیو و اهریمن و چه بهشکل جلوه‌های درونی مانند آز، کینه و غرور یکی از غنی‌ترین زمینه‌های پژوهشی شاهنامه است. همان‌گونه که داستان‌های نامدار سهراب و سیاوش و اسفندیار نشان می‌دهند شناختن اصل و هستی شرارت دشوارست و از میان بردن آن دشوارتر. محبوبیت مداوم این داستان‌ها برای نسل‌های گوناگون خوانندگان، شاهدی بر اهمیت مسائل و پرسش‌های اخلاقی شاهنامه است. البته این نوع پرسش‌ها با اثر فردوسی به پایان نرسیده‌است. در این مقاله، از نمونه نه‌چندان معروف ایرانشان بن ابی‌الخیر که دو مثنوی در اوایل سده ششم در فضای اسطوره‌ای شاهنامه سروده، استفاده می‌کنیم. شرارت که بهصورت ضحاک و خویشاوند او مجسم شده،

154

نقش مهمی در این دو مثنوی بازی می‌کند: (ضد) قهرمان داستان «کوشنامه»، دیوی وحشت‌انگیز و دستیار ضحاک است که مجبوریم جنایت‌های بی‌شمار و ستمکارانه او را تا پایان داستان تماشا کنیم و سپس شاهد رستگاری و رهایی پایانی او باشیم. داستان «بهمن‌نامه»، با آرزوی بهمن برای خونخواهی پدرش اسفندیار آغاز می‌شود، اما به‌زودی این آرزو به خواسته‌ای وسواس‌گونه برای پاک کردن تمام تبار نیمه‌اهریمنی رستم از روی زمین تبدیل می‌شود. ایرانشان سروده‌هایش را به مشوقش غیاث الدین محمد سلجوقی تقدیم می‌کند. درحالی‌که این اثر با دو تصویر روان‌شناسانه از مسئلۀ شرارت، زوایای جدیدی به مباحث فلسفی اثر فردوسی می‌بخشد، سؤال این است که مرز میان دیو و قهرمان چیست و کجاست؟ آیا کردارهای اهریمنی بخشیدنی است، یا از دیدگاه دیگر، آیا پیکار علیه شرارت الزاماً کار نیکویی است؟ در آغاز کوشنامه، ایرانشان مدعی می‌شود که شعرش «سراسر همه دانش و رای و پند» است. بر پایۀ این ادعا، نظر او را نسبت به این پرسش‌های یاد شده پی‌خواهیم گرفت.

SHERZOD DAVRUKOV

عثمان مختاری غزنوی و سهم او در انکشاف قصیده

حیات و آثار یکی از شاعران عهد دوم غزنوی با اسم عثمان مختاری غزنوی (1079-1080) مورد آموزش مقالۀ مذکور گردیده است. در مقالۀ مذکور ما تصمیم گرفته شده است، تا دایر به مهارت شاعر در ایجاد ژانر قصیده حرف بزنیم. در رفت تدقیقات، نتایج زیرین به‌دست آمد:

ا) مختاری چیره‌دستی کامل در ایجاد قصیده داشته است، که آموزش این هنر شاعری او سبب‌گار معین نمودن موقع قصیده در میان اشعار او به طریق علیهده و در نظم کلاسیک فارس و تاجیک به طریق کل می‌گردد.

ب) مختاری در طبیعت‌نگاری مقام خاصه‌ای ظاهر نموده، زمینه استفاده از طبیعت‌نگاری سبک خراسانی، اصلوب نگارش و آبرزو تصویرهای خودرا به‌وجود آورد.

پ) مختاری یکی از سرامدان تکمیل‌دهندۀ قصیدۀ مصنوع بوده، آن را با هنر والا سراییده است. در دیوانش سه قصیدۀ مصنوع جای دارند، که یکی از 96 بیت عبارت بوده در بحر مثمن متوی مجدوع و با قافیۀ «ر» ساخته شده است. در قصیدۀ مذکور چند نوع صنعت توشیع رئایه شده‌اند. از جزع‌های قصیدۀ مذکور چند قصیده، قطعه و رباعی در بحرهای گوناگون حاصل می‌گردند. قصیدۀ دیگر مختاری، که عبارت از 40 بیت است، در بحر مجتس مخبون اسلم با رئایۀ صنعت‌های تقسیم با التزام، تکرار و ردالقافیه ساخته شده است. قصیدۀ مصنوع سوم از 57 بیت عبارت بوده، به 19 جزع سه بیتی جدا می‌گردد. در مقالۀ مذکور زمینه‌ها و نتیجه‌های خوب علمی برای چنین تحلیل فراهم آورده شده‌اند.

Z̲ahra Gerami and Nafise Sadat Asadi Kakhki

تحلیل کتاب *کلثوم ننه* از منظر تحلیل گفتمان انتقادی

تحلیل گفتمان انتقادی از انواع تحلیل کیفی و یکی از روش‌های شناخته شده مطالعه متون است که در حوزه ارتباطات، فرهنگ و جامعه به کار می‌رود. از این شیوه در تحلیل متون تاریخی و تفسیر گفتمان‌های موجودِ برآمده از خلال این آثار می‌توان سود جست. *عقاید النساء یا کلثوم ننه* رساله‌ای منتسب به آقا جمال الدین خوانساری از فقهای سرشناس اواخر دوره صفویه است. بن مایه اصلی این اثر، توصیفی هزل و طنزآلود از عقاید عامیانه و باورهای رایج زنان، پیرامون شئون گوناگون حیات روزمره در اوایل قرن 12 هجری است. رساله *کلثوم ننه* تا کنون از زوایا و ابعاد مختلفی مورد بازخوانی و تفسیر قرار گرفته و این توجه عامه مردم و پژوهشگران می‌تواند دلیلی بر اهمیت و تأثیر گذاری آن باشد. ما در این پژوهش، با روش تحلیل گفتمان انتقادی به شیوه‌ی فرکلاف به بازخوانی این متن پرداخته‌ایم و آن را در سه سطح توصیف زبانی، تفسیر بینامتنی و تبیین گفتمانی مورد مطالعه قرار داده‌ایم. در سطح زبانی نحوه به‌کارگیری زبان، لحن متن و قواعد زبانی مورد توجه است. در سطح بینامتنی بستر و زمینه‌های شکل‌گیری متن و تاثیر گفتمان‌ها و ژانرهای از پیش موجود بر اثر، مطالعه می‌شود و در تبیین گفتمانی شاهد بازنمایی گوشه‌ای از نظام رفتاری عصر صفوی در متن هستیم.

Mohammad Reza Javadi Yeganeh

SELF-STUPIDITY AS A SURVIVAL MODE IN THEQAJAR AND PAHLAVI COURTS AND SOCIETY

در باره چاپلوسی و نوکرمابی در ایران (یعنی بالابردن صاحب قدرت و کوچک نمایاندن تعمدی خود) برخی پژوهش‌ها انجام شده است، اما تخرخر صورت کمترشناخته شده‌ای از رفتار سیاسیون در برابر صاحبان قدرت است. تخرخر به معنای خود را به نادانی و خریت زدن و «تظاهر احمقانه کردن» است و مراد از آن فرایندی است که در آن، رجال و درباریان و مدیرانی که از نظر عقل و تدبیر بالاتر از حاکمان هستند، شیوه‌های رفتاری و گفتاری‌ای را اتخاذ می‌کنند تا تعمداً جایگاه و اعتبار خود را پایین بیاورند و از طریق آن به حاکمان این اطمینان را بدهند که (مطابق نظر ماکیاولی در شهریار) آنقدر نزد همگنان کوچک شده‌اند که دیگر برای حاکم و جایگاه او خطرناک نیستند. تخرخر متفاوت از چاپلوسی و بازی‌های زبانی است، زیرا چاپلوسی در عین اینکه پایین آوردن خود و بالا بردن طرف مقابل است، اما در خود نوعی فرهیختگی و سواد و مهارت است که برخورداری از آن در جامعه ایران نوعی برتری است. و به همین دلیل و به علت رواج آن، چاپلوسی به تحقیر یا تمسخر گوینده منجر نمی‌شود. همچنین چاپلوسی در حوزه‌های اجتماعی نیز وجود دارد، ولی تخرخر منحصر به حوزه قدرت سیاسی است.

تحقیر خود روش‌های متفاوتی دارد از نادانی‌های تعمدی تا مضحکه کردن خود در جمع‌های خصوصی در نزد حاکمان. لودگی و مسخرگی و جک گویی صوری از آن است و تخم مرغ به مقعد کردن برای تخم کردن در حضور شاه قاجار صورت دیگری از آن. به گمان ما این شیوه‌ی پیچیده‌ی بقای ندیمان و وزیران (متاثر از غلامبچگان)، تاکنون کمتر مورد توجه قرار گرفته و در این مقاله قصد ما آن است نمونه‌های آن را (بویژه در دوران قاجار و پهلوی) نشان دهیم و تحلیلی از نحوه خلق و درک آن ارایه کنیم.

FARNAZ **M**ASOUMZADEH **J**OUZDANI

تصویرسازی مفهوم بخشندگی در کتیبه‌های نوشتاری ظروف گِلابه‌ای سامانی

یکی از نخستین کالاهای فرهنگی ایران در دوران اسلامی، «ظروف گلابه‌ای سامانی» دربردارندهٔ کتیبه‌هایی از پندهای اخلاقی است. این کتیبه‌ها از دو جهت بحث‌برانگیز است: نخست آنکه چگونه تنوع بصری این کتیبه‌های عربی با جریان حفظ و پرورش زبان فارسی در دورهٔ سامانی همخوان است؟ دوم اینکه چگونه تنوع ترکیب‌بندی یک عبارت (برای نمونه «الجود من اخلاق اهل الجنه») در این کتیبه‌ها، پیوند مفاهیم اخلاق اسلامی و آداب ایرانی را به تصویر می‌کشد؟ در آغاز، پژوهش را در مرزهای مطالعهٔ موردی کتیبهٔ نامبرده می‌گسترانیم، بدین‌ترتیب پی برده که دگرگونی بصری حروف و بویژه حرف لامالف در تنوع بصریِ این کتیبه‌ها نقش اساسی ایفا می‌کند. حرف لامالف که شبیه دو الف است، در تحلیل‌های حروفیِ منصور حلاج، نخستین دگرگونیِ حرف الف در پدیدارشدن سایر حروف بشمار می‌آید. همچنین با الهام از شباهت بصری حرف نون پهلوی با حرف الف کوفی، حرف لامالف را همچون تازه‌مسلمانی تصور کرده که نور وجودی‌اش، نور الهی را در آغوش گرفته است. پس بازشناخت این تناسبات حروف جدید و پیشین در تحلیل‌های حروفی قرن چهارم ق. ابعاد معنایی بیشتری از زبان بصری کتیبه‌های نوشتاریِ سامانی را پدیدار می‌سازد.

در ترکیب‌بندی کتیبه‌ها نیز، دگرگونی‌های بصری حرف لامالف را متناسب با حروفِ دیگر و فرم ظروف تکرار کرده‌اند. این دگرگونی‌ها را که در تشبیهات حروفی با «در آغوش گرفتن»، «شال/دستار به کمر/سر بستن» و ... توصیف کرده‌اند، اگر به‌هم‌پیوسته بیانگاریم، بر اساس گراف‌ولوژی فرهنگی دریدا با آداب به‌تخت نشستن، و داد و دهش شاهان در شاهنامه فردوسی متناظر است. بعلاوه، حرف لامالف در فرهنگ اسلامی نمادی از کلمهٔ «لاالهالاالله» است که گفتن آن را در هنگام پذیرش اسلام در تحلیل‌های سامانی با چنین آدابی همراه آورده‌اند. کوتاه می‌توان گفت، ابعاد معنایی صورت‌های حرف لامالف و پیوندهای مفهومی ترکیب‌بندی در کتیبه‌های «الجود من اخلاق اهل الجنه» در ظروف گلابه‌ای سامانی آداب بخشندگی در فرهنگ ایرانی را تصویرگرانه روایت می‌کند.

SHIVA MONTAZERI

شاهنامه و ناسیونالیسم مدرن ایرانی: تاثیر شاهنامه بر سرودههای شاعر ملیگرای عصر مشروطه، عارف

شاهنامه به عنوان شناسنامه و سند هویت ملی ایرانیان از دیرباز نقش مهمی در تاریخ و فرهنگ این مرز و بوم ایفا نموده است. پس از سرودن شاهنامه توسط فردوسی، سرایندگان و حتی نویسندگان بسیاری تحت تأثیر حماسه های آن، آثار ارزشمندی به ادبیات غنی پارسی هدیه کردهاند. این تأثیرپذیری در ادوار مختلف، جلوههای گوناگونی به خود میگیرد و ناگفته پیداست در عصر مشروطه با توجه به رونق ادبیات ملیگرایانه، گرایش به شاهنامه و تأثیرپذیری از آن جلوهای درخشان به خود میگیرد. از جمله سرایندگان ملیگرایی که در سرودههایش بسیار متأثر از شاهنامه است، عارف قزوینی است. او که در نهضت مشروطه نقش فعالی بر عهده دارد. در موارد بسیاری از شخصیتهای شاهنامه یاری میگیرد و پیوند مستقیمی میان شاهنامه و ناسیونالیسم مدرن ایرانی برقرار میکند. او گاهی با ذکر شخصیت-های اساطیری شاهنامه بر شکوه ایران باستان غبطه میخورد و گاهی از آنان برای برانگیختن حس ملیگرایانه ایرانیان و پیکار با استبداد و استعمار سود میجوید. شاهنامه در سرودههای این سراینده، نقش بارزی جهت تشویق مردم برای کسب آزادی و دموکراسی بازی میکند. عارف از شخصیتهای مثبت و منفی شاهنامه برای بیداری سیاستمداران کمک میگیرد و گاهی جلوهها و معنای نوینی به شخصیتهای اساطیری شاهنامه میبخشد. نکات یاد شده بخشی از مواردی است که مقاله حاضر با نمونههای عینی کوشش در روشن-سازی و توضیح آن دارد.

NADEREH NAFISI

سبکشناسی متنهای پارسیک

سبک روش بیان در گفتار و نوشتار است. بدان سبب که آبشخور بیان، اندوخته اندیشگی آدمی است، سبک گفتار و نوشتار هر کس بیانگر نگاه او به پدیدهها و دریافت ویژه اوست. سبکشناسی یافتن حلقه کنش و واکنش میان معنی و شکل در گفتار و یا نوشتار است. در عین اینکه هرگفتار یا نوشتاری به اعتبار عناصر سبکی ویژه خود در سبکشناسی مورد بررسی است، در کنار سبک فردی، سبک اجتماعی و یا گروهی در دورهای از روند تحولات اجتماعی نیز میتواند مورد توجه باشد که با این اعتبار سبکشناسی به دریافت و کشف مکتبهای ادبی دست مییابد. با این نگرش سبکشناسی ملزم به یافتن وجوه تشابه و یا تمایز سبکهای فردی خواهد بود. همچنین کشف این وجوه در نوشتار هر کس روند اندیشگی و تحول نوشتاری آن کس را مینمایاند که خود بخشی متأثر از تحولات اجتماعی و بخشی نمایانگر تحول اندیشگی و زبانی آن نویسنده میتواند باشد. در این جستار برای نخستینبار به سبکشناسی بخشی از متنهای اندرزی آذرباد مهراسپندان موبد میپردازیم که درباره زمان و خاستگاهاش گمانهای بسیار است. کوشش بر این است که با سبکشناسی این اندرزنامه پارسیک زمینهای را فراهم آوریم تا با شناخت ویژگیهای نوشتاری آذرباد درباره

158

متن‌های منسوب به او بی‌گمان شویم و در جستاری دیگر پس از سبک‌شناسی چند متن اندرزی همانند و تطبیق این متن‌ها به زمان زندگی آذرباد دست یابیم.

KHASHAYAR NOROUZI

بازتاب اهمیت طبرستان در نامه تنسر به گشنسب

طبرستان به سبب شرایط اقلیمی، سیاسی، اقتصادی و اجتماعي خاص خود، در طول تاریخ و به‌ویژه در ایران باستان، پیوسته از جایگاه ممتازي برخوردار بوده است؛ اما دستیابی به این سرزمین از جانب حکومت‌هاي مرکزي ایران کار چندان آسانی نبوده است. به هنگام روي کار آمدن اردشیر بابکان (224- 241م)، بنیان‌گذار حکومت ساسانی، گشنسپ فرمانرواي این سرزمین، نیرومندترین شاه پس از اردوان پنجم، آخرین پادشاه اشکانی، به‌ شمار می‌رفت. ازین رو، تنسر مشاور و هیربدان هیربد اردشیر، با او از در مدارا درآمد و نامه‌اي معروف خود را، در جواب بازخواستش، نگاشت و کوشید تا کار با او به مناضلت نکشد؛ که خود گواهي بارز بر ارزش این سرزمین و فرمانرواي آن است. سرانجام گشنسپ، شاه طبرستان و فدشوارگر و دیلمان و رویان و ... سر تسلیم به تدبیر و توان اردشیر سپرد. نگارندگان در این پژوهش، با رویکردي تاریخي و با تأکید برانگیزه مداراي تنسر با گشنسب، می‌کوشند اهمیت طبرستان را از لحاظ جغرافیایی، سیاسی و اجتماعي در آن برهه بررسي و پاره‌اي از نکات سیاسي برجسته نامه تنسر را بازگو نمایند.

JABBAR RAHMANI

در باب مفهوم «قسمت» در فکر و فرهنگ ایرانی

در زبان روزمره ایرانیان، واژه «قسمت» به اشکال مختلفی به کار گرفته می‌شود. کاربرد مفهوم «قسمت» را می‌توان در سه زمینه کلی تقسیم‌بندی کرد: در موقع رخداد وقایع مثبت و در موقع رخداد وقایع منفی. گونه سوم از کاربرد هم می‌توان برشمرد که نوع خنثی و مبهم آنست. وقتی قرار است کاری بکنیم که نتیجه از قبل معلوم نیست، گفته می‌شود «تا قسمت چی باشه». این نوع جملات که معطوف به آینده‌اند، در بطن همه اینها، نوعی استراتژی وجود دارد برای مواجهه با واقعیت تلخ و یا ناخوشایند که رخ داده و یا محتمل است رخ دهد. نکته اصلی که اینست که این نوع کاربرد مفهوم قسمت را چگونه باید تحلیل و تبیین کرد. چه منطق یا عقلانیتی در پس آن وجود دارد. در وهله اول در یک نگاه انتقادی می‌توان آن را نشانه نوعی عدم عقلانیت کنشگر ایرانی دانست و زبان به انتقاد گشود که این کنشگر نمی‌خواهد عقلانی به مسائل فکر کند. اما در نگاهی عمیق‌تر و با تکیه بر تحلیل‌های انسان- شناختی در حیطه معناشناسی قومی می‌توان درک دیگری از این مفهوم داشت. این دو مفهوم برای مواجهه با موقعیت‌هایی هستند که منطق عقلانی ما نمی‌تواند آرام‌بخش روح و جان ما در مواجهه با مسائل خاص و غامض و تحمل‌پذیر کردن آنها باشند. این مفاهیم با دلالت‌های

159

ماوراءالطبیعی و مقدس خودشان، مکانیسم‌هایی برای مواجهه با مشکلات بزرگ و تحمل پذیر کردن آنها بواسطه قرار دادنشان در بستری از امور متافیزیکی ورای عقل انسانی هستند: یعنی مکانیسم‌های مواجهه.

ALI REZAEE POUIA AND LEYLA FOULADIAN

تحلیل بینامتنی زراتشت نامه بهرام پژدو

زرتشت بهرام پژدو، از سرایندگان سده هفتم هجری است. وی را برجسته‌ترین آفریننده اثر زرتشتی به فارسی دری می‌شناسند. از وی چند اثر منظوم به یادگار مانده است که بی‌شک شناخته‌ترین آنان زراتشت نامه است. البته میان پژوهشگران بحث‌های فراوانی در خصوص انتساب زراتشت نامه به کیکاووس پسر کیخسرو رازی و بهرام پژدو در گرفته است که این مقاله وارد این بحث نمی‌شود، زیرا اساساً در رویکرد تحلیل بینامتنی نقش مولف به کمترین حد می‌رسد. در این مقاله کوشیده می‌شود، پیوندهای آشکار و پنهان متن زراتشت نامه با متون پهلوی و پارسی دری تحلیل شود. در تحلیل بینامتنی انگاره بر این است که متن یک نظام بسته و خودبسنده و ماحصل ذهن مولف آن نیست، بلکه در بستری از معانی از پیش موجود خلق می‌شود و خود، حلقه‌ای از شبکه معانی در یک فرهنگ است. در تحلیل بینامتنی، بحث فراتر از تاثیر و تاثر و وام گیری است، بحث سر پیش فرض‌ها، دانش‌های زمینه‌ای، دال‌ها، تصاویر تداعی‌گر، پیرامتنیت‌ها و به‌طور کل عناصری است که شبکه معنا را شکل می‌دهند، منتقل و بازتولید می‌کنند. پژوهشگران بر وام‌گیری آشکار زراتشت نامه از جلدهای پنجم و هفتم دینکرد، گزیده‌های زادسپرم، زند و هومن یسن و چند متن دیگر پهلوی و چند متن پارسی دری تاکید کرده‌اند. این پژوهش با رویکرد تحلیل بینامتنی و خوانش متون به زبان اصلی، می‌کوشد ابعاد بینامتنی زراتشت نامه را روشن کند.

ALI REZAEE POUIA AND LEYLA FOULADIAN

تحلیل بینامتنی کاوه و ضحاک شاهنامه

سال‌ها با حاکم بودن رویکرد اثبات‌گرایانه بر فضای آکادمیک تاریخ، حماسه‌های تاریخی فاقد «داده‌های موثق» برای تاریخ‌نگاری در نظر گرفته شدند. پژوهش‌گرانی نیز که از رویکرد تبیین‌گرایانه به تحلیل حماسه‌ها پرداخته‌اند، کوشیده‌اند یک منشاء و ریشه برای حماسه مورد پژوهش خود کشف کنند و به صورت خطی آن را ریشه‌یابی کنند. پژوهش‌گران این مقاله بر این هستند که هیچ یک از این رویکردها نمی‌توانند ابعاد اساطیری و تاریخی حماسه‌ها را روشن کنند، زیرا اساساً حماسه‌ها از خصلتی بینامتنی برخوردارند. در بینامتنیتِ پنهان حماسه‌ها عناصر پراکنده‌ای از وقایع و روایت‌های تاریخی و درون مایه‌های اساطیری گرد هم می‌آیند و در نهایت هنگام مکتوب شدن، مفصل بندی می‌شوند. این پژوهش بر آن است که می‌توان برای روایت فردوسی از کاوه و ضحاک، عناصر پراکنده‌ای

160

از واقعیت‌ها و روایت‌های تاریخی و درون مایه‌های اسطوره‌ای در نظر گرفت، همچون گیل گمش (نظریه جهانشاه درخشانی)، سکاها، کوروش و آژی دهاک، ارتبط داستان با جریان داریوش و گئومات مغ (خط فکری برخی آکادمیسین‌های شوروی) و برساخته بودن آن در زمان ساسانیان (نظریه کرستن سن). این پژوهش می‌کوشد ضمن واکاوی روایت فردوسی از کاوه و ضحاک و بررسی تطبیقی روایت‌های مختلف با آن، درون مایه‌های اساطیری و عناصر پراکنده تاریخی آن را تبیین کند.

GHODSIEH REZVANIAN AND LEYLA EBRAHIMPOUR

بازخوانی گلستان سعدی با رویکرد تاریخی‌گرایی نو

پس از این که وضعیت پست‌مدرن با مهم‌ترین شاخصه‌اش، یعنی عدم قطعیت، همه ثابت‌های فکری را به چالش طلبید، تعریف تاریخ نیز که پیش از این مبتنی بر شناخت دوره‌های زمانی و مکانی براساس عینیت اسناد و داده‌ها بود، مورد تردید جدی قرار گرفت و به دلیل عبور از گذرگاه زبان و چرخش هرمنوتیکی، نوعی متن ادبی تلقی شد. در مقابل نیز، تاریخ‌گرایی نو، متن ادبی را به مثابه متنی تاریخی مورد مطالعه قرار داد. پیروان این رویکرد که استیون گرین بلت سردمدار آن است، مرز بین ادبیات و تاریخ را برداشتند و علاوه بر هویت بلاغی، به جستجوی هویت تاریخی در این آثار پرداختند. سپس در پی نظریه فوکو و ادغام ادبیات در گفتمان، و در نتیجه ارتباط معنادار گونه‌ها و ساختارهای ادبی با قدرت، تاریخ‌گرایی نو به مثابه واکنشی در برابر رویکردهای فرم‌گرایانه و ساختارگرایانه مطرح شد. این مقاله بر آن است تا یکی از آثار برجسته ادبیات کلاسیک فارسی، یعنی گلستان سعدی را با این رویکرد بررسی کند. گلستان، از جمله آثاری است که به سبب ظرفیت‌های متنوع، از جمله ظرفیت تاریخی شایسته خوانش‌های گوناگونی است، هم به دلیل ماهیت اجتماعی‌اش و هم برهه زمانی خاصّی که در آن پدید آمده است؛ برهه‌ای که حاصل جنگ‌های پیاپی و در نهایت هجوم خانمان‌سوز مغول است. در همین راستا، پژوهش پیش رو بر آن است تا با روش تحلیلی و توصیفی با رویکرد تاریخی‌گری نو به بررسی گفتمان‌های متن گلستان بپردازد؛ اینکه چه گفتمان‌هایی و چگونه در شبکه‌ای گفتمانی با هم تعامل می‌کنند، واقعیت‌ها را می‌سازند و برای دستیابی به قدرت می‌کوشند. در نهایت با دقیق شدن در جزئیات اثر، که متنی باز در برهه زمانی حساس است، به خوانشی نو از این متن و فهمی نو از زمانه متن می‌رسیم.

161

Hanieh Rouhani Nejad

بررسی تطبیقی شخصیت‌های گُردآفرید و آرتمیس

پژوهش حاضر در زمینه ادبیات و اسطوره‌شناسی و با روش تطبیقی انجام گرفته است. در این جستار، دو شخصیت آرتمیس و گُردآفرید مورد مطالعه قرار گرفته‌اند. گُردآفرید یا گُردآفرین یکی از زنان جسور و فرزانه اساطیر ایران است که در شاهنامه و نقّالی‌ها ویژگی‌های پهلوانی برجسته‌ای به وی نسبت داده‌اند. گردآفرید فرزند گژدهم پهلوان است و از معدود زنانی است که فردوسی او را به جنگاوری می‌ستاید. آرتمیس نیز در اساطیر یونان ایزدبانوی شکار، حیات وحش، بکارت، ماه و حاصلخیزی است. او دختر لتو و زئوس است. آرتمیس یکی از الهه‌های باکره و مظهر پاکدامنی الُمپ به شمار می‌رود. گوزن و زربین برای او مقدس بودند. نگارنده در این پژوهش بر اساس اصول مکتب آمریکایی ادبیات تطبیقی این دو شخصیت را مقایسه کرده است. نتیجه مطالعات نشان می‌دهد که این دو دارای صفات و ویژگی‌های مشترک بسیاری هستند. برای نمونه می‌توان به دختر بودن، مهارت شگفت‌آور هر دو در تیر اندازی باکمان، برگزیدن لباس و ظاهر مردانه، پیشگامی در عشق، داشتن پدری مقتدر و حضور در جنگ اشاره نمود. اما آرتمیس به سبب ایزد بانو بودن و تفاوت‌های محیطی و فرهنگی از گُردآفرید متمایز می‌شود که زنی دارای دغدغه‌های ملّی است و حتّی عشق و آرزوی شخصی را برای این هدف رها می‌کند. بنابر این بر اساس نظریات استراوس و یونگ می‌توان گفت شباهت‌های این دو شخصیت در اساطیر ایران و یونان در ساختار مشترک اساطیر دو ملّت و ناخودآگاه جمعی مشترک ریشه داشته و منجر به ادبیات مشترک شده است. همچنین وجه تمایز ظاهری و جزئیات این دو شخصیت به تفاوت‌های فرهنگی و پیشینه تاریخی و ادبی دو ملّت باز می‌گردد.

Marian Smith

The Sāhib Qirān Versus the Khan of Khans: Tīmūr, Toqtamish, and Rival Claims to Chinggisid Authority in ‘Abd Allah Hātifī's Tīmūr-nāma

اصل و نسب، حقانیت، و رقابت بر سر پادشاهی از جمله مضامین پرکاربرد در شاهنامهٔ فردوسی هستند. عبدالله هاتفی (م. ۹۲۷) نیز در اثر مشهور خود ـ تیمورنامه ـ که عمیقاً ریشه در شاهنامه دارد، همین مضامین را زنده کرده و آن‌ها را به تناسب جامعهٔ ترکی‌مغولی اوراسیای اواخر سده پانزدهم بازگو کرده است. هاتفی، در اثر حماسی خود، به شرح وقایع زندگی و کشورگشایی‌های تیمور پرداخته و این شخصیت صاحب‌قران را به عنوان فرمانروای جهان معرفی می‌کند که حق دارد به واسطهٔ تقدیر آسمانی و حسن‌نیت چنگیزی خود، بر مردم فرمانروایی کند. با وجود این، مسیر کشورگشایی تیمور خالی از موانع نیست. موقعیت او به عنوان گورگان یا «داماد»، در طی سلسله رویارویی‌های او با تقتمش-خان آشکار می‌شود که از نوادگان چنگیزخان و فرمانروای ایل طلایی است. تیمور و تقتمش، هر دو، برای گسترش و تثبیت قدرت خود در میان مغول‌ها، به دستور چنگیز (یاسا)

162

متوسل می‌شوند تا اینکه بر سر فرمانروایی بر قوم مغول با هم رقابت می‌کنند. بنابراین، هاتفی با یک معمّا روبروست: او چگونه باید پیچیدگی‌های حقانیت حکومت چنگیزی را، که در مبارزات تیمور و تقتمش مجسم شده‌است، تفسیر و ترسیم کند، آن هم در شرایطی که تاریخ از روند آرمانی به ارث رسیدن پادشاهی از پدر به پسر در شاهنامه، که خلوص خاندان پادشاهی را تضمین می‌کند، تخطی کرده‌است؟ این مقاله می‌کوشد تا با بررسی مبارزات تیمور و تقتمش در تیمورنامه، جایگاه دستور چنگیز و حقانیت حکومت چنگیزی را در این اثر تبیین کند و همین‌طور شرح دهد که جامعۀ ترکی‌مغولی تحت حکومت تیمور، چگونه تعهدی خلاقانه نسبت به الگوی جانشینی پادشاهان در شاهنامه را موجب می‌شود. به علاوه این پژوهش بر نقش شاهنامه به عنوان سنّتی زنده و پویا تأکید دارد که سرایندگانی چون هاتفی برای پرداختن به شکل مطلوب پادشاهی ایرانی از آن بهره می‌گیرند.

ALI MOHAMMAD TARAFDARI

ایران‌شناسی اروپایی و ظهور تاریخ‌های ملی در دوران معاصر ایران

پیدایش تاریخ‌نگاری ملی در دوران معاصر ایران تاثیر گسترده‌ای بر روند تاریخ‌نگاری علمی مورخان ایرانی داشته است. همچنین مکتب تاریخ‌نگاری ملی‌گرایانه از زمان پیدایش تاکنون نقش بسزایی در شکل دادن به نگاه‌ها و قضاوت‌های تاریخی مورخان ایرانی به گذشته کشورشان ایفا کرده و موجب بروز یا تقویت جریانات فکری چندی همچون ملی‌گرایی ادبی، سره‌نویسی و باستان‌گرایی شده است. عوامل متعددی در پیدایش این مکتب نقش داشته‌اند که یکی از مهم‌ترین آن‌ها جریان ایران‌شناسی بوده است. در حقیقت، ورود ماحصل مطالعات گسترده ایران‌شناسان اروپایی، به‌خصوص در مورد ایران باستان، به ایران و اذهان دانشمندان ایرانی از جمله عوامل مهمی بود که باعث شد غالب مورخان و روشنفکران ایرانی به نوعی غرور شبه‌ملی و خودبزرگ‌بینی مفرط دچار شوند و ایران و تمدن ایرانی را به شکلی اغراق‌آمیز و غیرواقعی مبنای اصلی تمام تمدن‌های جهان در ادوار مختلف بینگارند و افزون بر آن نسبت به برخی از همسایگان دیرین خود دیدگاهی تحقیرآمیز و دشمنانه پیدا کرده و آن‌ها را مسئول افول و نابودی مدنیت و شکوه عهد باستان بدانند. در مقاله حاضر با استفاده از روش تحقیق توصیفی-تحلیلی و با تکیه بر نخستین و مهم‌ترین آثار تألیفی ایران‌شناسان در باب ایران و سپس بررسی روند ظهور اولین تاریخ‌های ملی از سوی مورخان ایرانی، نقش و سهم جریان ایران‌شناسی در پیدایش تاریخ‌نگاری‌های ملی در ایران معاصر از دورهِ قاجاریه تا پایان حکومت پهلوی اول مورد مطالعه و بررسی واقع شده است.

AFARIN TAVAKOLI

برسی تطبیقی کاریکاتور زنان در نشریات سالهای 1285-1357 ه.ش.

در نشریات مصور دوره مشروطه، زن به دو صورت چهره‌پردازی شده است: زنی که سنبل ایران بود با رویی باز، چهره‌ای زیبا و غمگین و اغلب زنی بیمار و دیگر زنی با چادر و چاقچور و پیچه که نماینده چهره زن ایرانی در آن زمان بود. در این زمان، زن در نگاه نخست شریک جنسی و همخوابه مرد محسوب می‌شد که تمکین مهم‌ترین وظیفه‌اش محسوب می‌شد و مرد در ازای این تمکین مسؤول تامین مادی او بود. کاربرد واژه‌هایی چون عورت، عیال و ضعیفه نیز تاکیدی بر این کارکرد بود. کاریکاتورهای زنان همگام با ادبیات نوشتاری با تاکید بر نقش مادری زن از یک سو کوشیدن جایگاه صرفاً جنسی زن را تغییر دهند و از سوی دیگر وجود ملتی آگاه را وابسته به وجود زنانی آگاه دانستند. بدین ترتیب پیوندی سه‌گانه میان زن، ملت و وطن بوجود آمد که در آن زنان آگاه ملتی آگاه را تربیت می‌کردند که در حفظ وطن کوشا بودند. با تاسیس سلسله پهلوی و اختصاص قسمتی از برنامه-های نوسازی دولت به زنان، زن سمبل نگرانی اجتماع از مدرنیته شد. درحالی‌که ادبیات نوشتاری پیشرفت و نوگرایی را ستایش می‌کرد، ترس از گسست از سنت‌ها و پیوستن به دنیای مدرن در کاریکاتورهایی با موضوع زن نمود می‌یافت. در این تصاویر زن مدرن مظهر آشفتگی ساختار خانواده بود. پس از شهریور 1320 ، فضای باز این سال‌ها حضور پررنگ تر زنان در اجتماع را به دنبال آورد. تشکیل احزاب گوناگون، درخواست حق رای و افزایش زنان کارمند از موضوعات مورد علاقه نشریات متعدد طنز در این دوران بود. کاریکاتورها در این زمان بیان‌کننده نگرانی اجتماع از حضور زنان در عرصه‌های مردانه بود. زن مدرن برهم‌زننده ساختار کهن اجتماع بود. این روند با تغییراتی تا سال 1357 ادامه یافت.

MAHVASH VAHEDDOOST AND NASER OMARI

ویژگی‌های روان‌شناختی زنان در آثار هوشنگ مرادی کرمانی

هوشنگ مرادی کرمانی را باید در زمره نویسندگان رئالیست و واقع‌گرا بر شمرد. او در آثار خود بدون هیچ جهت‌گیری و تعصّب زن‌گرایانه همواره برای زن ارزش و احترام قائل بوده و در داستان‌هایش سعی کرده است به جنبه‌های مثبت شخصیّت زن توجه بیشتری داشته باشد. در آثار وی به‌ندرت به زنانی برمی‌خوریم که شخصیّتی منفی و یا منفور داشته باشند. در تحلیل ویژگی‌های روان‌شناختی شخصیّت‌های زنان آثار مرادی کرمانی، می‌توان چهار بعد «مثلث اودیپی، مادرانگی، هویت‌طلبی و سپهر عمومی و سپهر خصوصی» را مورد بحث قرار داد. برمبنای «مثلث اودیپی»، نظریه «فروید»، و با توجّه به دیدگاه‌های مثبت مرادی کرمانی نسبت به مادرش، اکثر شخصیّت‌ها ارتباط خوبی با مادر خود دارند. «مادریت و مادرانگی»، احساسات و عواطف ناشی از آن نیز، به خوبی در سیمای زنان به تصویر می‌شود. در این پژوهش، با تکیه بر دیدگاه‌های نظریه‌پردازان عرصه فمینیستی و

روانشناسی، مصداق‌های ساختار شخصیّتی زنان در آثار هوشنگ مرادی کرمانی مورد بررسی قرار می‌گیرد. گاهی زن در آثار او نماینده انسان‌هایی است که با ظلم و ستم می‌جنگد، زنانی که هرگز شخصیّتی پایین‌تر از سطح اجتماعی مرد ندارند و به خودی خود دارای شخصیّتی مستقل هستند و از اعتماد به نفس بالایی برخوردار هستند، ولی در دایره سنّت‌های جامعه مردانه گرفتار هستند. در بررسی روانشناسانه از زنان آثار مرادی کرمانی انگاره کهن الگویی مادر مثالی و حتی گاه فرشته‌شیطان نیز نمود دارد. نویسنده ضمن احترام به زن، در دور اول نویسندگی همچنان معتقد به ویژگی‌های سنتی زنانه مانند مادرانگی در سپهر خصوصی است. در اغلب داستان‌ها (به‌ویژه در دور دوم نویسندگی) زنان از سپهر خصوصی به سپهر عمومی راه یافته، در چرخه اقتصادی جامعه نقشی اساسی می‌یابند. در بعضی از داستان‌ها در دور اول نویسندگی، به‌طور کلّی «مرد» حضور فعّالی ندارد. در دور دوم نویسندگی وی، به دلیل فاصله گرفتن نویسنده از دوران کودکی، گاه حضور شخصیت «زن» چندان محسوس نیست و توجّه شخصیت‌های کودک از مادر به پدر معطوف می‌شود.

SAEEDEH ZADGHANAD AND MAHDI MONTAZERI MOGHADDAM

دروغگویی؛ افتراق معنایی در دو ساحت روایت نخبه‌گرایانه و روایت اجتماعی

مسئلۀ الگوهای اخلاقِ جمعیِ بشر ایرانی یا اصطلاحاً همان چیزی که از آن به عنوان «خلقیات ایرانیان» یاد می‌شود فارغ از بحرانی بودن یا نبودن همیشه در زمینه‌ای از جدال بین سنت و مدرنیته و با روایاتی نخبه‌گرایانه همراه بوده است. نویسندگان این نوشتار معتقدند، روایت نخبه‌گرایانه از خلقیات ایرانیان از آنجا که بر اساس فهمی از «وضعیت مطلوب» و با رویکرد «مهندسی اجتماعی» به آسیب‌شناسی وضع موجود و به آنچه «باید» باشد می‌پردازد، «هستی» و «واقعیت منحصربه فرد تاریخیِ» بشر ایرانی را نادیده می‌انگارد و دست آخر صورت‌بندی‌ای را ارائه می‌دهد که منجر به قضاوت‌های ارزشی دربارۀ عملکردهای اخلاقی در اجتماع ایرانی می‌شود. لذا در این مقاله، برای نشان دادن این افتراق معنایی مابین آنچه باید باشد (روایت نخبه‌گرایانه) و آنچه هست (روایت اجتماعی)، فهم الگوهای اخلاق جمعی بشر ایرانی در زمینه‌ای از «راه و رسم مردمی»، با روایاتی اجتماعی و معطوف به آنچه «هست» بررسی می‌شود. از آنجایی که، خلقیات ایرانیان طیف گسترده‌ای از رفتار و کردار را شامل می‌شود می‌توان برآنیم تا این اختلاف در روایت، معنا و کاربرد را در یکی از شایع‌ترین الگوهای اخلاقیِ ذکر شده برای بشر ایرانی یعنی دروغگویی نشان دهیم. به همین منظور، برای تحلیل و استخراج داده‌های مربوط به روایت نخبه‌گرایانه در باب دروغگویی، نظرات خلقیات‌پژوهان را از خلال آثار مکتوب‌شان با استفاده از روش کیفیِ تحلیل محتوا بررسی کرده‌ایم و برای تحلیل و استخراج داده‌های مربوط به روایت اجتماعی در باب دروغگویی نظرات شش نفر از شهروندان تهرانی را که به طور تصادفی انتخاب شده بودند با استفاده از روش کیفی گروه کانونی مطالعه کرده‌ایم. نتایج و یافته‌های این مطالعه در باب اخلاق دورغگویی ایرانیان، حکایت از آن دارد که

روایت نخبه‌گرایانه از دروغ‌گویی چندان قرین واقعیت نیست و با روایت اجتماعی از این خصلت از حیث علل، عوامل، معنا و کاربرد اختلافی معنادار دارد.

BAHMAN ZAKIPOUR

رابطه فلسفه تطبیقی و شرق‌شناسی وارونه در ایران

در دو دهه چهل و پنجاه خورشیدی همزمان با اوج گیری آرمان‌های انقلابی، نوعی واکنش در برابر فرهنگ غرب هم در ایران شکل گرفت. در راه مبارزه با فرهنگ غرب تقریباً تمامی روشنفکران و اندیشمندان ایرانی، چنان که مهرزاد بروجردی در کتاب *روشنفکران ایرانی و غرب* نشان داده است، در برابر شرق‌شناسی غرب، دست به گفتمانی وارونه زدند که به تعبیر صادق جلال العزم «شرق‌شناسی وارونه» نامیده می شود. در این راستا پاره‌ای از روشنفکران همچون داریوش شایگان و سید حسین نصر همراه با هانری کربن و توشیهیکو ایزوتسو گفتمان شرق‌شناسی وارونه را از حیطه مبارزات ضد استعماری خارج و آن را بر زمین فلسفه تطبیقی نشاندند. به این معنی که فلسفه تطبیقی برای آنان ابزاری شد برای نفی غرب و احیاء شرق. از این رو کوششی خواهیم داشت برای نشان دادن رابطه فلسفه تطبیقی با شرق‌شناسی وارونه در ایران منهتی به انقلاب.