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KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

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Abassy, Małgorzata (Jagiellonian University Kraków):  
Iran in cultural and political reception of Poland 2019-2022, through  
the prism of common history

Presenting cultural cliches and historical facts as those ones that create the Poles' reception of the contemporary Iran is the purpose of this paper. The period of 2019-2022 was selected due to the significant turns in bilateral relations: 2019 – anti-Iranian conference if Poland organized by the NATO, and 2022 – the war in Ukraine and revival of Polish-Iranian relations. The analyses will be conducted on Polish newspapers' material, and subsequently, their results will be put into a theoretical frame of long-lasting cultural mechanisms underpinning short-term political actions.

Abbasova-Yusupova, Mavlyuda A. (Fine Arts Institute of Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan)

Book Presentation “The Bukharan School of Architecture in the 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Distinctive Features and Paths of Development”  
Samarkand: International Institute for Central Asian Studies, 2022.

Interest in the magnificent architectural heritage of Bukhara and the collection of materials for this book goes back to the time when, as a young architect-restorer of the Uzbek Scientific Research and Production Institute for the Restoration of Architectural Monuments (UzNIPI Restoration), I attended numerous expeditions to the Bukhara Oasis with colleagues for research and full-scale measurement of the architectural monuments. Charmed by the antiquity of Bukhara, I have identified the peculiarities of the architecture of this region as the leading topic of my scientific research. Such interesting aspects of it as the architecture of the Sufi lodges, the images of living creatures in the architectural decor, the typological and local features of the monuments, and the Bukharan school of architecture in general, were highlighted or further explored.

In an interesting and accessible form, this book reviews the evolution and development patterns of the architecture of the Bukhara Oasis and the city of Bukhara during their heyday in the 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Local features, as well as mutual influences between the architecture of the other Central Asian regions and the Middle East, are revealed. For the first time, a number of less-studied structures and new data are presented, as well as analytical tables, in which the author systematizes the typological, constructive and decorative features of the architecture of the oasis. The content is illustrated by more than 300 images and drawings, including a number of rare historical and archival materials published for the first time. The photographs published in this work without reference to the source were taken by the author of the monograph. Some of them were taken by me in the process of field research in the early 1990s - 2000s, and over time became historical photographs that captured the lost authentic state of the architectural monuments and complexes that were subsequently rebuilt.

The book was published by IICAS in 2022 in Samarkand. Prof. Edvard V. Rtveladze was the scientific editor of the book, reviewers are – Prof. Igor A. Bondarenko and Dr. Elena Paskaleva. Also Dr. Elena Paskaleva is the editor of the English translation of the manuscript.

The e-book in English can be downloaded via the e-library of the International Institute for Central Asian Studies (<https://www.unesco-icas.org/book/152>).



## Abdullaev, Nodir (Tashkent State University of Oriental Studies): Religion as a Factor in Iran's Foreign Policy

Iran's leadership widely supports elements of “soft power” in the country's foreign policy, paying special attention to the religious factor, the source of which are Islamic values. Iran's foreign policy activities in this direction have had an impact on Shiite regions, particularly Iraq, Lebanon, Bahrain, Qatar, and Kuwait. It is noteworthy that before the 1979 revolution, the government of Muhammad Reza Pahlavi was threatened by Sunni countries in the region, but with the creation of the Islamic State in Iran, Tehran became a serious threat to Sunni countries.

Iran, the largest Shiite country in the world, has always been the focus of Shiite attention. Iran began to use it more broadly, emphasizing the Shiite factor in its foreign policy. During the Pahlavi dynasty, the Shah of Iran supported the “Movement of the Oppressed” of Imam Musa al-Sadr in Lebanon and the Iraqi Shiite party Al-Da'wa al-Islamiya (Call of Islam). Ruhollah Khomeini continued the policy of systematically exploiting the Shiite factor of the Iranian king on the basis of revolutionary ideology.

Support for the oppressed and the struggle for justice is the main idea of Iran's foreign policy, regardless of the political orientation of successive governments. This is recorded in the constitution of Iran. Therefore, it is of particular interest to analyse the use of religion in the foreign policy of Iran.

Abe, Naofumi (Ochanomizu University Tokyo):

## The Sarih al-Melks in the Qajar Period: A Study of the 19th Century Synopsised Version of the Safavid Shrine's Real Estate Inventory

The shrine of Sheykh Safi faced decline due to budgetary shortages and the diminution of people's veneration after the fall of the Safavids in 1722. Thus, contemporary scholars have rarely studied the Safavid shrine since then. The shrine, however, survived throughout the centuries, preserving its buildings, and precious movable properties until today.

The Sarih al-Melk, a well-known inventory of the real estate belonging to the Safavid shrine was composed in two versions respectively in the reigns of Shah Tahmasp and Abbas I. We have recently found that copies of a synopsised version of the shrine's inventory, which have not been correctly catalogued, were newly written in the late 19th century. This study attempts to locate this version in the shrine's tradition of compiling inventories of immovable properties even back to the pre-Safavid period.

The 19th century synopsised version aimed to survey the waqf properties registered in the two previous versions of the Sarih al-Melk, as the shrine was under decline mainly because of the shrinking waqf revenues. The synopsised version of the inventory, summarizing the previous versions, is likely to have been compiled based on a couple of different manuscripts. Patterned precisely on the layout of the previous versions of the Sarih al-Melk, the 19th century version was mainly used for administration rather than documentary evidence, which was the function of the previous versions.

Ahmed, Amr (INALCO):

## Modern Kurdish Poetry: Reassessing Abdulla Goran's Contribution

From its earlier stages, premodern Kurdish poetry mostly followed in the wake of the Persian poetic tradition. Stepping into modernity in the late 19th century, however, Kurdish poets moved away from the Persian model to engage in new poetic experiments. Focusing on the contribution of Abdulla Goran (1904-1962), this paper examines the culmination of Kurdish poetic modernity as an intentional breakaway from the Persianate reference. Building upon his predecessors' experiments, Goran established a cohesive alternative framework in which modern Kurdish poetry has developed ever since. In addition to systematizing the use of free verse, Goran's new poetry draws on untapped, foreign sources of inspiration, and deliberately engages with an international audience.

Akbari, Alireza (Freie Universität Berlin):

## Poetry Nights or Dawn of a Revolution: How a Literary Event Flared up the Flames of the 1979 Iran Revolution

Intellectuals form important and influential fronts amidst great socio-political movements in their societies. The influence of French intellectuals in shaping the main causes of the French Revolution and the role of Russian intellectuals in the progress of the Russian Revolution can always be addressed. Iran's 1979 Revolution was not an exception to this rule. "Dah Shab", or The Nights of Iranian Writers and Poets, held in the German-Iranian Cultural Association in October 1977, was a literary event that turned out to be a milestone in the final victory of revolutionaries about a year later. In this article, through my exclusive interviews with the organizers, writers, and poets who contributed to this event, I intend to explore how in a society suffering from severe despotism, a literary event became the turning point of a political revolution.

Akgul, Nazife Selcen Pinar (Bayburt University):  
State Identity Maker in Post-Revolutionary Iran: Role of Martyrdom  
Narratives and The Rituals

The state identity comprises influencing the perception of a state and its relations with others, interpreting historical events, motivating form for specific purposes, or forming subjective interpretations of power. In other words, it is the consequence of the interaction between the self and the other. Religion, one of the forces that affected the stance of self and others in Iran, had a political value long before the establishment of the Islamic Republic. However, the Islamic Republic of Iran first transformed this interaction from a traditional form to a revolutionary one, shaping the state identity based on this view. From this point, the work aims to approach the state identity construction through 'the spirit of the past,' Karbala's narrative, and religious rituals. The reflection of the state identity on the struggle of 'good' and 'evil' has also determined 'self' and 'other' through a mythic-religious context. In this scope, we will trace these in the constitution of the Islamic Republic, special days of the state through discourses of Iranian elites accompanying the constructivist framework. Findings suggest that Iran not only has a perception of friends or foes after the revolution but also constructs its 'historical, internal, and external other' through the memory of the past. It also tries to legitimize its subsequent political actions based on this image. Thus, the study will provide to see the state identity of Iran through a "religious narrative."

Allegranzi, Viola (Austrian Academy of Sciences):  
The Surviving Inscriptions of the Late Khwarazmshahs: Some  
Preliminary Observations

The meteoric empire of the Khwarazmshah (ca. 1189-1220) and, more broadly, the political and social history of the period immediately preceding the Mongol conquest of Iran have attracted increasing interest in the last decades. Recent scholarship exploited previously unused sources and adopted uncharted local perspectives. However, little attention has so far been paid to material culture. This is partly justified by the fact that surviving architectural remains and cultural objects ascribed to the Khwarazmshahs are rare, scattered over their dominions and multifarious in nature. The present paper offers a first attempt to gather the small corpus of Arabic inscriptions that can be related to the Khwarazmshahs of the Anushtegin line and their ministers. These epigraphic sources include both monumental inscriptions and inscribed objects: some of them are fragmented or decontextualised, all of them deserve further examination aimed at ascertaining the original form, context of production and reception. Although not numerous, the inscriptions provide fresh insights into the patterns of patronage, the artistic languages and practices in use at the time of Khwarazmian rule. Preliminary comparative analysis will serve to trace connections with the models developed under the earlier Turko-Iranian dynasties, and to assess the incidental role of the Khwarazmshahs in propagating and transmitting these models beyond the historical rift of the Mongol conquest.

## Alsancakli, Sacha (INALCO / CeRMI): Shifting Perspectives on Authorship and Textual Production: Two *Sharafnâma* Derivatives as a Case Study in 19th-Century Islamic Book Culture

The dynamic and collective nature of authorship stands out as an essential trait of early modern Islamic book culture. It is generally agreed upon that the concept of 'plagiarism' cannot meaningfully be used in this context and, in its stead, scholars have used terms like 'imitative writing' (Quinn, 2000) to speak of the reuse by authors of large parts of texts already in circulation, often without citation.

In this communication, I will present two radical examples of this phenomenon, with two 19th-century texts that have come down to us as unicum manuscripts. The first is the *Risâlat ansâb al-Akrâd* ('*Treatise on the genealogy of the Kurds*'), ms. D 277 of the IOM (St. Petersburg, Russia), and the second one is the *Ashraf al-tawârîkh* ('*Most noble of histories*'), ms. FA 233 of Maulana Azad Library (Aligarh, India).

Although, at first glance, these two texts are not related to each other, they were originally part of the same work, the *Sharafnâma* by Sharaf Khân Bidlîsî (c. 1597), from which different passages were cut out and rebranded as original compositions. Building on their specific production contexts, I will try and connect both texts with broader phenomena, such as increasing Orientalist interest in the discovery of 'unknown' works, and shifting perspectives on book production and patronage by courtly elites. In doing so, I will argue for the need to go beyond the imitation/plagiarism dichotomy in order to write a more precise history of the 19th-century Muslim book.

## Araghi, Razieh (University of Michigan): Adapted Role Models

Towards the end of the 18th and during the 19th century, Qajar shahs in Iran began the gradual process of modernizing and westernizing Iranian society. They invited European politicians, travellers, and artists to their court, and sent several students to France to study. With their attention fixated on European culture, they started opening European-style schools in Iran, hiring European teachers, importing new inventions, translating books, and even wearing European-style clothing. As they became more exposed to the European style of education, they came to understand that they should also value the education of women, who were limited to the world of *Andarunis*.

One of the first steps in educating Iranian women was creating role models for them through translation. Translators translated books from French and English into Persian that recounted the story of famous women. One of these role models for the Iranian woman to imitate was Jeanne d'Arc, famous for her patriotism. The popularity of Jeanne d'Arc continues in Persian Literature from the 1930s in the works of Bozorg Alavi to the 1960s in Iraj Pezeshknia's translation. In this paper, I will focus on different major works on Jeanne d'Arc written by authors like Friedrich Schiller, George Bernard Shaw, and Nancy Wilson Ross that got translated into Persian. My aim in this study is to explore how the figure of Jeanne d'Arc was moulded into a Persian role model for women to admire and follow.



Arakelova, Victoria (Russian-Armenian University Yerevan):  
The Talyshis in Iran and Azerbaijan Republic: Identity Transformations  
in the Light of the Nation Building Policy

The Talyshis, the fourth largest ethnic group in the South Caucasus and the largest non-state people in the Caucasus-Iranian region, are a prime example of a divided people. As a result of the Russian-Persian wars of the 19th century, the Talyshis found themselves in two radically different civilizational paradigms, which provoked serious transformations of their identity on the opposite banks of the Araks. These transformations have acquired a fundamentally new format in recent decades, especially in the Republic of Azerbaijan, in connection with its state policy of creating a pan-Azerbaijani (Turkic) identity, regardless of the cultural, religious and linguistic characteristics of the Iranian and Caucasian autochthons living in the country.

Different approaches to the policy of nation building in Iran and Azerbaijan Republic, as well as peculiarities of the ideological systems in these countries have resulted in the actualization of different identity markers among the Talyshis of Iran and Azerbaijan Republic.

The analysis demonstrates serious identity transformations not only regarding cultural, religious, linguistic and other markers of the self-identification among the two groups of the Talyshis, but also in relation to their approaches to the idea of the Talyshi Lebensraum.

The paper will present some results of a broad study on the Caspian non-state autochthonous peoples and their recent identity transformations in Iran and Azerbaijan Republic.

Asefi, Nima (Leiden University):  
The Meaning and Function of *nazdist* in the Pahlavi Archive Documents

Two witnesses for *nazdist* can be found in Pahlavi Archive Documents:

1. rōz Mihr ī *nazdist*

Weber translates it: day Mihr the next one

2. Amurdād ī *nazdist* ud rōz Ohrmazd

Weber's translation is:

nächsten Monat Amurdād und Tag Ohrmazd.

Weber has translated *nazdist* as next and this is exactly what is going to be discussed about in this article.

The whole difficulty in understanding is a rare genitive structure:

→ genitive +y +noun

Contrary to Weber's opinion, the first phrase means the beginning of day Mihr, and the second one means the beginning of Amurdād. In fact, Weber has followed de Menasce's translation in the MDH text:

Ka māh Ādur ud rōz Ohrmazd gōwēd 'kū ēd māhag ī *nazdist* har(w) rōz 1 dirham daham' 30 dirham dahišn. Ud ka gōwēd 'kū-t tā ē māh ī *nazdist* bawandag har(w) rōz 1 dirham daham' 31 dirham dahišn.

De Menasce translated the word *nazdist* as *prochain=next*.

I think this sentence of MHD says if a person commits to pay one dirham every day from the beginning of the month he must pay 30 dirhams until the end of the month (because the month has 30 days), but if he commits to pay 1 dirham every day until the beginning day of the month is completed, he must pay 31 dirhams. In fact, the person should pay 31 dirhams because the completion of the beginning of the month means up to the end of the next Ohrmazd day, so we have 31 days.

Ashrafi, Nasrin (KU Leuven):

## Theatre and Intellectual Networks: Exploring the Role of “Translation” in the Establishment of Modern Theatre in Iran

Encounters with Europe over the course of the nineteenth century yielded a period of relative isolation and made Iran’s “unique” intellectual tradition through the project of modernization. Despite substantial scholarly contributions on the external factors giving birth to Iran’s modernity discourse, this article goes a step further and suggests a translational view of the network of intellectual associations and modern theatre as an emergent phenomenon of these translations. To this end, this article turns to a relational ontology of Actor-Network theory to shed new light on the complexities of Iran’s project of modernization at the intersection of theatrical plays and translation. This perspective offers a novel window into how to trace cultural contributing factors and the inner dynamics of this phenomenon to many other social and material factors, trying to keep them all in dynamic interplay rather than subordinating them to a mono-causal explanation.

Keywords: Actor-network theory, Iran, Institutions, Intellectuals, Printed media, Theatre, Translation

Avchyan, Hakob (Yerevan State University):  
Comparison Constructions in Two Northern Talyshi Dialect

The aim of this paper is the synchronic comparative description of positive, comparative, superlative, equative and similitive constructions in two Northern Talyshi varieties, in Anbarāni, which is found in the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the Northern Talyshi dialects spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan. These constructions have been poorly studied in the previous researches dealing with this Northwestern Iranian language, and the aim of this study is to fill that gap. In contrast with a number of Western Iranian languages, Northern Talyshi (and the Talyshi language in general) does not have special morphological markers for expressing the degrees of comparison. The comparative grades are marked syntactically using various adpositions (sa 'on', ku 'from', basa...sa 'onto... on' etc.) and function words (hama, hamma/hammay 'all, everyone'). Having long been under the influence of the neighbouring languages such as Persian and Azerbaijani, both Anbarāni and Talyshi dialect spoken in present-day Azerbaijan have been affected by these languages on some level in the ways to make comparison, e.g. in those type of superlative constructions characterized by the obligatory use of a dedicated degree marker, which accompanies the parameter. In these constructions Anbarāni has borrowed the Persian suffix -tarin, while the dialects spoken in RA use the Azerbaijani loanword an 'most'.

Azad, Arezou (University of Oxford):  
Medieval Paper Trail: On the Role of Iranian-language Documents in  
Managing Finances

The mechanisms that motored the economy of the medieval eastern Islamic world have been virtually unknown. This is largely due to scholars' heavy reliance on court-sponsored chronicles as sources, in which such details are rarely treated systematically or reliably. New research on documents from Afghanistan (the Bamiyan Papers, Firuzkuh Papers, and Khalili Papers) dating to the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries offer a window into this lost past. The documents reveal the way debt was managed, public and private expenditures were accounted for, and the role that documents played in maintaining order and legality in the system of payments and exchanges. In this aspect, this paper aims to diversify our understanding of the economic history of the medieval Islamic and Iranian world.

We will also explore the way the documents, which are some of the oldest examples of original New Persian writing in the world, complement our understanding of early New Persian, not only as a language of epics and poetics, but also of daily paperwork in the private and business lives of ordinary people from villages to administrative centres.

This presentation unearths the paper trail that has survived in seemingly dispersed collections from Ghur, Bamiyan and Istiw, which in fact display commonalities of form and style amongst themselves and with their distant cousins in the Cairo Geniza and other parts of the western Iranian world.

Azimi, Amin (University of Toronto):

## ĀQĀ TABRĪZĪ's Revolts: Towards a Decolonized Understanding of Dramaturgy Origin in Iran

Eurocentric discourses have often marginalized studying and evaluating playwriting and dramaturgy in Iranian theatre. This paper examines the exchange of letters between FATH-'ALĪ ĀḲŪNDZĀDA (1812-78), the first Iranian playwright, and MĪRZĀ ĀQĀ TABRĪZĪ, the first Persian language playwright of the late 19th century, to trace an epistemological confrontation between a Eurocentric and a decolonial approach to dramaturgy. While ĀḲŪNDZĀDA advocated for a "universal" model of dramaturgy influenced by European traditions, particularly Moliere's comedies, ĀQĀ TABRĪZĪ revolts- in Julia Kristeva's sense- and sought to establish a decolonial playwriting method that embodied indigenous Iranian praxis and represented the cultural and social eyewitness - رای العین - of Iranians.

Drawing on Walter Mignolo's theory of "Decoloniality" as a praxis of "undoing and redoing," this research evaluates ĀQĀ TABRĪZĪ's dramaturgical approaches and highlights their nuances, such as being inspired by Iranian performance traditions like RUḤAWŽĪ, foregrounding women's agency in narratives, challenging patriarchal and totalitarian rulers, and utilizing linguistic patterns from daily Iranian life as a "post-dramatic" approach to dramaturgy. Additionally, This research critically examines the history of the origin of playwriting in Iran and aims to propose a new perspective for bringing to light marginalized, neglected, or non-conformist works that do not adhere to Western dramatic standards. By doing so, it seeks to pave the way for new avenues of understanding and exploring the distinctive features of the tradition of dramaturgy and playwriting in Iran.

Keywords: MĪRZĀ ĀQĀ TABRĪZĪ, FATH-'ALĪ ĀḲŪNDZĀDA, Iranian Theatre, Dramaturgy, Decoloniality, Post-dramatic, Walter Mignolo.

Baidya, Sima (Jawaharlal Nehru University):  
Islamic Revolution and Holy Defense Museum in Tehran:  
Reconstruction/Preservation of Memories, Historicity and Stepping  
Stone of the Future

The paper intends to look into the Islamic Revolution and Holy Defense Museum in Tehran as a signifier in the post-revolutionary Iran. The museum is colloquially known as Iran's War Museum. The paper outlines the historicity that necessitated the construction of this museum. It was constructed after the eight-year-long Iran-Iraq War. The paper aims to understand the connection of its ideal of revolution, long struggle during the Iran-Iraq war, sacrifice and loss of life in war. Its construction in 2010 reiterates that preservation of memories is the most precious value in nation building in the future. The paper examines how historicity is embedded in the idea of the construction of this museum. The paper focuses on the ideology of war, which was beyond violence with the silver ray of protecting the then nascent Iranian revolution. This is the museum to reconstruct the past events of war with replicating the devastation of war in light and sound. The paper analyses the reconstruction of moments of sacrifice of martyrs with numerous unknown names of them through a red corridor leading towards a replica of Imam Raza's memorial. By constructing this museum, the Iranian nation has rewritten its narrative of protracted conflict and war. Negating the Clausewitzian notion of war in the political life of a nation, Iran coloured it with the blood of sacrifice. The paper hypothesizes that this museum has a long-lasting impact on the present generation of Iranian people.

Bangsborg Thuesen, Mette (Freie Universität Berlin):  
From Pottery to Practice – Tracing Everyday Life in Sasanian Iran  
through Ceramic Studies

The Sasanian Empire was one of the most influential dynasties in the ancient world. Yet this defining period in Iranian history is archaeologically not well-understood due to the lack of systematically excavated Sasanian sites. This has led to a bias in the historical reconstruction of the Sasanian society, where more studies have been devoted to objects of fine art associated with elite culture rather than the mundane artefacts of everyday life, such as pottery, which is the key source of my PhD research. This paper will address how the study of pottery from selected Sasanian settlements can help reconstruct past practices related to storage, consumption and cooking through functional analysis and use wear observations. I show in my research that the study of ceramic vessels and their utilisation in daily activities provides a micro-perspective on the social organisation of the Sasanian society, thereby furthering our understanding of people living in this empire.



Barati, András (Austrian Academy of Sciences; Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies):  
Diplomatic Expressions of Legitimacy and Self-image in Eighteenth-century Iran

The fragmentation of political power resulting from the decline of the Safavid dynasty strongly influenced the course of the history of eighteenth-century Iran. The frequent political disruptions entailed that the rulers of this tumultuous period sought to frame themselves in the existing political and power relations and resorted to various means and strategies to bolster their legitimacy and to shape their self-image. In the context of the decrees composed in the chanceries, these efforts had particular significance since they were intended to represent the embodiment of the ruler's word and will. The most important diplomatic means of expression were the seal and the introductory formula. Although both were instrumental in indicating the source of the document and in validating its authenticity and unaltered state, they were not exclusively representatives of authority and authentication but devices conveying self-image and legitimacy. By examining the adaptations and interchanges in the application of the seals and the introductory formulas on the royal decrees issued during the period between the Afghan conquest of Isfahan and the end of Zand rule, this paper will attempt to shed light on the different diplomatic expressions of legitimacy employed by the rulers of the time. Furthermore, this study will draw on several unpublished documents preserved in the British Library, including one exhibiting a unique example of manipulation with a royal seal.

Belelli, Sara (University of Tuscia):

## Contact Change and Areal Convergence in the Kurdish of Khanaqin

Khanaqin is located in the Diyala Governorate of Iraq, close to the Iranian border, at the northwesternmost edge of the Southern Kurdish (SK) speech area. The ethnically diverse population of the city is mainly composed of SK speakers, although its district has historically been home to Gorani (Mahmoudveysi n.d.), Laki (Belelli 2021:21-22), Turkmen (Oguzlu 2004:313), and Jewish NENA-speaking minorities (Khan 2009:9). Moreover, the rural outskirts of the city have long served as winter quarters for sections of the Central Kurdish(CK)-speaking Jaf tribe (cf. Hamzehee 2008). The disputed status of the Kurdish dialect spoken there – presented in Fattah (2000: 34) as akin to Kalhori SK, but frequently reported as belonging to CK (cf. Blau 1989:328, Matras et al. 2016, Gündogdu 2022) – makes it a relevant case-study for observing the outcomes of language contact, areal convergence and blending in a typical 'frontier' dialect, shaped by the effects of political pressures, dialectological divides, and ethnolinguistic mingling. By assessing available language data (Matras et al. 2016, Fattah 2000, etc.), this contribution aims at illustrating this case of linguistic patchwork through the following research questions: 1) What are the features supporting a classification of Khanaqini as Kalhori SK? 2) Are there signs of closer contact with Southern Jafi CK and/or standard Sorani? 3) What is the influence of Arabic? Is it comparable to other Kurdish varieties (Öpengin, 2020)?

Bent, Josephine van den (University of Amsterdam):  
Ilkhanids in Mamluk Eyes

Until the peace agreement of 723 AH/1323 CE, the Ilkhanate formed the primary enemy of the Mamluk Sultanate. The Mongols, and especially the Ilkhanids, were a key “Other” for Mamluk-era authors and the Mamluks legitimised their rule by emphasising their role as protectors of Islam and Muslims against these “infidels”. That part of Mamluk political rhetoric, however, was complicated by the Ilkhanid conversion to Islam around the turn of the century. This paper investigates the representation of the Ilkhanid Mongols in Mamluk sources by focusing on three key events:

- the 656/1258 conquest of Baghdad by Hülegü, a watershed moment for the Islamic world as whole;
- the battle of ‘Ayn Jālūt in 658/1260 in which the Mamluks were victorious;
- the 699/1299-1300 Ilkhanid occupation of Damascus, paying special attention to Syrian and Egyptian authors’ ideas on the Islamisation of the Ilkhanids.

This paper traces the chronological development of images of the Ilkhanid Mongols, and shows how existing topoi as courage, violence, infidelity and savagery were taken and expanded upon and joined by images of subterfuge and trickery. Finally, this paper underlines the influence of political concerns on depictions of Mongols by contrasting these depictions of the Ilkhanids with those of the Golden Horde, with whom the Mamluks developed and maintained friendly diplomatic relations from the early 660s/1260s onwards.

Benvenuto, Maria Carmela and Bichlmeier, Harald (Sapienza Università di Roma):

## Iranian Colours and Textile Terms in Aramaic Documents

As is well known only a limited number of Old Persian colour and textile terms are attested in the direct Old Persian textual tradition. Even though the foreign transmission of Old Persian lexemes has been extensively examined, some neglected terms regarding colours and textiles deserve further investigation. This paper examines some Iranian textile and colour terms in Achaemenid Aramaic documents, specially from Ancient Bactria published by Naveh and Shaked in 2012. The Aramaic sources are extremely important as they often provide a number of lexical borrowings also pertaining to the semantic fields that are different from the strictly administrative one. Indeed, the Achaemenid Aramaic corpus consists of a variety of textual records, including private correspondence, which can be very useful sources for improving our understanding of many aspects of multilingual interaction and its impact on vocabulary. In particular, the Aramaic texts include certain terms for colours and for textile and clothing items found in everyday situations. Apart from the Aramaic counterpart of well attested Old Persian words such as k-a-s-k-i-n green/blue, these documents contain the first attestation of two Iranian colour terms, <smgwn> black and <'rgwn> purple, a fact that merits further investigation. Apart from these terms, often much of these texts remain unclear, including some formerly unattested words, the meaning of which is still disputed as e.g. 'krst, translated simply as 'garment'.

Berger, Simon (CETOBaC):

## Shabankara'i and the Source of his Mongol history: A Lost Early Version of the *Tarikh-i Jahangusha* of Juvayni?

The *Majma' al-ansab* of Muhammad ibn 'Ali Shabankara'i, written in the 1330s-1340s, has a section dedicated to the history of the Mongols, in which one finds much original material, especially regarding the beginnings of the Mongol Empire. By Shabankara'i's own admission, his source for the history of Chinggis Khan and the early Mongol Empire is Juvayni's *Tarikh-i Jahangusha*. Shabankara'i does indeed follow the framework of Juvayni's text fairly closely, and many elements are very obviously borrowings from it. Others, however, are not found in the *Tarikh-i Jahangusha*, though Shabankara'i does not indicate alternative sources.

I propose here the hypothesis that the source of Shabankara'i's text is really only the *Tarikh-i Jahangusha* of Juvayni, but an earlier version than the one we know and that is now lost. The *Tarikh-i Jahangusha* occupies a special place within the historiography of the Mongol period, since it constitutes an early stage of the official historiographical project of the Toluid imperial lineage, commissioned by the qa'an Möngke (1251-1259) and continued by his successors in China and Iran. As such, it still has a transitional aspect between the preceding Mongolian historiography and the new ideological orientation intended by the Toluids. The first version of the *Tarikh-i Jahangusha* undoubtedly reproduced the content of this earlier Mongolian historiography, which Juvayni uses as sources, much more faithfully than the revised one we have at our disposal.

Besozzi, Sheida (University of the Basque Country):  
Ni paella ni ghormeh sabzi: Delving into Belonging within First-  
generation Iranians in Spain

This paper looks into the narratives of 24 first-generation Iranians who have settled in Spain since the 80s and early 90s and delves into their sentiment of belonging towards the country of origin, the country of settlement and the diaspora itself. Based on semi-structured in-depth interviews in Spanish and Farsi, carried out between 2019 and 2022, this paper originates in a doctoral thesis that has investigated into the personal narratives of first-generation Iranians in Spain, in relation to their human rights advocacy work, through a feminist postcolonial perspective. Although initially a temporary destination for the majority of them, Spain has become the home away from home for over 10 thousand Iranians since 1998, according to official data from Spanish National Statistics. Spain was one of only three countries around the world who allowed for the entry without a visa for Iranians right after the Islamic Revolution. Studies that explore the connection between Spain and Iran are slowly on the rise, although research that specifically looks at the Iranian diaspora in Spain is still scarce. With the aim of filling this void, this paper provides one of the first ever scholarly analysis of Iranian diaspora construction in a Southern European country.

Bigdeloo, Milad (Allameh Tabataba'i University Tehran):  
History of Translation from Arabic into Persian in the First Three Post-  
Islamic Centuries

While translation from Persian into Arabic in the early post-Islamic centuries has been the subject of considerable interest among researchers, translation in the opposite direction is still significantly under-represented, mainly due to scant information and evidence available. Therefore, this study aimed at documenting the history of translation (including interpretation, i.e., oral translation) from Arabic into Persian in the first three post-Islamic centuries. To find pieces of evidence of translation in the said centuries, different sources, including early historical Arabic and Persian works, and Pazand and late Middle Persian books, as well as various secondary sources were investigated, and attempt was made to be as comprehensive as possible. Our findings show that translating from Arabic into Persian was a common practice in the first three post-Islamic centuries, and took place in either political or religious domains. However, both the translations—and the remaining records of those translations—were scattered across various sources of different nature, including books, manuscripts, coins and weights. Therefore, while translations from Arabic into Persian in the first three post-Islamic centuries appeared non-significant and their position in history was overlooked, translation did, in fact, play an important role in the society and was vital in spreading knowledge and facilitating communication between Arabs and Iranians, and helped Islam expand then and later on.

Bonmann, Svenja & Jakob Halfmann; Natalie Korobzow (University of Cologne):

### A Partial Decipherment of the 'Unknown Kushan Script'

Several dozen inscriptions in an unknown writing system have been discovered in an area stretching geographically from Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan to southern Afghanistan. Most inscriptions can be dated to the period from the 2nd century BCE to the 3rd century CE, yet all attempts at decipherment have so far been unsuccessful. The recent discovery of previously unknown inscriptions near the Almosi gorge, Tajikistan, however, allows for a renewed attempt at decipherment. Drawing upon a catalogue of characters and a distributional analysis, we report two identical sequences in the newly found Almosi inscriptions and in the *Dašt-i Nāwur* trilingual. Based on parallel texts in Bactrian, we suggest to read the name of the Kushan emperor Vema Takhtu in these sequences, accompanied by the title 'king of kings' and several epithets. This allows for the deduction of probable phonetic values of 15 different consonantal characters and 4 vocalic diacritics and the inference that the inscriptions record a previously unknown Middle Iranian language.



Borbor, Dariush (Pars University of Architecture and Art):  
A Re-evaluation and Comparative Study of the Major Tribal Migration  
Routes on the Iranian Plateau

The study of the Aryan/Iranian migrations are based generally on linguistics and archaeology. Subsequently most have overlooked that the Aryans were essentially a migrating pastoral tribe or a tribal confederacy, and their routes depended primarily on topography and ecology, which is the subject of this paper, with close attention to other relevant evidence.

The problems of the language-based studies are that languages can change within a short period, and are not indicative of migration routes in any way. Archaeology cannot distinguish clearly between “trade relationship” and “migration” per se, nor about migration routes. Topography and ecology being the essence of the four undeniable requirements of any tribal displacement.

The Aryan tribe and sub-tribes’ routes of migration were quite clearly based on four essential primary necessities. These included and they still include, an easy to pass topography for the herding of the animals; good accessible drinking water supply for the herders and the herd, access to basic food source for the tribesmen, and, excess rain leading to lush pastures for the feeding of the animals.

Identical requirements are applicable to the post Aryan period. Consequently, we have chosen four of the oldest, the most widespread and the most important of the Iranian tribes to further elucidate our point: Medes, Persians, Bōrbōrs and Kurds, and their relative migration routes all of whom have followed more or less the same paths to this day, as the essential surviving criteria have remained the same.

Borhan, Behzad (McGill University):  
“You Wrote This Poem,” Shared Pain, Twitter Trend, an Overnight Anthem Called *Baraye*

“Baraye” was first released on September 27, 2022, as a 2-minutes and 11-second-long Instagram video. The vertical frame is at eye-level, showing the singer Shervin Hajipour, wearing a plain New Era T-shirt and sitting behind a microphone in his bedroom. An acrylic neon artwork on the wall seems to resemble the singer. Shervin captioned his Instagram post “You Wrote This Poem. For relieving your pains,” referring to the collective composing of the lyrics for the song that he is singing in the video. The lyrics interweave various iterations of the Twitter hashtag Baraye which trended at the start of the unrest in Iran in the aftermath of Mahsa Amini’s death in September 2022. Iranians tweeted the Persian word baraye (“for,” “for the sake of”) to express their collective investment in the protest. The lyrics are composed of 7 quatrains (28 lines) with an outro of three repeated lines. All 31 lines start with the word baraye and directly quote individual tweets that Shervin fitted into the poetry of his song. He retains some tweets verbatim, slightly modifies others, and summarizes the rest. By repurposing the language of protest, I argue, Shervin elevates their individual longings to a “shared pain,” or *dard-e moshtarak* in Persian.

Bostani, Mostafa (Universität der Bundeswehr München):  
The Politics of Exception and Identity in Iran: Javad Tabatabai's  
Historical Exceptionalism Reconsidered

Iranian contemporary historical thought is strongly influenced by the conviction that Iran is an “exception” that does not match the more general patterns. Such a conviction that builds upon historical, cultural, and strategic grounds could well be employed in practices of identity-making and socio-political ideologies such as nationalism. Javad Tabatabai is a prominent Iranian scholar whose work has influenced the Iranian intellectual sphere in recent years. His scholarship problematizes “Iran”, aiming to provide a general “theory of Iran” as a framework for contending its specific questions. Focusing on the recent works of Tabatabai, the paper demonstrates that his project has moved more toward an exceptionalist account that could serve pragmatic causes rather than providing a theoretical basis for understanding Iran. Criticizing the aggressive aspects of Tabatabai's account in spite of his general criticism of ideological and specifically nationalist perspectives, the paper suggests that what his work would finally offer follows the framework of exceptionalism as a *modus operandi* of nationalism, with the less explanatory power of what Iran “is”, and more identity-making/mobilizing functions of what Iran should “be” and “do”, as one would expect from nationalist ideologies. The paper argues that such claims of uniqueness and exceptionality arise partially from the undue application of comparative methods while applying the proper methodologies such as Comparative Historical

Breyley, Gay (Monash University):

## Sonic Post-memory in Sanandaj: The Sound Art of Porya Hatami

In a studio in Sanandaj, the usually tranquil green capital of Iran's province of Kurdistan and UNESCO 'Creative City', experimental sound artist Porya Hatami mixes sounds recorded in the mountains of the 'city of a thousand hills' with processed acoustic and electronic tones and textures. Drawing inspiration from a broad range of literature, art, history, memories, and the natural environment, Hatami begins his composition with a single sound, around which he builds evocative patterns and layers. Known for his work's mellow beauty and celebration of nature, Hatami surprised fans with the theme of his 2020 album, 35.256031, 47.013321, 27.081979. While Sanandaj is beautiful, it is also the site of unforgotten bloodshed. The album's title refers to the coordinates for a site in Sanandaj and to 27 August 1979, the day eleven Kurdish men were executed there. This album evokes less comfortable emotions than Hatami's previous albums, as if a very different layer of Kurdistan's earth has been subject to his examination. While the repeated crackles that open the album suggest distant or muffled gunshots, it is not so much the violence of execution that the album evokes as the decades of grief, the emptiness that follows loss, and the ways everyday life is disrupted – or, perhaps, inaudibly, constantly accompanied – by memories and sorrow. This paper explores these evocations and their roles as a form of post-memory in the context of more recent violence in Sanandaj.

Camille, Rhoné-Quer (Aix-Marseille University/IREMAM):  
By the River: Medieval Islamic Societies and Hydric Resources in the  
Amu Darya Watershed

While the theme of the relationship between societies and hydric resources has given rise to numerous studies on the Khwarezm, particularly in the pre-Islamic period, few historians have analysed this question for the period from the Arab-Muslim conquests (7th-8th century) to the emergence of the Seljuk Turks (11th century). Although it is obvious that the Amu Darya occupied a central place in the daily life of the powers and societies along the river (boundary/border, exchanges, etc.), the textual sources document these relations only in a fragmentary way. It is therefore necessary to overcome the disciplinary compartmentalisation between medieval historians and specialists in the paleoenvironment (archaeozoology, archaeobotany). We will present the research perspectives and the first results of an ongoing project, at the crossroads of medieval textual data (sources in Arabic and Persian) and paleoenvironmental archives, focusing on the middle course of the Amu Darya.

Cancian, Alessandro (The Institute of Ismaili Studies):  
The Debate on the *vahdat-e vojūd* in Modern Iran through *tafsir*: a  
Shi'i Sufi Qur'anic Commentary

The *tafsīr Bayān al-sa'āda fī maqāmāt al-'ibāda* is a central work in the early modern intellectual and religious history of Iran and Shi'i Islam. My contention is that, for both symbolic and contextual reasons, it marks the act of birth of a new phenomenon in the religious history of Shi'ism, that is a Twelver Shi'i Sufi *ṭarīqa*. Its author, Sulṭān 'Alī Shāh Gunābādī (d. 1909), became the leader of one of the three main branches of the Ni'matullāhi order in the late 19th century, leaving a lasting mark on the subsequent intellectual outlook of Iranian Sufism. However, his commentary is crucial in this identity making process because of the influence it exerted on subsequent Qur'anic exegesis in Iran. In doing so, this work reflects a mature integration of some of the main features of Ibn 'Arabī's metaphysics in the commentary (and in the rest of Sulṭān 'Alī Shāh's oeuvre for that matter).

Carmi, Omer (Tel Aviv University):

## The Chalice of Poison and the Iranian Stab-in-the-back Myth

The Iran-Iraq war ended in 1988 when Ayatollah Khomeini surprisingly decided to accept a ceasefire, explaining that he had to drink a "chalice of poison" for the interests of the revolution. The suggested presentation discusses Iranian political narratives regarding this decision, and specifically a revisionist stab-in-the-back myth created by the radical faction to explain Khomeini's decision.

For decades, Iranian pragmatists and reformists have leveraged the "chalice of poison" to advocate a moderate policy. However, as the internal debates over the nuclear crisis intensified, many conservatives and radicals rejected the applicability of past compromises as precedents for Iran's current challenges. They argued that the war didn't end with a victory but with a defeat, but failed to explain why Khomeini –an almost-infallible figure in the regime – decided to compromise and accept defeat.

By arguing that their political rivals, such as Mir-Hossein Mousavi and Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, misled Khomeini, the radicals could attack the decision to compromise without doubting Khomeini's judgment; delegitimize the reformist and moderate factions; and reject their arguments that Iran should moderate its foreign policy.

Focusing on the evolution of the stab-in-the-back myth, I will explore the relationship between myth, narrative, and politics in the Islamic Republic and expose how different ideologies interpret Iran's history.

Casari, Mario (Sapienza Università di Roma):  
Ancient Wisdom and Modern Politics: The Italian Contribution to  
Persian Children's Literature

Children's literature plays a fundamental role in the modern history of Persian literature. Firmly rooted in the fable tradition, it was formally born between the 19th and 20th centuries as a bridge between the vast Persian narrative heritage and renewed pedagogical demands in Qajar-era Iran. After a formative phase in the first half of the 20th century, a profound renewal of the forms, content and purpose of children's literature began to develop in the cultural ferment following the Second World War. From the 1960s onwards, literary texts for children proliferated, directed to educational projects, entertainment purposes, but also becoming instruments of institutional propaganda on the one hand or proposals for critical reflection capable of circumventing the mechanisms of censorship on the other hand.

Along this path, the introduction of translated works, classic or less known, from various European traditions into the Persian literary context played a significant role. This paper focuses on the Italian contribution, in order to emphasise the remarkable contributions that authors such as Carlo Collodi, Gianni Rodari and others have made to Iranian narrative and pedagogical reflection, which has embraced, reworked and integrated them according to the coordinates of its own cultural system in a framework of appreciation between ancient wisdom and modern social perspectives.



Cereti, Carlo G. (Sapienza Università di Roma) & Labbaf-Khaniki,  
Meysam (University of Tehran):  
Middle Persian Ink Inscriptions from Bazeh Hur, Khorasan Razavi:  
Preliminary Notes

The archaeological team lead by Meysam Labbaf-Khaniki has been investigating the important site of Bazeh Hur since 2014. In the area of Qale-ye Dokhtar the team worked for three archaeological seasons, bringing to the light a religious complex including a brick chartaq, a four-columned iwan and a peristyle hall that may be identified with Ādur Burzēn-Mihr, a fire of the highest grade that in the Sasanian era was identified with the fire temple of the husbandmen. Of the three great fires known to Middle Persian scholastics, Ādur Burzēn-Mihr is the only one located in Eastern Iran. In the 2018 season, the team discovered fourteen inscriptions that had been written in ink on the gypsum plaster decorating the entry corridor leading to the peristyle hall of the fire temple and a further seven texts have come to the light in later campaigns. Unfortunately, the stucco decoration that once adorned the walls of the entry corridor fell to the floor and all fragments have been recovered in a disturbed archaeological layer. These short inscriptions are written in ink in the Pahlavi cursive script that developed towards the end of the Sasanian dynasty and are very difficult to read. However, a preliminary reading suggests that they may have been left by devotees visiting the holy shrine.

Chiru, Adela Nicoleta (University of Bucharest):  
Bound by the Chains of Ignorance – a Case Study of Illusory Freedom  
and Alienation in Sadeq Chubak’s Short Stories

Sadeq Chubak was one of the few Iranian writers who has taken the risk to display the harsh reality of his time with an unbiased and merciless look at the corrupt and hostile society he was living in. In his works, he illustrated the miserable life of the downtrodden people of southern Iran, caught in the struggle for existence, who were the victims of social injustice, indifference and iniquity. The subjects that fill most of Chubak’s stories consist of captivity, condemnation, loneliness, estrangement, fear and freedom. But there is a false freedom we are talking about – a false and illusory idea of freedom in a rotten society. Even when the protagonists of Chubak’s stories feel that they have finally found freedom, they still carry the chains of captivity with them. They are caged in the hollowness they feel within their own soul. The present study endeavours to analyze the nuances of illusory freedom, isolation and their impact (alienation) in Chubak’s short stories.

Keywords: alienation, freedom, illusion, social constraints, Sadeq Chubak

Çiçek, Berfin (Sabanci University):

Literary Representations of Resistance in Modern Iranian Literature:  
Trauma and Memory in Daneshvar's *Sūvashūn* and Dowlatabadi's *The Colonel*

As a creative literary technique, metaphor has found a place in modern Iranian literature as a form of expression against censorship and political oppression. The purpose of this presentation is to examine the metaphorical uses of mental restlessness, mental discomfort, and illness with the examples from modern Iranian literature. Examples to be examined in this context are Simin Daneshvar's novel *Sūvashūn* (*A Persian Requiem*, 1969) and Mahmoud Dowlatabadi's *The Colonel* (*Zaval-e Kolonel*, 2011). The main uses of metaphors in these artistic productions are subsequently to reflect on a national allegory of poverty and injustice, failing modernization and, critique of admiration for the West, which Jalal Al-i Ahmad defines as *gharbzadagi*, and finally, Iranian nation's alienation, disenchantment, and disappointment as failing revolutionaries. The common theme of the metaphors is through the trope of illness, unrest, or existential crisis such as malnutrition, typhus, mania, depression, psychosis, and posttraumatic stress disorder. The use of metaphors of mental illness does not only bypass censorship. Thanks to the creative direction of metaphors, authors can also experimentally test the limits of representation of the political dissident and the unrepresentable phenomenon such as fear, mental metamorphosis, and madness.

Colditz, Iris (Ruhr-Universität Bochum):  
Theological Argumentation, Linguistic Expressions, and Style in the  
Second Epistle of Manuščihr

The Epistles of Manuščihr (*Nāmagīhā ī Manuščihr*), the Zoroastrian high priests of Fārs and Kermān, written in 881 CE are an important testimony of inner-Zoroastrian dispute on orthopraxy in the early Islamic period. They reflect Manuščihr's efforts to preserve the extensive purification ritual *baršnūm* (for pollution by dead matter) and to refute its replacement by a simplified ritual by his brother Zādspram, a scholar-priest (*hērbed*) in Sīrgān (near Kermān). Manuščihr wrote three letters to make his position clear: 1) to the religious authorities of Sīrgān, 2) to his brother, 3) an open letter to the faithful ones of Iran. He expresses his concerns as regards the effects of an incorrect purification and a lack of qualification of the performing priests, which would cause severe problems for the Zoroastrian community. The second letter is not only interesting for its theological debate but also for the personal relation between two priest-brothers. Manuščihr argues on an elaborate scholarly level quoting from authoritative texts and exhorts his brother to nullify his simplified form of the ritual. On the other side, Manuščihr expresses his brotherly love and responsibility for his younger brother to lead him back to the correct path of religion, warns him of the consequences, such as mistrust in Zādspram's priestly skills, that would affect his whole family including Manuščihr. The paper focusses on arguments, linguistic expressions, and style in this letter.

Colliva, Luca (Università di Bologna):  
Preliminary Results of the Misak 2021 and 2022 Campaigns at Sarqala  
(KRG, IRAQ)

MiSAK, the Italian Historical and Archaeological Mission in Kurdistan (ISMEO and International Institute of Kurdish Culture of Rome), signed in 2021 an agreement with the KRG General Directorate of Antiquities and the Garmian Antiquities Directorate to carry out a new project concerning the historical and archaeological study, protection and enhancement of the Sarqala archaeological site (KRG, Iraq). This site includes a possible necropolis of the Parthian period and the tell of Qalla Kon, a multi-phase site, probably part of the settlement connected with the nearby necropolis.

The paper will present the preliminary results of the topographic and geophysical surveys, excavations, and study of surface materials carried out in 2021 and 2022.

Couvrat Desvergnés, Amélie (Independent Conservator and Researcher):

## Bazaar Paintings from the Former Hotz Collection: A History of the Paper Trade in Qajar Iran

The Leiden University Library has a collection of 230 paintings on paper made by artists in the bazaars of Tehran and Esfahan. These works were purchased by A.P.H. Hotz (1855-1930), a Dutch businessman and owner of the Persian Trading Company J.C.P. Hotz and Son, who undertook several business ventures in Iran during the second half of the 19th century. The collection covers a wide range of subjects related to what is usually found in the genre of bazaar paintings: trades, professions, court scenes, animals and Persian iconic figures. The aim of this lecture is not only to illustrate the artists' themes and techniques but also to present the results of a study on the paper used by Qajar artists.

Although the Shahs made repeated efforts to establish industries, the attempts to set up modern paper mills were unsuccessful. As a result, paper was widely imported into Iran and embodied the commercial competition between European countries and Russia, which dominated the market throughout the 19th century. The presence of dry stamps and watermarks makes it possible to identify imports from Russia, England and Italy. Furthermore, it seems that Persian painters were often subject to the vagaries and uncertainties of supply and had to deal with the choice of supplies available in the market and what they could afford. Therefore, printing and stationery paper was mainly used by artists, although it was not adapted to their techniques which involved the thick application of colours.

Czulda, Robert (University of Lodz):

## The Persian Salvation – Polish Refugees in Iran during World War II

The main goal of this paper is to present one of the most touching yet widely unknown episodes both of Iran's history and WW2. During that war Iran – who was dragged into an armed conflict against its will – became a safe haven for thousands of Polish refugees. They were victims of Soviet and German aggression towards Poland in 1939. Repressive measures and terror grew worse on the territories grabbed by the Soviets, and at the beginning of 1940 transportations of Polish people into the Soviet Union begun.

Ultimately the Polish authorities have successfully evacuated more than 37 thousands civilians, including many thousands children, to Iran. The main care centre for those people was established in Esfahan, where well-equipped camps, schools and nurseries were founded as well.

In 2011 an author of this paper was a co-director of a Polish documentary movie entitled "The Persian Salvation", which tell the story of their fate. Warm words about Poles are also expressed by Iranians, who remember them from the war times, and the movie itself is undoubtedly a sign of a friendly memory regarding those Iranians, who once so willingly helped the Polish "children of Esfahan" .

"The Persian Salvation" could be shown during the conference (with English subtitles).

## Dadbakhsh, Masoud (Iranology Foundation): Investigating the Situation of Zoroastrians in Iran during the Qajar Period

Zoroastrians, have experienced ups and downs in the contemporary history of Iran. They lived in peace with Muslims and other religious minorities for many years, but their problems and dilemmas intensified during the Qajar rule and reached a point where the population of Zoroastrians in Iran, which was once around one million people, decreased to ten thousand people.

A large number of Zoroastrians migrated to India during these days, and several others changed their religion to Islam due to the pressure created. During Naser al-Din Shah's rule (1848-1896), Indian Parsis, who had different conditions from Iranian Zoroastrians, decided to send representatives to Iran. These representatives took concessions in favour of Iranian Zoroastrians from the Shah and by investing in economic and cultural issues, they created a great change in the social and livelihood status of Zoroastrians. The construction of numerous schools and the development of Zoroastrian houses business improved the position of the followers of this religious minority in Iran.

Zoroastrians supported the constitutionalists during the constitutional revolution (1906) and after the constitutional victory and were able to gain a place and credibility in the country's political environment. The support of the constitutionalists and their economic and cultural influence in the society made Zoroastrians the only religious minority in Iran that had a representative in the National Assembly



## Dadbeh, Sepand (Codarts University for the Arts Rotterdam): Hero's Journey: A Journey into the Iranian Music Modal System

This research endeavours to understand some fundamental factors in the performance within the Maqam music system. In continuation of this assessment, the definition of Gathas/Gah and, in Arabic, Maqam and Dast-Gah in today's Persian Classical music is the critical point in how Gusans call out the hidden voice of their faith, which is the whisper that comes from the human conscience of a lover who "ask"s the fundamental question.

My Master's study at Codarts placed me at the helm of such an inquiry where I sought to study and address the factors about the musical forms in the Maqam system to reach some conclusion regarding phrasing development and melodic progression (*Seyir*). It is a subjective study regarding the meaning of journey in music, which we come to define as "*Seyir*" in the maqam music system. The key terms: *Zemin*, *Zaman*, and *Meyan* or *Aseman*, as noted by Maestro Kudsi Ergüner, led me to take a deeper dive into the study of the form. At first, I could not find any explicit description regarding these terms, but further investigations led me to understand the intricate and intertwined relationship between the factors of the musical forms, the artistic devices, and my improvisational style in the context of the maqam music world. For these reasons, I followed my research in the methodology of *Seyir* and phrasing development.

How may phrasing development and melodic progression (*Seyir*) be perfected when performing modal improvisations (*Taqsim*) in the Ussak Maqam?

## Dal Bianco, Alessia (Sapienza Università di Roma): The Early Developments of *'elm-e ma'ānī* in Persian

Since the 12th century, a notable feature of Persian treatises on literary theory has been their borrowing and adaptation of terminology from Arabic manuals. But when in the 13th/14th centuries a new classification of Arabic sciences produced three subfields in the study of eloquence (*ma'ānī*, *bayān*, *badī*), Persian scholars showed little interest in adapting the new system into Persian.

In particular, the science of *ma'ānī* 'syntactical semantics/pragmatics' was until late confined to Arabic scholarship. To our knowledge, the first Persian treatises dealing specifically with the science of *ma'ānī* were *Anvār al-balāġa* by Moḥammad Hādī Māzandarānī (d. 1721) and *Mawhebat-e 'ozmā* by the Indian philologist Serāj al-Dīn Khān Ārzū (d. 1756). Such a late appearance is somewhat paradoxical, since Persian scholars greatly contributed to the development of the tripartite system of Arabic rhetoric.

However, even before the 18th century, an interest in the science of *ma'ānī* and related terminology had made its way into some Persian works in a cursory way. In this paper, I will trace the early developments of *'elm-e ma'ānī* in Persian works and examine early evidence from Persian epistolography and rhetorical works of the 14th and 15th centuries.

Darabian, Neda (Ruhr-Universität Bochum):

## Mōbeds and the Christian Holy Women: Gender Identity as a Point of Encounter between the Religious Specialists of the Late Antique Persia

The religious plural society in Iran under the Sasanian rule provides a rich opportunity for studying the interactions between the religious specialists of various religious communities during the late antiquity. Babylonian rabbis, Christian clergy and holy men and women are among the religious specialists who interacted and challenged the Zoroastrian priests and their belief system during this period. This paper introduces one part of my dissertation in which I attempt to provide a better understanding of the encounters between the religious specialists of Zoroastrian, Christians and Jewish communities, and the changing nature of their interactions as the Persianate world shifted from Zoroastrianism to Islamic rule. This paper, based on selected female martyr acts, addresses the question of how the gender identity of the imprisoned Christian holy women is articulated through their encounters with the Zoroastrian priests. The encounters between the female martyrs and the Zoroastrian specialists are, as I show, a struggle for chastity on the part of the protagonist.

## Demetrashvili, Tamar (Ilia State University): Iranian "insignias" of Georgian Nobles According to the 17th-century Frescoes

Imagery depicting everyday life, which was characteristic of high aristocratic circles, has survived in the form of the clothes of nobles. As patrons and ctitors (founders), these secular people depicted on church wall paintings in Western Georgia decorated churches and monasteries with their images to demonstrate their sovereignty and strength.

It seems, that the artists who created these "portraits" were interested in the real life of historical persons, therefore these images of nobles - their clothes and headdresses - are a real expression of the lifestyle of the upper classes of the Georgian feudal society of the above-mentioned era, which, given the historical situation of that period, became a fashion imported from Iran and has appeared in the clothing of historical figures depicted in wall paintings.

The research work will attempt to illustrate with the imagery preserved in wall paintings (frescoes) of Western Georgian Christian churches of the 17th century how and to what extent the clothing of depicted church donators, kings, nobles, and their immediate family demonstrates Iranian influence, namely the influence of "Iranian fashion" of the period. The work will discuss the historical environment that enhanced similar tendencies in clothing. Emphasis will be made on individual details of clothing and their symbolic meaning.

Dragoni, Federico (Leiden University):

## 'Is your heart content?' Epistolary Formulae and Language Contact in the Tarim Basin

Sims-Williams (1996) showed that a set of Sogdian epistolary formulae found in the Ancient Letters has its roots in the Ancient Near Eastern epistolary tradition. With the expansion of Sogdian further east, some of the formulae were adopted by Old Uyghur speakers (Moriyasu 2008, 2011, 2012, 2020). Together with Moriyasu's studies, the recent classification of the Sogdian material attempted by Benkato (2018) and Yoshida (2019) provides a useful framework to engage with the study of epistolary conventions in other languages of the Tarim Basin (e.g. Khotanese and Tocharian) for which no similar studies have ever been attempted. The talk will seek to demonstrate the benefits of such a multilingual approach for the study of phenomena of cultural transfer in the Tarim Basin. In particular, the role of language contact in the mechanisms of dissemination of epistolary conventions in Central Asia will be investigated through a series of new case studies from Sogdian, Old Uyghur and Khotanese.

Dundua, Natia (Ilia State University/Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts):

## The Phonetics of Persian According to the Persian Gospel Transcribed with Georgian Letters

At Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts is preserved a Persian Gospel transcribed with Georgian letters (MS S-16). It is an 18th-century rich manuscript, once belonging to the Georgian Royal family. All four Gospels are presented in the manuscript. MS S-16 presents a scrupulous transliteration of MS C-268 - the manuscript written in Isfahan and brought to Tbilisi; the copy with Georgian letters had also been made here. Since Persian and Georgian exhibit completely different language structures, it was interesting to see how the copyist coped with the problems connected with choosing equivalents of the Persian letters which in Georgian had no exact equivalents (or none at all). The comparison has shown that for some Persian letters, which have no parallels in Georgian, Persian (خ) and Slavic (ф) characters are used; Persian long vowels are presented with double vowels in Georgian, short vowels are transmitted variously, etc. All in all, the transcription is made very subtly. That's why it represents valuable material for the study of the history of Persian phonetics because it is written in Georgian script, which is not ambiguous. Clearly, the composer of manuscript S-16 was fluent in both Georgian and Persian languages and was aware of all nuances of the phonetics, morphology, and syntax of both languages very well. He mostly gives stable equivalents for each letter. The paper will deal with the analysis of each letter attested in MS S-16.

Ebrahimian, Mojtaba (Harvard University):  
The European Other and the Indo-Iranian Self in the Earliest Persian  
Travelogues of Europe

In the concluding decades of the eighteenth century, as European power was ascending in Asia, Indians and Iranians travelled to Europe and wrote about European society, culture, and politics. In this presentation, I analyze the earliest Persian travelogues of England by an Indian and an Iranian to show how the Indo-Iranian travellers comprehended European civilization and envisaged their own status vis-à-vis Europeans. By analyzing *Shigarfnamah-yi Wilayat* (1785) by Mirza I'tisam al-Din (1730-1800), and *Hayratnamah-yi Sufara* (1810) by Mirza Abu al-Hasan Khan Shirazi (1776-1846), I argue that the Indian and Iranian travellers presented the political, social, and military developments in England as wondrous to inform their readers about their desirability, and to critique the undesirable aspects of their own societies and cultures. By analyzing these two Persian travelogues, I thus shed light on some of the commonalities in perceptions of European civilization circulating in the Persianate world in this period as well.

Eghtesadinia, Sayeh (Georgetown University):  
Rhetoric Serving Politics (The poetry of Amir Hooshang Ebtehaj  
Serving the Iranian Revolution of 1979)

The socialist and communist ideals of Amir Hoshang Ebtehaj caused him to devote much of his poetic power to invent rhetorical images and structures so as to be able to use them in building the political symbolism of his poetry for the benefit of Iran's Tudeh party. In order to create this rhetorical device, Ebtehaj used the already existing metaphors in the poems of the constitutional era as well as the artistic symbols of the guerrillas. He was able to create an aesthetic network that was originally used to express the revolutionary hopes of the Tudeh party, but it gradually became so established that after the revolution, it served the symbolism of revolutionary and religious poets. The generation of poets who joined the revolution after the establishment of the Islamic government in 1979 often followed Ebtehaj, not only in using the same symbols and metaphors, but also in form. Borrowing from Ebtehaj's aesthetic ideas, these poets mixed mysticism and religion with themes such as martyrdom and revolution and built new rhetorical pillars for poetry in the new political system.

In this article, we show that the network of metaphors and similes that went on to create the themes of mystical martyrdom and righteousness after the revolution had made their way from Ebtehaj's poetry and style to the poetry of those provincial and revolutionary poets and little by little, by adding verses and hadiths and mentioning religious myths, took on an Islamic colour.



## Ekbote, Pushkar (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Pune): Maga Brahmins: A Missing Link in Understanding Mithra Worship in Ancient Iran

Mithra was one of the deities in Ancient Iran from the Indo-Iranian pantheon. There are debates over questions like; whether a separate cult dedicated to Mithra existed in Ancient Iran, whether there was a connection between Iranian Mithra and Roman Mithraism, or what is the relation between Mithra and the Sun. This research may aid in uncovering the mystery. Groups of Mithra-worshipping Magis (Iranian Priests) migrated from Ancient Iran to India in different periods. They were accepted as Brahmins in Indian society and brought Iranian influences to Indian traditions and iconography. Currently, the community is living in different parts of India. They are the Sun worshipper Brahmins, and a puranic text named Samba Purana (650-850 CE) narrates the story of their arrival from Iran and their rituals. It is necessary to scrutinize the story of their migration, texts and their esoteric practices, which can supplement and augment our knowledge of the Mithra worship in Ancient Iran. There have been dedicated research on Maga Brahmins in India, but not from the context of Ancient Iranian Studies. The research methodologies used for the research are comparative literature and narrative analysis. The research indicates the possibility that a cult of Mithra with their exclusive priesthood existed in Ancient Iran. Possibly, the foreign record related to Zoroastrianism or Magis, which looks misleading, might not be referring to Zoroastrian Magis but to the Mithra-worshipping Magis.

Errichiello, Mariano (University of Erlangen-Nuremberg):  
The Conceptual Dimension of Zoroastrian Liturgy: Obtaining Ritual  
Power during the Performance of the *nīrangdīn* Ceremony

Considered the most exalted and esoteric ceremony of the Zoroastrian liturgy, the *nīrangdīn* represents the longest and hardest ritual performance for the Zoroastrians in India, also known as Parsis. Its main objective is the transmutation of a bull's urine (*gōmēz*) into the sacred elixir known as *nīrang* which, deemed to possess miraculous properties, is of paramount importance for the performance of many other Zoroastrian rituals. This ceremony is usually conducted by two priests who perform a set of practices in seclusion during a continuous period of 18 days. Nowadays, less than a dozen of Parsi priests still perform the *nīrangdīn* ceremony, making it a religious practice threatened to disappear in a generation, thus turning the Zoroastrian liturgy into a critically endangered heritage. By combining historical and textual analysis with findings from recent ethnographic research, this paper will engage with the concept of *khub* 'ritual power' that Parsi priests claim to receive or take during the performance of the *nīrangdīn* ceremony. In particular, this paper will explore the meaning-making process in the context of the triangular ritual framework of gift exchange between priest-divinity-patron.

Etebari, Zahra (Uppsala University):  
A Semantic Change from Location to Person: Evidence from Persian  
Literature

In contemporary Persian, there are honorific terms such as *jenâbaš* and *hazrataš* for example in (1) where the constructions include the third person singular clitical pronoun =aš which does not refer to another entity to function as possessor of *jenâb* and *hazrat* in such examples. If we take a look at historical uses of the two terms, we observe that they denote locational meanings as well, for example in (2), where *jenâb* refers to a place in which the referent of =aš is located.

1) *jenâb=aš râ masnaviât=e moteaddede ast.*

“*jenâb=aš* [he] has several masnavi texts.”

(*Monsha'at, Qa'em-Maqam Farahani, 12th CE*)

2) *be farrâši kavâkeb dar jenâb=aš*

“the stars serve in his *jenâb* [his place]”

(*Khosrow and Shirin, Nizami, 6th CE*)

This presentation tries to track the semantic meanings of *jenâbaš* and *hazrataš* in classical and contemporary literature of New Persian. The data includes both prose and poetry and is extracted from four corpora: a historical corpus of New Persian (Etebari 2020), *Dadegan* corpus, and websites of *Ganjoor* and *Persian Wikisource*. The findings provide a diachronic description of the semantic transfer from locational to personal meanings in which the clitical pronoun =aš has become frozen. Similar but limited cases for =at and =shân pronouns are presented as well. The results show that the semantic transfer occurred in *hazrat* (since 6th CE) earlier than *jenâb* (not earlier than 8th CE) which provide stylistic factors to contribute to dating of literary texts.

## Farghadani, Shahla (University of Michigan): Remembering the King: The Persian Tazkira Tradition and its Relationship with Royal Patronage

Biographical anthology (*tazkira*) is one of the prominent Persian literary genres in the Safavid-Mughal era which provides critical information about poets' life events and contributions to cultural production across time and space. Despite the prominence of this genre, until recently it has been neglected by scholars. In this paper, I explore how and why the *tazkira* genre became very important for royal patronage in the early modern Persianate world. Most scholars, such as Bruce Lawrence, have viewed *tazkiras* as texts that mainly focused on the celebration and memorialization of urbane intellectuals rather than rulers. However, close examination of early modern *tazkiras* shows that members of the royal family and courtly elites patronized this genre in various ways. I explore the relationship between the *tazkira* tradition and patronage and show how this genre fashioned a different modality of memorializing the courtly patrons. Arafat al- Ashiqin of Awhadi serves as an exemplar *tazkira* in which we see a strong relationship between the *tazkira* and royal patronage in seventeenth-century Mughal India. Through close study of the Arafat and its manuscript tradition, I show how this work was commissioned, reproduced, and circulated under the patronage of the Mughal royal family and courtly elites. I try to understand why and how the Mughal royal family, including Jahangir Shah and his courtly elites, patronized the Arafat.

## Firoozbeh, Mohammad-Hasan (Imam Sadiq University): After Mulla Sadra: An Overview of the Most Important Criticisms of Mulla Sadra's Philosophy by Iranian Peripatetic Philosophers

Iranian intellectual history has long been dominated by the philosophy of Sadr al-Din Mohammad B. Ibrahim Shirazi (d. 1636), known as Mulla Sadra. Despite not reaching the height of its fame during its founder's lifetime, since the Qajar period, thanks to people such as Mullā 'Alī Nūrī (d. 1831), Mullā 'Abd Allah Zunūzī (d. 1841-1842), and Mullā Hādī Sabzawārī (d. 1873), the School of Philosophy has enjoyed a widespread reputation in seminaries and philosophical areas in Iran. However, from the very beginning, this school of philosophy has been accompanied by many criticisms from various groups. One of the most prominent groups were Iranian philosophers who were more inclined towards Peripatetic philosophy, especially Ibn Sina's philosophy. From that point of view, they criticized the foundations of Mulla Sadra's philosophy. In this article, three of them, namely Mīrzā Abū l-Ḥasan Jilwa (d. 1897), Muḥammad Ṣāleḥ Ḥā'erī Māzandarānī (d. 1971), Seyyed Ḥasan Sa'ādat Muṣṭafawī (d. 2022), and their most significant criticisms will be shown to Mulla Sadra philosophy, which include: rejecting the ontological primacy of existence, rejecting substantial motion, negating mental existence, rejecting the union of the Intellect with the Intelligible, and issues of this kind.

Fozi Abivard, Navid (Bridgewater State University):  
Neoliberal Dreams, Human Rights Discourse, and Globalization: The  
Making of Iranian Sexual, Religious, and Political Refugees

This paper is based on field research during 2015-2016 among Iranian asylum seekers in Turkey who pursue permanent resettlement mainly in North America. They are composed of LGBTQ, dissidents, and ethno-religious minorities, including Christians, Baha'is, and Kurdish Yarsan. Exploring issues that range from Islamic Shi'i jurisprudence and citizenship rights, border crossing and right of asylum to transit migration, and international politics, I explore the entwinement of structural and thought processes underpinning diaspora and diasporic identity formations across national, geographical, political, religious and gender boundaries. My research shows that while every phase of this diasporization process is governed by particular geopolitical and legal regimes, it is nevertheless the complex interactions of the national, international, and transnational forces that forge the path for such a globalized movement of human bodies, practices, and ideas. These forces include the politics in Iran, Turkey's economic and political motivations, transnational organizations and practices, and the international political and economic post-colonial structures enshrined in international laws and legal systems of migrant countries. These factors determine the direction and speed of migration, and their confluence generates preconditions for the diasporization of marginalized Iranians to expand into visible diasporic ones.

Gaboreau, Werner (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle):

## ‘Kill them with absolute cruelty’: Legitimation of Power and Legitimate Violence in Safavid Iran (1587-1722)

In seventeenth-century European sources, the nature of Safavid power is often portrayed as ‘tyrannical’. This distorting mirror helps to sell travelogues of ‘Persia’ within the emerging European literary society by describing, among other things, the arbitrary executions taking place at the Safavid court. The French Capuchin missionary Raphaël du Mans (1613-1696), also a Persian speaker employed as a translator at the court of Abbas II (1642-1666) and then Suleiman I (1666-1694), devoted himself to describing Safavid power. In *De Persia* (1684), which was not intended for publication, he summarises the Safavids’ legitimate use of physical force as follows: ‘One order from the king and it is immediate death [...] no delay can be allowed for the execution’. Moreover, violence and State are not absent from Iranian sources, such as the chronicle of Fażlī Işfahānī Khūzānī (*Afzal al-Tawārīkh*, c. 1616-1639) or Qadrī (*Jarūn-nāmah*, 1697), especially when describing the suppression of revolts or the execution of Imām-Qulī Khān (d. 1633) during the interregnum after the death of Abbas I (1586-1629).

In this paper, I will compare a corpus of European and Iranian sources in a connected perspective in order to shed light on the justification of violence in Safavid official discourses and their perception as a legitimate means to strengthen and defend power.

Gaspari, Angelica (Sapienza Università di Roma):

## An Overview of some Manuscripts Containing the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*

My presentation will focus on new considerations regarding the manuscripts TD4a, K35, M59b and D7, which contain the text of the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*. The *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, also known as *pursišn-nāmag*, was a compilation of ninety-two questions and answers written by the high priest Manūščihr during the ninth century. These manuscripts pertain either to an Iranian family (i.e., TD4a and K35) or to an Indian family (i.e., D7 and M59b).

In this presentation I intend to address some unexplored issues regarding the main differences between these manuscripts. One of my main concerns will be the different treatment in the above-mentioned manuscripts of the so called arameograms. My purpose will be to try to understand why in the manuscripts pertaining to the same family and allegedly copied from the same archetype we find in one a phonetical rendering and in the other we do not. What was the real degree of comprehension that the scribes had of the text they were copying? In manuscripts pertaining to the Indian family, we find an erroneous segmentation of words, particularly of the long and technical ones. For example, a very peculiar characteristic of manuscript M59b is the emendation of some words, that coincide with some obscure passages in the manuscripts pertaining to the Iranian family, that may hint to an attempt of exegesis. Thus, in this presentation I will try to answer to these and other questions.



Gauthier, Claudine (University of Bordeaux):  
Individual Eschatology through Covid among the Parsi Community of  
Mumbai

It is well known that funerary rituals during the first four days after death are still of major importance within today's Zoroastrian communities as the decisive customary factor regarding the fate of the soul in the hereafter. In India, at least since its westernization, the exposure of the dead, practice located at the core of this complex ritual process, has been challenged as potentially vector of pandemic, notably during the cholera epidemic at the turn of the twentieth century. In spite of controversies, this traditional Zoroastrian custom could never be lawfully forbidden in this country until the Covid pandemic. From a fresh fieldwork in Mumbai, this speech intends to focus on the impact of this prohibition on the mourning process of the Parsi families : How did they face this sudden imposed break with their traditions, emotionally and in a symbolic way ? Did they try to challenge it and, if yes, how ? Are there felt consequences today ?

Ghanavizbaf, Ali Rahmani (Uppsala University):  
Historical Allegory: From Classical Persian Historiography to Modernist  
Persian Fiction

This paper discusses how modern Persian fiction reinvented historical allegory, an already established and prevalent rhetorical device in classical Persian historiography, for its critical engagement with history. It first provides a definition of historical allegory and discusses its functions in *The History of Beyhaqi* from 11th century CE and then returns to modern Persian fiction, focusing on two prominent texts often regarded as examples of Persian realism and modernism, respectively: *Savoshun* by Simin Daneshvar (1921-2012) and *The Fifth Infallible Martyr* by Hooshang Golshiri (1938-2000). In addition to discussing the similarities of the three texts in their employment of historical allegories, this paper aims to shed light on differences in form and rhetorical intention. It argues that in all three cases, the allegorical veracity licenses transcending concrete historical “facts” and stepping into the realm of fiction without the text having to discard its serious historical claims. It also argues that historical allegory always establishes a nonlinear temporal structure that negates the separation of the past from the contemporary moment of history. However, in modernist Persian fiction, this temporal structure is separated from its religious grounds to be used as a tool for the criticism of negative aspects of culture and tradition.

## Ghardashkhani, Goulia (Otto-Friedrich-University Bamberg): Afghan Heritage Writing in Iran: Persian Literature or the Exotic Other?

The growing body of works by writers of Afghan heritage in Iran, focused on the experience of war and displacement, has led to the emergence of hyphenated Afghan-Iranian prose literature. Novels and short stories written by Mohammad Hoseyn Mohammadi, 'Aliyeh 'Atayi, and Ziya Qasemi are among the examples. Written in (Afghan) Persian, demonstrating a high degree of literary quality, and published by first-rate Iranian publishers of contemporary literature, these works unsettle the sociocultural definitions of margins and centre in Iran. Apart from this, having conveyed their stories across the Afghan/Iranian geopolitical borders, they have created a textual locus within which the transnational implications of modern and contemporary Persian/Iranian literature as a field are renegotiated.

In the present paper, I will discuss the significance of this literature on two levels: First, I will situate this literature within the Iranian contemporary literary system by taking into account the literary content of these works as well as their reception. Second, I will focus on the implications the emergence of this literature has for modern and contemporary Persian/Iranian literature as a disciplinary field. What is this literature about and what is its impact on what we define as the contemporary Persian/Iranian literary landscape.

Gilinsky, David Aryeh (Edinburgh University):

Shahin-e Shirazi's *Ardashir Nameh*, and its Sub-plot of *Shiro o Mahzad*

I will discuss the *Shiro o Mahzad* sub-plot of the Judeo-Persian *masnavi*, *Ardashir Nameh* (“Ardashir”), written June 1333 CE by Maulana Shahin-e Shirazi (“Shahin”), the subject of my Masters dissertation at Edinburgh (Autumn 2022). I will also introduce my work on a future edition of *Ardashir*, for which I am currently preparing the critical apparatus using ten manuscripts. The work is a long poem based on the physical and spiritual redemption of the Jewish people in their Persian exile and is based on the Biblical books of Esther and Ezra. Shahin wrote two other *masnavi* works, *Musa Nameh* in 1327, and *Bereishit Nameh* in 1359.

I will also consider Shahin’s works more generally, and his place in the literary-cultural milieu of Iran under Abu Sa’id in the period 1327 to 1336, compare and contrast Shahin’s *Shiro o Mahzad* story with Khwaju Kirmani’s *Humay o Humayun* 1331 CE and the literary context of *Shiro o Mahzad* within *Ardashir* itself, contrasting similar segments of the Esther chapters.

Time permitting, I will consider the two chapters praising Abu Sa’id, 1327, and 1333, which can indicate whether Shahin drew closer to Abu Sa’id’s court over that period, and how the Jewish elite, as represented by Shahin, viewed the post-Chupanid regency rule, post-1327.

I will describe my PhD research at Hamburg University, starting December 2022, examining Shahin’s use of the *Rishonim* (rabbinical commentators of the medieval period) and their sources, in his *Musa Nameh*, and *Ardashir Nameh*.

## Gozalova, Nigar (Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences): Russian Diplomatic Representatives in the Afshars' State

The issue of studying the history of diplomatic missions, consulates and embassies is particularly important for the study of international relations in the 18th century. In the absence at this time of a tradition of permanent diplomatic embassies in the Afshars' state, the exchange of missions and the establishment of consulates, together with and diplomatic correspondence were the main forms of establishing and maintaining intergovernmental contacts. This article describes the Russian diplomatic missions and consulates (B. Meshchersky, V. Levashev, S. Avramov, I. Kalushkin, V. Bratishchev, I. Bakunin, etc.) sent to the Afshars' state. Although no official treaties were ever signed between the Afshars' state and the Russian Empire, Nadir was directly involved and actually determined the terms of the Russian-Iranian treaties of 1732 and 1735. Information about the Russian diplomatic missions and consulates sent to the Afshars' state is interesting in many ways. This data sheds light on the relations among major empires, the political situation in the Middle Eastern region, the diplomatic etiquette and ceremonial rituals of that time period. The issue of Russian diplomatic missions to the court of Nadir Shah is also fascinating from the viewpoint of assessing the extent of the impact of cultural and civilizational differences on the course and outcomes of diplomatic negotiations.

The paper relies on official and semi-official historiography, contemporary accounts and archival documents

Grassi, Chiara (SOAS, University of London):

## The Sovereignty of Sraōša within Zoroastrian Traditional Geography

The god Sraōša emerges from the sources as a multi-faceted deity, displaying a variety of different functions and roles that seem to have evolved over time, causing the god to gain more and more power and popularity within the Zoroastrian community. Eventually, the god appears in Pahlavi literature as vice-regent of Ohrmazd, in charge of ruling over the material world while Ohrmazd governs the spiritual one.

Interesting features have emerged as a result of a new edition of the Srōš Yašt (Y57). A Pahlavi and Sanskrit gloss to the translations of Y57.1 seems to narrow down Sraōša's sphere of action, by suggesting that he exercises his sovereignty in two specific parts of the world: Arzah and Sawah, the eastern and western kešwar, according to traditional Iranian geography. The connection that Srōš and the two regions may have had in Middle Persian times is confirmed by a few other sources.

Gregoratti, Leonardo (University of Udine):  
The “Arsacid blockade” on the “Silk Road”: Fake vs Reality

In the Hou Hanshou (c. 88. 2919), we read, "The king of this country [Da Qin = Roman Empire] always wanted to send envoys to the Han, but Anxi (Parthia), wishing to control the trade in multi-coloured Chinese silks, blocked the route to prevent [the Romans] getting through [to China]". These few lines from a corpus of problematic sources, as the Chinese ones are, concerning ancient Parthia, present the most explicit reference to the role played by the Arsacids along the so-called “Silk Road”. The passage mixes economic and political levels, speaking of Roman political officers and then of a more general route blockade, thus providing a confusing and contradictory description of the Arsacid policy on the routes crossing their domains. Taking into consideration the surviving attestations of travels between the Roman Empire and Central Asia through Parthia, distinguishing between political initiatives and private enterprises, this paper will try to assess how this passage could be interpreted, that is to say, how the Arsacid blockade worked and whom it targeted if it ever existed.

## Hakobian, Gohar (Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main): On the Original Toponyms of Dersim

Geographical denominations are the best reflection of the historical past of a certain locality: over time, different peoples appear and disappear, but their traces in the form of the names of villages, towns, rivers, mountains, etc., as “living fossils” remain in the area of their habitation. This can be substantiated by the example of the toponyms of Dersim (Tunceli province, Turkey). This unique mountainous plateau, currently populated mostly by Zazas and Kurds, is one of the few regions where the majority of population adheres to a regionally distinctive religion, commonly known as Alevism. At different stages of history, being inhabited by different peoples—Hittites, Urartians, Armenians, Greeks, Zazas, Kurds, Turks, etc.—it became a rich crater of intermingled traces of different languages, religions, cultures, etc., which are best mirrored in the placenames of this region.

However, as a result of continuous Turkification of geographical names, undertaken in 1913 by the Ottoman Empire and continuing to the present by the Republic of Turkey, thousands of original names have been replaced by recognizable Turkish denominations in Dersim. Despite this, the Zaza and Kurdish population continues to use the old toponyms, preserved also in the written annals of the peoples once residing here.

This presentation will be devoted to the study of the original toponyms of Dersim in a comparative-historical perspective, based on etymological, geographical, and historical analysis.



Hämeen-Anttila, Jaakko (University of Edinburgh):  
Narratives from the Dark age. Persian Tales from Late Sasanian, Early  
Islamic Times

Persian narrative literature from around 600--900 has almost completely disappeared and has mainly to be studied through references in Arabic literature. The present article will map the existing material outside collections (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, *Sindbādnāme*, etc.).

As numerous pseudepigraphs and misunderstandings mar the biographical and bibliographical sources, such as Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, the existence of Persian tales from the period has to be corroborated by evidence found elsewhere. As literary and historical aspects are intertwined in tales, both literary and historical sources have to be taken into account.

The paper discusses (potentially) Persian tales firmly documented from the ninth and early tenth centuries and their similarities with the Thousand and One Nights, the core of which was translated from the *Hazār afsāne*, giving special attention to the story of *Balāsh* and the Indian Princess.

Härtel, Stefan (Freie Universität Berlin):

## The King of Gods, the Granter of Favours and Granter of Wishes: Supreme Deities in Bactria

While the sources for the religious history of Bactria are fragmentary in nature, it emerges that the veneration of supreme deities was always part of popular and official religiosity from the Achaemenid to the Islamic period. In this entire time, the local god Oxus (Bactrian  $\text{Oax\beta o}$ ) plays a central role among the populace that required official recognition even when deities from other religious backgrounds such as Zeus, Sarapis, Ahura Mazdā and Nana were favoured in imperial cults. From the Kušān period at the latest, iconographic links between Oxus and other supreme deities are visible, and in Bactrian documents from the 7th and 8th centuries, Oxus shares a number of epithets with other local gods. This paper investigates this evidence and analyses as far as can be determined the role of this group of deities and their cults both individually and in association with each other. It concludes that the cults of supreme deities in Bactria could have both local and universal aspects, and were not mutually exclusive, but in some cases even acknowledged each other. This may also be one of the reasons why the Kušān pantheon could be of such eclectic nature and did not have to pay special attention to any one particular religious tradition.

Hodiwala, Ruzbeh (SOAS, University of London):

## On the Interaction between New Zoroastrians and Ethnic Zoroastrian Communities

The multiple socio-political events in the last two decades of the 20th century have resulted in the formation of a multitude of Zoroastrian organisations in the West and Middle East that initiate individuals born to non-Zoroastrian parents into Zoroastrianism. While the majority of these new initiates have ethnic Persian origins, there are others with non-Persian backgrounds. The emergence of these groups, namely the new-Zoroastrians in the backyards of ethnic Zoroastrian diaspora settlements, and in some cases branching from dominant ethnic Zoroastrian organisations has piqued ethnic Zoroastrians' interest while stoking tensions due to challenges to their traditional boundaries in the domain of proselytism. The digital age has facilitated interaction between the two groups and thus introduced the phenomenon of conversion that is still largely absent in the two traditional homelands of the Zoroastrians, Iran and India.

This paper discusses the results of an anonymous online survey among Zoroastrians globally who were born to at least one Zoroastrian parent to study the nature of their knowledge about the phenomenon of acceptance of non-Zoroastrians and their attitudinal patterns towards the new Zoroastrians. The survey resulted in 1300+ responses to fifty-five close ended thematic questions globally. Through these findings, I will analyse the lived experience of new-Zoroastrians and challenges of interaction between the two communities, viz. the new-Zoroastrians and ethnic Zoroastrians in Europe and North America.

Hosseini, Salimehalsadat (University of Chicago):  
Tool of Craft or Homage to Profession? A Study of a Qajar Architectural  
Tablet and a *Futuwwatnama* of Architects

This paper attempts to write a social history for a rare object; a lacquered wooden tablet that features grids and inscriptions in Persian. This tablet, made in 1891 in Qajar Iran, was a tool used for architectural draftsman ship. The inscription on this tablet is indeed a *futuwwatnama* of architects. Craft guild *futuwwatnamas*, historically derived from didactic Sufi literature, were short texts concerned with metaphysical histories, codes of honourable conduct within specific craft guilds, and how practitioners both bodily and spiritually connected with the material and tools of their craft. Building on the claim that this typologically utilitarian craft tool was fashioned in the form of an object worthy of aesthetic appreciation, I argue that this *futuwwatnama*'s discussion of sacred histories and esoteric meanings of architectural tools and processes of making can be understood as a response to the architects' shifting relationships with their craft and tools in the late 19th century Qajar Iran that undergone extensive state-sponsored modernization. This object and its inscribed text are not mere reactions to anxieties caused by a decline in the traditional practices of architecture, the emergence of modern technologies, and new methods of training, but it also speaks to a broader and deep-rooted esoteric mode of thinking about histories of crafts among Iranian traditional craft guilds.

## Hosseini, Seyedahmad (University of Tehran): Iranian Groundwater Law Tradition; An Exploratory Look

Historically, legal intricacies of water management, have repeatedly been one of the most important issues. Therefore, it is intelligent approach to look into the historical patterns pertinent to water issues and how suitable measures were adopted to overcome difficulties. Iran is one of the most advanced ancient civilizations and therefore, exploring historical trend about the evolution of Iranian groundwater law tradition can provide new knowledge pertinent to groundwater rights. This paper explores Iranian groundwater law tradition from an analytical view. To determine the thematic domain of this study, Schlager & Ostrom's analytical framework was applied. Also, the temporal domain of this work has been considered from the beginning of the Sassanids empire (224 AD) to the constitutionalism in Iran (1905). The findings of this study point out that Iranian groundwater law tradition evolved throughout the pre-modern era. Enhancing the "right to appropriation groundwater" from the positive to natural law category has been a remarkable legal revolution within the domain of Iranian law tradition. The other findings are related to the linkages between groundwater and land rights. There are two segments to define these linkages: 1)the incorporation of groundwater rights into the land title and 2)the separation of groundwater property rights from the land title. Finally, one of the remarkable facets of Iranian groundwater law tradition that is defining damage to groundwater rights.

## Hosseinioun, Delaram (Utrecht University): Mirroring The Other: Voice Of The Modern Woman in Photo Collections of Shadi Ghadirian

In her photography collections, the Iranian artist, Shadi Ghadirian (b.1974) adopts a hybrid form of narrative to confront the restrictions imposed on women of her generation. Focusing on motives such as nostalgia and the impact of gender narratives, Ghadirian highlights issues such as the objectification of women, censorship imposed on their public as well as private image and the lack of ownership over one's own identity and body. Inspired by the events of her personal life and a photo collection of wives of Naser al-Din Shah Qajar, the artist sheds light on the growing dogma and underlines the decline of women's rights since the twentieth century.

Based on the ideas of the Russian philosopher Michael Bakhtin (1895-1975) namely his concept of polyphony or a plurality of contradictory voices, and chrono tope or breaking free from the temporal and spatial frames for the socially marginalised, along with Butler's concept of Othering, I analyse Ghadirian's references to women's resistance against the decline of their freedom.

I argue, by merging the dynamics of her daily life and reversing the bans through a pictorial polyphony, Ghadirian confronts the futility of dogma and breaks free from censorship, while her art creates a new form of identity aside from patriarchy.

As a symbolic act of rebellion not only do the selected collections epitomise the current endeavours of women of Iran but manifest the possibility of reconstructing a liberated voice for women under suppression.

Hourcade, Bernard (CNRS/CeRMI) & Rajaie, Abbas & Mansourian, Hossein (University of Tehran):  
Atlas of Iran in the mid-20th century (1956)

The data of the First comprehensive national Census of Iran (1956) have been collected for the first time at the scale of 114 districts. This make possible a detailed geographic analysis of a premodern Iran, before the major changes of the second half of the twentieth century. In fact, we are here facing Iran at the end of the reign of Reza Shah.

The maps about education, age, activities, households, migrations, religion... show a traditional rural country (only 32% of the population is urban), with two “capital cities”: Tehran for politics and Abadan for oil and modern economy. Most of the largest cities like Esfahan remain underdeveloped.

I spite of the poor accuracy of some data, this picture of Iran gives formal and unusual information about the real life in Iran in that time, with huge geographical discrepancies. We see the starting point of the major change that have transformed – or not - the country after the 60’s.

The presentation will of course show and analyse some maps of this historical Atlas of Iran made in collaboration between CerMI and the faculty of geography of the University of Tehran and available on line at <https://cartorient.cnrs.fr>.

Huber, Marie (Stanford University):  
Infinite Events: Poetry, Music, and Spiritual Practice in Shadow of  
Sheykh Aḥmad-e Jām

Poems are performed to music and understood as part of the spiritual practice of the Mojaddedi Naqshbandi Sufi order centred around the shrine of Sheykh Aḥmad-e Jām (1048-1141) in Torbat-e Jām, Iran. The practice of the Sufi bards defies the modern notion that poetic texts can be separated from the matrix uniting poet, singer, and audience in a ritual of performance where *poem* (as aesthetic artefact), *music* (as the unfolding of a structure in time), and *ethics* (as the “I” facing a “you” in devotion) become an indivisible whole. In my paper, I argue that music, rather than being a supplement to an already sovereign arrangement, is an essential and formative element of a performance that is at once poetic and spiritual; it also creates an event on which the temporal relation of disciple and guide can be founded. Recent scholarship has shed light on the institutionalisation of Persian literature in the early to mid-twentieth century and the efforts of Iranian scholars to mould Persian into emergent narratives of homeland and identity. The songs of the bards in Torbat-e Jām defy co-option to a nationalist discourse: they cannot be understood unless we historicise certain ideas that have become axiomatic. Drawing on, among others, Francesco Giusti’s exploration of the ways in which lyric poetry enabled community formation in the premodern world, I analyse the conceptual foundations of *dotāri* performance to account for a practice whose origin extends beyond the ruptures of modernity.



## Huckleberry, Samuel (University of St Andrews & University of Bonn): Servants of the Royal Houses: Military Slavery in the Late Medieval and 'Early Modern' Ottoman and Safavid Realms

Why did the Ottoman and Safavid dynasties rely on military slavery? These two realms are often juxtaposed as political and religious rivals. As a historiographical trope, scholars have argued that the Ottomans and the Safavids relied on military slavery to move away from tribal levies. The former group, in other words, was forcibly enlisted into a drive for state centralization in opposition to the nomadic aristocracies which helped each dynasty establish an absolutist grip over Anatolia and the Iranian Plateau. Yet, the emergence of and dependence on institutional slavery in both realms, separated by over a century, reveals (in)commensurate patterns for comparative histories which bring them into close dialogue. Centering dynastic dependency on slavery as a prism of sovereignty, the paper interfaces patrimonial dynamics of confessional statecraft, dependency, and rulership to augment current interpretations of kingship. This prism, at once supporting and resisting authority, argues for a new language to compare these realms and suggests alternative processes for further exploration.

## Huseini, Said Reza (Leiden University): Form of Political Structure in the Late Antique Bactria

In this presentation, I will discuss the form of the political structure in the late antique Bactria. I bring the Bactrian documents into a dialogue with the relevant Chinese, Arabic and Persian historical narratives. By systematically analysing these sources, I will show that the local political autonomy and overlordship were the political models in the late antique Bactria. Bactrian rulers controlled local resources, managed administration and performed justice in their areas, and commanded local military forces. While they had the autonomy to manage their internal affairs, they recognised the overlordship of a more significant political power. The overlord could be a Sasanian, Chionite, Hephthalite, Turk or Arab Muslim ruler. This form of the political structure had a deep root in the geographical and socio-political situation of the eastern Iranian regions.

Imamnazarov, Muhammad (Tashkent State University of Oriental Studies):

## A New Approach to the Development Stages of Persian Classical Literature (Based on the Views of Alisher Navai)

I researched issues of poetics and method in epic works of Khusrav Dehlawi doctoral dissertation. In order to determine his creative method we based on Alisher Navai's unique views expressed on the creative methods of great figures of Persian classical literature. In Navai's "*Mahbub ul-Qulub*", famous representatives of Persian classical poetry are mentioned one by one, while Attar and Rumi are categorized in the "truth method (*haqiqat tariqi*)", Amir Khusraw and Hafiz, are categorized in the "metaphor method (*majoz tariqi*)". But Navai did not mention Firdawsi Tusi, whom he had known well, in his book.

It is known that the periodization of Persian classical literature of the 10th-15th centuries is often dominated by the historical or regional approach (for example, the Ghaznavids' royal poetry or the Isfahan urban literary school). In the course of further research, I came to new conclusions about the stages of internal development of classical Persian poetry of the 10th-15th centuries: it would be appropriate to divide the substantive development into the following 3 stages: 1) Secular Literary Stage (X-XI centuries - Rudaki, Firdavsi, Unsuri, etc.), 2) Sufi-irfani Literary Stage (XII-XIII centuries – Khaqani, Anvari, Nizami, Attar, Rumi, Saadi), 3) Metaphor Method Literary Stage (XIV-XV centuries - Amir Khusrav Dehlavi, Hafiz Shirazi, Alisher Navai).

Ivanov, Vladimir & Leila Dodykhudoeva (Moscow State University/Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences):  
Information Structure of Phraseology in Mazandarani

The structures of verbless sentences forming Mazandarani parables (Ansari M. *Farhang-e zarb-ol-masalhā-ye māzandarāni*, 2011) are mainly based on ellipsis. The language of proverbs tends to be particularly succinct: the idea is expressed in fewer words than in regular discourse. Lack of the verb heightens the style of statements, distancing them from everyday colloquial speech. The deviation of the style of proverbs from that of everyday speech draws the attention of the interlocutor, making him focus on the message of the speaker, while giving more weight to the speaker's pronouncement.

A number of patterns are revealed in verbless phraseology. Some nominal parts of speech have so called "built-in predicativity", and therefore do not combine with personal forms of the verb. These include the words: *kū?* 'where?', *in-am* 'here', etc.

In these units the first judgement opposes the second. Within complex phrases, components are connected by the coordinating enclitic conjunction or have no formal connection at all.

In many polypredicative parables, the first sentence includes the predicate expressed in the personal form of the verb, while the second one is an elliptical sentence with a truncated verb (so called gapping). Most aphorisms, from the point of view of their information structure, representthetic sentences with unmarked theme and data, which are not explicitly articulated.

Jaśkowski, Stanisław Adam (University of Warsaw):  
Notes of Cheragh Ali Khan Zanganeh and Sepehr's *Nasekh al-Tavarikh*:  
Sources and Historiography in the Qajar Period

The aim of this paper is to look at the notes of Cheragh Ali Khan Zanganeh as a possible source used by Sepehr in writing *Nasekh al-Tavarikh*. The said notes describe his activities as a governor and an acting governor in Isfahan in mid-19th century, as well as his time with Mirza Taqi Khan during the conference leading to the Erzurum Treaty of 1847. In case of the former, Sepehr offered an abridged and stylistically more polished version of Cheragh Ali Khan's account of bringing order to town, stopping highwaymen and rebels, persecuting the Babis, and investigating crimes and punishing the perpetrators. Yet some of the details omitted by Sepehr are among the most informative parts of Cheragh Ali Khan's account. Moreover, Sepehr often turned very passionate stories into unemotional, point-by-point accounts. Nonetheless, Sepehr described the same events and in the same order and in similar – albeit less passionate – fashion as Cheragh Ali Khan.

In case of Amir Kabir's legation, certain pieces of information are also virtually identical in both sources, save for Sepehr's narrative being less specific. Yet, probably judging these events more important than those of Cheragh Ali Khan's time in Isfahan, he includes most of the details of the locals' attack on the Persian legation.

The analysis offered in the present paper not only improves our understanding of Sepehr's historiographical method, but also allows a more detailed look at some of the events described in his work.

Jelinowski, Jan (University of Strasbourg):

The Words of the World-Conqueror: Towards a Textometric Analysis of the *Tarikh-i Jahangusha-yi* Juvayni

The last ten years of historical research have brought forth a significant reassessment of both the Mongol period in general, and its historiography in particular. Following David Sneath's *Headless State*, many researchers have abandoned the outdated tribal paradigm, reassessing the complexity of the Mongol political structures. In the field of source criticism, the unfaltering interest in Rashid al-Din's *Jami' al-tavarikh* has been the stage of Christopher Atwood's convincing argument and methodological demonstration concerning the existence of a rich Mongol Imperial historiographical production.

The existence of an abundant Imperial historiography points towards an early and historical practice, and a number of Mongol sources used by official historians writing in other languages. It is in this context of a radical reassessment of the historical dynamics of the Mongol Empire that I would like to present a few results on one of the oldest pieces of surviving Imperial historiography, Juvayni's *Tarikh-i Jahangusha*. After a short argument on the grounds on which we should consider the *Tarikh-i Jahangusha* a piece of Mongol historiography just as much as we consider it a piece of Persian historical writing, I will try to identify some of the sources Juvayni might have used. Finally, I will show how stylometry can help us distinguish the different parts of the work from one another, as well as some preliminary results of a quantitative analysis of the World-Conqueror's vocabulary.

Jügel, Thomas (CERES/ Ruhr-Universität Bochum):  
Syntactic Variation in the Middle Persian *Bundahišn*

The *Bundahišn* is a collective text (cf. Cereti 2001: 87ff.) whose parts differ linguistically to a certain degree, most notably in their syntax. Some chapters show special constructions such as clitic doubling (a referent is represented by both a noun and an enclitic pronoun); topicalization (usually fronting of the information a proposition is about); or they exhibit a relatively high number of sentences with postverbal arguments.

Recent works by Haig et al. (2022), Faghiri & Samvelian (2020), and Asadpour (2021) have shown that New Iranian languages can deviate from the assumed 'basic word order SOV' (subject–object–verb) especially in specific syntactic constructions (e.g. of verbs of movement).

As Iranian languages are thought to be mainly SOV languages, deviating structures were thought to be innovations. However, a first glimpse of Middle Iranian languages (Jügel 2022) shows that word order variation does also appear in historical texts.

In this presentation, I investigate the syntactic variation in the *Bundahišn*. I will explore whether this variation is semantically motivated or should be seen as a formal feature of genre, which may have arisen in translation context from Avestan and other sources. This also relates to the question as to whether syntactic differences can be interpreted chronologically.

## Kalandarov, Mirzajon (Tashkent State University of Oriental Studies): Evolution of Reader's Interpretation in Persian Classic Literature

Symbols and images of an artistic work, based on the artistic skills of the creator, the reader discovers new, unique artistic meanings during reading. Lyrical poetry have a wider range of meanings than epic poetry.

Different types of readers can be identified, the first is the creator himself, this is a conditional reader - he himself may have created other works using this symbolic image. The second reader is the readers who comment on the work in different periods of different ideologies in different ways. They can be writers of the later period who created other works influenced by, and interpreters of this poetry. And the third is you and us who are reading that poetry and re-discovering the "re-creating" the conception of it.

We research the evolution of meaning *sarv* (cypress), one of the traditional symbols and icons in Persian culture. Although the work was created in the Muslim literary environment in the Islamic era, we encountered different interpretations of the *sarv* from Zoroast's cypress, to ideologies influenced by Ibn Arabi's *Wahdat ul-wujud* and Imam Rabbani's *Wahdat ush-shuhud* dominated in Central Asia and Middle East, even completely logical unrelated interpretations.

So, interpretation evolution of the symbol cypress in Persian poetry, in such genres mainly rubai, later qasida and epics, and ghazals.



Kardgar, Hossein (Georg-August University of Göttingen):  
The Approaches of Control and Regulation Forced Converted Jewish in  
the Safavid Era based on the *Kitab-i-Anusī* Reports

*Kitab-i-Anusī*, written by BĀBĀĪ BEN LOṬF in the mid-17th century, is a judo-Persian-versed historical report about forcing Jewish people to convert their faith to Shia Islam by order of the Safavid Governors. As a Jewish eyewitness, the author narrated a couple of events that happened during Shah Abbas I and Shah Abbas II in various cities to the Jewish community, including persecution, slaying, banishment and forcing them to convert their religion. Hence the Jewish pretended to be Muslim while still believing in their previous faith. The persecution also continued after the conversion. The governors, as well as religious authorities, attempted to control and inspect all aspects of their lives constantly. In this paper, analyzing *Kitab-i-Anusī*'s reports, I will try to identify and categorize different types of proceedings practiced by Safavid authorities. These practices are divided into two main groups. First, Safavid authorities would evaluate Jewish religious routines to ensure they had completely abandoned their previous faith. Second, they would force the practice of Islamic laws and rituals on the new Muslims. I will try to order and showcase the pieces of evidence that support the above-mentioned categorization. These shreds of evidence include a wide range of periodic evaluations used to control the previously Jewish subalterns to the inhuman policies that excessively harmed these communities.

Karimi, Anita (Philipps-Universität Marburg):  
Female Character's Multi- Faceted Self: Individuality in Short Fiction  
Written by Afghan Female Writers after 1978

Many years of civil war and invasions in Afghanistan had destroyed or ruptured fundamental structures such as education and literary productions. The women were on the forefront of elimination from education and literary scene let alone that before elimination the trend of writing was traditionally in the hands of men and was considered a manly area. Nonetheless female writers actively tried to pen their experience in the modern literary genre of short fiction. This paper which is part of a PhD dissertation intends to examine the multi aspects of self in relation to the concepts such as space, diaspora and trauma in short fiction written by Afghan female writers after 1978.

## Karimibehjatabadi, Masoud (Albertina Academy of Fine Arts in Turin): The Repertoire of Kurdish Tanbur in Iran and its Connection with the Yarsan Religion

The main purpose of this paper is introducing the musical image and repertoire of Tanbur and Kurdish music maqams in Iran, but since the music of the tanbur is tied to the Yarsan (Ahl e Haq) culture and religion, the brief introduction of Yarsan is also discussed from the religious and cultural point of view.

we will discuss a brief history of Yarsan religion & culture and the repertoire of Tanbur maqam music & the cultural context formed next to this music.

Also, since the Tanbur is the root of many other instruments in Iran, including classical Iranian instruments and some maqam instruments of other regions ;The differences and commonalities and connections between tanbur music and maqam music of some other regions of Iran will be briefly discussed.

As for the Tanbur specifically, we will discuss about The world's origin and terminology, The types of the instrument, Characteristics and structure of the tanbur, Usage of Tanbur and rituals and differences between the playing in different regions .

## Kavianifar, Farinaz (École Pratique des Hautes Études- Université PSL): Abd ar-Rahmān Jāmī's Golden Chain: Grades of Love and its Path to Human Perfection

In this paper, we aim to discuss the second book of Nūr ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Rahmān Jāmī (817-898 AH/1414-1492 AD), Persian poet, philosopher, and mystic, entitled Golden Chain (*Silsilat al-Dhahab*) in assessing and outlining the grades and types of love in respect to the Sufi mystical tradition. Is 'divine love' truly that different from 'carnal' or 'material' love? Can we say one is a precursor to the other? Or is it essentially and universally one 'love' with a central message? How vital was the cultural and religious climate of Timurid Iran in impacting Jāmī's view on love? Can one say he is a mere imitator or does he have a new theory to propose in this regard? Through an intertextual lens, we will analyze the stated mode of thought provided in Jāmī's poetry, and conduct a close comparison to Ibn Arabi's (560-638 AH/1165-1240 AD) renowned classification on love as seen in Chapter 178 of the *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*. As a great follower of the Akbarian tradition, we will trace the level of Jāmī's alignment or deviation from deciphering this concept and motif of love. Thus, Jami's poetry will be considered to assess the ultimate meaning of love and where it aims to take each individual seeker in respect to their selected path.

Kazemirashid, Sina (Politecnico di Milano):  
Reparadise: Restoration of the Royal Garden of Pasargadae Based on  
Historical and Archaeological Evidence

Imagining the form and function of ancient gardens seems a formidable effort due to their vegetative essence and rapid degradation through time. Similarly, Pasargadae archaeological site is a significant historical remnant with a natural character, closely connected with Pulvar River crossing the site, Morghab springs on top of the plain and Bolaghi Gorge at the bottom.

In the case of Pasargadae Park(s) and/or Garden(s), or what Greeks called the Achaemenid landscapes in general, "Paradeisoi", such imagination becomes a complex task since what we have as the physical and written evidence is much limited. Nevertheless, there are several indirect traces available from what Achaemenids defined as a garden, its vegetation and the providing functions, which can help understand the landscape of Pasargadae. In addition, many requirements such as lowering structures' degradation, enhancing tourism attraction and reclaiming the identity of the place are amongst some of the necessities to restore this world heritage site and keep its memory alive.

The research's interdisciplinary effort is to restore the ancient garden(s) of Pasargadae, initially understanding the previous form and function of the site based on the archaeological findings from early 1900s to 2020s and the historical accounts on "Paradise" in Greek and Roman historiography and eventually, proposing a restoration plan, using architectural and landscaping techniques. A valorisation proposal serving old and new identities.

Keivan, Shafigheh (Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3, CERCC de l'École normale supérieure de Lyon):

## The Alchemy of the Self: Liminal Poetics in Ghazaleh Alizadeh's Fiction

Derived from the Latin word *limen* for “threshold”, liminality is a concept in anthropology, which refers to the state of “in-betweenness” in a “rite of passage”. Accordingly, the liminal is a transitional space and a passage toward transformation. Characterized by ambivalence, contradiction, ambiguity and openness, the liminal mediates between two opposite sides, reconciles and merges them with one another. Ghazaleh Alizadeh's most famous novel, *The House of the Edrissis* (1992), narrates the story of the intrusion and the settling of the revolutionaries in the confiscated house of the last members of the aristocratic family of the Edrissis. The confrontation between the “Self” and the “Other” is a major theme in this novel. Focusing on the poetic representation of the liminal in different layers of the novel, this paper demonstrates the metamorphosis of the house and its inhabitants. It explores how as a central aesthetic and thematic element in the construction of *The House of the Edrissis*, the liminal is at work to make possible the transformation of the house from a place demarcated and delimited topographically and symbolically, to one of convergence, communication, fusion, and alchemy. As a result, the “Self”, whose formation is based on alienation and the binary hierarchic principle of “Self”/ “Other”, converts towards plurality.

Khanjari, Shahrouz (Independent Scholar):

## Literary Strategies for the Creation of Humour in *Hada'iq al-Sihr*

This article examines rhetorical and stylistic strategies for the creation of humour in literary discourse, based on *Hada'iq al-Sihr*, by Rashid al-Din Watwat (d. 1182). *Hada'iq al-Sihr fi Daqa'iq al-Shi'r* (*Gardens of Magic in the Minutiae of Poetry*) is the second oldest extant book on the subject of *balagha* (literary rhetoric) in Persian. Since Watwat was first and foremost a panegyrist, his book primarily deals with the art of composing encomia. However, Watwat does not neglect humour in his book, and by including witty and satirical examples, he also teaches the techniques of creating humorous discourse.

Watwat's method of teaching rhetorical techniques, following the tradition of *badi'*, is based on providing brief explanations and quoting numerous examples. Against this background, one should meticulously scrutinize the jocular evidentiary verses to unravel the intricacies of stylistic devices useful for creating humour. A critical analysis of these examples demonstrates that Watwat in *Hada'iq al-Sihr* instructs a diverse set of efficient literary strategies for creating humoristic discourse, and he has also made some innovations, particularly by showing how to utilize non-literal expressions, equivocation, and double meaning in creating humour. In the framework of the critical study of the examples quoted in *Hada'iq al-Sihr*, and by benefiting from theories of humour analysis, this article delineates Watwat's theory of humour.

Khazaei, Alireza (University of Tehran):  
Investigating the Possible Sources of a Very Late Zoroastrian History  
about the Sasanians Called *Mohaqq al-Tarikh*

*Mohaqq al-Tarikh* is a book written by a Zoroastrian elder from Iran, named Mullah Iskandar, son of Mullah Guštāsp, about the history of Kerman and the Sasanian Empire. This book was written on 25 Muharram 1277 (equivalent to August 13, 1860) according to the author's introduction. This book, as a very late Zoroastrian source, about the Sasanian Empire, it can to some extent strengthen our understanding of how Zoroastrians view Sasanian history after a thousand years. In order to understand such an attitude, the first step is to evaluate the sources of the *Mohaqq al-Tarikh*. A complete and comprehensive review by comparing the narratives, stories and chronological order of the Sasanian kings, can determine for us, which sources of information about the history of the Sasanians has been accepted and considered correct by the author of the *Mohaqq al-Tarikh*. For this reason, a wide range of Islamic and non-Islamic sources about the history of the Sasanians should be examined until the time of writing the book. Such an examination will show that the author has not only used different historical sources in writing the *Mohaqq al-Tarikh*, but also a significant part of the book's information cannot have a source other than Shahnameh of Ferdowsi. there are cases in the stories of the book that cannot be determined due to their general or minor differences with other sources, and in such cases, only possibilities should be considered.



Khazai, Dina (Shiraz University):

## Cartography of Eros in the Works of Contemporary Surrealist Women: Shahrnouch Parsipour and Shirin Neshat

The present presentation seeks to study the aesthetics of desire within the works of Sharnoush Parsipour and Shirin Neshat, activist artists who have cultivated beauty and desire as means of resistance and revolt against societal oppressions. In their work, desire models and recreates the body, especially through senses (sight or touch, elaboration of the sense of self through frontiers) and sexuality-related experiences (orgasm, birth and intercourse as the celebration of the soul and womanhood). The notion of desire, associated for long with Eros and Cupid in Occidental literary history, is the direct product of literary traditions, which in its turn is influenced by the society and the culture. In case of the Iranian literature, the question is even more complicated: on the one hand, contact with the West introduced new literary traditions into the language, all the while bringing about multiple cultural shocks on sexuality and purity. Hence, different forms of desire, already modelled by doubly profane and mystical poems like that of Hafiz, associated with earthly and carnal love as is the case with Saadi (without mentioning his vulgar *hazliat*), turned into an act of courage with *masnavis*, or despised within the work of purist Sufis, was confronted with a whole new universe of meaning around Eros. Finally, in the past decades, the concept of desire has taken new dimensions with the politicisation of bodily expressions, especially in the case of women and sexuality.

Khazaie, Davood & Mirzaie, Sonia: Zahhak (Shiraz University):  
The Demonic Dragon-King and/or the Serpent-Shoulder God in  
Bondage: Confrontation of Ancient Concepts with Islamic Illustration  
based on a Structural Comparative Study between the *Shahnameh* of  
Baysonqor and the *Shahnameh* of Shah Tahmasp

The Snake Man is an example of ancient multifaceted myths. Zahhak is equivalent to Azhi Dahaka in the Avesta and the three-headed dragon in Indo-Iranian myths. He reigned for 1000 years according to the *Shahnameh* and was finally chained by Freyduun on Mt. Damavand. He is the embodiment of Az, and is different from what is seen in the Avesta, Pahlavi texts, and Indo-Iranian myths. However, his pictorial representation in the paintings of the Islamic era is surprising; he has appeared as the serpent-shoulder Human/God whose likeness can be seen in the remnants of the civilizations of the Iranian plateau and Mesopotamia. His entrapment is depicted in two *Shahnamehs*, i.e., those of Baysonqor and Shah Tahmasp. This article analyzes the scene textually and pictorially by an structural reading. To understand the Intrasemiotic structure of the story, it examines the hypotexts, i.e., the Avesta, Middle Persian, and Vedic texts. This will determine whether transformation or imitation has occurred in this intertextual relationship. Then, it examines and dissects the mythemes and narrative structure to determine the structure of the story. To examine the pictorial narrative intersemiotically, it explores the relationship between the text and the image and reads the elements and motifs to determine how the pictorial narrative is represented and to how the ancient Snake Man has found his way into Islamic art. Finally, it compares and contrasts this scene in the two aforementioned *Shahnamehs*.

Khodjimuratova, Dilshoda (Tashkent State University of Oriental Studies):

## The Use of Historical and Cultural Heritage as “Soft power” in Iran's Foreign Policy in the Late 20th and Early 21st Centuries

This article studies that since the late 20th century, Iran's foreign ministry has begun to use the concept of "soft power" to advance the country's national interests by emphasizing historical and cultural resources. Iran's cultural heritage, a soft power factor in Iran's foreign policy, has an important place, and in the diplomacy of President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the concept of Iran's Cultural Heritage includes the cultural achievements of the pre-Islamic era, the Persian language and medieval poetry. Research has been performed to show that the civilizational approach to cultural heritage had a special place in President Mohammad Khatami's "Dialogue of Civilizations" policy and allowed it to be shown as one of the centres of "multipolar world" under Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, while Hassan Rouhani gave priority to cultural diplomacy. Education, music, cinematography, sports, tourism, and fashion are cultural resources of Iran's foreign policy. It is noted that quality education is one of the factors forming Iran's "soft power" and has contributed to Iran's international prestige in recent years.

In 1994, Iranian embassies were opened in all countries of the Central Asian region, dealing with political, trade and economic issues, as well as public diplomacy, i.e. promotion of initiatives in the cultural sphere, development of scientific cooperation. In 1996-1999, Iranian cultural centres were established in these countries. These centres focus on various cultural projects

Korn, Agnes (CNRS):

## The Driving Forces for Word Order: Results from Baskhardi and Balochi

In this talk, I will present some statistics on word order in Baskhardi, a group of dialects spoken inland of the Strait of Hormoz, and compare them with findings about word order in Balochi.

Both languages predominantly show subject-object-verb (SOV) sentence structure, which has often been seen as implying that clauses are verb-final as a rule. However, the Baskhardi data used for this study, which are my analyses of recordings that Ilya Gershevitch collected in Iran in 1956, show roughly one third (30.0%) of all non-subject elements after the verb.

Semantic role plays an important role. For instance, Goals of verbs of motion or caused motion are mostly placed after the verb in Baskhardi (71.5%, thus the reverse of the overall distribution), and this tendency increases markedly with Goal consisting of more one word.

Goals thus differ from other elements such as direct objects in several respects. Nominal direct objects are preverbal in 77.8% of all cases, and the overall variation of their placement depending on weight is lower than that of Goals. Crucially, their being longer than one word does not produce a statistically significant increase of postverbal instances.

The overall tendencies seen in Baskhardi largely agree with those of a study on word order in Southern Balochi. They also highlight an important influence of information structure that is liable to override other principles of pre- and postverbal placement, while there are also some interesting differences.

Kowalska, Renata Rusek (Jagiellonian University Kraków):  
Eternal Bonds in the Medieval Persian Romances

The concept of love after death though alluring, is definitely not universal. Rarely can it be found, for example, in ancient Greek literature, and some scholars assume that an elaborate conceptualization of posthumous love seems to be “a peculiar pattern of Latin Christian culture” of the pre-Reformation period. Yet, the belief in the post-mortal union of lovers resonates also in early Medieval Persian love epics (*manzumehā-ye āšeqāne*), such as *Vis-o Rāmin*, *Xosrow-o Širin* or Persian renditions of Arabic love stories including *Varqe-vo Golšāh* and *Leyli-yo Majnun* (11th-12th century). Interestingly, the theme of post-mortal continuation of terrestrial love became outmoded and dogmatically suspicious in later Persian romances, as it did too in Western literature after the Protestant Reformation.

In my paper I will focus on the early Persian love epic and its happy-endings, which presumably echo the pre-Islamic romance tradition and Zoroastrian eschatology that lingered on in classical Persian love stories for several centuries after the Arab conquest.

Krasnowolska, Anna (Jagiellonian University Kraków):  
Polish Threads in Persian Prose –the Stereotypes Reshaped

In Persian literary fiction of the last decade the theme of Polish survivors of Soviet mass deportations and Gulag camps, who passed through Iran in the Second World War years, revives. This paper concentrates on two such novels: To be *Esfahān bāz xāhi gašt* by Mostafā Ensāfi, and Marjān Širmohammadi's *Xāne-ye Lahestānihā*, both published in Tehran in 1395 (2016). Polish war episode is hardly present in historical awareness of the Iranians. So far Polish war deportee (exclusively female) characters appeared in Persian literature as episodic, heavily stereotyped figures (from Alavi's *Yerenečkā on*), and the reasons for their stay in Iran have never been properly explained to Persian reading public. In spite of scarcity of Persian language sources at their disposal, the today's authors show more knowledge of the geo-political context of the event. They try, then, to modify the existing stereotype of a Pole and to embed it in a historical context familiar to their readers. Making extensive use of private memories (Helena Stelmach-Nikpur) and films (*Khosrow Sinā'i*), the narratives reproduce scenes of arrest, deportation, forced labour in Siberia and the deportees' arrival to Iranian safe heaven. Sensational themes connected with the presence of Poles in Tehran grant the narratives a flavour of mystery an exotic. The Poles are presented as half-domesticated others, partly integrated in Iranian society.

Kristo-Nagy, Istvan (University of Exeter):  
Innovation through the Image of an Ideal Past. Ibn al-Muqaffa's Uses of the Past to Justify Revolution, Integration and Consolidation in the Islamic Empire

Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. 139/757) was the par excellence Persian *katib*, scribe-secretary-advisor-administrator, working for the highest dignitaries of the Islamic empire in the times preceding and following the Hashimite revolution, which brought the Abbasids to power. His attitudes towards Arabs and Islam remain ambiguous, nevertheless he was a foundational author of Arabic prose and of Islamic political and ethical advice literature.

In his *Kitāb al-Adab al-kabir*, Ibn al-Muqaffa' uses the topos of a superior past, compared to which he presents his time and its people as corrupted and inferior. This view is also echoed in the *Kitab al-Adab al-ṣāghir* and *Kalila wa-Dimna*. Ibn al-Muqaffa' conflates Sasanian and Islamic notions of an ideal past to integrate Sasanian political thought into Islamic civilisation.

The concept also appears in his actual political epistles. In his *al-Yatima* and *Risala fi l-Sahaba*, he employs this topos in order to provide an ideology for the Hashimite revolution and the consolidation of the new reign. In premodern societies, the idea of change was rarely welcome, and evolution was normally conceptualised as degeneration. Thus, Ibn al-Muqaffa' justifies the revolution and the actions of the new ruler by the idea of correcting the corrupt—recent—past and returning to an ideal past. Both in providing propaganda in his *al-Yatima* and a practical political programme in his *Risala fi l-Sahaba*, he pragmatically fuses Sasanian and Islamic patterns.

Labisi, Giuseppe (Universität Konstanz):  
Kushk-e Ardashir and Zendan-e Soleyman of Bozpar (Bushehr, Iran).  
Preliminary Results of the Study of Two Monuments from the Late  
Sasanian Architectural Tradition

The purpose of this paper is to present the preliminary results of recent research on the two buildings of the Late Sasanian tradition in the Bozpar Valley (Bushehr, Iran). This research is part of the research project "Dynamics of Development and Transformations of Ownership in Western Fars": The Bozpar Valley (Bushehr Region, Iran)" (DFG - SPP 2176 - Iranian Highlands: Resilience and Integration of Premodern Societies, funded from 2020 to 2023), directed by Prof Dr Stefan R. Hauser (University of Konstanz), of which I am the coordinator, and in which Dr Elnaz Rashidian participates for landscape studies.

The relative isolation and difficulty of communication, both in antiquity and today, have limited systematic research in the valley, although in addition to the two monuments mentioned above, there is the iconic monument known as the 'Gur-e Dokhtar', commonly believed to be a funerary building of the Achaemenid tradition, which shows clear comparisons with the tomb of Cyrus the Great at Pasargadae; at least three archaeological *tappehs*; a building known as a 'caravanserai'; and a complex system of canals and terraces that altered the landscape of the valley in ancient times. In addition, there is evidence of the presence and occupation of nomadic Qashqai tribes, probably from the thirteenth - fourteenth centuries onwards, when the phenomenon of migration is historically documented.

The two architectural complexes belonging to the Late Sasanian architectural tradition are known as Kushk-e Ardashir and Zendan-e Soleyman. This paper introduces the two complexes and outlines their main architectural features, as well as elements of preliminary dating obtained from their comparative study, and interpretive elements useful for understanding the function of the two buildings.

Preliminarily, it is possible to suggest that their foundations date from the Sasanian-Islamic transition period, although ongoing analyses are revealing the presence of numerous construction phases belonging to at least three chronological groups. With regard to their function, updated plans and an understanding of their phases allow us to hypothesise a palatial function. The topographical context also suggests the possible presence of the extra-urban *dastgerd* settlement pattern, typical of the Late Sasanian and Early Islamic periods and a probable indicator of the land use and transformation of the landed aristocracy in Bozpar as well as throughout Eranshahr.



Langroudi, Ali B. (University of Göttingen):  
Textual Criticism of Judeo-Persian Translations of the Bible: Chances  
and Challenges

The increase in the number of discovered Judeo-Persian (JP) fragments and manuscripts, on the one hand, and the unprecedented accessibility of these materials to scholars, on the other hand, have made it feasible for us to talk about textual criticism of JP translations of the Bible. Apart from the augmentation of the number as well as the quality of the materials in the last years, the development of theories and techniques of textual criticism, in general, have provided a better standpoint to overtake this task. Of course, these theories and techniques have been provided for texts written in more biblically prominent languages, e.g. Hebrew and Greek. Yet, careful use of these tools will be an enrichment for textual criticism of JP biblical translations.

Application of textual criticism to versions of extant JP biblical materials will enable us to reconstruct the content of lost original manuscripts up to some extent. But how should one adapt the available methods of textual criticism, largely prepared for Hebrew and Greek materials, for the study of JP biblical manuscripts? To what extent is it possible to reconstruct the lost text? What are the chances and challenges for such a task? The present article aims to answer these questions, analyzing a collation of some verses of the book of Proverbs of Solomon in a number of JP manuscripts.

Lee, Chaeri (Indiana University Bloomington):  
Visualizing Landscapes of the Ancient Past in Nineteenth-Century Iran

In the past two decades, there has been increased scholarly interest in charting ‘indigenous’ practices within the modern scientific study of the Middle East’s ancient past, whether by tracing the establishment of museums in the region, or the disciplinary formation of archaeology. Although this recent research has nuanced narratives of scientific modernity in the region, its focus on state-sponsored, institutional activities has situated the ‘West’ as the prime model of emulation. My paper examines heterogeneous visualizations of ancient Persia and historicizing themes in late Qajar Iran, showing how these were distinct from, while also overlapping with, the statist and ethno-nationalist interpretations of the ancient past that would become dominant in the twentieth century. My paper’s central source is the archaeological survey of the ancient Iranian plateau, *Athar-e ‘Ajam* (1896), by the polymath intellectual and artist Fursat al-Dawla Shirazi (1854 – 1920). I argue that Fursat deliberately situated himself within a long-standing Islamic literary topos by framing his work as a collection of *athar* (آثار, pl.), a Perso-Arabic term signifying “material ruins” or “traces”. Inspired by recent comparative studies that stress the recovery of alternative ‘antiquarian’ traditions, I foreground *athar* as an emic intellectual and affective framework that informed the modern Iranian reception of archaeological methodologies and image-making technologies alike.

Leezenberg, Michiel (University of Amsterdam):  
World Literature and Literary Domination in the Persianate Realm: The  
Vernacularization of Kurdish Reconsidered

In his recent study of the Shahnameh, Hamid Dabashi proposes a radical alternative to the discipline of world literature, which he thinks suffers from an incurable ethnocentrism. His own account of Persian literary humanism, however, entirely overlooks the existence of vernacular written literatures in the Persianate realm; worse, his depoliticized reading of the Shahnameh overlooks the possibility that the long-standing prestige of Persian as a language of *adab* amounts to a premodern form of what Pierre Bourdieu and Pascale Casanova call 'literary domination.'

In this contribution, I will discuss, first, what theoretical gain is to be made by using Bourdieu's analytical vocabulary to rethink the Persianate realm. Second, I will explore the forms of domination and resistance to be found in this realm; more specifically, I will explore whether we can consider the well-known phenomenon of vernacularization, i.e., the rise of hitherto spoken vernaculars to the status of written medium of literary and learned expression. As a case study, I will explore the vernacularization of Gorani and of Kurmanji or Northern Kurdish; in both varieties, we find written versions of the mathnavi poem *Mem û Zîn*, nowadays consecrated as the Kurdish national epic. It will appear that in both literate traditions, there is a clear awareness of revolting against the domination of, in particular, literary Persian.

Lekveishvili, Tamar (Ilia State University):  
Activities of Women from the Georgian Royal Family According to the  
Fazli Beg Khuzani Isfahani's 17th century Chronicle *Afzal al-tavarikh*

The paper discusses the information of the 17th-century Iranian historian Fazli Beg Khuzani Isfahani about Georgian-Iranian relations during the reign of Shah 'Abbas I. This information is included in the third volume of Fazli's chronicle - *Afzal-al-Tavarikh (The Wonderful History)* which was considered lost but was discovered at the end of the 20th century in Cambridge by prof. Charles Melville. The chronicle is significant not only for studying the period of Safavid Iran but also for analysing several aspects of the history of Iranian-Georgian and generally, of Iranian-Caucasian interactions. Fazli Beg Khuzani Isfahani was from Isfahan. His relatives, who belonged to the Iranian Bureaucracy, held high positions in Safavid administration. Therefore, Fazli's career was linked to Caucasus, in particular to Georgia. He was a vizier of Peikar Khan, the ruler of Kakheti (Eastern Georgia) during the dominance of Kizilbashs. Thus, he is a witness to the many events which were happening in Safavid Iran and Georgia and his work represents an important primary source. The chronicle includes detailed information about the reign of Shah 'Abbas and its large part is dedicated to the description of Iranian-Georgian interactions. In this paper, I present passages from Fazli Beg Khuzani's chronicle about the Iranian-Georgian political relations and interactions between royal families where the significant role of Georgian royal family's women representatives in political affairs is apparent.

Lenepveu Hotz, Agnes (University of Strasbourg):  
External Possession in Early and Classical New Persian (10th-16th  
centuries)

The purpose of this study is to explore external possession in Early and Classical New Persian (NP). While this construction in which the possessor is expressed in a constituent other than that of the possessum (as “Die Mutter wäscht dem Kind die Haare” in German) does not exist in Contemporary Persian, occurrences of the postposition *râ* marking external possession can be found in texts dating from the 10th to the 16th century.

As several examples, drawn from a corpus of 10 texts, show, the criteria for external possession found in other languages such as German or French are not relevant in NP: the possessor is not necessarily human (in *šahr-hâ* “these towns”); whereas verbs used in this structure in other languages are generally not stative verbs, this happens in NP (*gunjidan* “to be contained”). Thus, I examine 1) the properties of external possessors, 2) the grammatical relations of possessa, 3) the semantic properties of possessors, 4) the types of predicates, 5) the possessive relations.

This feature of external possession exists throughout the period studied. Nevertheless, there are clues that it is on the verge of disappearance at the end of this period. External possession is thus expressed by *mar...râ* in some texts of the 15th c. Since the 15th c. is also the period when *râ* alone tends to disappear for indirect objects in favour of direct ones, I argue that this evolution of the marking by the postposition *râ* is the main cause of the disappearance of external possession in NP.

Levy, Mordechai (Motti) (Hebrew University of Jerusalem):  
Between Heaven and Earth: The Sanctification of the Self in Early-  
Modern Royal Self-Narratives

Over the last two decades, scholarship has addressed the development and implementation of the perceptions of sacral kingship in the early modern Muslim world. Using such primary sources as ethical treatises and historical writings, historians have studied the ideological experimentations of the Timurid, Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal courts with diverse forms of sacred absolutism. However, few scholars have attempted to comparatively examine how and to what extent such ideas were used by the four dynasties, let alone their direct influences on the rulers themselves as reflected in their autobiographical narratives.

My presentation explores the effect of concepts of sacred kingship on royal self-fashioning through the lens of self-narratives written by Timurid ruler Husayn Bayqara (r. 1469-1506), Timurid prince Babur (1483-1530), Safavid Shah Tahmasp I (r. 1524-1576), Mughal emperor Jahangir (r. 1569-1627) and Ottoman Sultan Murad III (r. 1574-1595). Identifying two central notions commonly articulated in the texts, namely Gods shadow on earth and the Sufi mystic ruler, I examine two interrelated questions: (1) how do the royal authors perceive and contextualize the two concepts? (2) In what ways do the rulers employ them to shape their own sacred image? Comparative analysis of the authors strategies of self-sanctification allows me to demonstrate that the rulers differed from each other in the intensity of their efforts to claim both spiritual and political authority.

Lindström, Gunvor (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut):  
A Bowl with Dionysian Frieze from Denavar and its Relations to  
Persian, Greek and Roman Art

Among the very few examples of Greek art from Persia are fragments of a Dionysian relief from Denavar in Kermanshah. Recent research on the nine fragments, which appeared on the art market around 1915 and are now distributed among five museums and collections, has revealed that they once formed the frieze of a monumental ceremonial bowl. The reliefs show heads of satyrs or silenoi, i.e. nature demons from the entourage of the Greek wine god Dionysus, in a Greek style reminiscent of Pergamenian art. Sculpted from Persian Zagros limestone, the ceremonial bowl was shaped like an Achaemenid bowl. However, with its oversize and manufacture in stone - instead of metal, as was customary for luxurious drinking vessels - it was inspired by monumental relief vessels made of marble, which were developed shortly before 100 BC in Athens for the Roman market and were later produced in Rome. The relief bowl from Denavar is thus a Persian representative of this genre and can accordingly be dated to the 1st century BC or 1st century AD. Its reliefs impressively prove that sculptors and workshops trained in the Greek style were active well into Parthian times.

Litvak, Meir (Tel Aviv University):

## State Centralization and Popular Resistance: Isfahan Under Reza Shah Pahlavi (1921-1941)

Reza Shah's rule is known as a period of top-down modernization. Yet, the implementation of these policies in provincial cities and popular responses to them have not received sufficient attention.

The paper will analyze the interaction between state policies and the modes of resistance from below in Isfahan, a stronghold of a powerful clergy and merchant community, based on the premise that a crucial measure of a state's capacity is its influence in the periphery.

Popular resistance to state policies assumed peaceful and active forms. Borrowing from the concept of "everyday forms of resistance," the paper will ask whether these activities represented a continuation of traditional or more modern forms of protest. It will also look at the role of each social group and the ways it manifested its opposition. Isfahan's uniqueness in its response to the government's measures will be a point of special interest.

Overall, the government succeeded in imposing the new measures in Isfahan most notably conscription, albeit at a heavy cost to its legitimacy. Unlike the situation in Tehran, it was less successful in imposing the Pahlavi cap and the removal of the hijab. In other words, it proved capable of shaping a new order in the public sphere, but less in forcibly moulding a new culture and personal habits in the provinces. As this study demonstrates, shedding light on the provinces is essential for a more nuanced understanding of Iranian history in all its complexities.



Losensky, Paul (Indiana University Bloomington):  
Three Physician Poets and the Social Praxis of Poetry in Taqi-al-Din  
Kashi's *Kholasat al-ash'ar*

By the 16th century, poetry had come to permeate all classes of urban society in Safavid Iran. Princes, administrators, judges and religious dignitaries, physicians, and craftsmen all composed verse in various social contexts. Poetic praxis, however, was not uniform across this social spectrum. This paper examines the lives of three physician poets and the roles that poetry played in their lives as reported by Taqi-al-Din Kashi in the concluding section of his *tazkereh Kholasat al-ash'ar va zobdat al-afkar*. All three were hereditary members of the medical profession who served as physicians at the royal court, and all three composed verse. But the relation between poetry and their professional careers differed markedly. For Jalal-al-Din Kashani, poetry was a pastime, one of several accomplishments that distinguished him as a well-rounded professional notable. Rokn-al-Din Kashi, on the other hand, withdrew from medicine to become a full-time poet. Shafa'i Esfahani maintained a busy practice as a physician even as he emerged as a renowned and feared poet in Isfahan. Comparing their lives also reveals their biographer's ambivalence toward poetry. Despite his lifelong dedication to the study of the lives of poets, Taqi-al-Din questions poetry's moral value and social utility. For those who tend to the physical well-being of society, poetry should remain a leisure pastime, and Taqi-al-Din struggles to justify the role poetry came to play in the lives of Rokn-al-Din and Shafa'i.

Louie, Elmira (University of California, Davis):  
Attaining Unattainable Utopia: Women Without Men in a Mystic and  
Magical Realist World

Why would five women who have survived domestic abuse, rape, honour killing, and forced prostitution and have built their own utopia – in the form of a garden, no less – leave the safety of their world without men? This paper argues that the utopian worldmaking of Shahrnush Parsipur's *Women Without Men* (1989) is influenced by Persian mysticism and Magical Realism, a combination which makes "utopia" not a destination, but rather, the quest (or *jostoju*) itself. When the women in this polyphonic narrative come together in a garden in Karaj, they each become self-sufficient and free within this feminine space. From the Garden of Eden to the Bustan and Gulistan of the 13th century Persian poet, Sa'di, the garden has long served a central role in literary imaginings of utopia, and as a symbol of female sexuality. I propose that Parsipur uses this motif to lull her audience into accepting the garden in Karaj as a utopia, before revealing that a true utopia is not one place. I claim that Magical Realism enables the narrative to subvert traditional expectations of utopia, similar to how each protagonist subverts gender expectations, by linking utopia with the concept of quest/*jostoju* derived from Persian mysticism. My paper asserts that within this new context, quest/*jostoju* is movement and growth, and utopia is in the outcome of the women living imperfect lives, lives which are neither good nor bad. Utopia is ultimately attained through its intrinsic unattainability.

Mahmoudian, Safa (University of Oxford):  
The Caliphal Palace of Samarra and its Riverside Garden: New Perspectives

The ruins of the Abbasid capital city of Samarra are one of our most important archaeological sources for early Islamic architecture. Since the early twentieth century, several excavations have been carried out in Samarra, the results of which form the backbone of our knowledge about the architecture of this period. However, these excavations pose two challenges: First, they have been limited in their scale; Second, they pursued particular interests of their time, such as discovering new varieties of stucco decorations. As a result, some spaces such as large areas of gardens have never been considered in these investigations and their remains are hardly, if ever, mentioned in the excavation reports.

By concentrating on one case study, the riverside garden of the Caliphal Palace of Samarra, this paper will demonstrate why developing an understanding of the palace garden is imperative to fully understand the palace complex as a whole. The studies on the Caliphal Palace largely conform with some dominant ideas formulated by Ernst Herzfeld, who led the first systematic excavations at this site in 1912-3. This presentation challenges these assumptions by reconsidering the archaeological evidence in conjunction with contemporary texts. First, it sheds new light on main features of the palace garden and its overall design. Second, it argues that in light of these new interpretations of the garden components, it is necessary to revisit the design of the palace complex as a whole.

Marra, Floriana (Ruhr-Universität Bochum):  
Some Reflections on the Religious Encounters in Manichaean  
Cosmological Texts

Manichaean Cosmology and Cosmogony is considered being one of the pillars of the religion founded by Mani in the 3rd century Mesopotamia. The Cosmogonical myth and the description of the universe were considered as a unitary version, however as the sources written in Middle Iranian Languages (Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian) show, within the common theme of the universe, variety of details from various religious traditions and cultural context can be incorporated. At times, such external contributions to Manichaeism, are articulated differently according to the region in which they diffused; in some cases, instead, they constitute a unicum of linguistic tradition. In this paper I will explore these different versions and details. Additionally, I will put each contribution in the context of knowledge exchange between the different religions that came into contact with one another.

Mashayekh, Sara (University of California, Santa Barbara):  
Audience-Performer Relationship in Traditional Iranian Theatre

Traditional Iranian performative storytelling, known as *naqqali*, has roots in the early modern period and under the Safavid rule. *Naqqali* performances are basically one person shows conducted by performers who came to be known as *Naqqal* (literally meaning the transmitter) during the late 1500s. *Naqqali* relies heavily on its spectators, their knowledge of the story being told as well as their knowledge of the current events, and the way they respond to each performance. While physical participation of the audience is not often expected in a *Naqqali* performance, spectators of *Naqqali* need to be extra attentive and mentally engaged. The passive characteristic of the western audience of the past few centuries, and according to some scholars past few millennia, is not a characteristic they share with the *Naqqali* audience. The absence of multiple performers, the environment of the Coffee House, the designated venue for *Naqqali*, and the nature of the stories being narrated, all work together in order to create a unique type of audience who are just as instrumental in creating a *Naqqali* performance as is the storyteller himself. This paper will try to explore the role of the audience in a *Naqqali* performance as described in early modern Persian texts and known through later evidence. It also draws parallels between them and the audience of what is considered traditional western theatre, as well as the avant-garde and postmodern theatre that emerged in the 20th century.

Mashhadi Rafi, Ali (University of Farhangiyān):  
*Asrarnameh*, a Rare Pilgrimage Scroll of a Safavid Sufi from 17th century

One of the main uses of scroll-shaped documents, such as certificates of pilgrimage to blessed holy places, is hanging on the walls of mosques, monasteries and houses. Therefore, it is logical that in relation to their demonstrative use, such scrolls have significant visual values in terms of composition, images and drawings, decorative motifs and technical features in terms of paper and canvas, etc.

The Pilgrimage scroll *Asrarnameh* with registration number HC.ARC.2016.0002 at the Qatar National Library, which belongs to the era of the Safavid King Shah Suleiman I (1666-1694), is one of the unique examples of the pilgrimage scrolls of members of the Safavid brotherhood (*Tariqah*) and a very rare evidence of the pilgrimage tradition of traveling to Shiite holy places by Safavid Sufis at the beginning of their entry into the Sufi orders of the governmental *khanqahs* (*Tawhid-Khaneh*). The content of this scroll shows that a Safavid Sufi, who wanted to be promoted in the hierarchy of Sufis, must prepare such a certificate, which has to be signed by the caliphs and representatives of the Safavid *Tariqah* at the Shiite holy places such as Mashhad, Karbala, Najaf, etc.

The purpose of this article is to examine the textual and visual content of the aforementioned scroll (text, notes, seals, decorative motifs, drawings and illustrations) in order to present an explanation of the pilgrimage tradition of Safavid Sufis based on the extracted information in particular from visual aspect.

Mavaddat, Maryam (Università degli Studi G.D'Annunzio Chieti  
Pescara):

The Education of the Women in the Manuscript *Dar bayân-e ta'dib-e  
zanân va aršad-emowlâd-e zokur*

The work *Dar bayân-e ta'dib-e zanân va aršad-e owlâd-e zokur* is a collection of prose and poetry dated 1258/1842. The main aim of this research follows a double address, on the one hand it represents a remarkable source of information on female education during the nineteenth century. On the other hand, through the comparative method, it has been possible to trace the link between the text in question and other works referring to the way women behaved in their daily routines during the nineteenth century.

The motivation of my choice lies on the fact that the text clearly embodies training literature, and criticizes women's religious knowledge on their family duties and relationships with their husbands. It is also possible to highlight the connection between this text and the verse 34 of sura IV. Furthermore the author legitimates his own words using some anecdotes about the life of the Prophet's Daughter.

Mazhjoo, Nina (Wroclaw University):

## Call me Mithridates! Making a Royal Gesture in the Iranian Cultural Diaspora

Around roughly the first century BCE, the rulers of four ancient kingdoms took Mithridates as their royal theophoric: Mithridates VI Eupater from Pontus, Mithridates II from Parthia, Mithridates Callinicus from Commagene, and Mithridates of Media Atropatene. Genealogically, all four of these nearby regions held a strong tie to the Iranian politico-cultural diaspora, which may partly justify and explain the enthusiasm of these royal families for choosing the theonym Mithra. The use of the theonym Mithra as a component of theophoric names was prevalent in the Achaemenid epoch and later at the time of the Parthians. Accordingly, some scholars suggest that the widespread use of the theonym Mithra indicates an independent cult dedicated to the Iranian god Miθra outside of the Zoroastrian pantheon. Others condemn this view, arguing it demonstrates no certainty of an established Iranian cult.

This paper is an endeavour to examine the appropriation of the theophoric name Mithridates as an ongoing political tradition in the Iranian cultural diaspora. It will survey whether using the theonym Mithra as the component of personal names was understood to be socially motivated or rather a mode of Persianism in the Hellenistic era. This work suggests using the anthroponym Mithridates can be read as a deliberate political choice that each of these independent local kingdoms made in relation to their self-identification as well as to stress their perceived lineage back to Iran.



Maziar, Sahar (Otto-Friedrich-University Bamberg):  
Invisible Feminism: A Socio-Psychoanalytical Approach to Persian  
Feminist Literature (2000-2015)

The existence and the critical study of what is globally categorized under headings such as literature of women, feminist literature, or women writing are essentially dependent on their difference from their more predominant male-oriented prototypes in every culture. But the development of feminist literature into different trends, its generic and narrative characteristics through time, and its ways of expressions are absolutely specific to the very culture in which it is produced and consumed. The production and development of women's prose literature in Iran is not an exception to this rule.

After the 1990s, the form and the content of Iranian feminist literature go through a radical change, a change that makes the Iranian feminist fiction acquire its own specific poetics and narrative characteristics. I would like to argue that this change has resulted in the formation of a new literary current in Iranian women writing within the last two decades. I would like to refer to this new literary current in Iranian prose fiction as the "invisible feminism" in literature.

In this paper, I am going to explain important characteristics of this literary current, that is the defiant aspect of the invisible feminism. Furthermore, I open up a new perspective to inertness of women protagonists in this trend and interpret it as an active factor in the process of identity formation.

## Mehdi Moghimizadeh, Mohamad (Independent Scholar): An Overview of the American Ghazal and its Resemblances with the Persian Ghazal

Ghazal is a poetic form in Persian Literature that is regarded most important and famous form in this literary tradition. The Persian Ghazal was shaped gradually during its thousand-year history and now has its specific form. Ghazal, as a poetic form, was transferred to the literature of other languages in recent centuries. Among these languages, we can mention Turkish, Urdu, Hindi, Albanian, German, Swedish, Russian, and the like. In the 1970s, this form - apparently through the translation of the Urdu ghazals- entered American English Literature and now it can be seen more or less in the scene of contemporary American literature. In recent decades, a lot of American poets have written poems with the title "Ghazal". American Ghazal is very similar to the older pattern (as is in Persian Ghazal) in features such as the number of verses, rhyme placement, and lyrical themes. On the other hand, naturally, due to the fundamental differences between the two languages and two literary traditions, there are also differences. In this speech, we have an overview of some poems written under the title of Ghazal and in this form in contemporary America, and then compare their features with the characteristics of Persian Ghazal.

Mehner, Maximilian (Philipps-Universität Marburg):

## Rooting the *Aḥlāq-i Muḥsinī* in Sanskritic Traditions: Sāhibrām's 19th Century Adaptation *Vīraratnaśekharaśikhā*

The Kashmirian scholar Sāhibrām (d. 1872) translated the Persian work of advice by Ḥusayn Vā'iz Kāshifī (d. 1504–5), *Aḥlāq-i Muḥsinī*, into Sanskrit between 1846 and 1853; he did so under royal patronage of then heir to the Dogra throne, Ranbir Singh (r. 1856-1885).

However, his translation is much longer than the original. While keeping the original structure of 40 chapters, he elaborated the definition of each topic and its anecdotal illustration to reference various Sanskritic discourses, which are identified and further explained in the author's commentary to his own text.

The result is an unique encyclopaedic adaptation with political, socio-religious, and philosophical fragments, formally devised for the education of princes.

In this paper I will introduce the goals of the ongoing comparative study of original and adaptation, show a typical correspondence between the *Aḥlāq-i Muḥsinī* and the *Vīraratnaśekharaśikhā*, and reflect upon Sāhibrām's adaptation process.

Menbari, Vazir (University of Tehran):  
Observations on Kurdish Calendar: Formation, Changes and its  
Stabilization

The Kurdish Calendar is a new chronology with Median roots and today (along with other common calendars) is using by the Kurdish people all over the world. Contrary to what is mostly supposed by Kurds, the initial idea of creating this calendar (titled "Median Calendar) was formed by a non-Kurd named Ebrahim Pourdawoud, and the first steps in its Kurdization were taken by Mohammad Mokri, Ihsan Nuri Pasha and "Kurdistan" newspaper. Of course, the ground for such work had been prepared decades ago; The explanation is that some western researchers (especially Vladimir Minorski) and following them Iranian writers (amongst Hassan Pirnia) had proposed the proposition "Kurds are the descendants of the Medes" and many Kurdish authors also accepted the above proposition and prepared the audience for any kind of borrowing from history of Media. The present article tries to discuss the formation, changes and finally stabilization of the Kurdish calendar and to give a relatively comprehensive picture of the decisive sections related to these issues.

Michetti, Francesca (Sapienza Università di Roma):  
Bactrian Final Vocalism and the Problem of Kushan Bactrian Nominal  
Morphology

The orthographic rule whereby Bactrian words always end with the vowel-letter -o has sparked a long debate between scholars who believed the letter had a phonetic reality (Humbach, Harmatta, Lazard, Morgenstierne) and those who viewed it mostly as a word-divider (Henning, Sims Williams). This paper aims at discussing the nature and origin of Bactr. final -o through a new assessment of the evidence provided by the inscriptions of the Kushan period and the information they give about Bactrian nominal morphology.

Bactrian nominal morphology, as it appears in the manuscripts (4th-8th c. AD), consists of only two forms (-o for sg. and dir.pl., -ān for obl.pl.). However, Bactrian inscriptions of the Kushan period (1st-3rd c. AD) famously display an archaizing orthography, where other final vowel letters alternate with the predominant -o in the nouns, pointing to a more complex nominal system: dir.sg. -o, obl.sg. -i/-e, (possibly) abl.-instr. -ā, dir.pl. -e, obl.pl. -ān.

In this paper it is argued that traces of a previously undetected nom.sg. ending -i (Olr. \*-ah) agreeing with Sogd. -y and Khot. -i, -ā, can be identified in Kushan inscriptions and in the earliest manuscripts. Through the comparison with Sogdian and Khotanese, it is further suggested that -o may have represented an original acc.sg. ending /u/ (Olr. \*-am), as in Sogd. -w and Khot. -u. Moreover, hypothesis on the process that led -o to be chosen as the general final letter will be put forward.

Mirshahvalad, Minoo (John XXIII Foundation for Religious Sciences, Bologna):

### To Fight “Justly”: Shia Clerics Under Safavids and Qajars

The present article investigates the close tie between political authority and the legitimacy of "lesser jihad" in Shi'ism, or belligerence towards the outer world. The question of authority within this minor branch of Islam has been the subject of lively and prolonged controversies. Since the 10th century, the absence of a respected and universally recognized religio-political reference point has challenged the legitimacy of "lesser jihad". Here, the Shia approach towards the legitimacy of warfare during Occultation is examined through two periods in Persian history, namely the Safavid and Qajar dynasties. The article aims to show how the clergy-state relationship in these two periods changed the method of waging "lesser jihad", and how the latter, in turn, redefined that relationship. Towards this aim, Persian and Arabic manuscripts are consulted, alongside existing literature on jihad in Shi'ism.

Mizera, Imke (University of Hamburg):  
Early New Persian as Language of Religion: Some Linguistical  
Characteristics of the Early Persian *tafsīrs* of the 10th/11th Century CE

The early Persian commentaries on the Qur'ān (*tafsīrs*) are among the oldest preserved written sources of New Persian and give a broad insight into the state of the Persian language of the Eastern Iranian regions of the 10th and 11th cent. CE. Apart from their obvious value for linguistical research, they also provide evidence of the rise and establishment of Persian Muslim exegesis. They contain not only independent translations of the Qur'anic verses, but also extensive and partly unique commentary on them with an authority of their own. The respective methodologically and linguistically diverse approaches to combining translation and explanation demonstrate stylistic as well as dialectal influences, and show that there was no homogeneous language for this purpose in this era yet. At the same time, New Persian was already confidently used as a means of explaining the Holy text to the non-Arabic speaking Persian Muslims.

Moharramipour, Zahra (University of Tokyo):  
How “Persian art” Became Part of “Eastern art”: A Perspective from  
Early 20th Century Japan

Building on recent scholarship that explores how the notion of “Persian art” was shaped through the activities of scholars, collectors, and dealers, this paper aims to bring a fresh perspective to the field by looking at the perceptions of “Persia” in the relatively neglected Japanese context. In early 20th century Japan, the notion of the “East” (Tōyō) was basically attributed to Japan, China, and India, while “Persian art” was viewed as part of “Western art.” For instance, in the exhibitions organized by Japanese art dealers in the 1920s, the objects with the label “Persian” were linked with the “West” rather than the “East.” However, in 1928 the same “Persian” objects were displayed in an exhibition of “Eastern art,” commemorating the 10th anniversary of Keimeikai, a society for academic promotion. The chairperson of the exhibition committee was Ito Chuta (1867-1954), a pioneer architect and architectural historian who emphasized the significance of Sasanian art. Focusing on a lecture given by Ito on the exhibition and his earlier publications, this paper illustrates how Ito traced the stylistic influences of Sasanian art in the Japanese art of the Nara period (710-784). It will be argued that establishing the historical connection between Sasanian and Japanese art enabled Japanese scholars to include “Persia” in their notion of the “East.”



Moor, Bilha (University of Denver):  
Representations of Ancient Iranian Kingship in Qajar Illustrated  
Cosmographies

This paper examines continuity and change in Qajar illustrated cosmographies—both manuscripts and lithographs—produced in the first half of the nineteenth century. First, it argues that manuscripts of Qazwini's (d. 1283) *'Aja'ib al-makhlūqat (Wonders of Creation)* produced during the reign of Fath 'Ali Shah (r. 1797–1834), who assumed the title King of Kings as the rulers of ancient Iran, convey a message of Qajar kingship by conflating the Qajar king's portrait with pre-Islamic Persian kings and heroes. Second, it proposes that the earliest lithography of Qazwini's text dated 1847 introduced unprecedented themes of both mythical and historical Iranian kings to convey the sovereignty and legitimacy of the Qajar shahs.

Moosavi, Amir (Rutgers University-Newark):  
“Mourning in the Marshes: Humans, Animals, and Environment in Contemporary Persian and Arabic Fiction”

The Iran-Iraq War (1980-88) was the longest two-state war of the twentieth century. It engulfed both countries for most of the 1980s and its effects have lasted until today. During wartime, both Iranian and Iraqi governments produced massive amounts of state-sponsored literature that reinforced two official narratives of the war. Since the war ended, however, there has been a proliferation of writing about the conflict from a variety of perspectives that has considered a more comprehensive understanding of the war's consequences and its victims, inclusive of non-combatants, animals, and the environment.

This paper brings together the Persian language novel *Haras* (trans. *Pruning the Palm*) by Iranian writer Nasim Marashi, and the Arabic language novel *al-Sabiliyyat* (trans. *The Old Woman and the River*) by Kuwaiti-Iraqi writer Ismail Fahd Ismail to examine how recent works of Iranian and Iraqi fiction have treated the devastating effects of war on the peoples and environment of the marshlands that lie between the two countries. In doing so, it draws from the well-known work of Rob Nixon and Anat Pick, and the more recent work of Charis Olszok to explore notions of victimhood, mourning, and loss across contemporary Persian and Arabic literatures.

Moradi, Arham (Otto-Friedrich-University Bamberg):  
From Shiraz to Baghdad: A Newly-found Biography of Shaikh Najīb al-  
Dīn Buzghush Shīrāzī (1198-1279)

The Berlin state library holds a manuscript containing a biography of the well-known Sufi Shaikh Najib al-Din Buzghush Shīrāzī (1198-1279), the founder of the Buzghushīya Sufi order, a subdivision of the Suhrawardīya. He was a disciple of Suhrawardī (1145-1234) in Baghdad. There is considerable information about this Sufi and his family in several sources, but the existence of this work was previously unknown. The text was composed by Shaikh's less-known son, 'Abd al-Raḥīm. No source has mentioned this work. The Berlin manuscript appears to be the only known copy of the biography. Interestingly, some ancient sources have quoted from this text without citing their original source. For example, Junaid Shīrāzī's *Shadd al-izār* from the 14th century and Jāmi's *Nafaḥāt al-uns* from the 15th century. However, now it is clear to us that both writers used this work. In my presentation, I will introduce the manuscript and outline the significant aspects of the text in terms of new information about Shaikh Buzghush, his family and disciples, and the Sufi atmosphere of Shiraz in the 13th century.

Morikawa, Tomoko (University of Tokyo):  
Shrines, Mausoleums and Cemeteries in Isfahan: A Landscape of a  
Historical “Islamic” City

Isfahan, located in the middle of the Iranian Plateau, has a long history. In the Sasanian period there were two towns of Jayy (back to an Achaemenid town of old Gabae) and Yahudiya (namely “Jewish”). After the conquest of Arabs, Yahudiya became the centre of the city, where the Friday Mosque was built in 771 and was immensely developed with city walls as a capital of the Seljuq dynasty in the medieval time. When Shah ‘Abbas the Great moved his capital to Isfahan in the end of the sixteenth century, he built a new city cantered in the New Square of Maydan-e Shah and connected the Friday Mosque with the Old Square and the New Square by the Bazaar streets, and the city area expanded significantly with the population of hundreds of thousands.

In early twentieth century Isfahan, there were tens of historical cemeteries in and outside of the city as well as shrines, mausoleums, and *imamzades* (tombs of Imam descendants) mostly located inside the city. In this paper, I will examine and trace the urban development of Isfahan through the locations of cemeteries and *imamzades*. This is a promising first attempt at exploring the development of a city through its cemeteries.

Moslehzadeh, Fatemeh (Stockholm University):  
Gender Discourse in the Shii Reformation Movement in Iran at the  
Beginning of the 20th Century

In Shi'i societies, like other Muslim societies, the reformation process has begun with the advent of modernism, and Iran was no exception. A part of this reform was associated with religion and resulted in rethinking Islam. This project investigates the gender discourse in the context of the Shii reformation in Iran in the first decades of the 20th century. I specifically address to survey how the Shii reformist ideas and perspectives had affected the approach of religious figures to the "question of women" in a traditional society during a transitional period. For this reason, this project will focus on the four most impressive reformist figures in this era of time in Iran who wrote about gender: Sangelaji, Kharaghani, Kamarei, and Khalesi. I expect to show that they used independent reasoning and cultural criticism to present new interpretations of the Quran and traditions, which resulted in more egalitarian perspectives on women's situation in society. However, revealed from preliminary research, they did not adopt a similar gender discourse. This project may shed light on a less-investigated aspect of the history of feminism in Iran in the early 20th century and reveal the ignored contribution of reformist religious scholars.

Musavi, Seyyede Fatemeh (Ruhr-Universität Bochum):  
In Search of Linguistic Layers in *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*

*Zand ī Wahman Yasn* is a Middle Persian text surviving in several manuscripts, K20 (14th c.), DH (16th c.), and K43 (late 16th c.), and partially in K20b (16th-17th c.), which seem to belong to different scribal traditions. When these surviving copies were made, the language differed from the one in which the text was once composed. Moreover, *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* consists of both chapters that seem to belong to the older tradition of apocalyptic texts and chapters that must be composed in the Islamic era (Cereti 1995: 11-15). This calls into question the reconstruction of a homogenous text in which each word is represented by just one form and demonstrates morpho-syntactic consistency. Thus, there is the possibility of different scribal traditions and alterations made in the copying process, the use of learned language, and the effect of historical, dialectal, and stylistic variations in different chapters of the text. This study ventilates the argument that several linguistic layers are visible in the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* by discussing examples where the scribal variants in manuscripts differ meaningfully.

Nabavi, Naghme (University of Tehran):  
Iconography of the Musical Instruments in the Pictures of «Murraqa-e  
Golshan and Golestan» in the Golestan Palace and Berlin's State  
Library

*Murraqa-e Golshan* is one of the fascinating artistic manuscripts that belongs to the Indian Mughals and Iranian Safavid periods. Each page of this manuscript is portrayed by brilliant Iranian miniaturists and calligraphers who was migrated to India. It contains different concepts and subjects and the manuscript is scattered in various museums and libraries around the world. However, most of its folios are in the Royal Library of Golestan Palace, Iran. Various research projects conducted to introduce and understand *Murraqa-e Golshan*. The miniatures of the artistic manuscript can be a valuable source to understand and explore the musical situations and instruments in the Mughals' period. This paper explores the iconography of 28 pages of *Murraqa-e Golshan*, which are in the Golestan Palace, and five folios in the State Library of Berlin. This survey through description, analysis and comparison explore and illustrate the concepts of iconography and organology of the musical instruments of the Mughals' period to give an understanding of the musical situations in the Mughals and Safavid eras.

Keywords : Iconography, Instrument, Manuscript, Miniatur, Murraqa – e Gulsan & Golestan, The Golestan place, Berlin , Mughals , Safavid , Organology

Nanquette, Laetitia (University of New South Wales):  
The Iranian Publishing Industry since the 2000s

The study of book history and print culture in Iran is recent and focuses on the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This paper is part of a project that studies the history of the publishing industry in Iran from the 1950s until the present. The paper focuses on the last 20 years, when new technologies started to reshape the publishing industry. Because the publishing field is state-driven and not much open to the market, rapid technological developments and new intermediaries like digital platforms that are common in western countries, have had a limited impact. Nonetheless, new technologies have changed reading cultures in Iran and have redefined the role of the state in controlling the sector, including in its implementation of censorship. This paper will give some examples of these evolutions, with digital platforms like Fidibo and Taaghche, and discuss what they mean for the study of book history in peripheral countries.



Nasiri, Nader (Independent Scholar):  
Reading *Savushun*: A Utopic In-between Space

The paper I intend to write presents a critical perspective on the novel *Savushun* written by Simin Daneshvar. Fredric Jameson's methodology for a criticism proper, most clearly proposed in his 'Political Unconscious', is employed to search for the utopic and ideological aspects of the work, its ideologemes and strategies of containment. By moving through the three concentric horizons incorporating Jameson's system of analysis, I will demonstrate how the work summons up the real social contradictions of the history from which it thrives only to provide them with imaginary solutions on the level of its form. I have already constructed the fundamental contradiction from which *Savushun* is suffering in an essay for a conference held by Iranacademia in the Hague 2022. The article I intend to write in response to the call for papers from ECIS will scrutinize the novel within the frameworks of the two last 'horizons' of Jameson's methodology; namely the social and the historical. I will recognize the ideologue of the novel to be the concept of 'hybridity' and living in 'in-between' spaces as it is defined by post-colonialist thinkers specifically Homi Bhabha in his *The Location of Culture* and utilized by Dariush Shayegan in his *The Illusions of Identity*. To demonstrate the ideologue in question as a proto-narrative, I will read, in the framework of the historical horizon, the 'ideology of form' of *Savushun* which in its turn is so telling about the utopic aspects of the work.

Nayebossadrian, Zhaleh & Gholizadeh, Aysan (Sapienza Università di Roma):

## Symbiotic Religions: A Study of End-of-Life Rituals in Zoroastrianism and Shia Islam

In the ancient world, death anxiety was a significant factor in shaping culture and identity through funeral rituals and beliefs about death and the afterlife. The first phase of death practices may begin with the final moments of a person's life, as it was seen as an opportunity to prepare the soul for its journey into the afterlife—a crucial moment for purification and repentance for sins, which are accompanied by specific rituals and practices.

In Zoroastrianism, the last moments of life are considered essential and accompanied by a range of disciplines and practices, including specific prayers and rituals. These rituals were ideally performed by relatives, with the presence of a priest if possible. The roots of these practices can be traced back to ancient Zoroastrian beliefs, such as the use of *Hoam* (the Zoroastrian holy drink) and avoiding lying toward the north, as it was believed to be the direction of the demons.

Zoroastrianism has significantly impacted the culture and practices of Islam in Iran. Therefore, many funeral customs and rituals in Shia Islam have been influenced by Zoroastrianism; family and friends reciting passages from the Quran for the dying person and the priority of placing the direction of the body towards Mecca. These rituals and customs demonstrate the continued influence of Zoroastrian beliefs on the customs and practices of Shia Islam in Iran, even to this day.

Ni, Nan (SOAS, University of London):

## Bridge or Barrier?- Re-examination of the Bilingual Nīlakaṅṭha Dhāraṇī

Or. 8212 (175) is a scroll of bilingual Nīlakaṅṭha Dhāraṇī. A transliteration was published by Gauthiot and Poussin in 1912, leaving the first 25 lines unread. This paper will give a more complete transliteration of both scripts, and present a thorough phonological research on the rules of Sogdian-Sanskrit transcription. By observing how Sanskrit syllables were transcribed into Sogdian alphabets, it digs into the phonological transmission behind, and therefore offers new insights into the reconstruction of Sogdian phonetics. This paper also examines the bilingual *dhāraṇī* from a historical aspect. The scribe of the text, though transcribed the Sanskrit syllables into Sogdian to the best of his knowledge and caution, due to the variant nature of Sogdian and Sanskrit, it was impossible for a monolingual Sogdian to recite accurate Sanskrit based solely on the Sogdian transcription. Therefore it is essential to figure out how the manuscript functioned for Sogdian Buddhists, and to what extent the accuracy of the original Sanskrit sounds was valued - was the bilingual manuscript a bridge for practising the *dhāraṇī*? Or was there any barrier of reciting less accurate Sanskrit syllables which could result in reduced efficacy? With reference to related historical records, this paper is going to elucidate the function and value of this bilingual *dhāraṇī* among Sogdian Buddhists in Middle-Age Dunhuang.

## Niechciał, Paulina (Jagiellonian University Kraków): Zoroastrian Identity in the Modern World

The paper builds on research on modern Zoroastrian identity, understood as a dynamic construct, challenged by globalization processes, demographic crisis, and transcontinental migrations. Zoroastrians are scattered around the world and the population of just over 100,000 members is diverse, due to the cultural distance between Zoroastrians from Iran and India and worldview differences.

Due to the lack of unity and central religious authority, as well as the difficulties of moving between Zoroastrian-populated countries, there are no religious events of significance for the entire population. However, organised every four years, the World Zoroastrian Congress is a cultural event intended as a symbolically framed moment in the life of collectivity that reflects current social trends and contributes to promulgating a shared vision of collective identity.

My reflexion on WZC as a social construct with collectively recognised meanings important for implementing identity and reflecting ideas circulating in a community is based on an analysis of the event held in New York in 2022 that gathered about 1,200 Zoroastrians. It was organised by the American diaspora, which influenced its shape—the Zoroastrian community in the US is thriving, unlike those diminishing in Iran or India, so looking at identity processes in a diasporic context is essential to understanding modern Zoroastrianism. To complete the analysis, I will refer to comparisons with the WZC held in 2018 in Australia.

Nourzaei, Maryam (Uppsala University):

## What are the Themes and Motifs of the Ritual Afro-Baloch Mamaby Songs?

The aim of the presentation is to study the contents and motifs of the ritual Mamaby songs among the Afro-Baloch communities in Sistan and Balochistan. The term Mamabies refers to songs sung specifically for a pregnant woman during pregnancy, delivery and postpartum.

The data for the present study stems from a corpus of four old Afro-Balochi female singers from Bahukalat. The singers are between 60 and 85 years of age.

The data shows that the themes and motifs of these ritual songs have completely merged with Balochi counterparts. So far, in only one recorded song is the name Zanzibar mentioned.

The main themes attested in the data are praising of God, the Prophet Mohammad, praising shrines and saints. The main motifs are flowers and doves.

The recordings of the old singers reflect the history of slavery and starvation of the Afro-Baloch. In addition, a study of the songs shows that there is a strong tendency towards replacing the ritual songs that have themes of shrines and saints with new orthodox Islamic themes.

The origin of these songs is yet to be discovered; however, a large number of the songs were written by Baloch poets. In fact, the poets offer their poems to the Afro-Baloch singers to sing.

The paper concludes that the practice of performing these ritual songs along with their healing traditions has been preserved as an important part of the Afro-Baloch identity, although their original language has been lost. The Afro-Baloch use them as a source of income when performed.

Özbayraktar, Aykut (Amasya University):

## How Was the Emirate of Gurganj Established in Khwarazm, and When?

The historical Khwarazm was ruled by the Khwarazmshahs of the Afrighi Dynasty from antiquity to 996. However, in the second half of the 10th century, Gurganj was a separate emirate in Khwarazm. Written historical sources did not explain the establishment of the Emirate of Gurganj. In 1873, C. Ed. Sachau claimed that the Muslims who conquered Khwarazm in 712 did not interfere with the local government and chose Gurganj as the centre of Islamic rule. In 1947, Z. V. Togan, on the other hand, claimed that an emirate in Gurganj was established by the Samanids. He stated that Gurganj's increasing commercial importance in the 10th century was the main reason for this new formation, but he did not explain his claim in detail. Sachau's claim is rejected in this paper and Togan's claim is supported, but a new explanation is suggested. According to the paper's main thesis, Muhammad ibn Ali established the Emirate of Gurganj between 959-966 on the order of the Samanids. Because Khwarazmshahs were not satisfied to be vassals of the Samanids and attempted to gain independence twice (Ibn Ashkam Revolt in 943-4 and the declaration of independence of Khwarazmshah Ahmad in 959). The main reason for the establishment of the Emirate of Gurganj was to create an alternative politico-military power to the Khwarazmshahs. The Emirate of Gurganj would control their desire for independence on behalf of the Samanids. In this paper, the claim mentioned will be substantiated and presented for discussion.

Palladino, Martina (IIAS):

## From Neryosangh to Burnouf. The Effective Philological System of the Sanskrit Yasna

The Parsi Sanskrit versions of the Zoroastrian texts, and especially the most complete of them, the Sanskrit Yasna, were the result of an accurate philological project. The Parsi translators, grouped under the mythical name of Neryosangh, carried out a precise work of translation from the Middle Persian version into Sanskrit. The original Avestan text had been translated into Middle Persian, and some comments were added; afterwards, on the basis of the Middle Persian version, but also with occasional direct reference to the Avestan original, the Parsis compiled a Sanskrit version presumably around the 12th century CE. The translation techniques adopted by the compilers were so effective that most of the equivalent terms and structures are easily identifiable and traceable by comparing the texts in the three languages.

The effectiveness of this translation system is also testified by the fact that seven centuries later, E. Burnouf was able to trace the philological path backwards. In fact, in the 19th century, Burnouf carried out the first study on the Avestan Yasna starting from the Sanskrit version of the text. In his *Commentaire sur le Yaçna*, 1833, Burnouf relied on the Sanskrit Yasna and on A. H. Anquetil-Duperron's translation of the Pahlavi version to understand the Avestan original text. This shows both the Parsi translators' proficiency in the three languages and the solidity of their philological method, which can be traced back and forth without losing its efficacy.

Panahi, Abbas (University of Guilan):

## The Influence of Germany on the Intellectual and Social Developments of Iran at the Same Time as the Developments of the First World War

From the beginning of the 20th century, the Germans began a massive effort to penetrate the East and find a foothold in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East. The Germans had realized that they could not march to this sensitive area due to many political and economic constraints, Therefore, they made the basis of their policy using cultural, ideological and humanitarian teachings in Iran and based on this, they carried out their policies. The Germans tried to rely on the body of Iranian society, its active and influential groups, and at the same time, they used all their efforts to attract the country's ruling body and elites. In this research, the author's goal is to analyze the political and intellectual-cultural actions of Germany in Iran and its effects on the attitude and activities of different Iranian political, social and cultural groups during the First World War and after. The upcoming research is following this question; What effects did the presence of Germans and their activities in Iran have on the political and intellectual-cultural attitudes of the Iranian society during the First World War? The findings of the research show that the presence and activity of the Germans in Iran during the First World War and their support for the Iranian intellectuals living in Berlin have caused major changes in the political and cultural vision of the Iranian intellectuals and liberals. Most of the "Berlin institute" intellectuals were later included in the administrative, sci



Pandey, Jaideep (University of Michigan):

*Sūz-o-gudāz* and the Modern Iqbalian Self: Politics of the Persianate in Modern South Asia

My paper looks at Allama Iqbal's poem, "Masjid-i Qurṭaba" from his 1932 Urdu poetry collection, *Gabriel's Wing* to locate the role that the Persianate played in the constitution of a South Asian literary modernity. Usually, the arrival of literary modernity in South Asia, particularly Urdu, is understood as a dramatic rejection of the Persianate, now its "othered" past. However, Iqbal continued to not only write in Persian, but made it the grounds for imagining a Muslim modernity and a modern Muslim subject. This paper looks at these cross currents in "Masjid-i Qurṭaba" in order to understand Iqbal's curious choice of a Persianate poetic vocabulary in an Urdu poem about an Arab past. My paper focuses on one particular term, *sūz-o-gudāz* [arduous burning and melting] which Iqbal highlights as the focal point for both the mosque's beauty and the Muslim poetic subject's distinctiveness, especially against the farang or the European. By tracing this term across Iqbal's Persian and Urdu poetry, my paper argues that the Persianate allows Iqbal to access a non-Western cosmopolitanism within which a modern South Asian Muslim subject, or Iqbal labels him, '*kāfir-i hindī*' [Indian Infidel] can be materialised, even in the midst of a world saturated by colonial notions of selfhood and modernity.

Panzeca, Ivana (University of Palermo):

## The Manuscript Tradition of Avicenna's *Dānešnāme-ye 'Alā'ī*

*Dānešnāme-ye 'Alā'ī* or *Ḥekmat-e 'Alā'ī* is the only treatise on Peripatetic philosophy written in Persian by Ibn Sīnā. This is an encyclopedic exposition, compiled in clear and elegant prose, containing sections on Logic, Metaphysics, Physics and Mathematics. It was written at the explicit request of Prince Kākūyid 'Alā' al-Dawla during Avicenna's stay in Isfahan. The Mathematics section was lost and his faithful disciple al-Ğuzġānī completed the work by integrating Astronomy, Music, Arithmetic and Geometry and using some of his master's previous writings. The summa has left a valuable contribution to Persian scientific-philosophical terminology and greatly influenced some well-known authors, such as Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī and Šihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, who used the work as a basis for some of their speculations. Existing editions of *Dānešnāme* are fairly well dated and based on a few testimonia. Many copies are preserved in Europe, the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent, but to date there is no systematic census of the witnesses. The paper intends to trace the manuscript dissemination of Avicenna's Persian masterpiece, highlighting possible reception channels and hypothetical lines of transmission of the text in the various eras and places where it was copied and studied

Pastor, Dorian (Ecole Normale Supérieure, Université PSL/AOROC):  
The Plural Referential Marker in Colloquial Persian: A First Description

In colloquial Persian, the suffix {-(h)e} is known as “referential marker” and serves to point to an entity previously mentioned, e.g. *pesar-e* ‘the boy (in question)’. It is attached to the last element of the noun phrase, e.g. *pesar xub-e resid* ‘the good boy arrived’. I argue that there is an undescribed plural referential marker, formally identical to the plural suffix {-(h)ā} but whose functions and syntactic distribution are identical to {-(h)e}, for instance, *pesar xub-ā residan* ‘the good boys (in question) arrived’. The plural referential marker thus differs from the plural marker, which is attached to the head noun, with dependent elements linked by the *ezafe*, e.g. *pesar-ā=ye xub residan* ‘(some) good boys arrived’. I will argue that the Persian plural suffix {-(h)ā} was degrammaticalised in that the suffix acquired the possibility of being detached from the head noun by analogy with the singular suffix {-(h)e}.

Pistor-Hatam, Anja (Kiel University):

## Astounding Alliances during the Constitutional Revolution: Crossing Borders between Ingroups and Outgroups in Iran

During the period of the Constitutional Revolution (1906–1922), national self-categorisation took the form of a striving for cultural homogeneity, which, apart from language and ethnicity, was to be achieved through a common religion, i. e. Twelver Shiite Islam. Through a projecting back to the past, an inseparable connection between “Iran” and Twelver Shiism was elevated to an essential criterion of collective identity. This in turn constructed a “majority” that excluded various “minorities” (members of other Muslim faiths and other religions) with-in. Social upheavals and the accompanying discourses that led to the revolution and the sub-sequent constitution provide valuable information about collective identities and the constructions of “self” and “other” in early 20th century Iran. During the revolution and its aftermath alliances were formed between ingroups and outgroups, the “self” and the “other”. In my paper I will focus on the issue of alliances between members of the Twelver Shiite ingroup with actual or alleged Babis who were regarded as the quintessential heretical other. Although clerical propaganda against Babis as well as their persecution are obvious signs of rejection or even revulsion, in individual cases disapproval could be overcome and alliances formed to reach a common political goal. Consequently, one could say that disapproval of a person’s “heretical” beliefs was sometimes tamed by the respect owed to him/her as a political ally.

Pompeo, Flavia (Sapienza Università di Roma):  
Graphic Ambiguities and Compensatory Mechanisms in Old Persian

As is well known, the writing system called Achaemenid cuneiform is mainly attested in the royal inscriptions of the ancient Persians. Although it was the decipherment of this script that paved the way for the understanding of the other cuneiform systems throughout the Ancient Near East, even today some aspects of Achaemenid cuneiform lack a convincing explanation. In this respect, it is worth mentioning that while Achaemenid cuneiform cannot be considered a direct continuation of other writing systems, a synergy of graphic models contributed to its creation. The Mesopotamian, Elamite and Aramaic writing systems are of particular importance in this process, even though scholars do not agree on the role each played.

As an adaptation of “other” scripts, Achaemenid cuneiform involves a number of integrative mechanisms used in a systematic way: these are actual “orthographic conventions”, and they present modern scholars of Old Persian with various interpretative difficulties. One of the most problematic positions is the final part of the word where inflectional morphemes can occur. This paper focuses on specific contexts in which the spelling of an inflectional morpheme was potentially ambiguous, apparently for the “writers” of the inscriptions themselves. In particular, we aim to demonstrate that some compensatory mechanisms, both graphic and linguistic, were used in Achaemenid inscriptions to overcome instances of interpretative ambiguity in the spelling of endings.

## Poor, Daryoush Mohammad (The Institute of Ismaili Studies): Religions Identity of al-Shahrastānī: Conflicting Narrative in Sources

The question of the affiliation of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrstānī, the author of the *al-Milal wa al-niḥal*, with Nizārī Ismailis may not have settled yet and may very well continue as it is. What is beyond any doubt, though, is that Nizārī Ismailis have consistently referenced the works of al-Shahrastānī and relied heavily on the terminology that he introduced and became an integral part of the Nizārī da‘wa during the years the Alamūt state was in power.

With the collapse of the Nizārī state of Alamūt, al-Shahrastānī does not seem to be mentioned by name anymore. The post-Alamūt Nizārī period is usually marked by a Sufi esoteric shift which was also used as defence mechanism for the survival of Ismailis in the wake of the Mongol invasion and the later rise of the Safavid dynasty. It is only in contemporary times that al-Shahrastānī comes back on the radar of scholarship in terms of his affiliation with Nizārīs and his impact on the formulation and articulation of some of their key beliefs. One of the areas of debate regarding the nature of al-Shahrastānī’s affiliation with Ismailis has to do with the sources alluding to suspicions around his (so-called) true identity. We have diverse range of positions regarding his faith, including those of his contemporaries and closest to his own time that were strongly of the opinion that he has ties with Nizārīs to later sources that either clearly placed him as an Ash‘arī Sunnī *mutakallim* or even considered him a kind of a Ithnā ‘Asharī Shi‘ī.

In this paper, I will provide an overview of different positions over time regarding al-Shahrastānī’s identity, offering the context of each of these. One of my arguments is that sources that indicate suspicions of al-Shahrastānī having ties with Nizārī Ismailis are incidentally from the very same era when his works are openly and commandingly used by Nizārīs. In later generations, when opinions change, it seems that Nizārīs did not bother much about this particular case. The revival of interest in al-Shahrastānī in contemporary times demonstrates the importance of his thought for Nizārī Ismailis and warrants a closer examination of the historical sources that mention these affiliations. These sources are not scarce, exceptional or a product of later generations after al-Shahrastānī.

Popp, Stephan (University of Vienna):

## Why Qazvini's Job as Shah Jahan's Chronicler Was Not Continued

In January 1636, Muhammad Amin Qazvini was employed by Shah Jahan to write the chronicle of Shah Jahan's childhood and youth and the first ten years of his reign, "equipped with the devices of honesty and verification, and with the jewellery of simplicity and easy readability." (Qazvini's *Padshahnama*, British Library Ms Or 173, fol. 9b and 10a). After completing this volume, he should have begun a new one for the next ten years. However, Shah Jahan did not extend his contract at the beginning of his eleventh year in late March 1638, and employed 'Abd ul Hamid Lahauri, a disciple of Akbar's historian Abu I Fazl, instead.

But why did Shah Jahan dismiss Qazvini? We know that Shah Jahan modelled himself on his grandfather Akbar and wanted a chronicler like Abu I Fazl. It seems that Qazvini, in spite of much effort, did not manage to write in Abu I Fazl's style. On the other hand, Lahauri did not copy Abu I Fazl's style exactly either. This lecture is trying to explain what kind of a chronicler Shah Jahan wanted, and why Qazvini did not meet these requirements.

Pourjavady, Reza (Otto-Friedrich-University Bamberg):  
Vā'iz Kāšifī's Main Source in the Composition *Aḥlāq-i Muḥsinī*

Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Vā'iz Kāšifī (d. 910/1504–5) composed his Persian book of political advice, *Aḥlāq-i Muḥsinī*, in 907/1501-02 for Abū 'l-Muḥsin Mīrzā (d. 913/1507), the son of the Timurid ruler, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (r. 873-911/1469-1506). The book is comprised of forty chapters. Each one is about an activity a just king should engage in or a virtue he should possess. Kāšifī illustrates each of the virtues and points he is expounding on with the help of anecdotes. Unlike many works of Persian advice literature composed in the post-Mongol period, the *Aḥlāq-i Muḥsinī* is not based on Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's (d. 672/1274) *Aḥlāq-i Nāṣirī*. Instead, the work in its structure and its contents has some significant resemblance to Rażī al-Dīn Nīšābūrī's (d. ca. 597/1200-1) *Makārim al-aḥlāq*. Similarly, the *Makārim al-aḥlāq* contains forty chapters and it includes numerous anecdotes. In this paper, I will examine the materials Kāšifī extracted from the *Makārim al-aḥlāq* and explain how he modified them. This investigation helps us to understand the intention of Kāšifī in this composition better.



Pourshariati, Parvaneh (Citytech/CUNY):

## Sokhra Karen, Shapur Mehran and Kavad: The Historical Setting of the Mazdakite Uprising

No revolutionary movement in Iranian Late Antiquity has attracted as much attention as the fascinating and enigmatic Mazdakite uprising. The scholarly consensus about these argues: 1) that they engaged in *ibāḥat al-nisā*, sharing of wives; 2) that they shared property and 3) that their past time was wine imbibing and merrymaking. (P. Crone, the latest articulation of the themes.) I shall argue here that, as Shaki correctly suspected, the description of the Mazdakite in our primary sources (Dinkard, the Letter of Tansar, Ibn Qutayba, Ṭabarī, Shahrestānī), precisely follows the praxis of the *'ayyārs*, chivalrous men and women who either practiced celibacy or else were married, lived together in communes, in usually underground cities, and drank wine as part of their sacred ritual., sometimes to the point of inebriety. That they were Mithraists, and that their movement was part of the struggle of the Mehranids Shapur Mehran against the Karenid Sukhra, during the first part of Kavad's reign, is the historical context of their fascinating history.

Preussler, Elena (Philipps-Universität Marburg):  
Persian Mystical Poetry and its Development: An Analysis of the  
Sanā'ī's and 'Aṭṭār's *qalandariyyāt*

In the 12th century, a new genre emerged in the spectrum of Persian poetry, which shook the foundations of exclusively religious Persian poetry: The genre of *qalandariyyāt*. At first glance, the *qalandariyyāt* contains primarily libertine poems that appear to break any religious taboos and call for overthrowing religious values. The main *qalandarī* character is a prime example of an autonomous free spirit wandering since the early Middle Ages, surrounded by provocative poetic motifs and rebellious allusions, through Persian poetry. However, the *qalandarī* trait did not only appear in the provocative poems of the *qalandariyyāt* but found its model already in early syncretic dervish traditions in Central Asia in the 10th century that moved between established Islamic asceticism and non-conformist practices. Sanā'ī and 'Aṭṭār are among the pioneers of the *qalandariyyāt* genre. From this arises the discrepancy between their Sufi attitude and the criticism of conventional religious practice exercised in their *qalandariyyāt* and leads to the following question that this paper is centred around: Are the *qalandariyyāt* of Sanā'ī and 'Aṭṭār part of Persian Sufi poetry or it is more fitting to regard them as secular libertine poems? To address this question, I focused in my paper mainly on the conceptual analysis of Sanā'īs and 'Aṭṭārs *qalandariyyāt*.

Procaccino, Davide (Leiden University):

«As long as the stone rolls down the mountain and the wheel turns on the steppe»: On Ossetic Speeches of Consecration of Ritual Offerings to the Deceased

The other major genre of Ossetic funeral poetry beside funeral laments, the speeches of consecration to the deceased constitute the verbal component of the rite aimed at assuring the deceased of everything they may need in the afterlife: food and drink provisions, clothing, personal belongings, as well as the horse which will serve them on their otherworldly journey.

While the category of horse dedications has long attracted interest, the present talk will focus on the other, lesser-known types of consecration speeches. Following a brief outline of their ritual context and designations, an overview of their textual and linguistic features will be presented in terms of their structure, poetic diction (motifs and formulas) and genre-specific lexicon, providing specimens from the corpora assembled for both Iron and Digor Ossetic. Focal points are how the change of status of the offerings from ordinary to sacrificial items, brought about by the power of the ritual word, is linguistically encoded in the texts, as well as the conception of afterlife expressed therein. At the same time, a diachronic and comparative perspective will be adopted in tracing the genre back to its common Caucasian-Ās-Alanic core (through comparison with evidence from the lore of other North Caucasian peoples with a historically sizable Ās-Alanic substrate or superstrate component) as well as in setting them in their broader Indo-Iranic context, with special reference to Vedic ritual and textual parallels.

## Radniya, Mahdi & Abbas Panahi (University of Guilan): Feminism and Female identity in Nasim-e-Shomal's poetry

Iran's constitutional revolution laid the groundwork for profound intellectual and social changes in 13th-century Iran. This revolution, which arose from modern thinking, was in line with the development and progress of the Iranian society of that day in social, political, and personal life fields. In its essence, the constitution shows innovation, nationalism, individual freedom, patriotism, and attention to women's rights. Nasim-e-Shomal was influenced by the wave of modernism and paid special attention to the individual and social rights of people, especially women. The main question of the current research, which was formed based on the in-depth analysis of this poet's poems with the library method: What effect did the constitutionalist thought have on Nasim-e-Shomal's poetry, especially his view of women and their rights? By reading his poems, we can see that his view of women is contrary to the traditional view in Iran. He challenges the traditional view of taking a person's descent from his father and believes that a child can take the descent from his mother. According to this finding, the woman finds a completely new identity in this poet's poetry, and in addition to paying attention to awareness, and individual rights, she also comes out from under the domination of patriarchy. For this reason, he can be called the first feminist poet who assigned a high frequency to the concept of women in his poems.

Keywords: feminism, Nasim-e-Shomal, woman, women's rights

Raffaelli, Enrico (University of Toronto):

## A Demonic Encounter: Notes on an Episode of Zoroaster's Legend

This paper analyzes an episode of Zoroaster's legendary biography described in a passage of book 7 of the 10th-century Pahlavi encyclopaedia *Denkard*. The passage describes the attempt to seduce Zoroaster by a woman posing as the deity Spandarmad. Unconvinced by her words, the prophet realizes that she is a demon and fends her off.

The paper proposes that by trying to seduce the prophet, the demon is suggesting to him to repeat the union between Spandarmad and the first human, Gayomard, from which were born the progenitors of humanity. The paper also points out that the false Spandarmad's address to Zoroaster in the passage evoke, in a garbled manner, the different steps of the eschatological encounter between the soul of the pious man and his daena (the personification of the religious conscience), as described in the Avesta. This encounter is characterized as a marriage between the soul and the daena. It is concluded by the ascent of the soul and of the daena to heaven. According to the Avestan tradition furthermore, the union between the soul of the sacrificer and his daena is also a central moment of the highest liturgical celebrations. The paper proposes therefore that the false Spandarmad is implying that by uniting with her, Zoroaster would perform an action that has a high significance from a ritual point of view, and that at the same time is the prerequisite for immortality, but that Zoroaster's religious expertise helps him recognize the falsity of the demon's words

Ramble, Olivia (École Pratique des Hautes Études- Université  
PSL/Leiden University):  
Revisiting Sasanian Monogram Seals

Seals representing monograms make up a significant share of the Sasanian glyptic corpus. Unlike emblems or other abstract motifs, Sasanian monograms display the use of Middle Persian alphabetical characters – albeit sometimes in a very stylised form so that it is difficult to decipher the grapheme rendered. As such, Sasanian monograms are a striking example of text and image merging to create a hybrid motif, at once inscription and icon, and constitute a midway mark along the text-image spectrum.

Monograms were long considered to be symbolic motifs that could not be interpreted, until Unvala (1953) brought together several series into a single catalogue and proposed readings based on the letters that made up different compositions. Isolated readings were then put forward by de Menasce, Göbl and Gignoux. More recently, Gyselen (2012) carried out an extensive study of these motifs, with the help of an especially developed computer program, to determine the different possible names spelled out by the alphabetical elements of the compositions. Scholarship remains divided as to whether some of the more strikingly ornamental elements such as the heart-shape and the crescent could be stylised letters.

This paper proposes to re-examine several Sasanian monogram seals and offer readings for these by investigating beyond the realm of onomastics for the key to their decipherment. It pays particular attention to the performative aspects of seals and of the images and formulae they carry.

Ramezani Khorshid Doust, Amin (University of Tehran):  
In the Steps of the Constitutionals in Tehran; Locating the Events of  
the Constitutional Revolution on a Digital Map

This research investigates the location of the events of Iran's Constitutional Revolution that took place in Tehran. We have used historical sources, historical geography sources, and digital humanities tools to study the locations of important historical events in Tehran. Furthermore, we provide a framework for digitally representing spatial information extracted from historical sources.

In the course of this research, 882 historical place-events were identified in historical sources in the period between the beginning of the movement on November 22, 1905 and the days after the conquest of Tehran by the constitutionalists on July 31, 1909. Of these 882 events, 725 place-events which occurred within the Naseri walls of Tehran were examined. These places were classified in two ways, based on their existence in each map on the map of Abd al-Ghaffar Najm al-Dawla (1892) and the current satellite map of Tehran, and their function. Subsequently, the location of each of the historical places was identified on both maps. The Abd al-Ghaffar map was also modified and adapted to the satellite map of Tehran and the study points were identified and marked on this newly developed map.

Using the historical content of each of the identified locations, extracted from historical sources, the groundwork was laid for the creation of the "Tehran Constitutional Map" software. An Android application was then developed as a research product based on digital humanities.

Rante, Rocco (Louvre Museum) & Labbaf-Khaniki, Meysam (University of Tehran):

## An Important Late Antique Node across the Atrek Valley: New Discoveries from Viranshahr (Northeastern Iran)

Viranshahr is constituted of a massive square enclosure, reinforced by towers. A citadel, *arq*, is located at the northern corner of this square enclosure, which should probably correspond to the lower city. The site is located in the northeast of Iran on the northern side of the Atrek River, as well as on the northern side of an ancient trade road. Old and current studies and surveys of the whole valley show a very intense human occupation, developing from the Chalcolithic to the Islamic epochs, characterized by the overlapping of sites but also by the abandonment in order to settle in new areas.

One season of survey and three seasons of excavations at Viranshahr from 2019 to 2022 co-directed by the authors has shed very important light on the late antique and Islamic traditions in occupation dynamics, urbanism, architecture and material culture. Regarding the chronology of the site, pottery sherds testify that it was occupied during the late Parthian to the Sasanian periods, with possible late and temporary Islamic occupations.

Archaeological excavations concentrated at three areas brought to light very important evidence of the architecture following the ancient architecture traditions of Iran and Central Asia, already observed in the several archaeological sites of these regions. Thanks to the results of three seasons of excavations we know that the main gate of Viranshahr situated in the middle of the western side of the enclosing wall was flanked by two square towers.



Rasooli Mehrabani, Radman (University of Tehran):

*A mixture of Qasida and Maqama by Abū Sa'd Tirmidhi in Munāzirat al-Ward va Bint al-Karm*

Rebutting the renowned claim that "the *maqama* genre was not continued in Persian literature as contrast to Arabic literature," *maqama* in Persian literature is a living and dynamic literary form. This paper focuses on one of these *maqamas*, which had a considerable impact on the evolution of Persian *maqama* writing.

"*Munāzirat al-Ward va Bint al-Karm*" (the debate between the red flower and the wine) by Abu Sa'd Tirmidhi was written in 585 AH and broke new ground in Persian *maqama* writing. The *risala* of Abu Sa'd began the transformation of *maqama* into a kind of debate in which flowers and things speak each other.

The *maqama* had no precedent in Persian before him individually. He gave the *maqama* independence by adding literary praise to it and demonstrated the ability of this format to write a panegyric (*madh*).

Tirmidhi's envoi is not about the disappearance of the protagonist, He changed the final part and common envoi of *maqamas* and this is One of his remarkable innovations: in the last debate, Gol and Mol each recite short *qasidas* in praise of the Praised One (*mamdouh*), and envoi of the *risala* is like a Ta'bid prayer (a prayer for the immortality) at the end of the *qasida*. Eventually, the general introduction of this *maqama* can be regarded as the prelude of *qasida* (description of nature) together with the background of travel that is common in *maqamas*. Consequently, Abu Sa'd benefited from two elaborated forms of prose and poem to compose an outstanding praise.

Rastgoo, Nafiseh (Kharazmi University, Tehran Campus):  
The Analysis of National and Patriotic Poetic Movements in  
Contemporary Persian Poetry (1941-1979)

In the contemporary times, literature and culture are inseparably intertwined with the political upheavals and events of Iranian society. Since the emergence of the constitutional movement, one of the important duties of poets was their poetic reactions and emotional responses towards political and sociological events. After Reza Shah and with the beginning of the reign of Mohammadreza, the freedom of cultural and literary expressions dominated at least for 10 years. In this era, the intertwining of national emotions of the constitutional era, previously suppressed by Reza Shah, and the archaism of Reza Shah era gave a new life to the national and patriotic poetry. This particular time and poetic movement in literary history is definitely in need of analysis and conceptual categorization. Therefore, this article analyzes the selected poetry of this era and studies the upheavals of this literary movement which started from the second Pahlavi's ascension to the throne until January 1979.

Because this movement founded more novel forms of poetry alongside the traditional Iranian poetry, categorizing and studying the changes which took place in poetic form is of significance. From one perspective, the influence of socio-political movements and the emergence of patriotic concepts on the content of poetry is studied and from another perspective, the poetic form is under analysis in view of the occurrence of patriotic concepts spanning from traditional to modern poetry.

Razavi, Mirsalar (Princeton University):  
Who Were the Maskhīyya?

This paper examines the sect of Maskhīyya within the broader framework of Zoroastrian sects in early Islamic times. Islamic heresiographers have recorded branches of Zervanism, a deviation from Zoroastrianism that believed in a monotheistic God named Zurvan, who was the origin of both Ohrmazd and Ahriman. While Zervanism commonly believed that Ahriman and Ohrmazd were twins, a branch of them named Maskhīyya (Metamorphists) argues that light metamorphosed into darkness, which became the origin of Ahriman. The paper draws on primary sources such as *al-Milal wa al-niḥal*, *al-Farq bayn al-firaq*, *Tabṣirat al-adilla fī uṣūl al-dīn*, and *al-Bad' wa al-ta'rīkh*, to suggest that Maskhīyya was a branch of Khurramids and adopted the Islamic concept of metamorphosis. This allowed them to find a solution to the origin of Ahriman and lend credibility to their doctrine in the context of Muslim-Zoroastrian polemics. The paper argues that Maskhīyya borrowed the Quranic concept of metamorphosis as it gave their beliefs a certain legitimacy and could not be called into question by Muslims.

Rekabtalaei, Golbarg (Seton Hall University):  
Desiring Women: The Reel “Bad” Women of Mid-century Iranian  
Cinema

While the modern woman of the early twentieth century has received some scholarly attention for her role in changing the paradigms of modernity, her representation in cinema has rarely been analysed. This paper attends to the changing contours of this category onscreen from the late 1940s to 1950s, in relation to the changing discourses of modernity in Iran.

In the first few decades of the twentieth century, the expansion of cultural milieus through newspapers, photography, cinema, gramophone, and radio, contributed to the expansion of competing models of modern life in Iran. The urban modern woman, now becoming a more visible member of society, became subject to contending visions that imagined her place in the public sphere. Encapsulating the quarrelsome experiences of modernity, the new modern woman symbolized urban contestations of modernity, as she exemplified the city’s freedoms and limitations to reshape herself and her future. Despite attempts in post-WWII popular cinema to discipline this vicious femme fatale through motherhood, wifhood, and education, as this paper shows, the female characters of mid-century popular films conveyed their aspirations for better social relationships and opportunities. This paper argues that the modern woman, by no means a homogenous figure, drew on the opportunities that the city presented her to refashion herself into a desiring modern woman with unique anxieties and limitations that arose from mid-century’s patriarchal modernity.

Romain, Mascagni (INALCO/CeRMI):  
The *damâl*, a Balochi Ritual and its Practice in Muscat (Sultanate of Oman)

The Baloch constitute a heterogeneous cultural group spread out over a vast territory on both sides of the border between Iran and Pakistan. They have been present in the Sultanate of Oman for several centuries, chiefly in Muscat, where they have maintained their language (which belong to the Iranian branch) and their cultural practices, including some rituals. This is the case for a healing ritual called *damâl*, which is performed by night and for which music plays an important role. A type of spirits called *gwât* enters into contact with the participants, who fall into trance. This is essential for the healing process, as the spirit is considered responsible for both harming the person and the cure that results from the ritual.

Since 2017 I have been in contact with an ensemble of musicians in Muscat and spent several periods of fieldwork in Oman. My talk will present the musical repertoire which this group performs during *damâl* sessions. During a *damâl* night, different songs (called *sâz*) are played. These mention several emblematic figures of Sufi Islam, whom the participants seem to deem necessary for going into trance. These figures are each related to the various spirits, to which in turn the *sâz* correspond. Using examples from my fieldwork, I will argue that the choice of music is a crucial element for the performance of the ritual. Indeed, the selection of the appropriate *sâz* for the given healing ritual can lead to heated debates.

Römer, Benedikt (Universität der Bundeswehr München):  
Jesus in Persepolis: Iranian Evangelicals and the Making of an Iranian  
Christianity

During the past two decades, a steadily growing network of Iranian Evangelical exile churches has come into existence that so far received little attention by scholars in Iranian Studies. Attendants of Persian-speaking churches in Turkey, Germany, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, the UK, North America, and beyond emphasise their Iranian national identity over their denominational affiliation. In their religious practice, they use a wide range of symbolic resources to connect their Christian faith with their Iranian roots. This paper will introduce the main narratives and practices that serve Iranian Evangelicals in exile to create a Christianity in a distinctly Iranian idiom. Alongside the ample usage of Persian poetry in their services, they interpret Nowruz customs as bearing a Christian meaning, refer to King Cyrus the Great as a messianic figure for Iranian Christians, and write Iranian-Christian histories. Primary material from the Iranian Evangelical exile milieu includes Persian-language magazines, published by Iranian Christian theologians and devoted individuals, as well as a large online archive of audio-visual sources. By introducing this material, this paper hopes to highlight the Iranian Evangelical exile milieu as a field of study for researchers in Iranian Studies.

## Roshan Zamir, Bahram (École Pratique des Hautes Études): Good Kings and Bad Tyrants: Byzantine Portrayals of the Sasanian Monarchs

The Sasanian studies mostly aim not to analyze the mentality of foreign narrators, but only to discover the reality of the Sassanians through the contemporary accounts (Christian Roman sources). On the contrary this author believes that using the available sources will provide a multi-layered, complex, but more accurate understanding of the Byzantine mentality toward each of the Sassanian kings, depending on the time and state of the Iranian empire's relationship with Rome, as well as Christians under the Sasanians. Some scholars had previously investigated the Western perception of Sasanian Iran. But to them there was a turning point of Agathias in Byzantine historiography, creating a lasting portrayal of a “barbaric and uncultured kingdom”. However, this article seeks to gain an understanding of the Roman Christian representation of each Sasanians (fourth to seventh centuries CE.) by focusing on the Byzantine mentality toward the kings in a binary form of good kings or bad tyrants, which reflects the classical theory of anacyclosis.

This study suggest that the Sasanians can be divided into two distinct groups: Yazdgird I, Balash, Kavad, and Khosrow I, are among the good kings, while the other group of bad tyrants includes Shapur II, Bahram V, Yazdgird II, Peroz, Hormizd IV, and Khosrow II.

Roughanchian Roudsari, Fatime (Aga Khan University):  
The Impact of Reflexivity on Religiosity: A Case Study on the Iranian Clergy

Scrutinising the new current of apostasy among Iranian clergy who studied the modern humanities and social science after studying in seminary schools, I aim to find out through which process scientific perspective may challenge religious beliefs in individuals who had been affiliated with Islamic seminaries for several years. This research aims to investigate the relationship between scientific religious studies and religiosity among the Iranian clergy. In fact, we wanted to examine to what extent self-reflexivity derived from religious subjectivity affected their religious attitude, and to what extent it led to a change in their religious identity. To collect data, we planned qualitative research using depth semi-structured interviews with 20 Iranian clergymen/women who studied a Master or PhD in religious studies after their education in seminarians. The participants were between 25-40 years old and they all graduated from one university located in Qom. After gathering all narratives, the method of narrative analysis was applied. Eventually, the stories support our hypotheses that methodological principles in the study of religion caused reflexive thinking about their religious self, called self-reflexivity. And they have experienced a transformation to a kind of spirituality after that which is regarded apostasy in Shii term. So, we use the theory of reflexivity developed by Anthony Giddens to explain the phenomenon.



Rzepka, Marcin (Jagiellonian University Kraków):

## The American Hospital in Mashhad in the 1930s. “Health propaganda” and the Practice of Missionary Medicine

The paper aims at describing the role and activity of the American hospital in Mashhad led by the Presbyterian missionaries in the context of rapid social and cultural changes that the Iranians faced as a result of the implementation of Reza Pahlavi’s reforms and the policy of centralization, statist economy, and social uniformity. The reforms perceived as a step toward modernization were associated with the improvement of communication and transport networks with concurrent opening of the country to cultural, social, and technological influences from abroad.

Describing the missionary hospital as a place of transformation, hybridization, but also as an orientation point, a landmark in physical and symbolic Iranian space, the paper tries to answer the questions regarding its possible influence and impact upon the inhabitants and possibly the pilgrims in Mashhad. It focuses on both the individuals who visited the hospital and the community in which the hospitals provided medical care. It takes into consideration Muslims from various ethnic groups who came from different social strata and were being cured in the hospital and evangelized at the same time.

The applied research methods correspond to the specificity of the material on which the analysis is based - primarily on unpublished materials preserved and stored in the missionary and state archives. The medical documentation, reports, and also photographs produced by the missionaries constitute today unique yet neglected evidence.

Saadat, Yusef (Ruhr-Universität Bochum):  
Unnoticed Aspects of the Afterlife River of Tears in Iranian Mythology  
and its Indo-European Origin

In §16 of the Middle Persian text *Arda Wiraz-Namag* we read about the afterlife river of tears through which the souls “were not able to cross and some crossed only with great difficulty and some crossed easily”. I tried to make a slightly different translation of this part which presents a more homogenous understanding of the source of tears. I concluded that not because of the tears one’s relatives shed for his/her death, but for the sake of his/her own over-mourning the river will increase. This makes it easier to notice a word-play and a metaphor in some phrases in which we find Middle Persian words *widerdan* ‘to pass, to cross (the river)’ and *widerdag* ‘departed, died’. In fact, if we take the act of crossing over this river as a metaphorical image of passing away, i.e. dying, then when somebody mourns and cries hard over the phenomenon of death (of others), he/she reveals how difficult the phenomenon of death for him/her is.

Also I found out that the process of crossing over this river is a remnant of crossing river in Indo-European death beliefs, then in Iranian tradition Yima who had connection with the dead could be considered as the ferryman in this myth because in his article “Yima et la Mort”, Kellens has already shown that Chinwad was an adjective for Yima. He translated Chinwad Puhl into ‘the fort of the stacker’ and as Lincoln in his article “The Ferryman of the Dead” discussed, Chinwad can be considered as the afterlife ferryman’s boat in the Iranian tradition.

Saadi-Nejad, Manya (Concordia University):  
The Cult of the Severed Head and its Possible Connection to the  
Iranian River Goddess

The Celtic “cult of the head” or “cult of the severed head” or offering the head as sacrifice to the Celtic deities possibly have roots in the ancient proto-Indo-European peoples of the fifth millennium BCE or earlier. The Celts considered the head to be the source of body-life (what we might call the “soul”) and the power-centre for the humans. Collecting the heads of slain enemies was believed to enable the warriors to absorb their power. Heads severed in battle seem to have been dedicated to the important deities with warlike functions. Human skulls have been discovered at a number of wells and springs, and has led us to speculation that there may have been a connection between the head cult and the sacred waters

Anahita, or Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā i as she is called in the Avesta, is a pre-Islamic Iranian water goddess. She is s connected both functionally and linguistically with water goddesses found in many Indo-European societies. In pre-Islamic Iran, the Sāsānian king Ardešīr demonstrated his devotion to Anāhitā by sending the severed heads of defeated enemies to her temple at Eṣṭaxr. In light of the mythological connection between the water goddesses, this paper considers whether the Celtic “cult of the head” can be further connected to the Iranian river goddess Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā.

Safae, Yazdan (École Pratique des Hautes Études):  
Royal Women in the Persepolis Economy: Letter-orders and Estate  
Management

To study the economic interests of Persian royal women, the case of their estates can be considered a crucial departure point. The present investigation deals with these institutions and their corresponding descriptive documentation, the so-called letter-orders. Royal women are among the rare addressors of letter-orders within the Persepolis fortification archive. They issue such documents to give orders to their bailiffs to manage the transactions of the commodities these estates provided. Reading these letter-orders helps better understand the function of these estates and illuminates how these institutions were integrated within the Persepolis economy, an institution reflected by the Persepolis archives.

## Safari, Javad (Stockholm University of the Arts): Formation of Iranian Music Archive in the last 120 Years

From the time of the first phonograph music recordings in Iran about 120 years ago until today, there is no complete musical archive that covers music from all aspects of society.

In these years, which can generally be divided into four periods (1.Qajar. 2. Pahlavi. 3. After the revolution 1979. 4. Contemporary period), because of different reasons, certain music was made more available leaving the rest marginalized and hidden. This means that already a big part of the Iranian musical heritage is lost, and we are now risking losing what is left. It is therefore essential to collect all the works that are still available and to preserve this intangible musical heritage which extends over all sections of Iranian society in the past 120 years, telling the unique history of Iran.

The mission of collecting the musical works of the whole Iranian society specifically targets the academic subjects of Cultural Studies, History and Anthropology, but is equally important for the world's joint cultural heritage. To lose this musical treasury would mean to miss out on important cultural pieces in the beautiful weave of humanity.

The goal of this paper is to represent the complete phases of this project and ask for support of the Iranian scholars for the rest of this work. We will be able to collect all other Iranian musical works which still exist from the time of the first recording until now.

Sajadi, Forough (Leiden University):

## Passion for Art: Persian Paintings in Dutch Collections during the Late 19th century-the 20th Century

The Dutch private collections contain hidden treasures of Persian paintings that have not been documented nor explored so far. The present paper aims to scrutinize these collections and spotlight these stunning but neglected collections.

Since the late 19th-century Western collectors showed an increasing interest in Persian miniature paintings. Accordingly, the archival documents prove that Persian paintings were favoured by Dutch collectors from the late 19th century to the 20th century. Among them are Jan Bertram van Stolk (1854-1927), Frits Lugt (1884-1970) and Johan Quirijn van Regteren Altena (1899-1980), who are world known for their collection of Dutch art collections, and my study has disclosed that they had some splendid pieces of Persian miniatures in their collections. Meanwhile, Persian paintings were in great demand by other private collectors, including Albert Paulus Hermanus Hotz (1855-1930), Amalia Maartje Elisabeth Draak (1907-1995), Peter Formijne (1899-1995), Maria Hofker-Rueter (1902-1999). Till these days the contemporary Dutch collectors are interested in collecting Persian paintings, namely Leo Waalwijk van Doorn (b.1962). Of all collections, the one of Albert Hotz and Peter Formijne is the paramount. Hotz acquired 246 splendid Qajar paintings dated the second half 19th century, made on the Russian paper. The artworks are various in sizes, and widely diverse in subject matters, e.g., the scenes of court, lovers, festivities, archaeological-mythical portraits.

## Saket, Salman (Ferdowsi University of Mashhad): The Significance of *Tarikh-i Beihaq* and Its Difference from Other Local Histories

*Tarikh-i Beihaq* is one of the most significant local histories in Persian, which is authored in the second half of the twelfth century, during the rule of the Seljuks. In this book, the author, Abu'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Zayd Beihaqi, known as Ibn-i Fondoq, a polymath scholar of his time, presents firsthand information and invaluable insight on political, social, religious, cultural and literary aspects of life in the region of Beihaq of the first half of the 12th century AD. The present research argues such rare and at times unique insights that demonstrate the significance and difference of this work from other histories. The aspects of the significance of *Tarikh-i Beihaq* are extracted and categorized in twelve groups to demonstrate the prominent position of this book among other local histories in Persian or in Arabic. These twelve groups include: accounts of scholars who are not mentioned in other sources; mentions of sources that are no longer available; local biographical memories of the poets of the region of Beihaq; invaluable information about Hamza Ibn-i Azarak-i Khareji; insights about the scientific and educational situation of cities of Khorasan and also reports on the customary beliefs of the time; information about the activities of women in different arenas during the Islamic Golden Ages in Khorasan; allocation of a chapter to historiography and its benefits; an important document about the paternal and maternal families of the author, etc.

Sameti, Mozhddeh (Independent Scholar):

## A Study on the Dialogic Aspects in the Poems of Mehdi Akhavan-Sales

This paper tries to analyze the use of the form and concept of dialogue in the poems of the Iranian poet Mehdi Akhavan-Sales (1929-1990), and compare it with the narrative and lyric aspects of his poems, by examining some of the prominent poems of his two collections: "*Zamestan*" [*Winter*] (1956) and "*Akhare Shahnameh*" [*The Ending of Shahnameh*] (1959). For this purpose, first, a framework and definition of dialogue in form and content is presented, which is based on the concepts of dialogism and polyphony of Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975), a Russian philosopher and literary critic who worked on the philosophy of language. Then, based on this theoretical framework, the selected poems of Akhavan-Sales are analyzed to investigate the reason and ratio of the presence of dialogue, as a component of the drama genre which apparently has no relationship with the poetry genre. In the end, by discussing the dialogism in the social-political poems of the Akhavan-Sales, the relationship between the function of dialogue in poetry and the concept of dialogism and polyphony in Iranian society is investigated.



Sanikidze, George (Ilia State University):

## “The Khoshtaria concession” – The Struggle for the North Iranian Oil

In the paper are discussed activities of the Georgian businessman Akaki Khoshtaria in the northern Iran; main attention is given to the study of different aspects of functioning of the oil company ‘Rupento’ founded by Khoshtaria.

In 1916, Khoshtaria received concessions on exploitation of underground resources implying an extraction of minerals, oils and other resources in northern Iran. He also concluded agreement with Anglo-Persian oil company.

The tensions concerning activities of ‘Rupento’ deserves special attention and from my point of view represents the first Iranian oil crisis long before the 1953 coup d’état. In this crisis were involved Iran, Great Britain, Soviet Russia and Georgians, headed by Akaki Khoshtaria, owners of the ‘Rupento’ company and concession of drilling in the northern Iran. Letters of the Earl Curzon preserved in the archival documents of Akaki Khoshtaria demonstrate disagreements between Iranian government and English oil company concerning Khostraia’s concession.

The fate of this concession was finally decided by the Soviet leadership, signing on February 26, 1921 with the Persian authorities an agreement. Thus, the concession A.M. Koshtaria was recognized as invalid, and, therefore, the rights to it acquired by the Anglo-Persian company were considered invalid. The management of the British company and the British Foreign Office protested, saying that Khoshtaria was the citizen of independent Georgia, which seceded from Russian empire.

Sargsyan, Ani (University of Hamburg):

Updating Persian Learning in the Ottoman Empire: *Tuḥfetü s-seniyye ilā l-Ḥazreti l-Ḥaseniyye* and its (Re)written Persian-Turkish Dictionary Versions

Rewriting of already well-known 15th-16th Century Persian -Turkish dictionaries started to be common in the Ottoman Empire from the 16th century onwards. Relying on source material, the Ottoman lexicographers commonly indicate the structure, methods as well as the lexicon that they predominantly employed or revised into their (re)written works. Thus, in 1649 Aḥmed b. 'Alī Aḥmed (re)wrote the dictionary *Nuḥbet-i Tuḥfe (Selection of the Gift)* which was an abridged version of the famous dictionary *Tuḥfetü s-seniyye ilā l-Ḥazreti l-Ḥaseniyye (Exalted Gift for Beautiful Presences, 1580)* by Meḥmed b. Deṣṣī. Another brief version of the dictionary *Muḥtaṣar-i Tuḥfetü s-seniyye (Summary of the Exalted Gift)* was compiled in 1669/70 by the poet and *kādī* (judge) 'Abdurrahmān Ḥiṣālī.

In my contribution, by analysing *Tuḥfetü s-seniyye* and the refined versions (1) I will discuss key motives of the authors to re(write) the works and (2) therefore will touch upon the authorship as dynamic process of updated knowledge transmission of Persian language. Moreover, I will highlight the parts of the works where the Ottoman lexicographers comment on the source text, and how they provide arguments within the criticism for the value of their expert knowledge in comparison to their predecessors.

Seyedi, Roozbeh (Leiden University):

## Development and its Discontents: Marginality and Creative Production after the “White Revolution” in 1960s Iran

In this article, I explore how the execution of Mohammadreza Shah’s version of the “White Revolution”, specifically the land reform and education policies resulted in the creation of a body of literature and visual work focused on the marginalized poor children in Iran. These works not only created sites to voice children's demands but also made strong claims about children’s realities in Iran. Through a close reading of a selection of primary materials including children’s stories (written for and by children), women's journals, state pamphlets, and movies, I show the variety of claims about children’s lives and imagined childhood subjectivities. While I highlight the points that these claims transformed the conception of marginalized poor children, I argue a lack of serious attention to these claims led to the perpetuation of homogenizing and patronizing educational policies about children that persist even to this day. This article is a draft chapter of my Ph.D. project tentatively called “Cultural Education and the Politics of Everyday Life from 1960s to 1980s Iran: A Case of *Kānun-e Parvareš-e Fekri-e Kudakān Va Nowjavānān* (The Institute for the Intellectual Development of Children and Young Adults) .

Shablovskaia, Alisa (Paris Institute of Political Studies):  
Decolonizing Nomads: The Role of Tribal Populations in the  
Disintegration of Russian Influence in Iran during the First World War

National historiographies of the Middle East tend to associate the demise of European influence there with the strengthening of nation-states pursuing modernization, homogenization and militarization. Curiously, this approach co-exists with another widely spread assumption that the process of decolonization is mainly driven by imperial centres who can no longer invest in their overextended empires. The case of Russian presence in Iran not only contradicts these two paradigms but also questions the relations between modernization and decolonization. This paper argues that former Russian tribal clients were the driving force behind the Russian withdrawal from Iranian territory. The Turkmens, the Kurds and the Shahsevan emerged as an anti-imperialist decolonizing force within the war-revolution continuum. This leads us to reconsider the role of tribes and nomadic populations as transnational anti-imperialist actors without falling into the clichés of tribal no-rule zone and “graveyard of empires”. Based on the analysis of Russian and Iranian archival materials, this paper aims to reassess the role of nomads and tribes in the demise of Russian colonial presence in Iran by focusing on the notions of mobility and transnationalism.

## Shadloo, Niknaz (Islamic Azad University): The Self/Other Process and Diaspora Making in Nousha Vahidi's [Four] Sorrowful Songs

Seven Joyful and Sorrowful Songs is Nousha Vahidi's debut short story collection. The book is divided into two chapters with the stories of the second chapter taking place in the diasporic context of Vancouver. The present essay attempts to explain how such a context is formed and how the issue of immigrant cultural identity is represented. It seems that such context is granted through the construction and reconstruction of the relations of the Self and the Other plus the intercultural translation mechanism happening within them. In this sense, cultural semiotics can be helpful to approach answering the above questions. It is in the process of translation that cultures add to each other's richness and redefine themselves while meeting another cultural being. They absorb elements from the Other and keep elements out so that they can maintain their dynamism, be affected, and stay different. The narrators of Vahidi's stories take on Iranian cultural identities, which are mainly derived from an Orientalist understanding, and redefine them anew by passing through various discourse filters. Thus, different Selves are formed as individual paroles, which in many ways contradicts the dominant discourses of tradition, religion, and politics of contemporary Iran. This is also exactly the point at which the literature created by Vahidi demonstrates its shared characteristics with the diaspora literature of Iranian women after the 1979 Revolution up until to Woman-Life-Freedom movement.

## Shadmohamadi, Maryam (Islamic Azad University): Reflecting the Family Life of Iranian People in the 1930s and 1940s in Jalal Al Ahmad's Short Stories

Jalal Al Ahmad, one of the most prolific writers of the 1940s, has always dealt with social, cultural, political and ideological issues in his works. One of the most important concerns of Al-Ahmed is the social issues of his era, especially the dominance of modernism over the society and the change in the family life system in Iran. Al Ahmed has relied on family relationships in his fiction works, especially short stories, and his stories are formed around this criteria. . The family in Al-Ahmed's stories sometimes reflects his personal life and he has included his family members in his stories with the same behavioural characteristics. In his stories, he has depicted traditional families with all the ups and downs of their lives, and in this regard, he has pointed to the issue of poverty, which is one of the most fundamental factors that determine the type of relationships, culture and life of different classes of people. On the other hand, in some of his stories, he has criticized incoherent family structures and has used humorous language to describe this type of life and analyze the views of the members of such families. Based on the content analysis of Al Ahmad's works, the author examines and researches his views on the social changes governing the family system of Iranian society in the 1930s and 1940s. The research method in the present study is done by analyzing the content of Al-Ahmed's writings and stories during the 1930s and 1940s.

## Shahidi, Iqan (University of Cambridge): "Decline" in the Writings of Fardid & Al-e Ahmad

Both Fardid and Al-e Ahmad, such as many other contemporary Iranian intellectuals, have explored the "decline" of Iran. Despite the secondary literature perceiving Fardid and Al-e Ahmad as having comparable interpretations of the world, they fundamentally differ in their conceptualization of the underlying causes of the decline of civilizations. In this presentation, I aim to demonstrate the extent to which the understanding of the world and the causality of the decline of civilizations held by Fardid diverge fundamentally from that of Al-e Ahmad, both in terms of historical interpretation and the reasons for its decline. Through examination of the underlying premises and frameworks, I will demonstrate how Al-e Ahmad's approach is characterized by a more secular and accessible language, contributing to its greater reception by the general public in comparison to Fardid's ideas. To explore these differences, I will analyze works by Fardid such as "*Gharb va Gharbzadegi*" and "*Didar-e Farrahi va Fotuhat-e Akhar al-Zaman*," and by Al-e Ahmad such as "*Dar Khedmat va Khyanat*" (2 Vols), "*Gharbzadegi*," "*Haft Maghaleh*," and "*Karnameh Seh Saleh*".

Shahmiri, Mina (Corvinus University of Budapest):  
Iran Hostage Crisis and U.S. Decision-making Process Based on Newly  
Released NSA Documents

To understand the bitterness of relations between Iran and the United States, it is important to review the Iran hostage crisis in 1979. This event at once shaped the main part of the US portrayal of the Islamic Republic of Iran as a regime which violates international law. Yet, after more than 40 years, the formulation of the policies which had been employed to resolve the Iran hostage crisis and form a rescue mission in Jimmy Carter's administration is the subject of discussions. The outcomes were mainly the result of interaction between the US President and his advisors who formed the foreign policy of that era. The goal of this piece is to analyse their decision-making process with applying the Prospect Theory and taking the newly released documents from the National Security Archive (NSA) into account and shed a light on the management of the hostage crisis.



Shapouran, Ali (University of St Andrews):  
Reconstructing the Archetypes of the *Shahnama* Manuscripts:  
Possibilities and Usages

The *Shāhnāma*, composed by Firdausī (c. 940-1020), is usually regarded as the Persian national/epic history. Despite its sheer volume of around 50,000 couplets, more than one thousand manuscripts of the *Shāhnāma* have survived to our time. The oldest of them, however, was transcribed around two centuries after the poet's death. This naturally generated a turbulent situation in manuscripts and their variants. Even the staunchest textual researchers have considered the genealogy of the manuscripts impossible. Reconstructing the archetype (the ancestor of all extant manuscripts, or at least the oldest survived ones) was thought to be out of question, as a result. This essay hopes to demonstrate that some manuscripts of the *Shāhnāma* are indeed close relatives. A closer look into the manuscripts reveals genealogical branches once assumed non-existent. Providing some examples, I will argue that the common ancestors of each branch (called also sub-archetypes hereafter) might be accessible through careful recensions. I will indicate that some recreated variants could negotiate with other branches or manuscripts to reveal the variant in the archetype. Based on this fact, I will finally argue that the question of this essay could be answered precisely only once all possible sub-archetypes are reconstructed and compared to each other and single manuscripts carefully. Only then a final verdict could be made on how far recensions are able to go back to the urtext (the first-hand text, normally the composer's handwriting) and the archetype(s). This will not only help the textual criticism of the *Shāhnāma*, but also, and equally importantly, will help us define how and why the epic was understood, received and modified by later audience and scribes.

## Silanteva, Liubov (Lomonosov Moscow State University): Acoustic-Glottographic Correlates of Prosody in Persian Speech

In order to determine the connection between Persian word accent and the characteristics of laryngeal work, an instrumental phonetic study was held. Persian speech was recorded using the EGG glottograph in a two-channel mode, with microphone and glottographic signals registered separately. The syllable nucleuses were segmented, processed with Praat speech analysis software and SPSS statistical package. Since we worked with relative values, gender, accent and quality of the vowels were regarded as independent variables. Subsonic frequency, vertical laryngeal position, pitch and duration were considered as dependent variables.

When examining the correlation according to a single-factor model, pitch increased by 4.6%, which is consistent with previous acoustic studies on Persian speech. Subsonic frequency proved statistically significant for marking accented syllable. The connection between syllable nucleus duration and vertical larynx position with stress turned out statistically insignificant.

In a follow-up study, the material was analyzed using two- and three-factor models, with the results generally confirming the conclusions of the first experiment, but revealing additional regularities.

Thus, laryngeal correlate of Persian word accent was detected with the following pattern: marking of the stressed syllable in Persian along with the increase in pitch by 0.79 semitones is also characterized by simultaneous reduction of subsonic frequency by approximately 2.74 semitones.

Sinkaya, Bayram (Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University):  
Revitalization of the National Government of Azerbaijan and Jafar  
Pishevari by Turkish Nationalism

Turkic-speaking people of north-western Iran have been associated with miscellaneous identities including Turkish, Azerbaijani, Azeri, Iranian Turk. In the last couple of decades, a brand of nationalism that merged Turkish and Azerbaijani identities, and championed by a number of 'Southern Azerbaijani' nationalist organizations, has become visible among them. In constructing that identity, many have found out the experience of the autonomous National Government of Azerbaijan (1945-46) as a momentous precedent for the formation Turkish/Azerbaijani nationalism in Iranian Azerbaijan. That nationalist account has narrated and venerated S. Jafar Pishevari, leader of the National Government, along with Sattar Khan and Shaikh Mohammad Khiabani, as one of the pioneers of Turkish/Azerbaijani nationalism. Ironically, well-known Pan-Turkists in Turkey, like H. Nihal Atsız and M. Amin Rasulzade, who were contemporaries with Pishevari, remained indifferent to the rise and fall of the National Government. More than sixty years later, Turkish nationalists in Turkey have rediscovered Pishevari and National Government as example of Turkish nationalism. This project is aimed at reviewing the historiography of Turkish nationalists' addressing the National Government of Azerbaijan led by Pishevari. It will analyze why and how the Turkish nationalist narrative on that movement evolved from indifference to revitalization and veneration of it as turning point in Turkish nationalism.

## Soleimannezhad, Elaheh (Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University): Women and the Issue of Education in Women's Press during the Reign of Ahmad Shah Qājār

With the approval of the amendment to the constitution in Iran, education became a general and mandatory matter without specific reference to women's right to education. As a result, opponents and supporters of education for females argued for many years. Ahmad Shah's reign was accompanied by reforms in the field of education, the most important of which the increase in the number of public schools for girls. The main factor in spreading awareness about the need for women's education during the said era was the women's press. Between 1909 and 1925, six magazines were published by Iranian women. The main question tackled by the current research focuses on how the topic of women's education was covered and promoted in articles from this period, such as the necessity of women's education and news about girls' schools. To answer these questions, the main sources for this research will consist of the following magazines (1913-1925): *Shokufeh*, *Zabān-e zanān*, *Nāme-ye Bānovan*, *Jahān-e zanān*, *Ālam-e Nesvān*, and *Majale-ye Jamiyat-e Nesvān-e Vatanqāh*. According to the structure of the articles and the given data, the educational content in these journals will be analyzed using qualitative content analysis. By examining the articles, the priorities of the field of education and its related issues in Iran during the period of Ahmad Shah will be assessed.

Key words: Qajar, Ahmad Shah, women's education, women's press

Soltani, Zohreh (Ithaca College):

## Tehran's Abbas-Abad Theme Parks: The Islamic City Centre at the Frontier

In 1982, only three years after the 1979 Iranian Revolution, a committee, overseen by the president and the Friday Imam of the time, decided to build a new Musalla in Tehran on the Abbas-Abad lands in the centre of northern Tehran, the site of the unfinished project of Shahestan Pahlavi. The building of Musalla at Abbas-Abad marked the site as a highly politicized and religious space, and opened it up for other diverse state sponsored projects with cultural, leisure and commercial functions, all of which are now within the massive Abbas-Abad Theme Parks project finalized in 2005.

Based on the architectural design and the agencies behind the new planning of Abbas-Abad's various sites such as Musalla, Holy Defense Museum, Tabiat bridge and theme parks, this paper delves into the question of monumental religious, cultural, and leisure architecture as the signifiers of an emerging state as well as the symptom of a traumatic history. With its gigantic scale and modern look on one side and references to pre-modern Islamic architecture and ancient Persian architecture on the other side, Abbas-Abad is a spatial representation of an ongoing struggle between the more liberal forces of the municipal administration and the continuing power and influence of para-militaries. This paper argues that the Islamic Republic saw this prime site in the capital as a clean slate, devoid of the blood of the revolution and war, and a space of imagination and creation of a new Islamic City.

Soltani, Zohreh (Ithaca College):  
Speculative Heritage: Azadi Tower as the Monument of Solidarity in  
Contemporary Tehran

This research discusses the potential of an authoritarian monument in becoming a space of public discourse and symbol of solidarity through the case of Azadi tower in Tehran. In so doing, it opens up discussions on the construction of spatial imaginaries as a category of cultural heritage. In the light of the recent protests in Iran and the unprecedented wave of visual, graphic and artistic production that has accompanied the movement, Azadi tower has gained yet another meaning and signification. Azadi tower has had many lives: a monument to Mohammad-Reza Pahlavi (Shahyad) built in 1971, a stage of official processions under Pahlavi, a public space of revolutionary gathering in 1979, a monument to the 1979 revolution (Azadi), a public space of protest in 2009, and a symbol of resistance today.

With the case of Azadi, I suggest that in as much as the patriarchal and autocratic monumental space generates profound violence and problematic architectural heritage, there still exists the potential for the generation and production of new heritage through spatial imaginaries of the same spaces; a generative and speculative monumental space. Furthermore, the popular activation of autocratic monuments, as an undoing of cultural heritage, creates an intersectional identity where the margin becomes the centre, the patriarch becomes the matriarch, and the historical becomes fictional. In other words, the patriarchal monument of the past is reborn as the feminist monument of the future.

Sukhiashvili, Maia (Akaki Tsereteli State University):  
The Advancement of Georgians in Safavid Iran's Political and Military  
Arena (The Undiladze Family)

The advancement of Georgian element has been connected to the political processes taking place in Safavid Iran, specifically to the reforms initiated by Shah Abbas. He quite purposefully promoted Persian, Georgian-Caucasian elements to oppose the power of politically and militarily advanced Qizilbash tribes.

Alongside Qorchi army, Quli army was established, consisting entirely of muslimised Georgians, Armenians, Circassians. Shah Abbas's policy of migrating South Caucasian population to Iran, played a decisive role in the process of building Quli army. He was aware of the controversies and division of power in Georgian society. He applied various means to entice to different layers of Georgian community, to move them to Iran's side, and have them devoted to Iran's service.

Among the promoted Georgians in Safavid Iran's political, military, cultural arena The Undiladze Family occupied a particular position. Iran-Georgian relationships were deeply influenced by Daud Khan Undiladze, a talented politician and military figure, beglarbeg of Ganja-Karabakh, who was the younger son of Allaverdi Khan Undiladze. It was his support and contribution in 1626 that led to king Teimuruz's return to Kakheti and Kartli.

Other representatives of Undiladze clan were also highly active in Iran's political and cultural life.

Georgians settled in a foreign country, due to their talents and abilities, succeeded greatly in Iran's political, military arena.

## Sukhiashvili, Maia & Svintradze, Natia (Akaki Tsereteli State University): Iranian Georgians Contribution into Safavid Iran's Cultural Life

Iranian Georgians took an active part in the cultural life of Safavid Iran. One of the principal sources on Persian literature, poetry, art of Safavid period has been considered Mirza Mohammad Taher Nasrabadi's "Tazkere-ie Al-Sho'ara". It is also main source on the tens of Georgian poets, artists, musicians.

The Undiladze Family had a particular position among Iranian Georgians. "Tazkere-ie Al-shoara" has largely preserved less known facts and references about Undiladze family's representatives lives and cultural activities: Aghurlu khan, Mosib beg, Seid Mabarak khan. Narabadi has chosen verses from the Undiladze clan's poetic writings for his anthology and we present their translations.

According to Nasrabadi Imam Quli khan made Shiraz palace a centre of literature, poetry and art.

Georgian artists advance in Persian art was not exceptional. Siavash beg Gurji's creative art was highly appreciated by Persian historian Iskandar Munshi. One of the best representative of Isfahan miniature school was Ali Quli Jabbadari. For Georgians, he is particularly significant. There is an opinion Jabadari's Gergian origins in historic literature.

The creative work of Georgian poets, artists has had certain significance for Persian literature, poetry and art, if not so, they would not have been appeared in famous Persian anthologies and well known painting albums, world's famous palaces and architectural sites, where their trace still well preserved.



Székely, Márton Áron (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem):  
Early Court Poetry in Persianate Context: The Case of *Supplément  
persan* 725

This paper attempts to address the textual origin of early classical Persian divans with very late extant copies, a largely neglected problem in the literature. It starts out examining a manuscript found in the BnF containing the divans of Azraqī Hirawī and Manūchihri Dāmghānī, questionably dated 1580 CE. The close investigation of the manuscript implies that it was made for the Italian traveller Giambattista Vecchietti as a learning material for his Judeo-Persian Bible translations/transliterations. The comparison of the manuscript with other sources of the era suggests that it was copied in the context of a lively circulation of manuscripts between Safavid Iran, South Asia (both the Mughal court, and the Deccan sultanates), and European expeditions. The results point toward the significance of a Persianate literary culture in the 17th century as the origin of the later canon-formation of what we call classical Persian literature.

Szitar, Kristof (Université de Lausanne):

## ‘Unṣurī in the Medieval Persian Commemorative Textual Tradition

With the rise of the Ghaznavids in the early eleventh century, Central and South Asia underwent a major political and cultural transformation. Our knowledge of ‘Unṣurī the leading court poet of the period remains limited. This presentation traces the history of the most influential pre-modern prose works on his life and works. Niẓāmī ‘Arūzī’s *Four Discourses (Chahār Maqāla)*, Muḥammad ‘Aufī’s *Quintessence of Intellect (Lubāb al-Albāb)*, and Daulatshāh’s Timurid-era *Tazkirat al-shu‘arā’* will be discussed. Stylistically, the three works differ in characteristic ways: one is more gossipy, the other is more philosophical, while the last is more judgmental on aesthetic issues. I will seek to answer the following questions: How did these texts describe ‘Unṣurī poetic excellence? How did they connect poets of the past and present? In what ways were literary and aesthetic disagreements negotiated?

Tamimi-Arab, Pooyan & Maleki, Ammar & Stausberg, Michael (Utrecht University):

## Survey Zoroastrians: Religious Self-Identifications in Online Surveys in Iran (2020-2022)

In 2020, GAMAAN—The Group for Measuring and Analyzing Attitudes in Iran—conducted an online survey on “Iranians’ attitudes toward religion.” The survey had 50,000 respondents, around 90% of which lived in Iran. This article discusses the noteworthy finding that, after weighting, 8% identified as Zoroastrian—many times the number of Zoroastrians as recorded by scholarship on Iranian Zoroastrianism. We dub this finding “Survey Zoroastrianism.” Participating in the survey, free from scrutiny by the government, provided an unprecedented opportunity of making a choice between different religious identities. The results demonstrate that four decades after the 1979 Islamic Revolution the idea of Zoroastrianism is a key feature of Iranian nationalism and demands for the disestablishment of Shia Islam from the state. Our analysis starts with the historical background of Zoroastrianism from the 18th century to the Pahlavi dynasty and the Islamic Republic, during which time the religion became recast in modern fashion as a world religion tied to Iranian nationalism. GAMAAN’s data, including another two surveys conducted in February and December 2022, is then used to discuss the Survey Zoroastrians’ demographics, their stated beliefs and practices compared to other religious and non-religious groups, and their political views on the national flag and desired political system.

Tavakol, Mahdieh (Freie Universität Berlin):  
Travelling Manuscripts: A History of the Personal Library of Shaykh  
Baha'i (953-1030/1547-1621)

This research is focused on the story of the personal library of Baha' al-Din Muhammad al-'Amili, well-known as Shaykh Baha'i, in Safavid Iran. The library is not extant today. In the narrative sources, nevertheless, we are informed that the Shaykh had a personal library which he endowed to the Razavi shrine in Mashhad, upon his death.

The purpose of this study is, first, to (partially) reconstruct Shaykh Baha'i's library by identifying its surviving manuscripts. This study gives an overview of the library's thematic profile, and the provenance history of its manuscripts and their post- Baha'i fate based on their marginal notes. The information gleaned from manuscript notes, as the main source of this study, is then contrasted with what the narrative literature tell us about Baha'i's library.

Mapping the thematic profile of the library, I show how this library reflects the confluence of the two intellectual traditions of Safavid Iran, that is, the Iranian tradition of theology and philosophy and the Jabal 'Amili tradition of Shi'i *fiqh* and hadith. Drawing on the manuscript notes, I would also argue that in contrast to the assertion made in the narrative sources, the endowment of Baha'i's books to the Razavi shrine is not supported by the available documentary evidence from the library.

Tavazonizadeh, Hossein (University of Groningen):  
Popular Cinema and the Convergence of Cultural Memories around  
the 'Old Houses' of Tehran

The endangered vernacular and early modern architecture in Tehran have an influential mnemonic role in the processes of collective memory in Iran. They should be seen as key materials employed in different areas of culture for representing the ways Iranians remember themselves and their contested past. Despite this importance, what remains of these buildings is often run-down, in ruins, or abandoned. Here, I am particularly concerned with the ways these 'old houses' [*khaneh-haye ghadimi*], are remembered among the generation born after the mass reconstruction of Tehran.

Approaching this goal from a media-based perspective, in this talk, I will look at Iranian popular cinema from the late 1960s until the late 1990s, as an underprivileged area of investigation. In this regard, I will explore the emotions that are invested in and triggered by the image of my targeted architectural styles within media of cultural memory, as Astrid Erll puts it. This will bring me to discuss the production of cultural frameworks through the processes of mnemonic convergence, according to Ann Rigney.

Studying the role of cinema in shaping the collective imagination of the past, I consider the highest-grossing productions of this cinema as part of what Dagmar Brunow calls audiovisual memory. In this sense, I will focus on the cinematic representations as circulating archives that may generate a prosthetic memory, referring to Alison Landsberg.

## Toledo, Miguel Ángel Andrés (University of Toronto): Avestan Glosses and Commentaries on Avestan Texts

A. H. Anquetil-Duperron (1771: 1.2.140, n. 1) was the first European scholar who realized that the Young Avestan text of Y 19–21 was a commentary to the Old Avestan prayers *yaθā. ahū. vairiiō, aṣəm. vohū*, and *yeǰhē. hātəm*. Almost a century later, the pioneer study by K. F. Geldner (1885: 245–249) revealed even pieces of the Young Avestan technical language of these commentaries in Yasna 19–21. Apart from these general, but relevant observations, there has been no comprehensive study so far about the Avestan commentaries to Avestan texts. While we now know much more about the techniques of the Pahlavi translations, their glosses and commentaries, mainly thanks to D. Shapira (1998) and especially A. Cantera (2004), their Avestan equivalents still require our attention. One of the reasons of the lack of research on this topic is the difficulty in identifying such Avestan commentaries and glosses, and in distinguishing them from quotations embedded in the Pahlavi translations. In this paper, I will show the different types of Avestan commentaries and glosses preserved in the Avestan corpus, and some linguistic criteria that might help to identify them.

## Tomba, Alessandro Del (Sapienza Università di Roma): Annotations on the Khotanese Rāma Story

The Khotanese version of the Rama Story is an avadana-like composition. It narrates the epic deeds of the Hindu hero Rama and his love story with Sītā, but the story is given a Buddhist setting. As well as in Khotanese, Rama legends are known in Buddhist literature also in Pali, Buddhist Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, Tocharian, and Old Uyghur. The Khotanese Rama Story has been transmitted to us by a single manuscript torn into three pieces (P2801+2781+2783). The Khotanese text have been written on the verso of a Chinese roll, containing the popular translation of the Saddharmapundarika by Kumarajiva. It is still a matter of debate whether the extant manuscript is complete or if a lacuna should be reconstructed between P2781 and P2783, as the Chinese on the recto seems to suggest. The Khotanese Rama Story was provisionally edited and translated by H. W. Bailey (1940a; KT 3.65–76; 1940b). Unfinished materials concerning a new edition and translation were left by the late R. E. Emmerick. More recent articles containing new translations of single passages can be found in Emmerick (1997; 2000; Studies 1–3). The aim of the paper is to inaugurate a new cycle of studies dealing with the re-edition of the Late Khotanese Rama Story. It will face problems related to both the philological and the linguistic analysis of the text, including an up-to-date presentation of the manuscript and some new readings and translations of selected passages.

Tornesello, Natalia L. (Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"):  
Pessimistic Visions of Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Iran in Zeyno'l-'Abedin's  
*Siyahatname-ye Ebrahim Beg*

A significant part of Persian literary production of the early 1900s, both in poetry and prose, is socio-political in character, and such works can be considered the forerunners of the so-called committed or engagée literature of the 1960s. Zeyno'l-'Abedin Marage'i's *Siyahatname-ye Ebrahim Beg* is a literary account of the political, social and cultural life of Iran in the early years of the 1900s. The work is composed in the manner of a travelogue and, as a part of the oppositional discourse, stands as one of the most significant prose writings of the early 20th century, with great influence in the Constitutional period. The elements of interest are many, ranging from aspects of structure and content to the linguistic and stylistic approaches.

In this contribution, through the analysis of a few excerpts from the work, significant in part for their close thematic connections with patriotic and political poetry of the same period, we illustrate the author's generally pessimistic view on early 20th-century Iran and seek to identify the recipients of his biting satire. The targets of Zeyno'l-'Abedin's pen are, in fact, not only the Qajar rulers and their ministers, as could well be expected: what also becomes clear is the critique of the population, and their passive, disinterested and apathetic attitudes.



Tousi, Khosrow (SOAS, University of London):

## The Prosody of Your Mind: Pioneers of Self-help in Pahlavi Iran and the Persianisation of Popular Psychology

This paper studies the genesis of Popular Psychology discourses in Pahlavi Iran, and the creation of a distinctly Iranian Self-help subculture by the forerunners of this genre. Aiming to bring one of the largely understudied aspects of Iranian social history into light, I examine early examples of Iranian Self-help material to show how original authorship and translation by figures such as Ebrahim Khajehnouri, Mohammad Jafar Mosaffa, and Pouri Soltani created immensely popular volumes still in print today, and will inquire what the appealing elements of these works were and still are. I demonstrate how the application of Persian poetry, coinage of new Persian terms for Neu-Freudian notions and the use of eloquent yet accessible prose made the opus of these household names approachable to the Iranian public, and how a new Persian language Self-help vernacular came into being as a product of this process.

Paired with public participation, this process has since led to the creation of what the scarce related scholarship calls Iran's "new psychiatric selves". As I will show, this was a trend directly contributed to by the emergence of a financially stable urban educated class in Mid-Pahlavi Iran, and the nation's complex experience of socio-economic modernisation. Further to its Persian flair and context, this was the local instance of a truly global, Cold War era wave of popularity for self-help psychology discourses, the examination of which remains the final aspect of my paper.

## Vaez Shahrestani, Mohammad Reza (University of Bonn): A Formalist and Existentialist Analysis of Nima Yushij's "The Boat"

Nima Yushij's poem, "The Boat" has several unique formal and semantic potentials for analysis and that is why we have decided to analyze this poem through a formalist and existentialist approach in respectively both literature and philosophy.

Contextual music, as the primary literary device of this poem, has enabled the poet to reconstruct many of the movements of an aground boat. Hence he has been able to transmit his own emotional load to the reader. In doing this, Nima has expanded the borders of the Persian poetry. Moreover, by using the visual and auditory possibilities of the words and a variety of other literary devices, Nima has been able to craft his own mental state in the form of a linguistic statue. In the beginning of this essay, we will present a formalist approach to this poem and in the second part by implementing the concepts discussed in the formalist approach of the poem and comparing it with the philosophical-literary movement of existentialism, we will show that above-mentioned poem can be considered an existentialist literary work.

## Vaez Shahrestani, Reihaneh (Ferdowsi University of Mashhad): Ambiguity the Inherent Quality of "Rira"

"Rira" a famous poem by Nima Yooshij (the father of New Poetry in Iran) has unique structural and linguistic features. Several critics including Houshang Golshiri, Taghi Pournamdarian, Siavash Kasrai, and Mahmoud Falaki have analyzed this poem from different perspectives, but they all have used elements outside the poem for their analyses. In this paper, a Russian formalist approach has been used to explore "Rira." This approach aims to locate its meaning by using elements within the poem rather than the ones which exist outside it and uses the concepts that the critics of this school have proposed for analyzing a poem. These concepts include ambiguity, tension, paradox, and irony. In order to do this, first the critiques written on this poem are reviewed and discussed, and then a brief introduction to the formalists' ideas in literary theory is presented. This poem is arguably an autonomous work in which the poet by his special treatment of language, and the effective treatment of various connotations of words, has created a coherent linguistic body to express his views and opinions.

Keywords: Rira, Nima, Formalistic criticism, ambiguity, tension, paradox, irony

Waghmar, Burzine (SOAS, University of London):  
Taraki, Tillya Tepe, Taliban: Bactrian Gold's Afghan Past

When reminiscing on the 2019 centenary of modern Afghanistan, a dislocated past and disjunctured present is ideationally harnessed to sustain a collective memory, foster a shared 'common culture' and exhort nation-building which, as Disraeli reminds, 'is a work of art and a work of time'.

Artistic achievement of nomadic, pre-Islamic, Afghan heritage is, therefore, the departure point of this examination: the spectacular discovery of six royal graves on November 15, 1978, seven months on from the 7 Saur revolution (April 27, 1978), containing almost 20,600 gold artefacts. Its post-9/11 vicissitudes almost three decades on, and 'rediscovery' thanks to the National Geographic Society, disseminated universal appreciation of Afghan 'culture' through travelling exhibitions since 2006.

Foregrounding the purpose, production and pedigree of this Central Asian trove betraying Helleno-Irano-Indic inspirations and influences, this paper discusses its *parti pris* appropriation by Afghans of varying political predispositions. Artificially affirmed nostalgia for the 'forgotten Kushans' is deployed to elude ambivalence. But the past is a foreign country, as David Lowenthal (d. 2018) felicitously noted, in his namesake opus. Afghan attitudes remain mixed towards a frequently despoiled heritage in a conflict-ridden state uneasily inheriting a congeries of eclectic cultures.

Wang, Myriadne (SOAS, University of London):

## Avestan text of Yasna 51 with its Pahlavi and Sanskrit Translations and Commentaries: Comparative Study of Morphosyntactic Renderings of Old Avestan in Zoroastrian Scholarship

This paper proposes to examine Yasna 51 edited from Iranian and Indian manuscripts, and its Pahlavi and Sanskrit versions produced by ancient Zoroastrian scholars. Long being described as misguided and unavailing, virtually no comprehensive study attempts to edit or study both versions. However, as this paper intends to show, the study of Pahlavi version (represented by MS. 400\_Pt4) and Sanskrit version based on Pahlavi (MS. 672\_K6) of Yasna 51 perfectly illustrate how their morphosyntactic renderings of Avestan are shaped by the environment. Linguistically interesting is the use of etymologically unmatched but assonant words, for instance in Y 51.1 aibī.bairištəm 'which is best at bringing'/P.V. abar-barišnīh 'to be brought over'/S.V. uparivaršāmi 'I shall shower'; and in 51.3 fradaṣtā 'teacher'/P.V. frāz daxšagēnīdār 'he who recognises the mark'. Also a technique not unusual is coining morphologically unfeasible words to match with the originals, e.g. in Sanskrit commentary on 51.1 is found vāṃcchayet 'he may cause ... to become desired' (opt. caus. of -ské/ó- stem vāñcha- 'desire, wish'). Some unique phonetic features could also be noticed, for example pseudo-Skt. \*kitham 'how' in 51.4 might be explained in the light of sound changes in MIA (cf. Pkt. kiha, kidha) or later stages. This paper aims to identify and address such distinctive linguistic features from diachronic perspective.

Warnaar, Maaïke (Leiden University):  
Cultural Representation & Foreign Relations between Iran and the  
Netherlands 1959-1979

In this paper I present the main findings of a research project on the relations between The Netherlands and Iran during the last 20 years of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's rule (1959-1979). In the project I traced these relations through archival research and placed these in the context of cultural representations of Iran in the same period. The project shows how, while the warm relations of The Netherlands with Iran were driven by commercial interest, these ties were made possible in the context of positive representations of the Shah and his country. These representations followed, in general terms, the cultural rhetoric disseminated by the Iranian court through, among other things, human interest publications and cultural events. They also had a distinct emphasis to it, which was pertinent to the Dutch context, and which related in particular to the perceived 'Biblical' characteristics of then present-day Iran, as well a specific understanding of "Persia's" Biblical legacies, relating in particular to Cyrus II. Outside of the context of these positive cultural representations of Iran, it is difficult to understand the warmth and persistence of the relations, even when the facts on the ground in Iran were changing rapidly in the last months of 1978. The positive cultural representations of Iran and the Shah functioned as blinders, which made it impossible for the Dutch government to anticipate the radical political changes that came with the Iranian Revolution.

Werner, Christoph (Otto-Friedrich-University Bamberg):  
Writing the Revolution – Historical Events in German-Iranian and  
Persian Literature

The Iranian Revolution of 1978-82 is by now clearly a historical event and has moved on from being a contemporary theme in literature to a historical topos in recent fiction. The process of historical fictionalisation is particularly strong in recent examples of German-Iranian literature written by authors who have neither witnessed the revolution personally, nor have they been exposed to the official historiography of the Islamic Republic on this major turning point in modern Iranian history. Despite this absence, events from the revolution often form a crucial background for many narratives situated in the authors' own presence or that of their protagonists. Narratives are informed strongly by diasporic and exilic accounts of the revolution of the preceding generations, transmitted orally in most cases. The present paper tries to identify patterns of historical fictionalisation and modes of transmission in German-Iranian literature and to discuss the role of historical motifs as formative for the authors'/protagonists' own identity. As a counterweight, the findings shall be compared to some samples of recent literary novelistic fiction in Iran that address explicitly the revolution and display already characteristics of 'historical novels' of the revolution.

Yadollahy, Sima (University of Leicester):  
Style, Creativity and Socioeconomic Complexities. Case Study: Tepe  
Rigi

One of the absorbing research fields in archaeology is interpreting symbols and styles and their relationship with socioeconomic changes. So, pottery and their motifs are important issues in social archaeology and semiotic studies, and then the motifs on the prehistoric potteries are one of the most interesting and debatable data found through archaeological excavations. Variety types of geometric, plants, animals, human and combined motifs are recognizable on prehistoric ceramics.

Archaeological data have an important role in reconstruction of social, economic and even cognitive features of prehistoric societies, because, what is considered now as archaeological materials and ancient human cultural remains have been initially created for particular purposes and reasons, and reflect a part of the intentions and minds of their creators.

This paper attempts to explain socioeconomic improvements and their relationship with cognitive abilities based on style, symbolic motifs and forms of Tepe Rigi ceramics (an Iranian prehistoric Bakun A site) .



Yamanaka, Yuriko (National Museum of Ethnology, Japan):  
Between Medicine and Magic: The Mandrake Plant in Mediaeval  
Arabic and Persian Literature

A plant with a human-shaped root which, when dug up, emits a terrible lethal scream ---because this image of the mandragora, or mandrake, has been popularized in fantasy literature and films, the plant is sometimes considered to be purely magical and imaginary. However, since antiquity the mandrake has been known as a medicinal plant with analgesic, sedative, and aphrodisiac effects. Mandrake attested in ancient and medieval medical and encyclopaedic texts has been identified with type species *Mandragora officinarum*, of the genus *Mandragora*, Solanaceae family. This perennial herbaceous plant contains tropane alkaloids, and depending on the amount ingested, it can lead to convulsions, delirium, hallucination, hyperactivity, and even death.

Through analysis of texts and illustrations of mandrakes in Latin, Arabic, Persian and Chinese encyclopaedias and medical treatises, this presentation will trace the transmission of botanical and medical knowledge on the plant as well as related folkloric tales --- especially that of using a dog for its uprooting. Special focus will be given to the vagabond charlatans called the "*Banū Sāsān*" and their practice of fabricating and selling fake mandrakes. We will try to demonstrate how the migration of this peripatetic people may have contributed to the spreading of tales related to the talismanic quality of the mandrake.

## Yazdani, Melika & Khosravi Bizhaem, Farhad (Art University of Isfahan): Friend or Foe: Archetypal Investigation of Serpent-king and Dragon in Mina'i Ceramic Illustration

In this research, the archetypal appearance of the dragon and serpent king topic on Mina'i has been investigated. The hypothesis of this research is that before the appearance of dragon-slaying in Islamic manuscripts, its images were found in Mina'i. The present study tries to answer the following questions: In what sense were the first ancient signs or concepts of dragon and serpent shoulder figure formed? What are the ancient and intercultural concepts influencing the formation of the dragon-slaying theme and Azhi Dahāka (Zahhāk-e Mārdoush) on Mina'i ware? How could we identify archetypes influencing the dragon-slaying and Faridun and Zahhāk motifs in Mina'i pottery? One of the aims of the research is to achieve the fundamental images, ancient concepts and intercultural influences in the formation of the dragon-killing theme in Iran. So comparative study on 9 Mina'i and 14 cultural data from ancient Mesopotamia and Iran has been done to consider contents and forms of snakelike dragon and god/goddess motifs.

Zahed, Sahra Aberi (Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main):  
The Presence of Women and their Influence on the Atmosphere of  
Tehran in Nasser al-Din Shah's Period

“Atmosphere” is an aesthetic concept based on the theory of sensible experience, which works with perception in subjective experiences.” To perceive the atmosphere of a city during a particular period, one should try to reach [an understanding of] the atmosphere as it used to be perceived by the city inhabitants of that period.

Everything that is present or absent in the environment affects the subjective experience. The wind that blows, the building that casts a shadow on the street, or the shadow of a person that approaches us in the dark, all of them are effective in forming the atmosphere. Since the presence of women in Tehran has been associated with some limitations in the past, their occasional presence had special effects on the atmosphere.

Nasser al-Din Shah's personal character, the stability of Tehran during the long period of his rule, physical changes in the city, and also the emergence of signs of the beginning of modernity in Iran led to some changes in the physical presence of women in Tehran during that period. The description of these distinguished presences in the city, which have been associated with breaking the habits, can be found in primary sources such as diaries written by men as the majority of narrators of that time. The purpose of this research is to clarify the role of women's presence and their influence as "other" in shaping the mostly masculine "atmosphere" of Tehran in that period and also to present a new understanding of city in the past.

## Zahiremami, Parisa (University of King's College, Halifax): Shiite Theory of Knowledge in Sana'i's Mystical Theory of Kingship

This study focuses on the intersection of Shiite and mystical theories of knowledge in the poems of the twelfth-century Persian poet Sanā'ī of Ghazna (d. 1131). Sana'i's theory of knowledge was integral to his conception of ideal rulership. Despite the significance of some of his works as early specimens of court-patronized mystical poetry, Sana'i's poems have been studied by only a handful of scholars (e.g. J.T.P de Bruijn (1983), Franklin Lewis (1995), and Nicolas Boylston (2017)). This paper provides a detailed analysis of Sana'i's psychology and epistemology to reveal his nuanced and eclectic way of using both Sunni and Shiite writings. While I highlight the influence of Sunni philosophers and mystics, such as al-Tirmizi (d. 869), al-Farabi (d. 950), Ibn Sina (d. 1037), Muhammad al-Ghazali (d. 1111) on Sana'i, I argue that his theory of knowledge is more heavily inspired by the writings of the Isma'ili poet Nasir-i Khusraw (d. after 1070) and the Brethren of Purity (9th/10th century), who may also have had Isma'ili inclinations. A careful analysis of Sana'i's poems show that he versified passages from the writings of Nasir-i Khusraw and the Brethren of Purity almost verbatim to explain his theory of knowledge, and consequently his theory of kingship. The paper highlights the role that Sana'i played in bringing Shiite and Sunni philosophy into dialogue by means of court-patronized mystical poetry.

Zakeri, Mohsen (University of Göttingen):  
Translations from Middle Persian into Syriac and from Syriac into  
Middle Persian. An Unwritten Chapter on the Translation Movement  
under the Sasanians

Syriac writing scholars played a significant role in the transmission of the classical scientific and religious sciences in Late Antiquity. The role of Syriac in the translation movement from Greek into Arabic has received substantial philological attention in modern research. In contrast, little attention has been paid to Syriac translations into and from Middle Persian. Mapping the relevant scholarly fields, institutions and social environment in which translation activities were carried on reveals that the late Sasanian era socio-religious and educational centres continued operating unabated under the early Muslims.

More generally, the paper focuses on the actors and their agency which contributed to the transmission of Greek thought to Iran, providing an overview of the earlier materials that have survived or are known to have existed, as well as on the parameters of the circulation of ideas and cross-cultural knowledge transfer between East and West in the Late Antiquity.

## Zamani, Amir (Leiden University): One Person, Several Names

The Persepolis Fortification Archive plays an increasingly important role in linguistic research on Old Iranian, if only because it contains hundreds of Iranian names in Elamite transcription. One debate which is renewed by this material is that on the 'Median language,' which for a long time was reconstructed on the basis of Greek sources and royal inscriptions. In the Fortification archive, one may come across some names differing just in certain phonemes making one Old Persian and one Median. The high frequency with which certain names occur makes it possible to do prosopographic analyses on a very detailed level, as if one were looking at the personal files of the individuals involved.

Ziššawiš, vice director of the 'Persepolis economy' and deputy satrap of Pārsa is an individual with some importance. Contrary to what one might expect, however, the spelling of his name shows a range of variations. At the same time, prosopographic analysis makes it clear that the same individual is at stake.

The example of Ziššawiš is illuminating and will serve to introduce the wider research to dialectal variation within the Persian heartland.

Zanotta, Sara (Università degli Studi di Pavia):

## Doing the Revolution from Abroad: The 'Diplomatic Activities' and the Transborder Networks of the Iranian *Anjomans*

During the Constitutional Revolution, the *anjomans* played a crucial role in promoting the constitutional cause across Iran. Some of them also emerged among the Iranian communities outside the borders of the empire and represented a channel in connecting the constitutional developments inside Iran with neighbouring territories. While this theme has recently received some scholarly attention, much remains to be studied. In particular, an in-depth analysis of Italian diplomatic documents held at the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reveals a peculiar zeal of Italian diplomats in Iran and in the Ottoman Empire for reporting the 'diplomatic' activities of the Iranian *anjomans* and the connections of Iranian constitutionalists with other Asian populations. Therefore, using these almost untapped archival sources, this paper explores the activism of Iranian *anjomans* in spreading news and looking for foreign support during the Constitutional Revolution. It examines how Iranian *anjomans*, including women ones, got in touch with diplomats and foreign governments, raising grievances, proposing solutions and stressing the necessity of a constitutional government, and how Italian diplomats perceived and reacted to them. Furthermore, it shows that Italian diplomats also devoted attention to the transborder network that Iranians had managed to establish with other Asian populations and the entanglements between the Iranian and other contemporary constitutional developments.

Zerehdaran, Behzad (The University of Melbourne):  
Plural Conceptions of Rights in the Travel Literature of Qajar Era: A  
Hohfeldian Analysis

Travel literature is an invaluable source to form an in-depth socio-political perception of Qajar Iran. These pieces demonstrate the confrontation of Iranians with their 'Other' in the 19th century. The travelogues in this period were mainly written by courtiers, students, and tourists who visited Ottoman, Caucasus, Russia, and Europe. At this point, Iranian travellers were confronted with post-revolutionary France, British Parliamentarism, the role of Duma in Russia's politics, and the Ottoman's attempts towards reformation. These tracts illustrate their engagement with concepts such as freedom, rights, constitution, nationalism, reform, and parliament. The modern sense of rights has emerged from the distinction between 'right as to have a right' (Subjective Right) and 'right as to be right' (Objective Right.) Before the 19th century, the objective conception of rights was dominant in Iran. One was right if and only if one acted under a legitimate ethical, religious, or political doctrine. This research is centred around the following question: How the concept of Rights was understood and described in the travel literature of the Qajar era in the early and mid-19th century? Through conceptual and thematic analysis, this article examines the representations of the subjective conception of rights in the travel accounts of Abu al-Hasan Khan Ilchi, Mirza Saleh Shirazi, Reza Qoli Mirza, Mirza Fattah Garmarudi, Hajj Sayyah Mahallati, and Mirza Mohammad Hoseyn Farahani.



Zucconi, Guglielmo (Austrian Academy of Sciences):  
Historicising Transmission: Intertextuality, Originality and Authority in  
Islamicate Encyclopaedic Compendia

Recent years have witnessed a surge in scholarly interest in encyclopaedic compendia produced the pre-modern Islamicate context: that is, works penned by collating information on a number of topics from several authoritative sources and reorganising it so as to make it readily accessible to the reader. Despite this renewed attention, however, several aspects of this genre, particularly as regards its intertextual dimension, are still awaiting thorough treatment.

By collating selected information from authoritative sources, an encyclopaedic work acts as a transmission mechanism between those authorities and the reader. At the same time, it also acts as a filter, as the author selects which authorities to quote from, and which information should be selected or excluded; not infrequently, moreover, the author misunderstands the source he is citing. The chain can also extend forward in time, as compendia themselves are treated as authorities in subsequent compendia, thus perpetuating choices made by previous authors and recycling their misunderstandings.

An appreciation of these mechanisms can only be attained through an intertextual approach, by studying each compendium in relation to both its sources and subsequent works treating it as a source. By taking as a case study three compendia produced in 16th- and 17th-century Central Asia, I intend to show how chains of transmission can be reconstructed, and the implication of this endeavour for the study of this genre as a whole.

# Panels

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## Panel: The Mardbed's Inscription (Van Müzesi, Turkey)

Convenor: Agostini, Domenico

Panellists: Muhammet Yücel (Muş Alparslan University), Domenico Agostini (Tel Aviv University), Gianfilippo Terribili (Sapienza Università di Roma)

This new Mardbed's inscription, now held at the Van Museum (Van Müzesi), has been discovered in 2014 in the rural district close to Bend-i Mahi/A.est River (meaning 'dam of mill' in Kurdish) area in Bargiri/Berkri (Turkish Muradiye, Van province). The inscription, written in Middle Persian, was carved on a massive monolith (limestone) erected as a stele for commemorative purposes. With its twenty-one textual lines, this unpublished inscription represents one of the most intriguing and challenging discoveries of the last decades in the field of Middle Iranian epigraphy and Sasanian history. The joint project led by Mus Alparslan University, Tel Aviv University, and Sapienza Università di Roma carried out the complete documentation, a tentative edition and translation, and a first historical interpretation of the inscription content paving the way for future studies. As a matter of fact, the evidence provides crucial data for understanding the influence of the Sasanian political and cultural presence on the local societies along the frontier areas between the Eranšahr, Armenia kingdom, and the Roman-Byzantine empire. The panel adopts a multifaceted approach articulated in three papers which shall introduce the material and foster a broad scientific discussion.



Muhammet Yücel

**The Mārdbed's Inscription: Discovery, Documentation and Historical Geography**

The first paper aims to introduce the main physical features of the stele, its status of conservation, and the circumstances of its discovery. Likewise, it shall illustrate the methodologies of digital documentation carried out by the joint-team Muş-Tel Aviv-Rome in February 2021. The second part of this talk shall describe the landscape in which the stele was originally displayed, focusing on the morphology of the area and its historical geography in Late Antiquity.

Domenico Agostini

**The Mārdbed's Inscription: Text and Content**

The Mārdbed's Inscription uses the regular script of lapidary Middle Persian, showing a fair engraving of the graphemes in their standard rendering. The twenty-one lines present different states of preservation and, at some points, surface breaks or abrasions hamper a reconstruction of the text. Nevertheless, despite the presence of critical terms and passages, the overall meaning of the content can be safely established. The second paper deals with the reading and interpretation of the text through a philological approach. Furthermore, some of the most critical philological and linguistic issues will be furtherly analyzed and elaborated in order to pave the way for improvements and discussion.

Gianfilippo Terribili

**The Mārdbed's Inscription: Further Remarks on its Historical and Cultural Context**

The third paper of this panel aims to draw some broader considerations contextualizing the inscription within the fluid society and cross-cultural scenario of this buffer area between Sub-Caucasia and the Iranian Plateau. Key terms and concepts of the Mārdbed's Inscription are thus selected to highlight problematic and crucial aspects, e.g. the date of this evidence, the relations between the individuals and titles mentioned in the text, and the relation between this composition and the Middle Persian epigraphic tradition. This latter aspect demands enlarging the investigation, including the cultivation of written culture in the area and the connection between native elites and Iranian cultural models.

## Panel: Western Iranian Historical Dialectology

Convenor: Aliyari Babolghani, Salman

Panellists: Ludwig Paul, Pejman Firoozbakhsh, Parvin Mahmoudveysi & Maximilian Kinzler, Meysam Mohammadi, Mohammad Mirzaee, Salman Aliyari Babolghani (all University of Hamburg)

Compared to Persian with its long and rich literary history of well over 1.000 years, all other modern Iranian languages seem to look quite poor. Most Iranologists would probably think – if they know it at all – that Kurdish, with its literary history going back to the 17th or 16th century CE, is second to Persian in historical depth. In recent years, literary Gorani has attracted some scholars' interest. However, even the existence of other various pre-modern Iranian literary traditions is largely unfamiliar to Iranologists. Written survivals of Iranian languages and dialects from the Middle Ages such as Tabari, Gorgani, Gilaki, Azari, Fahlawi, Shirazi, etc., despite their scarcity and arbitrariness, are the best means for understanding the linguistic situation of Iran during Islamic period up to the pre-modern times. These materials not only increase our diachronic knowledge of modern Iranian idioms but also are of great assistance to Middle Iranian studies. Besides these, for the historical study of those Iranian idioms that have not been committed to writing until the last century like Lori, the modern dialects must be taken into account necessarily.

The proposed panel seeks to emphasize the importance of this type of study. For this purpose, after giving a general overview of non-Persian literary traditions, some examples of such traditions are discussed in different ways. The second paper mainly deals with the understanding and classification of old dialect poetry in western and north-western Iran, i.e. Fahlawiyat, the third is dedicated to the relationship between Gorani dialects and the literary variety of Gorani. Following that, two papers give a glimpse of the contributions that old Tabari materials make to Iranian historical dialectology by examining more detailed grammatical issues. Last presentation is on the historical morphology of Lori, as a language that has almost no written survivals and as the only southwest Iranian language in this panel.

Ludwig Paul

**The forgotten world of medieval Iranian dialect literatures: Tabari, Fahlawi, Gorani, etc.**

Except for Kurdish and more recently the literary Gorani, the existence of various other premodern Iranian literary traditions, in separate languages that cannot be regarded as dialects of Persian, is hardly known even among specialists in Iranian languages and literatures, and can be called one of the most neglected research fields of Iranian philology. These include the Tabari tradition, attested in poetry from the 10th and tafsir literature from the 13th centuries onwards, and composed in the Old Tabari language spoken in Tabarestan (present-day Mazandaran); the Fahlawiyat tradition, attested in poetry from the 13th to the 16th centuries, written in North-West and Central Iran in a language that can be traced back to pre-Islamic literary traditions; the classical Shirazi tradition, attested in many poems from the 13th to 17th centuries, among them a *divan* of 4.000 verses, and composed in the separate Old Shirazi language; and other languages like Old Gilaki, Old Gorgani, etc. All these languages thrived under the shadow and influence of Classical Persian, but kept their place and importance besides/under Persian for many centuries, as local or regional literary languages. Eventually, some of these languages were replaced by Persian (e.g., Shirazi and Fahlawi), but others, like Gorani and Tabari/Mazandarani, continue to be spoken and written until today.

The presentation aims to give an overview of these understudied literary traditions and an account of their linguistic importance, and to highlight some interesting issues, like the question if these languages were written forms of spoken dialects, or standardized forms of over-regional spoken koinè (see Kreyenbroek/ChamanAra 2018), or if they were developed as literary languages in their own right.

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Pejman Firoozbakhsh

### **Fahlawi: a forgotten common literary language of Persian Iraq, and Azerbaijan**

Not long ago it was a widely held view that the dialect poetry from various regions of Iran was called *Fahlawiyat* in the Middle Ages. The falsity of this assumption has been revealed by the more detailed studies that have been carried out, especially in recent years, on written survivals languages or dialects such as Tabari, Shirazi, and literary Gorani, which have never been called Fahlawi in their sources. However, it is still believed that different varieties of Fahlawi were spoken as vernacular in a large area named Fahla (almost corresponding to Persian Iraq and Azerbaijan) during the Islamic time.

Through the examination of some surviving specimens of the so-called ancient Iranian language of Azerbaijan and some other local dialects of Persian Iraq, as well as by referring to historical reports, this presentation aims to put forward the hypothesis that Fahlawi, was never, at least not since the earliest evidence of the 11th century CE, a language or a dialect group of a specific district of Persian Iraq or Azerbaijan. Rather, was a supra-regional literary language at this time. In many districts, this deep-rooted historical literary language not only competed with Persian but also with local dialects such as Azari, Ardestani, Isfahani, etc.

So far, scholars have not been able to determine the precise linguistic relationship between Fahlawi and Azari (see, e.g. Yarshater 1989). After deciphering a significant number of mostly unread Fahlawi and Azari poems, the present author tries to determine some phonetic, morphological, and lexical isoglosses to demonstrate that these two languages have to be considered two distinct languages, although they both belong to the Northwestern Iranian languages.

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Parvin Mahmoudveysi & Maximilian Kinzler

### **Issues of the historical grammar of Gorani**

One aspect in the relatively extensive research literature on Gorani dialects and the related literary variety is the relationship of Gorani dialects to other West Iranian languages, including possible influence of Gorani on neighbouring languages. This paper will try to discuss some important points of this issue and to show their problems and potential for assessing the historical grammar of Gorani and, to a lesser extent, its surroundings. In doing so, an attempt will be made to add several less studied aspects to the discussion.

The relationship of Gorani dialects and the literary variety has been a further prominent topic of previous research. Offering a chance to improve our understanding of this issue, the outcomes of the discussion on Gorani dialects, including the newly added aspects, will be used as a background against which to evaluate data written in the literary variety with its striking variation in, e.g., morphology and lexicon.

Meysam Mohammadi

### **Causative verbs of Zaydi Tabari**

Tabari language is attested in poetry by the local rulers and nobles of Tabarestan from the 10th and in rich Tafsir literature of Zaydi Shi'as from the 13th century onwards. The present article will be dedicated to the causative verbs of Zaydi Tabari including the following items: (1) The remnants of the Old Iranian causative verbs formed by vowel alternation (ablaut), based on the lengthened grade of the verbal root, e.g. nāw- 'to cause to move' and kāl- 'to throw' (distinguishable from naw- 'to move' and kal- 'to fall', respectively). The high frequency of such pairs indicates the fact that in an earlier stage of Tabari, such a structure has been reproduced by analogy and through lengthening verbs vowel, cf., e.g. tārs- 'to cause fear' formed based on tars- 'to fear' < OIr. \*tṛsa- (present stem). (2) Causative verbs with the very lengthened vowel but also suffixed by -ān- or -an-, e.g. sājan- 'to kill, destroy' (vs. saj- 'to die'). (3) Causative verbs formed by attaching the suffix -ūmən, e.g. nīšūmən- 'to make sit' (vs. nīš- 'to sit (down)'). The existence of this structure in Paresari and Siyamazgi Taleshi on the one hand and the lack of it in poetical Tabari heritage and the current Tabari suggest that it has been a feature of the Zaydi Tabari of Deylam. This suffix should have been derived from the OIr. middle participle maker \* -mna-.

**The Middle Tabari language, Transition from the Old Tabari to the Mazandarani language**

Mazandarani, one of the Caspian Languages spoken in Mazandaran (located in the north of Iran) is the only local language containing a corpus from approx. 11th century AD. It falls into Tabari and Mazandarani (New Tabari). The Tabari linguistic features show the relationship between this language and the Iranian languages, Nevertheless, individual phonology system, for example, separates this language from the others. See below.

	<i>Per.</i>	<i>Tab.</i>	<i>Maz.</i>
OIr. <i>č</i> <i>raučah-</i> “day”	<i>z</i> <i>rūz</i>	<i>ǰ</i> <i>rūǰ</i>	<i>ǰ, z</i> <i>rūz, rūǰ</i>
OIr. <i>z</i> (OP <i>d</i> , Av. <i>z</i> ) Av. <i>zərəd-</i> “heart”	<i>d</i>	<i>z, d</i>	<i>d</i>
	<i>dil</i>	<i>zil/dil</i>	<i>dil</i>
Av. <i>ž</i> <i>duž.aṇhav-</i> “Hell”	<i>z, ž</i> <i>dūz</i> <i>ax</i>	<i>ǰ, ž, š</i> <i>dūǰah</i>	<i>ǰ, ž</i> <i>dūzax</i>

Tabari language per se falls into two groups. The Middle Tabari language (15th to the recent 19th century) has individual features in phonology, and vocabulary that it is equal to neither Old Tabari nor Mazandarani completely. Loanwords and the trace of phonology change is obvious in this period of time. See the diagram.

Voiced bilabial fricative $\beta$ <i>Old Tabari</i>	<i>Mid. Tabari</i>	<i>Mazandarani</i>
<i>sβza</i>	<i>sōze/ sūze/sabze</i>	<i>sōze/ sūze/sabze</i>
<i>ʔorōǰ/ʔaβ(w/v)rōǰ</i>	<i>afrūz</i>	-

The collection of attributed poems to Amir i Pāzivāri is the most important source (containing around 3000 verses) of the Middle Tabari language.

Introducing features of Middle Tabari is a major aim. Also the used method for this research is historical linguistics.



Salman Aliyari Babolghani

### **The Imperfective Prefix at-, da-, a-, ī-, etc. and its Significance in the West Iranian Historical Dialectology**

Lori is one of the Iranian languages which belongs to the group traditionally called Southwestern Iranian. The imperfect verbs are formed in three ways in different parts of the Lori-speaking areas as follows: in southern areas (e.g. in Baxtiyari, Boyerahmadi, etc.), it is formed by attaching the prefixes ī- or e- (cf. Bardestani and Qeshmi ī-) and in northern areas (e.g. in Cegeni, Darejowzani, etc.) mī- or me- (cf. New Persian (ha)mē), while in the central areas (specifically in Balageriva dialect) it is un-suffixed (as in most Southern Kurdish dialects), e.g. 'I do' Boyr. ī-kən-om; Ceg. mī-k-em, Balg. ken-em. 5 Questions concerning this matter that I will try to answer are as follows 1. How should we explain this discrepancy? Are we dealing with three different dialectal groups each of which had undergone a separate innovation or one form is to be considered genuine and the others caused by the influence of other languages? 2. What we can learn through a comparison between the imperfective prefixes in Western Iranian languages in general?

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## Panel: Figures of Evil in Premodern Persian Literature and Thought

Convenor: Ariankhoo, Masoud

Panellists: Masoud Ariankhoo (Harvard University), Michelle Quay (Brown University), Justine Landau (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle)

At the crux of the major etiological and metaphysical debates in the canonical theological (*kalām*) and legal (*fiqh*) disciplines, the question of evil was the object of intense speculation and controversy since the formative period of Islamic thought. Personified as Iblīs in the Qur’anic narrative, evil was given a name, and discussed within the exegetical corpus of *tafsīr* and prophetic accounts as a character with a story and a genealogy of its own. Yet its elusive, deceitful nature was no less closely scrutinized in premodern Persian literature, both spiritual and secular – a corpus largely left untapped in conversations on Islamic concepts of evil. This panel investigates the representation of evil in early Persian literature and thought (10th-13th century), through the close study of select figures and motifs drawn from three separate genres. From the ambivalent Devil in Ferdowsi’s epic to the exclusionary dynamics at play in Sufi narratives, and to the critical exposure in the lyric poem of a rhetoric of deceit, premodern Persian sources contribute substantial heuristic tools for understanding the impingement of evil on human undertakings.

Masoud Ariankhoo

### **Evil and human in the Shahnameh**

This paper examines the textual representations of evil in the Shahnameh, with a focus on the character of the Devil. Drawing on the dual, if not competing etiologies of evil associated with Ferdowsi's predominantly Muslim reference framework on the one hand, and the strong Zoroastrian markers underpinning the narrative on the other, I investigate the poet's unique take on Satan's involvement in human action through close readings of select episodes in the epic. The initial manifestation of the Devil engages with diverse accounts of creation and determines the perennial battle of man against evil throughout the poem: What is the nature of their conflict, and what larger goal does the epic Devil pursue? By probing the position of Satan in the cosmology of the Shahnameh, I trace Ferdowsi's perspective on the existential dynamics between free will, determinism, and transgression.

Michelle Quay

**Constructing 'Evil': Gender, Race & Otherness in Sufi Texts, 11-13th c. AD**

Using the rich textual tradition of Sufi *masnavis* and hagiographies in Persian, this paper examines conceptions of evil in the Persian mystical context in the 11th to 13th centuries AD. With particular reference to the works of Farid al-Din 'Attār, Jalāl al-Din Rumi and Hakim Sanā'i, the paper proposes that there are significant gender and racial dynamics underlying mystical depictions of certain types of 'evil' that have previously been understudied. It investigates the relationship between these depictions of evil and traditional mystical representations of Iblis, who, it has often been noted, plays a very different role in mystical tradition than in some other, more orthodox texts, such as those of Islamic law, *kalām*, or *tafsīr*. It argues that the structural positioning of these anecdotes beside Iblis-related anecdotes is often important and should not be ignored when interpreting *masnavis* in particular. Finally, the paper concludes that while certain personal characteristics are more likely to be identified with evil characters, mystical authors treated elements of personal identity – such as marked racial and gender-based categories – as yet another 'veil' between the seeker and God that can be shed when in Union with the divine.

Justine Landau

### **Seduction, Reversal and Double Entendre: The Dark Magic of Poetry**

Despite – or perhaps due to – its prominence in premodern literary cultures, poetry always aroused suspicion among the moral and religious authorities. In this regard, classical Persian poetry is no exception. Famously represented as a form of enchantment, or “licit magic” (*sihr-e ḥalāl*), after the Arabic saying, it was often charged with untruthfulness and insincerity. As the art of speech that rests upon the powers of the imagination (*takhyīl*), it was known to leave a lasting imprint on the audience, and for this reason, subject to close scrutiny. While the philosophical tradition explored its workings on the human soul, however, the darker powers of poetry were only hinted at, but seldom discussed. This paper engages with actual instances of poetic deceit, in hopes of capturing the contours of that phantom in premodern literary theory: the notion of an evil poetry. Drawing on classic commentaries on Persian lyric poetry, specific rhetorical devices appear to trigger falsity, cunning, and downright calamity. In fact, from inversion to enticement and ambiguity, it may be that poetic signs can always be deflected to mean something other than what they stand for, with serious ethical and pragmatic consequences to be feared.

## Panel: Histor(iograph)y and the Practice of Politics in Twentieth-century Iran

Convenor: Bast, Oliver

Discussant: Siavush Randjbar-Daemi (University of St Andrews)

Panellists: Oliver Bast, Thomas Bédrière, Salomé Michel (all Sorbonne Nouvelle)

The publication in 2009 of *Iran in the 20th Century: Historiography and Political Culture* ed. Touraj Atabaki (London and New York, NY: I.B. Tauris) and in 2014 of *Perceptions of Iran: History, Myths and Nationalism from Medieval Persia to the Islamic Republic* ed. Ali Ansari (London and New York, NY: I.B. Tauris) represent important milestones on the path that the study of Contemporary Iranian Historiography has been travelling on its way toward the status of a distinct, fully-fledged, and, flourishing sub-domain within the wider field of Contemporary Iranian History. Inscribing itself into this ongoing trajectory, the proposed panel is dedicated to an important aspect of this sub-domain, namely the question of the relation between History and Politics in 20th Century Iran from the late Qâjâr period through to the final years of the Pahlavi dynasty.

The panel will present three case studies that are pertaining to this overarching concern, and which will, between them, address two distinct themes of the History/Politics nexus that are, however, interrelated, namely, on the one hand, the politics of (collective) memory, commemoration and forgetting, and, on the other hand, the interface between (academic) history and actual policymaking.

At the conceptual level, the panel takes inspiration from the thought of, amongst others, Marc Ferro (*Use and Abuse of History*) Paul Ricoeur (*Memory, History, Forgetting*), and Charles Taylor (*Social Imaginary*). It is also able to draw on the examples for investigating the link between history and politics to be found in the scholarship that already exists on other parts of the Middle East such as Anthony Gorman's, *Historians, State and Politics in Twentieth Century Egypt: Contesting the Nation* (London and New York, NY: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003) and Yussuf Choueiri's *Modern Arab Historiography: Historical Discourse and the Nation-State* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003).

While the above-mentioned two key themes will be explored in all three papers, Thomas Bédrière's study of the multifaceted, and even astounding, way, in which the narrative that was put forward by the state-organised commemorations of the 1953-overthrow of Prime-Minister Mossadegh, evolved throughout the 25 remaining years of Pahlavi reign is more particularly concerned with the analysis of what Ricoeur conceived of as the 'abuses of artificial memory' and i.e. the panel's first theme. On the other hand, a stronger focus on the panel's second theme – the interface between (academic) history and actual policy-making – can be found in Oliver Bast's contribution that explores the relationship

between the diplomatic practice and the academic training in the field of (diplomatic or IR) history that was received by three major Iranian foreign policy makers of the 20th century, including two former foreign ministers and a high-ranking diplomat with missions in particular at the United Nations, who could all lay claim to a related doctorate and relevant scholarly publications but whose practice was of course also embedded in the social imaginary (including the collective memory pertaining to the recent past) of their times. Finally, both the proposed panel's key themes are present in (near) equal measure in the panel's third, and final, paper, namely, Salomé Michel's analysis of how the ideologues' of the Rastâkhiz Party relied on history in their attempts at providing Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's intriguing single-party experiment of the mid-1970s with palpable ideological underpinnings, which, on the one hand, led them to conceiving the Party's concrete political aims and objectives as part of a historical mission for the establishment of the 'Great Civilisation' and, on the other hand, made them inscribe the inception of the Party itself within the narrative of a specific commemorative arc harking back to the Constitutional Revolution.

Through the presentation of these three interrelated case studies, the proposed panel aims, first and foremost, at participating in the scholarly debate of Contemporary Iranian Historiography but, taken together, the three papers shall also make an empirical contribution to the political as well as the intellectual history of Iran during the 20th century.

Thomas Bédrière

**Historicizing the overthrow of Mosaddeq in a quest for legitimacy: The evolving message of the official commemorations of 28 Mordâd (1954-1978)**

The circumstances that led to the overthrow of Prime Minister Mosaddeq on 28 Mordâd 1332h.sh. continue being debated amongst historians up to the present day. Yet, the debate is as old as the event itself. Indeed, more or less immediately after Mosaddeq's overthrow, the Pahlavi monarchy began eagerly promoting its own narrative of what had happened since it wished to counter the prevailing perception of its action as a Coup d'état that had been facilitated by foreign powers to serve their selfish interests. Thus, already on the first anniversary of the event, a ceremony witnessed the unveiling of a statue on Maydân-e Mokhberod-dowleh, a busy square in downtown Tehran (today: Maydân-e Sa'di), which had been accordingly renamed 28 Mordâd Square as soon as in May 1954. From then on, commemorative events – mocked by many, as were the 1971 imperial celebrations – were held annually; the last instalment occurred on 19 August 1978, the day of the notorious cinema Rex fire.

Drawing on conceptualisations of commemorations and their use in attempts at shaping collective memory, especially on the works of Delumeau (2002) and Bodnar (1992), this paper explores the evolution of the message that the Pahlavi monarchy tried to convey to the Iranian population, but also to the outside world, by organising these commemorations. It also takes conceptual inspiration from the work of Steele on the 1971 celebrations (2021) and utilises a variety of primary sources such as contemporary Iranian newspapers, memoirs, and foreign diplomatic correspondence.

The paper will analyse how, during the years between 1954 and 1978, the narrative proposed through the holding of these commemorations evolved as a function of the various challenges that the monarchy faced over the course of this period but also in relation to the growing sophistication of the monarchy's ideological apparatus.



Salomé Michel

**Historiographical flights of fancy on the way to the Great Civilization: the Rastakhiz Party's attempt at crafting an 'official' version of Iranian history**

For a long time, historians of Modern Iran had been giving Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's curious experiment with single-party rule in middle of the 1970s short shrift. The Rastakhiz Party, the establishment of which was announced by the monarch on 2 March 1975, used to be dismissed swiftly by describing it as a hazardous choice. Most considered it a political own goal, a fullblown public relations disaster born out of the sovereign's hubris, which ended up precipitating his own downfall. Recently, a small number of scholars working on the late Pahlavi period have taken a closer look and published more nuanced works. They analyse the consequences of the sovereign's choice and the single party's reception by society in greater detail, see e.g. Shakibi (2019). However, the Rastakhiz Party's ideological apparatus remains – for the most part– uncharted territory. This is a serious desideratum since an in-depth study of the ideological discourse elaborated from within the Party's intellectual spheres would contribute to the growing literature that has been produced lately by historians of the late Pahlavi period such as Shakibi but also e.g. Ansari (2020, 2021) or Steele (2021) who have been focusing on the regime's efforts to strengthen the ideological underpinnings of the monarchy.

Drawing on an array of primary sources including Rastakhiz-related periodicals, memoirs, and diplomatic documents, the proposed paper tackles this gap in the existing scholarship by studying a particular aspect of the Rastakhiz Party's role in the attempts at reinforcing the regime's ideological foundations. It will explore the efforts made by the Rastakhiz ideologues to craft a quasi-official version of Iran's history that would take the form of a coherent narrative arc, into which the creation of the Party itself could then be integrated neatly. Our analysis of the historico-political discourse emanating from within the Party will address two concomitant shortcomings in the extant literature. Thus, firstly this paper will question the prevalent perception of the Party as a shallow structure, an empty shell devoid of any significant ideological content, and secondly, it proposes a re-assessment of the Party by situating it within a broader ideological project that the Pahlavi elite had been shaping from the early 1960s onwards.

## Panel: Innovation and Tradition in Premodern Zoroastrian Textual Cultures

Convenor: Benfey, Thomas

Panellists: Kayla Dang (Saint Louis University), Arash Zeini (University of Oxford), Jamie O'Connell (Princeton University), Ted Good (University of Toronto), Moritz Maurer (Heidelberg University), Thomas Benfey (University of Oxford)

This six-person panel focuses on the writings of Zoroastrian priests and their composition, transmission, reception, and adaptation in the Sasanian and early Islamic periods. Our approach is historical: we seek to understand the relationship between the literary production of the premodern Zoroastrian priesthood and the shifting and complex cultural and historical contexts in which these activities took place. In doing so, we aim to take into account not only the dynamic political and religious landscape in which the Zoroastrian community found itself, but also diversity and tension within the Zoroastrian community and priesthood, which are likewise reflected in their literature. We concentrate especially on innovation and tradition: both empirical questions having to do with what was preserved and what underwent alteration, and why; and also how and why premodern Zoroastrian priests understood, contested, and deployed the very concepts of innovation and tradition in the texts they composed and transmitted.

Kayla Dang's (Saint Louis University) contribution accounts for an important shift in Zoroastrians' view of a critical episode in their history: the tensions between the Zoroastrian priesthood and Mani in the early Sasanian era, and in particular the identity of the Zoroastrian priest who was Mani's principal antagonist. Why does the Book Pahlavi corpus cast Ādurbād ī Mahrspandān in this role, when both the Manichaean tradition and early monumental inscriptions in Middle Persian would seem to indicate otherwise? Arash Zeini (University of Oxford) examines the various layers of paratextual exegesis that are discernible in Yasna manuscripts, and how attention to the distribution and content of these paratexts sheds light on the Avesta's reception and transmission. Jamie O'Connell's (Princeton University) paper examines continuity and change in Zoroastrian dating practices, tracing and accounting for the concurrent use and even conflation of the Yazdgerd Era (beginning in 632 CE) and PostYazdgerd Era (beginning in 652) following the fall of the Sasanian Empire. Ted Good (University of Toronto) discusses the theory of human emotion laid out in the Dēnkard, and how this relates to Zoroastrian anthropology more broadly. Moritz Maurer (Heidelberg University) examines a shift in the transmission of the Zoroastrian texts, from orality to writing, and in particular how this shift was viewed in the later tradition. Concentrating on two passages in the Book Pahlavi corpus having to do with

astronomy, Thomas Benfey's (University of Oxford) paper looks at the Zoroastrian priesthood's engagement with the broader scientific mainstream: the extent to which Zoroastrian priests of the Sasanian and early Islamic eras were aware of contemporary developments in astronomical science, and how this awareness manifested itself in the Middle Persian texts they produced and passed down.

Kayla Dang

### **Mani's Antagonist(s) in the Zoroastrian Tradition**

Manichaean Coptic texts describe the death of the prophet Mani at the hands of a Zoroastrian priest named Kardel. This Kerdīr (fl. 260-300 ?) is known from his own monumental Middle Persian inscriptions as the high priest responsible for “striking” various religious groups (including Manichaeans) and promoting Zoroastrianism in the Sasanian kingdom. Despite Kerdīr’s evident fame and power in the third century, however, his name is not mentioned in extant Zoroastrian literary texts—which were mostly written and/or redacted in the ninth and tenth centuries. Yet Mani’s priestly opponent remains central to later narratives about his life and death, in new political and religious contexts. In many of the later Middle Persian sources, as well as in contemporary Arabic ones, Mani’s antagonist takes on the legendary features of another Zoroastrian priest: Ādurbād ī Mahrspandān, who was thought to be the high priest of Shāpūr II (r. 309–379) and to have survived an ordeal in which molten metal was poured on his chest. A newly published Manichaean Coptic text (from ca. 400) provides evidence that Mani did indeed interact with someone named “Adourbat the judge.” However, Ādurbād’s fame reached new heights in the ninth and tenth centuries, when his descendants promoted themselves as the inheritors of the Sasanian Zoroastrian tradition and also received a protected status from ruling Muslims.

Arash Zeini

**Ritual, text and exegesis in Zoroastrianism: A review of the manuscripts of the Pahlavi Yasna**

Zoroastrian manuscripts of the Yasna contain several layers of paratextual exegesis. These pertain to various properties of the texts and thus fulfil different functions within the Zoroastrian manuscript culture. As some of these paratexts are not distributed evenly across the manuscript families, they might also be useful indicators for identifying manuscript filiation. In this paper, I will examine what these exegetical features tell us about the priestly perception of the received text and how the Zand as a whole relates to the Avestan texts

Jamie O'Connell

### **Decoding Dating Formulas in Zoroastrian Sources**

This paper will investigate the history of two dating systems used concurrently in Iran after the fall of the Sasanian dynasty: the Era of Yazdegerd (beginning in 632 CE) and the PostYazdegerd Era (beginning in 652 CE). While the Post-Yazdegerd Era was until recently known only from legends on coins minted in Late Antique Tabarestan and from the colophons of later Zoroastrian texts and manuscripts, new evidence provided by seventh and eighth-century Middle Persian documents from Tabarestan and Qom proves that this dating system was in common use several decades earlier than previously assumed. Colophons in Zoroastrian texts and manuscripts of the ninth century and later indicate that the Post-Yazdegerd Era and Era of Yazdegerd continued to be used simultaneously for centuries by various Zoroastrian communities in Iran and India. However, Zoroastrian scribes eventually began to confuse these two dating systems, resulting in uncertainty for scholars regarding how to precisely date numerous Zoroastrian manuscripts. Through an examination of Middle Persian numismatic inscriptions, documentary evidence and manuscript colophons, this paper will trace the usage and later conflation of the Post-Yazdegerd Era with the Era of Yazdegerd in order to determine approximately when and for how long Zoroastrian scribes correctly employed the Post-Yazdegerd Era dating system. It will also examine why scribes continued to use this dating formula even when knowledge of its precise meaning had been lost.

Ted Good

**The Effusive Soul: The Science of Emotion in Dēnkard III**

Zoroastrian priests from the 9th century were not just looking into the Avesta and Zand, they were looking out into the world, and they were insightful observers of humanity. One important source for their philosophical anthropology is Dēnkard III, which analyzes all aspects of the person, and one interesting area is their analysis of human emotion. Dēnkard III sets knowledge and emotion as two distinct but mutually interacting threads within human psychology. Knowledge is how we understand god and the world, while emotions are more basic and condition one's mental state either helpfully or harmfully; emotional balance is ideal, since if one's emotions plunge into excess and deficiency, they manifest various psychopathologies. This paper will discuss a cluster of chapters that treat knowledge and emotion, and that culminate in an application of the framework of excess and deficiency to them and their associated psychopathologies. It will specifically discuss Dēnkard III 60, 61, 62, 63, 64.

Moritz Maurer

### **Tongues of the Living, Language of the Dead**

Sasanian Zoroastrianism experienced an essential change in the transmission of its texts. The adaptation of writing as a means of conserving knowledge had broad implications for the further history of the religion. Middle Persian Zoroastrian texts show different sets of ideas linked to mediality and language. Moreover, they were linked to various topics, from moral rules to postmortality. One of the most critical passages in this regard is found in Dēnkard III. From this vantage point, the talk will analyse the connections between these concepts and the shift in the transmission of the Zoroastrian tradition in the Sasanian period.



Thomas Benfey

**Zoroastrian Priests and Secular Science in the Sasanian and Early Islamic Periods: Two Astronomical Discussions in the Book Pahlavi Corpus and Their Context**

This paper will examine two important astronomical passages in the Book Pahlavi corpus, which can help us understand how and to what extent Sasanian and early Islamic Zoroastrian priests engaged with their broader cultural environment, and particularly the secular sciences (by which I simply mean those scholarly fields that were not specifically associated with one religious community or another; astronomy and medicine as opposed to, say, the exegesis of the Avesta). One of these passages appears in the fourth book of the *Dēnkard* and constitutes an important account of the Sasanian reception of Indian and Greco-Roman astronomy. A close parallel to this passage has come down to us via the early 'Abbāsid astrologer Māshā'allāh and a comparison between the two will be mutually clarifying. The other passage that I will discuss is from the epistles of the ninth-century priest Manuščīhr and shows a relatively sophisticated understanding of contemporary astronomical techniques. Altogether, these passages show that Sasanian and early Islamic Zoroastrian priests did engage with the broader scientific mainstream, even as this engagement often reflected specifically Zoroastrian concerns.

## Panel: Turks, Texts and Territory: Imperial Ideology and Cultural Production in Central Eurasia, 1000-1500

Convenor: Berg, Gabrielle van den

Panellists: Gabrielle van den Berg (Leiden University), Tobias Jones (Leiden University), Sara Mirahmadi (Leiden University), Nicholas Kontovas (Oxford University), Elena Paskaleva (Leiden University)

The 11th century marked the emergence of the originally nomadic Turks as a new political elite in the history of Central Asia and the Middle East. Under their powerful patronage, a new political culture arose in the Islamic world, inspired by an imperial rather than an exclusively Islamic outlook. This shift brought Persian into the limelight as a new cosmopolitan and imperial language across Central Asia, North India, Turkey, and Iran. Until a few decades ago, the received view was that the Turks, as nomadic rulers with a military background, needed Iranian bureaucrats to effectuate their rule over sedentary societies, and hence sedentarised themselves and adopted Persian culture in a one-way acculturation process. Though this view has been challenged in recent years, the idea of a dichotomy between the nomadic, uncivilised Turk, representing the "sword," and the sedentary, civilised Iranian, representing the "pen," persists in academic debate. The selected articles presented here are written by the members of the project *Turks, texts and territory: Imperial ideology and cultural production in Central Eurasia* funded by the Dutch Research Council. They aim to further challenge this binary view by bringing in the vast but understudied resource of cultural production, approached as an integrated phenomenon, across media, languages, and genres. The spatial framework is provided by representative Silk Road cities, situated at present in different nation-states: Samarqand, Bukhara, Herat, and Tabriz. As capitals and nodal points of medieval Turko-Persian empires, each of these cities represents a particular stage in the development of imperial ideology and its expression by means of literary and artistic production, as preserved in various examples of cultural heritage, cherished today as symbols of national identity. The aim of this project was to map the interaction between imperial ideology and literary and artistic production in a diachronic and synchronic perspective, and to contextualize policies of heritage in the modern nation-states, which emerged from the premodern Turko-Persian world.

Tobias Jones

### **The Honour of Submission: Mongol Political Rituals in Persian Chronicles**

With the rise of the Mongols in the 13th century and their establishment of various khanates across Eurasia, huge numbers of people suddenly found themselves forced to adapt to Mongol rule. After the dissolution of the united empire in 1259, the Chinggisid prince Hülegü established a new realm in the Middle East, the Ilkhanate (c. 1265-1335 CE). Under the Ilkhans, the Persian administrative classes served in a variety of official roles, as well as writing histories about the Mongols. These scholars regularly discussed Mongol political rituals, and made a varying degree of effort to try and explain these rituals to their readers. It is often stated or assumed that the Mongols did not imprint greatly on the regions they conquered, but certainly in this case, local elites necessarily had to understand how these political rituals functioned in order to meet Mongol expectations. Because these political rituals were outward signals of submission and loyalty, the Mongols and their subjects took them very seriously. The incorrect performance of these rituals could have dire consequences, while a good performance could lead to reward.

Thus, this paper will elaborate what these rituals were and what they meant, both to the Mongols who enforced them, and to the Persian literate classes who sought to understand them. The rituals which will be addressed are those of *soyurghamīshī*, *tikishmīshī*, *uljamīshī*, and *kāse giriftan/dāshtan*. These rituals are discussed primarily in the works of Juvainī, Rashīd al-Dīn, Vaṣṣāf, and Qāshānī. While these works are largely from ‘the centre’, written by court-appointed historians, this does give them significant insight into the workings of these rituals, given their close interaction with the Mongol elite. By elaborating on these rituals, Persian historians sought to address the cultural disconnect between Mongol overlord and Persian subject.

Sara Mirahmadi

**A King in the Sky: Rāvandī's Usage of Heavenly Bodies**

Heaven as the power above, whose bodies and their movements influence lives of people including kings, has always been in interaction with imperial ideology. Similarly, the Seljuqs also paid attention to this matter by constructing the first observatory in the Islamic world as well as patronizing astronomers during their reign. However, heavenly bodies had played a major role in Persian and Arabic literature long before the Seljuqs; to such degree that a set of specific imagery was created in relation to heavenly bodies which over time were evolved into themes and motifs. Rāvandī, a poet-historian of the 12th century also applied these motifs in his composition, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr va Āyat al-Surūr* dedicated to Sultan Kaykhusraw I of the Rum Sultanate. In this paper, I aim to investigate the way celestial bodies were treated in Rāvandī's poetry to legitimize the Seljuqs and in particular, his patron Sultan Khaykhusraw.

Nicholas Kontovas

**“The Tajiks call him Afrasyab”: Linguistic Saliency and Imperial Prestige in Mediaeval Eastern Turkic**

The purpose of this investigation is to determine what aspects of linguistic difference were most salient to Turkic-speakers in the “High” Middle Ages (apx. 1000-1450) in determining the boundaries between identity categories and through what discourse those speakers assigned to those differences linguistic prestige.

Consciousness of differences between different varieties of Turkic present today goes at least as far back as the *Dīwānu l-Luġāti l-Turk* in the early 11th c., and texts from Central Asia over the following centuries suggest that while structural differences between spoken varieties existed, they are only partially reflected in writing. This points to a concept of correct usage despite the lack of a single unified social or political entity to reinforce it.

In this study, texts composed between 1000 and 1450 are examined for specific mention of linguistic variation within Turkic. Descriptions of variants are analyzed according to two parameters: (1) indexicality of a particular group identity and (2) overt assessment of linguistic propriety. Finally, information was also gathered from primary historical sources indicating that certain identity groups were evaluated as possessing or lacking linguistic or broader cultural prestige and what, if anything, the source of that prestige was supposed to be. These value judgements were then compared to the assessment of forms associated with those labels, both elsewhere in the same text and in other texts.

These data reveal that across multiple time periods and regions, the most salient linguistic markers are either phonological attributes, elements of vocabulary, or the presence or absence of a particular morpheme. These features furthermore correspond to certain dialect groups which, from the beginning of Islamisation, are assigned prestige largely on the basis of their association with an overarching Turkic imperial, imagined as having existed in the distant past and eventually associated with the figure of Afrasyab from Iranian mythology.

Elena Paskaleva

### **The Architecture of Timurid Samarqand: Power, Patronage and Preservation**

Down through the centuries Samarqand has inspired poetic superlatives for the richness of its location, its flourishing economic and cultural life, and its dazzling architecture. Even though the city's history is very ancient, much of what attracts us to Samarqand today traces its origins in the era when the Central Asian conqueror Timur/Tamerlane (d. 1405) built his capital there around 1370. Timur's successors, notably starting with his grandson Ulugh Beg (r. 1409–1449), continued to adorn the city with monumental buildings. By the 19th century, when we begin to get foreign travel accounts, drawings, and photographs to document the state of the monuments, most of the great structures were in ruins. Plans to rebuild or restore some of them were developed as early as the first Soviet years, but the most significant projects were not implemented until the last third of the 20th century, beginning in the years prior to Uzbekistan's declaration of independence in 1991. The paper will elaborate on contemporary epigraphic restorations as a special form of patronage by local administrators.

Gabrielle van den Berg

### **Building an Empire with Poetry: Farrukhi Sistani and the Ghaznavid Court**

The first substantial amount of what became known as classical Persian poetry was written in a courtly context and dates from the 11th century. In particular the powerful Ghaznavid dynasty (11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century) attracted and supported large numbers of court poets, who were paid to offer their services on various occasions. One of these court poets was Farrukhi Sistani, whose romanticized road to glory has been handed down to us via Nizami 'Aruzi's *Chahar Maqala*. The corpus of poetry produced for the Ghaznavid dynasty by Farrukhi Sistani and other court poets was of vital importance for the development of a flourishing poetical tradition in the centuries to follow; moreover, it was a unique resource and important vehicle for defining and disseminating a new imperial ideology. In this paper, I would like to focus on the latter aspect of court poetry, by examining examples from the *Divan* of Farrukhi Sistani. This presentation is part of an ongoing project on Ghaznavid court poetry in the framework of the Turks, Texts and Territory project funded by NWO.

## Panel: New Directions in Ilkhanid Studies

Convenor: Brack, Jonathan

Panellists: Jonathan Brack (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev), Stefan Kamola (Austrian Academy of Sciences), Michael Hope (Yonsei University), Edith Chen (Oxford University), Tobias Jones (Leiden University), Bruno De Nicola (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

This double panel seeks to explore new directions on the study of the Ilkhanate (1260-1335) in late medieval Iran, specifically it focuses on two, interrelated themes: first, social ties and politics between Ilkhanid political centers and peripheries, and second, Ilkhanid histories, historiography, and manuscripts, from medieval to 20th-century Iran. In the last decade, Ilkhanid studies have considerably advanced with new monographs and edited volumes on topics ranging from the Ilkhanid state (for example, Hope's *Power, Politics, and Tradition*), gender and court life (for example, de Nicola's *Women in Mongol Iran*), patronage relations (Pfeiffer's *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge*), and historiography (Kamola's *Making Mongol History*). This double panel seeks to build and expand on this progress by further exploring key aspects related to political and social relations in the Ilkhanate and historiographical developments. Accordingly, the first panel is titled "Patrons, Princes, and Concubines: Social Ties and Politics between the Ilkhanid Centres and Peripheries." Papers in this panel explore the role of princes and regional commanders in the political makeup of the Ilkhanate, the patronage of Islamic culture under local Ilkhanid rulers and their relationship with the centers of Ilkhanid power, and the rise of concubines as major political players in the Mongol court and beyond. The second panel focuses on "Histories, Manuscripts, and Historiography - from Ilkhanid Iran to the 20th Century." The first two papers in this panel examine new questions related to the Ilkhanid vizier Rashīd al-Dīn's (d. 1318) historical writing and manuscripts of his works, specifically, whether we can identify Rashīd al-Dīn's lost history of Öljeitü and Rashīd al-Dīn's chapter on the Jews in his world history and its relationship to his refutations of the Judaism, while the third paper examines the manuscripts of a cookbook produced allegedly for the Ilkhan Arghun (r. 1254-1291 CE). The fourth paper in this panel offers a different view on the Ilkhanate exploring the image of the Mongols and the Ilkhanate in modern historical writing on the period.

## Session 1: Patrons, Princes, and Concubines: Social Ties and Politics between the Ilkhanid Centres and Peripheries

Chair: Stefan Kamola (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Michael Hope

### **What were princely estates for? A Study of Hülegüid Viceroys (1261-1297)**

During the first two years of his reign, Ghazan Khan (r. 1295-1304) launched a purge of his senior male relatives. This gruesome measure successfully reduced the number of his potential rivals and put an end to the periodic rebellions that blighted the reigns of his predecessors. It also highlighted the important role princes played in the political history of the Ilkhanate up to that point, and obliges us to explain what this might have been.

Recent scholarship has challenged the prevailing wisdom that the imperial family were entitled to a division of the empire. Munkh-Erdene has shown that the creation of autonomous princely estates was a measure only adopted by Chinggis Khan, while Peter Jackson has convincingly demonstrated that the subsequent division of the empire in 1260-1263, was the product of internecine conflict between the different branches of Chinggis Khan's royal line, rather than an orderly transmission of family wealth. The appointment of princes to regional command in the Ilkhanate therefore bears little resemblance to these earlier divisions and was rather a pragmatic response to the unique challenges facing the Hülegüids in their administration of *Iran-zamin*.

The present paper will suggest that, aside from any hands-on political experience attained by the princes, their assignments were intended to renew bonds of fealty between regional commanders, *quda* (in-law) lineages, and the Hülegüid dynasty. Their retinues were typically small and princes were required to make periodic visits to the Ilkhanid *ordu*, where they served as interlocutors between the regional armies and the khan. Instability at the *ordu* diminished their ability to perform this function and their ties to regional armies often placed them in a precarious political position, which often led to their violent removal.



Edith Chen

**Under the Tatar Yoke: Patronage and Decline in the Persian Local Courts (1220-1300)**

How scholars viewed the Mongol rule of Iran involves a peculiar paradox. First, it was widely seen as being devastating to the lands and people on its path. The destruction from the war and the high tax rates were thought to have led to the decline of Iran. On the other hand, scholars often portray the 13th century as the heights of Persianate culture. The era produced a flowering of poetry literature that are considered the classics of New Persian, including notable poets such as Sa'di Shirazi and Rumi, as well as being the heights of Persian historiography. This paper looks at this paradox, particularly in the finances and the patronage of Islamic culture under the local rulers. Drawing on local histories from Fars, Yazd, Kirman, and elsewhere, I look at who these local allies were, their unique relationship with the Mongol rulers, and compare the nature and kinds of patronage that these local dynasties engaged in before and after the establishment of the Ilkhanate in 1260. I argue that patronage declined after 1280 as a result of the Mongols' interest in confiscating surplus revenue in these dynasties. Furthermore, I examine the kinds of patronage projects taken up by the Mongol amirs who had converted to Islam, as well as by Mongol-appointed governors to these areas after the fall of the local dynasties by the end of the 13th century, in order to investigate the pattern of cultural patronage in Mongol Iran.

### **Sexual Slaves or Political Stakeholders? Concubines in Mongol Iran**

Concubines and slave women have formed a key part of Middle Eastern societies and many others throughout much of history. With the advent of Turco-Mongol groups such as the Seljuqs and the Mongols, nobly-born women married to the khans, known as *khatuns*, dominated the female positions of power in these dynasties. These women's open involvement in politics often shocked contemporary historians and scholars. However, over time, these *khatuns* were less often able to produce heirs for their rulers, weakening their practical influence if not their status. Concubines began usurping the *khatuns'* childbearing role, and many of their children rose to rulership. In the period of the Ilkhanate in the Middle East, several concubines managed to break through the glass ceiling of their lower birth to achieve full wife status. While this may have been due to the lower reproductive ability of the late Ilkhans, the concubines' position in later Turco-Mongol dynasties such as the Timurids and the Ottomans only increased, completely supplanting official wives in the latter case. In analysing some of the individual concubines who rose to prominence in the Ilkhanid and Timurid realms, it is clear that many of them were not slaves at all, but rather daughters of high-ranking elites. Their status could also be enhanced by being passed from one ruler to another through the levirate. While these women played a dangerous game in challenging the position held by the *khatuns*, some of them were quite successful, and contributed to the development of women's political roles in the Turco-Mongol world.

## Session 2: Histories, Manuscripts, and Historiography- from Ilkhanid Iran to the 20th Century

Chair: Michael Hope (Yonsei University, Republic of Korea)

Stefan Kamola

### **Sultanic Versions: searching for the history of Öljeitü**

The reign of Öljeitü Sultan (1304-1316) is known primarily through two edited sources: ‘Abd Allāh Qāshānī’s *History* of that reign and Hāfiz-i Abrū’s *Continuation* of Rashīd al-Dīn’s *Blessed History of Ghazan*. Rashīd al-Dīn tells us that he at least planned a history of Öljeitü as part of his *World History*, but no version of that work has preserved the regnal history of the ilkhan that Rashīd al-Dīn knew most intimately of all. Recently scholarship has shown that Rashīd al-Dīn made extensive use of Qāshānī’s work elsewhere, and that Hāfiz-i Abrū prepared at least two versions of his *Continuation*: one following the format of the *Blessed History* and a later version integrating significant material from the epic verse *Book of Victory* of Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī. And yet, at least two other continuations of Rashīd al-Dīn’s history have survived in manuscript that have not received any scholarly attention. This paper attempts to compare accounts of Öljeitü’s reign prepared in the first century after his death to better understand the relationship between Rashīd al-Dīn and Qāshānī’s works and the degree to which Hāfiz-i Abrū revised his *Continuation* using late Ilkhanid sources. It may be that some version of Rashīd al-Dīn’s lost history of Öljeitü can be identified among the manuscript materials.

Jonathan Brack

**Persian Israelites: Jewish History and Anti-Jewish Polemics in Rashīd al-Dīn's Works**

The paper explores the Islamic reception and integration of Jewish narratives and traditions and Muslim polemical responses in the medieval Perso-Islamic world. It focuses on the chapter on the "Children of Israel" (*Banī Isrā'īl*) in the Perso-Islamic world history, the *Compendium of Chronicles* (*Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*). The *Compendium* was composed in the early fourteenth-century Mongol court in Iran (the Ilkhanate, 1260-1335) by the vizier, physician, intellectual, and Jewish convert to Islam, Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 1318). The *Compendium's* chapter on the history of the Israelites occupied a unique place in the landscape of medieval Islamic historiography on the Jews. It was not only the first Perso-Islamic history dedicated to the Israelite prophets and kings, but its author also claimed to faithfully report this history as it was reported by Jewish authorities. The chapter introduced to Muslim readers new information about the Israelite kings and prophets, and did so from an avowedly Jewish perspective. The proposed study will explore the historical and political context that led to the integration of new knowledge about Judaism at the Ilkhanid court, and the role that Jews, converts, and other religious interlocutors played in this process. Specifically, it will focus on the relationship between the chapter and Rashīd al-Dīn's refutations of Judaism and the Torah in his theological collections

Bruno De Nicola

**'Feeding the Ilkhan: a rare work on food and medicine from 13th century Mongol Iran.'**

Scholars of the Mongol empire have long discussed the role of nomadic rulers as cultural brokers between East and West. After the Mongol conquest in the 13th century 'cultural channels' opened through safer roads and court patronage that allowed a more fluid circulation of goods, people and ideas across Eurasia. Through these channels, eastern and western knowledge on both food and medicine circulated widely and, often, together, across the empire. The famous book *Soup for the Qan* (Paul D. Buell) is an eastern example of this exchange but not the only one. A work, allegedly produced for the Ilkhan Arghun (r. 1254-1291 CE) has survived to our days in a variety of manuscript copies currently held in different libraries around the world. Perhaps for not being edited until recently, the text has escaped the attention of scholars until now. The text presents a list of different eatable products organised in different categories (meat, vegetables, nuts, etc.) and briefly explains the appropriate ways to cook these products. Simultaneously, it alerts the reader of the positive and negative effects that ingesting each type of food can have on the health of the consumer. This paper will try to identify the author and explore the context in which the text was produced. Further, it will discuss the contents of the text and how it fits into our understanding of cookbooks and traditional medicine in the Mongol empire. Overall, this paper aims to bring to the discussion a hitherto neglected text to explore aspects of socio-cultural life at the Ilkhanid court in 13th century Iran.

## Panel: History, Archaeology and Environment of Sasanian Ardaxšir-Xwarrah (Firuzabad, Fars): New Results from Multidisciplinary Investigations

Convenors: Callieri, Pierfrancesco & Engeskaug, Aleksander

Panellists: Pierfrancesco Callieri (Bologna University, Ravenna Campus), Rika Gyselen (CeRMI), Alireza Askari Chaverdi (Shiraz University), Paolo Severi (Bologna University, Ravenna Campus), Aleksander Engeskaug (SOAS, University of London)

This thematic panel is concerned with the history, archaeology, and environment of the Sasanian city of Ardaxšir-Xwarrah, located near present-day Firuzabad in Fars. Ardaxšir-Xwarrah, also known as Gor, was one of the most important cities of the Sasanian empire (ca. 224-651 AD), according to historical sources founded by Ardaxšir I, perhaps before his accession to the throne in Ctesiphon, and it lived on as a flourishing provincial city for several centuries after the Islamic conquest.

The objective of the proposed panel is to bring together a group of scholars from different disciplines in order to approach the archaeology and history of Ardaxšir-Xwarrah from a multidisciplinary angle. The scholars will each present a piece of new research on Ardaxšir-Xwarrah, based on their own respective methodologies and source materials. Collectively, these papers will contribute towards a reassessment and advancement of our understanding of the history and society of Ardaxšir-Xwarrah in the Sasanian and Early Islamic periods.

Of the five papers, three will be based on archaeological research, while two papers will be based on the study of textual sources. Pierfrancesco Callieri will give an account of the activities and main results from the recent work in Ardaxšir-Xwarrah by the Iranian-Italian Joint Archaeological Mission in Fars. Alireza Askari Chaverdi will present new archaeological findings from the larger Ardaxšir-Xwarrah province, focusing especially on the area between Ardaxšir-Xwarrah and the Persian Gulf. Paolo Severi will address the question of crafts and production within the city of Ardaxšir-Xwarrah, based on archaeological, archaeometric, and topographical research. Rika Gyselen will survey the numismatic and sigillographic testimonies pertaining to Ardaxšir-Xwarrah. And lastly, Aleksander Engeskaug will discuss one of the most important literary sources for the history of Ardaxšir-Xwarrah.

Pierfrancesco Callieri

**Archaeology and environment of the Firuzabad plain: the Iranian and Italian multidisciplinary studies**

Following the support provided to the ICHHTO for the inscription in the UNESCO World Heritage list of the multiple site “Sassanid Archaeological Landscape of Fars Region”, the speaker was invited in 2018 to start a collaboration within the activities of the Iranian-Italian Joint Archaeological Mission in Fars on the Firuzabad area, the funding of which was included in a project of the Ministry for the Italian University, approved in 2019 and still ongoing. Due to the pandemic, unfortunately only one fieldwork campaign was possible, also because in 2021 the Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research stopped the project, considering it a priority for the Joint Mission to devote all its resources to completing the excavation of Tol-e Ajori. The one campaign, with all its limitations, nevertheless produced remarkable results that demonstrated the validity of the project’s multidisciplinary approach, which is fundamental for the reconstruction of the palaeoenvironment that historiographical sources claim was profoundly altered by Ardashir I. The speech will serve to present the main objectives of the Iranian-Italian project, to briefly illustrate the main results of each of the multidisciplinary activities conducted, and to outline a research path that future activities can, or rather should, bear in mind.

Rika Gyselen

**Ardašīr-xwarrah: Numismatic and Sigillographic Testimonies for the Sasanian and Post-Sasanian Era**

The historiographical textual sources are much more explicit and narrative on Ardašīr-xwarrah than are the numismatic and sigillographic testimonies. Although very laconic, it is nevertheless the latter that reflect the true historical situation in the Sasanian and post-Sasanian eras. The seals of the administration in the Sasanian territory show that a region included several provinces, and that each province had several districts and a provincial capital, a *šahrestān*. This type of data is sometimes also mentioned in the historiographical sources: Pārs was divided into provinces (the number varies between five and eight) one of which was Ardašīr-xwarrah, that the latter was divided into four districts and that its provincial capital was Gōr-Ardašīr-xwarrah. This contribution seeks to show to what extent primary sources can currently confirm or invalidate these textual data, and provide additional information.



Alireza Askari Chaverdi

### **From Firuzabad to Persian Gulf: Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah's Districts**

An archaeological survey and review of the archaeological sites of Sasanian province of Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah has been ongoing since 2019 as the contribution of the Iranian team from the Shiraz University to the Iranian-Italian project, with the aim of recognizing the trade routes in Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah province from Firuzabad to the Persian Gulf and locating the possible harbours of the Early Sasanian period. This survey has made use of the previous seminal contribution of the mission of the Shiraz University particularly in the areas of Lamerd-Mohr and Gâvbandi (Parsian), which are likely to be part of this territorial system. These activities provided a strong archaeological information basis on the Southern coasts and hinterland plains of Fars province which has flowed into the research project financed by the Italian Ministry for University. In order to understand the trade, economic and cultural relations of the Persian Gulf with the highland plains, besides the available geographical and 3 historical information, archaeological findings from the coastal plains (Sirâf, Nâyband, Gâvbandi and Rostag), inland plains (Lâmerd, Mohr, Jam, Khonj, Qir, Kariyan, Hangam, Dehram, Dejgâh) and highland plains (Firuzabad, Farashband, Bachun, Kavar and Shiraz) represent a fundamental source. The aim of this presentation within the panel for ECIS 10, is to substantiate the reconstruction of the administrative system of these districts with archaeological findings in the Sasanian and Islamic eras.

Paolo Severi

### **Craft productions in Sasanian Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah**

Despite much research dedicated to it, the ancient circular city of Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah is still only superficially known. The wealth of architectural remains of the buildings of the city testifies to its importance, and in a similar way the great quantity of surface archaeological materials is witness of a continuative and vivid life of the centre. The absence of reliable stratigraphic sequences from the site prevented the material culture from previous surface surveys from being assigned a position in the different horizons of the more than one thousand years of habitation of the settlement. However, the archaeological and archaeometric study of the materials, both of valuable objects and raw materials, allows speculating on the position of the site within the widespread and complex commercial and supply pattern. In this frame, the drone topographical survey of the central sector of ArdaxšīrXwarrah carried out during the 2019 season brought to light traces of several structures, never documented before, with possible connection to the craft productions. Furthermore, the geophysical anomalies detected could be attributable to traces of furnaces. The aim of this contribution is to deepen the studies about the craft production at Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah, searching to understand possible relation between the environment, craft facilities and the objects and raw materials documented.

Aleksander Engeskaug

**The Archives of Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah: On the Middle Persian *Hazār dādestān* as a Historical Source for the City and Province of Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah**

The Middle Persian legal compendium titled *Hazār dādestān* contains a few references to the archive of the mowbeds of Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah, in addition to descriptions of documents and protocols concerned with circumstances local to Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah. This led Anahit Perikhanian to suggest that the *Hazār dādestān* was in fact written in Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah, since the compiler, Farroxmard ī Wahrāmān, seems to have had access to a large number of records local to that city and province. Other scholars, like Maria Macuch, have been more careful, not really discussing the place of production of the *Hazār dādestān*. The purpose of this presentation is to evaluate the *Hazār dādestān* as a historical source for the city and province of Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah, and to revisit the question of the work's place of production. The question will be approached in three ways. First by examining the passages that explicitly pertains to Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah, then by analysing the geographical range of the toponyms mentioned in the work, and lastly by analysing the intellectual network of the many priests and legal scholars that occur in the book. Based on this, it will be argued that the *Hazār dādestān* was indeed produced in Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah, and that it was, to a large degree, based on local records and local knowledge. This has a huge significance not only for our knowledge about the economy and society of Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah, but also for the city as an intellectual centre and a centre of literary production.

## Panel: Indo-Iranian Ritual: Comparative Aspects of Philology, Text Traditions, Religious and Cultural History

Convenors: Cantera, Alberto & Sadovski, Velizar

Panellists: Alberto Cantera (Freie Universität Berlin), Velizar Sadovski (Austrian Academy of Sciences), Kyoko Amano (Kyoto University), Maria Piera Candotti (Università di Pisa) & Tiziana Pontillo (University of Cagliari), Paola M. Rossi (Università degli Studi di Milano), Sasha Lubotsky (Leiden University), Jaime Martínez-Porro (Freie Universität Berlin), Benedikt Peschl (Freie Universität Berlin), Rezanía (Ruhr-Universität Bochum), Götz König (Freie Universität Berlin), Redard Celine (University of Strasbourg) & Daruwalla Kerman (SOAS, University of London), Elia J. Weber (Freie Universität Berlin)

Indo-Iranian ritual tradition is transmitted to us in two branches, which exhibit a series of impressive parallels but also notable differences. A reconstruction of a Proto-Indo-Iranian ritual nucleus is only possible when we employ the data of both complexes of sources. Noteworthy, scholarly research of Iranian ritual is less advanced than the long-year tradition of studying the richly ramified Vedic ritual schools.

Only in the last years, a series of successes was scored in the field of the Avestan liturgy, which showed the extreme importance of this material from comparative and historical perspective, too. Thanks to the recent assessment of numerous Avestan liturgical manuscripts and the new edition of the *Nērangestān*, we now know much more about the structure of Mazdean liturgies as well as about the employment of the extant Avestan texts in the real context of the corresponding ritual activities—and not only in the decontextualized form of the individual corpora extracted from the liturgical manuscripts. New Indo-Iranian perspectives have been furnished by the discovery of the significance of the comparison between the Avestan “Long Liturgy” and some apocryphal Vedic traditions (Sadovski 2017, 2018a, 2018b). It is this field of tension between common heritage and cultic innovation that we have to keep in mind when analysing, first intrinsically and then in comparison, litanies, ritual modules and entire liturgical complexes of the Vedic and Avestan ritual poetry on the quest of individual key concepts and their combinations in major structures. The basis of comparison between Indic and Iranian rituals is, in this sense, solid: both major ritual structures and individual ritual modules of the *Yasna* have Vedic correspondences—in the *Khilas* of the *Rigveda* and in old *Yajurvedic* rituals.

Ever since the beginning of Indo-European Studies, the comparative evidence of Ancient Indic and Iranian texts has been playing a decisive role in the reconstruction of Proto-European grammar, sacred texts, myths and rituals.

On the one hand, there are strong linguistic correspondences between the Old Indian of the Vedas and the oldest Iranian languages – the two Old Eastern Iranian idioms ('Old' and 'Young Avestan') and the Western Iranian languages Old Persian and 'Median' – in the framework of all subsystems of language, from phonetics and phonology, incl. prosody, via morphology and morphophonology, up to lexicon, syntax, and phraseology. Such correspondences point out to common heritage and allow us to propose reconstructions of a Proto-Indo-Iranian *Zwischengrundsprache*, reconstructions whose linguistic validity is well verifiable on all language levels. On the other hand, Indic and Iranian cultures, esp. ritual and religious traditions, represent a rare and lucky case in which, after the split of the earlier (Indo-Iranian) language community, its two main branches remain in close language contact also afterwards, in a complex system of areal relations that has been leading to serious mutual influences up to modern times.

The parallels between Old Indic and Old Iranian traditions are essential on other levels of intellectual, cultural and religious history, too. Ritual texts, cosmogonic myths and magic spells contain clear formulaic, poetic, and metatextual correspondences whose Proto-Indo-Iranian origin is evident: in some cases, one can directly translate a poetic formula from Avestan to Vedic Indian! What has largely lacked so far, was the systematic comparison, on inter-textual level, of cultic activities, liturgies and ritual complexes, in which the oldest Indian and Iranian texts were usually embedded as powerful 'performative speech acts', as prayers, hymns, multipartite litanies.

In the last decades, after the discovery of new text material (such as the Paippalāda version of the Atharvaveda) and especially after the beginning of the new analysis of the Yasna and Visperad by Jean Kellens and the research clusters on the Avestan liturgical manuscripts, we can see a constantly increasing number of examples of correspondences in ritual texts (formulae but also larger sequences such as lists) and ritual practices from the Avestan liturgical context with data of the Vedic ritual literature. Entire liturgical units of the Avestan and Vedic rituals can now be linked – and even compared module by module – with one another, thus demonstrating the sense of what Louis RENOUE used to call 'grammar of ritual'.

The study of the formal-and-semantic parallels of ritual elements and their compositional arrangement brings us to crucial discoveries: We find routine-by-routine and even word-by-word correspondences between liturgical formulae lists and catalogues of the two language traditions: After comparing sounds and word-formations, now is time to compare entire ritual litanies and liturgies contained in the Vedic *Samhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūtras* and the Avestan liturgical complexes of Yasna, Visprad and Vidēvdād. The correspondences in ritual, myth and religious notions and systems have deep relevance on theological, cosmological and anthropological level. There are, however, notable differences, too,

which lead to the difficulty of the task to reconstruct an original form of common tradition. Therefore, we consider appropriate to bring together not only defenders but also contenders of the comparative approach to the study of Vedic and Zoroastrian rituals.

The proposed panel intends to display the achievements of comparative Indo-Iranian studies so far, to trace new directions of scholarly co-operation between Vedists, Avestologists, specialists in Achaemenid and Sassanian studies, as well as, more generally, between Indo-Europeanists, philologists and scholars of history of culture and religions with the aim to continue the reconstruction of Proto-Iranian heritage and later mutual influences on the various levels of pertinence.

The panel aims to bring together philologists and, historians of religion, ritual and spiritual ideas of Vedic Indian, Old Iranian (Avestan, Old Persian), Middle and Modern Iranian with different theoretical backgrounds, who work on the reconstruction of Indic and Iranian ritual and religion.

Session 1:

Kyoko Amano

### **Conversion of the Mantras from the Soma Ritual into the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifice**

The Vedic rituals of ancient India and the Zoroastrian rituals of Iran are thought to contain elements dating back to the Indo-Iranian Common Era, the most important of which are the Soma/Haoma ritual. The Srautasutras (the earliest, 5th-6th century BCE), which are often used in studies of Vedic rituals, have already incorporated many modifications into the soma ritual, so that the earliest description of the soma ritual in its original form can be obtained from the Black Yajurveda-Samhitas (ca. 9th-7th century BCE). This paper examines the Maitrayani Samhita, which contains the oldest of these descriptions.

At the stage of the Srautasutras, the Vedic rituals are categorized into the isti type with the new- and full-moon sacrifice as the basic form and into the soma type with the agnistoma as the basic form. In other words, the new- and full-moon sacrifice and the soma ritual are recognized as different types of rituals. However, an examination of the mantras commonly found in the both rituals, along with the ritual contexts, reveals that the mantras of the soma ritual are converted in the new- and full-moon sacrifice with a change in usage and interpretation. A particularly important example is *urv anrtarikam vihi* "Cross the wide atmosphere." This examination highlights the novelty of the new- and full-moon sacrifice in the Vedic ritual, and at the same time shows that the mantras and the philosophy of the soma sacrifice were rooted in an older tradition.

**Maruts and the ritual paths to immortality: hints of Indo-Iranian doctrines**

In 1929 Barnett maintained that the ancient Iranian Fravašis as a “host of genii dwelling in heaven and constantly waging battles in the sky against the power of darkness” might have found a place in more recent imagery as a group of storm-gods comparable to the Vedic Maruts. Chakravarty (1991-2) questioned the lateness of this assumed replacement, showing that this function was already meaningful in the RV. Dumézil (1953) emphasised that the Maruts and the Fravašis were indeed both warrior groups in the service of a pre-eminent god (Indra/Ahura Mazda), who could be included in the list of heirs to the Ilr. Männerbund. Widengren (1965), on the other hand, insisted on the pre-Zoroastrian character of the Fravašis. Most importantly, Gnoli (1982) asserted that the Maruts had no special relationship with the dead and their cult, which was instead crucial for the ancient Fravašis (Boyce 1975:124-7; Hintze 2009).

The purpose of our paper is to show that the Vedic Maruts might have originally been in a close relationship with the afterlife, since they were mortal men who later on attained the fellowship of the gods (Meyer 1883:218). In other words, they assumed the role which Söderblom (1899:408) attributed to the Fravašis, as personifications of the souls of the dead. We will point out the relevance of Samavedic data (e.g. PB17.1, JB2.224) that illustrate the role played by the Marut-stoma in securing access to the svarga loka for the Vratya group of Daivas.



Paola M. Rossi

**The so-called parimād sāmans of the classical Vedic mahāvratā rite: sovereignty, animal imagery, and vrātya culture**

The present paper would focus on peculiar ritual chants (sāmans) sung at the beginning of the mahāvratā-stotra, that is the ritual laud (stotra) of the Vedic classical mahāvratā rite. As festival of the winter solstice (Witzel 2005), it is characterized by sattra-features and non-standard śrauta ritual elements - referring also to the so-called esoteric milieu (Amano 2016) of the vrātya culture (Falk 1986; Pontillo-Dore 2016) connected to the I-E. Männerbund (Kershaw 1997). Nonetheless, the mahāvratā vrata is connected to the new paradigm of sovereignty promoted by the Kuru hegemony (Witzel 1995), and ultimately included in the classical ritualism. In actual fact, as agniṣṭoma, it entails both the stoma and the stotra sections, but, amongst the sāmans belonging to the mahāvratā-stotra, the parimād sāmans are relevant to the mahāvratā vrata rite: particularly, the last one appears to allude both to figures of poets 'roaming in the wilds' (vanargu), ascetic 'bovine men' or something similar (Parpola 2011), and 'royal splendor' (varcas). This paper aims at probing the possible relationship between the new paradigm of the Kuru sovereignty, aspiring to turn the pre-Kuru chieftain into a supra-tribal and 'cosmic' leader, and an 'esoteric' warrior culture, like the vrātya one, which must have been somehow implied in such a cultural transformation.

Alberto Cantera

**Again on the Visperad**

Our conception of the Visperad has changed in the last years. Now we know that, according to the Avestan texts, all the variants of the Long Liturgy are considered vispa- ratu- and we also know what does exactly mean. In the present paper I intend to analyze the additional sections of a Visperad liturgy in comparison with a Yasna in order to determine which was exactly the different function of this specific variant of the Long Liturgy. Furthermore, it should be checked if such a categorical distinction between Yasna and Visperad already existed in the antiquity.

Velizar Sadovski

**Ritual lexicon, formulae and activities in compositional modules of the Avestan Long Liturgy and of multipartite Vedic liturgies**

This paper continues the series of investigations of parallels between ritual formulae and ritual pragmatics in the Avestan and Vedic liturgies, presented during the first edition of the workshop in the framework of the 34th Deutscher Orientalistentag at Berlin 2022 as well as on earlier occasions (Sadovski 2009, 2012ab, 2016, 2020ab etc.). After a brief introduction summarizing what has been said in 2022 about the formulae at the beginning of the Yasna (Y. 2–6, Y. 3) and in (Yajur ) Vedic liturgies (inter alia, containing elements like YAv. ā-uuaēδaiia- vs. OInd. á-vedaya-), the first part of the paper will expand on new results of comparative and contrastive interest: We find routine-by-routine and even word-by-word correspondences between liturgical formulae lists and catalogues of the two language traditions. In this sense, the main part of the paper will display further formulae, textual parallels and contextual comparanda both from the introductory and conclusive parts of the respective liturgies and from the preparatory rites.

Sasha Lubotsky

**Indo-Iranian \*nabh- 'to be wet'**

In my paper I'll argue that the Sanskrit verb nabh-, which is usually glossed as 'to burst', rather means 'to be wet' and can thus be connected to the Iranian forms of a similar meaning.

Session 2:

Jaime Martínez-Porro

**What was the Zoroastrian hamāg-dēn ceremony?**

The modular system present in the Zoroastrian rituals allows a great flexibility in the composition of the rituals. Occasionally there appear in the Pahlavi or Persian meta ritual literature different rituals mentioned, of which we have no trace in the Avestan manuscripts. However, knowing how the mechanism of rituals works, one can try to decipher the puzzle of those ceremonies of which we do not have any manuscript. This contribution will discuss the "*hamāg-dēn*" and the "*dwāzdah-hōmāst*", proposing a possible old structure based on the modular system of the rituals.

Benedikt Peschl

### **The Zand of the Visperad: traditional material in a late redaction?**

Among the major Zand texts, the thinly transmitted Pahlavi Visperad (PVr) has so far received only limited attention. Nevertheless, this text raises interesting questions regarding the constitution of the litany sections of both the PVr and the Pahlavi Yasna (PY), sections that cannot be easily related to a specific Nask of the Sasanian “Scholastic Avesta” as described in the Dēnkard.

I will initially present indications suggesting that the material contained in the PVr essentially goes back to the same stock as the litany sections of the PY. (1.) To render some of the rarer Avestan technical expressions that are restricted to the Visperad, the PVr employs translation techniques that resemble those found in the PY. (2.) Some of the material preserved in the PVr shows reflexes in the wider realm of Pahlavi literature, which likewise speaks against a particularly late dating of this material. However, the PVr also shows signs of an independent and later redaction compared to that of the PY, especially when we look beyond the domain of words and at the treatment of phrases and formulaic frames.

To account for this conflicting evidence, I will discuss the concept of a traditional stock of Zand renderings of Avestan deities’ names, epithets and other technical terms. This stock would have been available for post-Sasanian redactors to draw from when compiling the litany sections of the PY and, at a still more recent date, the PVr.

Kianoosh Rezaia

### **The Economization of the Afterlife in Zoroastrian Eschatology**

Postulating the existence of a concept of the future and a moral valuation as necessary conditions for the existence of an eschatology in a religion, we can speak with a good degree of certainty of an individual eschatology in Zoroastrianism since the Young Avestan period. This eschatology relates the quality of the soul's postmortem life to the deeds of the individual in his earthly life. Although this causal relationship may seem obvious to us today, it must have been an astonishing novelty in the antiquity.

The paper will present some preliminary results of the project "Metaphorizing the Metaphors: The Development of the Zoroastrian Language of Eschatology", one of the projects of the Collaborative Research Centre "Metaphors of Religion. Religious Meaning-Making in Language Use" (<https://sfb1475.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/>). The project investigates the emergence and development of the Zoroastrian eschatology by examining five historical layers of Zoroastrian literature from the 12th century BC to the 17th century AD.

This paper will discuss the emergence of Zoroastrian eschatology as an institution, which had to ensure social order in an increasingly complex society. It will identify the economic rationale in this development and attempt to justify the view of this process as rationalization. The paper examines both Avestan and Zoroastrian Middle Persian texts, focusing on conceptual metaphors, especially those based on concepts related to the field of economics.

Götz König

**On the question of the unity of the Yašts**

In the course of the 20th century, various attempts have been made to understand the YAv Yašts as part of an Indo-Iranian or Indo-European hymn tradition and/or to give determinations of their literary formations by which their unity is established. While the former attempt seems to me to presuppose what would first have to be proven, the problem with the latter is that there is probably no literary characteristic that can establish a categorical unity of all texts called “Yašt”. Therefore, we will examine whether the term “Yašt” (or Pahl. “Yasn”) is applied to a set of texts a) because only this set contains the material for specific forms of celebration, and/or b) the unity of the term “Yašt” is established by a specific ‘liturgical formular’, which was perhaps productive until modern times.

Redard Celine and Daruwalla Kerman

**The ritual directions of the Yasna in the Indian tradition compared to the Iranian tradition**

The ritual actions accompanying the recitation during the performance of the long liturgy have been transmitted in the written tradition and have also been preserved in the living performance. In the Indian tradition, ritual directions in Gujarati language are found in liturgical manuscripts dating back to the 16th century. These have continued into the early printed editions of the 19th century, and are part of the present priestly training manuals.

A study of the ritual directions of selected passages in the oldest extant Indian Yasna Sade manuscripts, like ms. 100\_B3, highlights a variance with the Iranian tradition. These manuscripts also preserve certain ritual actions which have subsequently been lost in later editions as well as in the living tradition. This talk will present the findings of the ongoing study of the transmission history of the ritual directions in the Indian liturgical tradition.

Philippe Swennen

**The structure of the Mihr Yasht: an attempt at interpretation**

In recent decades, the question has arisen as to whether the present appearance of the Mihr Yasht of the Avesta is authentic, or whether it is the result of the secondary assembly of different poetic pieces. The present paper will review the issue and make new arguments in favour of the plausible authenticity of the narrative structure of the text as we know it.

Elia J. Weber

**Tvaṣṭṛ, Gāuṣ tašan and the ritual practice of animal sacrifice**



## Panel: History and Culture of Pre-Islamic Afghanistan

Convenor: Ching, Chao-jung

Moderators: Chao-jung CHING (Kyoto University), Minoru INABA (Kyoto University)

Panellists: Nicholas Sims-Williams, Ryoichi Miyamoto (Nara University), Hirotoshi OGIHARA (Ryukoku University), Minoru INABA (Kyoto University), Alisher Begmatov (New York University)

### Themes

This panel is intended to examine the historical, philological and linguistic value of Bactrian documents from various angles. Objectives At this panel, we hope to enhance communications between European and Asian scholars concerning recent progress in Iranian Studies and Central Asian Studies. We shall attempt to discuss unearthed written texts, especially the ones written in Bactrian and other Middle Iranian languages by undertaking an interdisciplinary discussion.

How the proposed participants will discuss and approach the themes of the panel: We plan to divide the panel into two sessions as below. In brief, Session A will focus on the analysis of Bactrian documents. It begins with two papers on Bactrian documents concerning religions in pre-Islamic Afghanistan (Paper 1 & 2). A broader philological and linguistic comparison of contract clauses that crosses Tumshuqese and other Iranian languages is placed at the end of session (Paper 3).

In Session B, some topics treated in the previous session will be reflected by providing archaeological evidence from Eastern Afghanistan (Paper 4) and Samarkand (Paper 5). Finally, the view of 4th-century and 5th-century Central Asian Buddhists concerning the cultural geography of Bactria and Tukharistan (cf. Skt. Tukhāra-, etc.) as reflected in different Chinese translations of *\*(Abhidharma)vibhāṣā(śāstra)* will be demonstrated (Paper 6). In this way, one of our main topics will be how to interpret the attestations of τοχωαρστανο "Tokhwarstan" in Bactrian texts.

## Panel Layout

### **Session A: Historical and cultural approaches to Bactrian documents**

Paper 1: N. Sims-Williams, Manichaeism in Bactria [Iranian Philology / History / Religious Studies]

Paper 2: R. Miyamoto, Notes on the Bactrian contracts mentioning God Wakhsh and God Ramset [Iranian Philology / History / Religious Studies]

Paper 3: H. Ogiwara, Reconsidering the ownership clause in the Tumshuqese sale contracts [Iranian Philology / History / Cultural Histories]

### **Session B: Cultural Geography of pre-Islamic Afghanistan from broader perspectives**

Paper 4: M. Inaba, Revisiting Khair Khana: a consideration on the history of 6th-7th centuries in Eastern Afghanistan [History / Art, Architecture and Archaeology]

Paper 5: A. Begmatov, Bactrian Sealings from Samarkand [History / Art and Archaeology]

Paper 6: C. Ching, *Poquli* and *Boheluo*: on various transcriptions of Balkh or Bactria in Chinese Buddhist texts [History / Iranian Philology]

## Session A: Historical and Cultural Approaches to Bactrian Documents

Nicholas Sims-Williams

### **Manichaeism in Bactria**

Nowadays we have access to a substantial body of Bactrian documents from Northern Afghanistan dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. Although only a few of these have any religious content, it is clear from personal names, as well as from other sources such as the earlier coins and inscriptions of the Kushan period, that the traditional religion of Bactria was a variety of Zoroastrianism (with some “unorthodox” elements such as the worship of the local god Kamird or the Mesopotamian goddess Nana). Buddhism was also well established, as appears from a few Buddhist texts in Bactrian as well as from other sources such as the accounts of Chinese and Korean travellers. However, no trace of Manichaeism has been found in the Bactrian documents, nor in the archaeological record, though Manichaean sources describe the religion as having reached Bactria already in the time of Mani, and some scholars have argued that it retained a strong presence there for many centuries thereafter. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to weigh up the textual and linguistic evidence for Manichaeism in Bactria.

Ryoichi MIYAMOTO

### **Notes on the Bactrian contracts mentioning God Wakhsh and God Ramset**

In the Bactrian contracts written in Tukharistan, there are eleven documents (Docs. L, Nn, O, P, Q, Ss, Tt, U, Uv, V, W) in which God Wakhsh (βαγο σαχβο) and God Ramset (βαγο ραμοσητο) are mentioned as ones of the witnesses. The former is a local deity that was worshipped in this region since ancient times, but the latter is a Sogdian one who first appeared in Tukharistan in the late 7th century CE. In this presentation, I will examine the historical background of the mention of the gods as witnesses of a contract and the appearance of the Sogdian god in Bactrian ones. Although there are numerous contracts written in Central Asian languages other than Bactrian, it is almost only in the Bactrian ones that a deity (or more) is mentioned as a witness to a worldly transaction. Moreover, the list of witnesses is placed at the beginning of the main text of the Bactrian contracts (except for Docs. T, Uv), but it is generally found in the ending part of the ones written in other Central Asian languages. Therefore, I will start with investigating when and where these exclusive conventions in Tukharistan originated. There is no doubt that the appearance of God Ramset in Tukharistan was related to the migration of the Sogdians to this region. In the second part of my paper, I will seek to trace their activities from a broader geographical scope around Tukharistan.

Hirotoſhi OGIHARA

(with the collaboration of Chao-jung CHING)

**Reconsidering the ownership clause in the Tumshuqese sale contracts**

Since Sten Konow founded the philological study of Tumshuqese in 1935, scholars have dedicated much effort to this new field. However, irrespective of the linguistic proximity between Tumshuqese and Khotanese, the decipherment of the former is less developed due to the paucity of its written corpus and the *Fremdzeichen* in the local variant of the Brāhmī script. Previously, the Tumshuqese *Karmavācanā* was the only text that had enabled scholars to decipher this Eastern Middle Iranian language by comparing with the parallels written in other languages, but recently, a more general comparison of socio-economic documents unearthed in Central Asia by D. Hitch has promoted the study to an important extent. Following the same approach, this paper will analyze the transfer of ownership in several Tumshuqese sale contracts by comparing it with the writing traditions in Sogdian, Bactrian, Khotanese, Niya-Gāndhārī and other languages. The result can further help scholars to clarify some Tumshuqese expressions thus far vaguely interpreted.

Minoru INABA

**Revisiting Khair Khana: a consideration on the history of 6th-7th centuries in Easternn Afghanistan**

The archaeological site of Khair Khana was situated on the slope of a mountain, commanding the pass on the northwestern side of the city of Kabul, Afghanistan. Nearly a century ago, the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan (DAFA) excavated the site, revealing that it was a double shrine, the upper building of which had been constructed after the complete leveling of the lower shrine. Shoshin Kuwayama proposed a hypothesis that the story about the replacement of deities on Mount Congling (Mount Aruna) described by the Chinese Buddhist monk Xuanzang in the first half of the seventh century could pertain to what actually occurred at Khair Khana. However, no scholar seems to have further investigated or expanded upon this hypothesis. In contrast, thanks to the remarkable progress in numismatic studies since the last quarter of the 20th century, we have a better understanding of the post-Kushan history of the Kāpīśī-Kābul region. To contribute to the reconstruction of the pre-Islamic history of the region, I would like to consider what occurred in this area just prior to Xuanzang's visit to Kāpīśī.

Alisher Begmatov

### **Bactrian Sealings from Samarkand**

This paper chiefly focuses on the Bactrian sealings unearthed from Kafir-kala, a site located in the south-eastern vicinity of Samarkand, which is presumed to be a residence of the Sogdian kings (Exšēδs). The total number of the sealings discovered from this site constitutes approximately 700 specimens. The impressions on these sealings represent distinctive facets of various art traditions, including Hellenistic, Graeco-Roman, Kushan, Sasanian, and to a lesser extent Indian, and Turkic. Among them, Bactrian art traditions have been vividly represented. Some of them are identical with those found in Bactria. One of the most frequently recovered sealing types is the bust impression depicted in three-quarter view with “Sasanian” attire, otherwise occasionally referred to as “Hunnic”, and accompanied by a Bactrian legend. From the “Sasanian-style” crown to the double pearl necklaces of the figure, all look identical to sealings from Bactria. The preserved part of the Bactrian legend (between three and five o’clock) of the Kafir-kala sealings can be read (κ)ορᾶνορᾶο “Kushān-shāh”. The word “Kushān-shāh” can be observed in the legend of the analogue sealings of Bactria: “... lord Ularg(?), the king of the Huns, the great Kushān-shāh, the afshiyān of Samarkand.”

Chao-jung CHING

***Poquli* and *Boheluo*: on various transcriptions of Balkh or Bactria in Chinese Buddhist texts**

In 1897, S. Lévi translated a phrase in the Chinese Buddhist text T.1547 *\*(Abhidharma)vibhāṣā(śāstra)* (translated by Saṅghabhūti et al. in 383 CE) as “Le Bhagavat connaît la langue *Tchen-tan* mieux que les hommes du *Tchen-tan* (Skt. *Cīnasthāna*- “China”); le Bhagavat connaît la langue *Teou-k’iu-le* mieux que les hommes du *Teou-k’iu-le*”. In P. Pelliot’s opinion, the final word (Pinyin *Douqule* 兜佉勒) presents Skt. *\*Tukhāraka-* or an Iranian form of it, but both he and Lévi neglected an obscure word *Poquli* 婆佉梨 (Early Middle Chinese *\*ba-khia-li*) in the same text.

During my research, N. Sims-Williams (p.c. Feb. 2019 in Kyoto) suggests that *Poquli* represents the area around Balkh (cf. ‘βαχλ’ in Doc cd). Based on this idea, I shall show the difference between T.1547, T.1545 (translated by Xuanzang in the 7<sup>th</sup> c.) and T.1546 (translated by Buddhavarman et al. in 437-439). In brief, the equivalent of *Poquli* is not present in T.1546 but occurs as *Boheluo* 博喝羅 (Late Middle Chinese *\*pak-xat-la*) in T.1545. As a result, another obscure word *Boquli* 薄佉利 (EMC *\*bak-khia-li*<sup>h</sup>, cf. Skt. *Bahli-*, etc.) in T.1435 denoting a style of robes probably means a Bactrian fashion.

Saṅghabhūti’s homeland was unknown, but his helper Dharmanandin was a native of *Douqule*. Their distinction of *Poquli* from *Douqule* will help us to reflect the evolution of geographical concept of Bactria and Tukharistan in pre-Islamic Afghanistan.



## Panel: Ta'zīyeh Studies: Revivifying the Field

Convenors: Deacon, Lucy & Rahimi, Babak

Panellists: Lucy Deacon (University of Edinburgh), Moslem Nadali-zadeh (Ahlul Bayt International University, Tehran), Elisabeth Dutton (University of Fribourg, Switzerland), Hawraa al-Hasan (University of Cambridge), Babak Rahimi (UC San Diego)

Is the Iranian tradition of *ta'zīyeh-khānī* (or *shabīh-khānī*) largely a product of the much famed elite patronage enjoyed during the Qajar period? Or is it better conceived as a folk tradition, developed through the dedication of the masses, and periodically appropriated by the ruling classes? And when *did* it emerge? Was its genesis a mid-18th century phenomenon, as has long been the dominant theory (at least on the level of international scholarship)? Or, do its roots stretch back into the Safavid period, as strongly suggested by sources published in Iran during the last decade? Who were the early *ta'zīyeh* composers and performers? What were their connections to other devotional performance forms? Is it time to revisit with a more critical eye the numerous European travelogues, relied upon heavily for their Muharram accounts, questioning how preconceptions of race and religion influenced what they recorded? And, indeed, shouldn't we ask what they may have missed?

Despite many important questions in the field of *ta'zīyeh* studies either being left open, or begging renewed attention due to the availability of new sources, the international field has been markedly quiet during the last two decades. The foundations for the scholarly study of *ta'zīyeh* were laid between the mid-1960s and the late 1970s by Peter Chelkowski, Bahrām Beyzā'ī, Muḥammad Ja'far Maḥjūb, Šādeq Humāyūnī and others, leading to a flurry of international interest towards the close of said period. Such scholarship dealt largely with defining the characteristics of this form of devotional drama, theorising about its emergence, and how it relates to other dramatic forms, with some limited attention was given to its verse. International interest in the topic then dwindled.

There are exceptions to this recent inertia. Jamshid Malekpour's *The Islamic Drama* (2004), a weighty section of William Beeman's *Iranian Performance Traditions* (2011), and Mahnia Nematollahi Mahani's *The Holy Drama* (2013) have all made significant contributions. Other scattered, yet important articles or chapters include: Negar Mottahedeh's "Karbala Drag Kings and Queens," and "Ta'zīyeh: A Twist of History in Everyday Life" (2005); Babak Rahimi's "Takkiyeh Dowlat: The Qajar Theater State," (2013), and "Ta'zīyeh Close-Up" (2022); and Lucy Deacon's "Remembering Through Re-Enacting: Revisiting the Emergence of the Iranian Ta'zia Tradition," (2019), and "The Curious Addition of Non-Religious Characters to *The Martyrdom of Imam Husain*," (2021), are examples of such.

However, this level of attention is slight compared to the advances made in the scholarship inside of Iran, and the level of potential provided for by the fresh sources being made available. Important examples include 'Enāyatullāh Shahīdī and 'Alī Bulūkbāshī's *Pazhuheshī dar ta'ziyeh va ta'ziyeh-khānī* (2002), categorizing the plays by theme, looking closely at their verse, types of dialogue, considering the composers' sources and the influence of improvisation; Moslem Nadalizadeh's, *Shabīh az negāh-e faqīh* (2012), looking at the relationship of the 'ulama' to the tradition; Muḥammad Ḥusain Nāṣerbakht's *Adabiyāt-e īrānī va āyīn-e shabīh-khānī* (2017), analysing the composition of *ta'ziyeh* plays and drawing parallels with other Iranian literary forms; Dāvūd Faṭḥ-'Alī Baigī's *Āshnāyī bā mabānī-ye shabīh-khānī* (2017) addressing *ta'ziyeh*'s literary features, and the influences of mysticism, and myth. Furthermore, edited volumes of important script collections have been published. For example, Ḥasan Ṣāleḥī Rād's, *Majāles-e ta'ziyeh*. 2001 includes 50 episodes from Darbandsar, and Dāvūd Faṭḥ-'Alī Baigī and Mehdī Daryāī have published editions of a variety of historical scripts originating in Iran's Markazi Province, including the oldest scripts to have come to light thus far.

On the principle that it is time to draw this scholarship together, and revivify the field internationally, this panel offers new ways to consider the *ta'ziyeh* tradition, challenging existing paradigms. It includes scholars of Shi'i studies, of literature and manuscripts, features a *ta'ziyeh* performer based in Iran, and a comparative perspective from a leading scholar in Medieval Christian Drama. They will examine the *ta'ziyeh* repertoire as literature, including how the evidence of historical scripts can inform our knowledge of the tradition's emergence. The engagement of foreigners with the *ta'ziyeh* in the 19th century C.E. will be examined in relation to "race" theory; and an anthropological approach will be taken, considering the orality of the tradition and sensory experience of participants in the *ta'ziyeh* ritual.

Lucy Deacon

***Ghārat-e khaimeh-hā* (The Plunder of the Camp): A Safavid Era *Ta'ziyeh* Script (?) and its Implications**

The recent publication of an edition, and images, of a *ta'ziyeh* episode *Ghārat-e khaimeh-hā* (The Plunder of the Camp) dated 1136 A.H. (1724 C.E) has caused something of a stir amongst scholars of the tradition — this is, by far, the earliest script to have come to light. The composer is given as Aḥmad Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Vā'eẓ Khānsārī, his *takhalluṣ* is “Fanā'ī”. The copyist states that the author was “late” at the time of his transcription (Fath-'Alī Baigī and Daryāi, 1394 S.H., 13-14). Thus, Fanā'ī was a Safavid era composer, this a Safavid era composition. The relative sophistication of the play suggests a tradition well underway. Furthermore, its closing lines call for blessings upon all who mourn Imām Ḥusain, not only the audience but the “*ta'ziyeh-khān*” (performer) and “*nuskkeh-gardān*” (composer), indicating that these were recognized roles: this an established tradition. Some have long argued for *ta'ziyeh*'s existence during the Safavid period. However, the dominant scholarly paradigm has been that it emerged in the mid-18th century C.E, born of a fusion of the narratives of the *rawzeh-khānī* recitals with the *tableaux-vivant* staged atop wagons in the Muḥarram processions. If the date on this script is reliable, that theory should be urgently reconsidered. But how reliable is the date? Can we re-write history based on a handful of humble unbound booklets? Conscious of the challenges of using historical scripts as sources, this paper addresses these questions through a literary and compositional analysis of the script in question and its comparison to a version of the same episode featuring in the “Chodzko Manuscript” (BnF Supplément Persan 993), procured in Tehran in 1833.

### **A Reflection on the Relationship of *Ta'ziyeh* to Historiography**

*Ta'ziyeh* or *shabīh-khānī* is considered the most important type of dramatic religious literature in Iran; it portrays historical religious narratives, with the events of 'Āshūrā' and the martyrdom of Husain ibn 'Alī at its centre. Formed over hundreds of years, this religious drama reports these events in an artistic way. *Ta'ziyeh* is an artistic reporting of history. Times and places are made to appear as one before the eyes of the audience, and the distance between the dawn of time and eternity, between east and west, seems not to exist. What we have is an encounter between truth and falsehood: good and evil. In this respect it is possible that the *ta'ziyeh* composers set about creating characters that had no external reality. Rather, on a typological level they are symbols of certain natures, representing society's conception of evil and the meta-physical world. Those critiquing *ta'ziyeh*'s historicity have disputed the existence of some characters or their presence during certain events, while the *ta'ziyeh* does not intend to give a meticulous and accurate historical account. Rather, this religious drama reports the battle of good and evil through the heroes of religious history. On this basis, the narratives as reflected in *shabīh-khānī* must be studied with attention to the divergences from the historical accounts. For the most part these changes have been made in order to have a greater effect on the audience (both in terms of provoking sadness and joy), with the goal of imparting religious knowledge. In this paper, through the study of a number of *shabīh-khānī* texts, we will examine the different forms of reporting history within the *ta'ziyeh* plays, and the intention of the *ta'ziyeh* composers — the artistic reporting of religious history.

Elisabeth Dutton

**'Aungelys dayly to me doth aper, But not in the lyknes of man': women and visions of Gabriel in *ta'ziyeh* and the medieval English 'N Town' mystery plays**

Western visitors to Iran, including 19th century British diplomats, likened *ta'ziyeh* to the medieval English mystery plays that presented biblical stories: 20th century theatre director Peter Brook described *ta'ziyeh* as the 'most living form of mystery play that still exists'. I understand *ta'ziyeh* to be an indigenous Iranian tradition, rather than one causally related to Christian drama, but could close comparative study of *ta'ziyeh* and medieval biblical drama nonetheless be mutually illuminating? I will explore dramaturgical features common to the two traditions as independent manifestations of theatre's affordances for an expression of divine narrative. For Brook, sacred theatre depends on a particular collaboration of audience and actors. Furthermore, theatre's fundamentally embodied form allows actors and audience a sense of proximity to the divine. The dramaturgy of *ta'ziyeh* and of the medieval mysteries maintains a delicate balance between distancing of actor from character and conscious collapsing of boundaries of time and space: through anachronistic props, costumes, spoken references, and conflation of locations, boundaries between the world of story and of audience are blurred. I will explore these ideas with reference to the medieval English N Town plays and the episode edited by Pelly as 'The Conversion of a Christian Lady', which offers an intriguing bridge between Christian and Islamic tradition, especially as edited by a European Christian. Specific points of dramaturgical comparison include the presentation of visions, in which an audience is, as it were, staged within the play; the procession of holy women in the *ta'ziyeh* play, which bears interesting comparison with the procession of prophets in N Town; and interactions between female characters and the Angel Gabriel.

***Ta'ziyeh* and Arthur de Gobineau's 19th Century Theories of Race**

This paper argues that Arthur de Gobineau's work on *ta'ziyeh* played an important role in the application of his racial theory to the Persian context, where he saw the plays as markers of Aryan superiority. Gobineau used the *ta'ziyeh* to corroborate his claim that all great civilizations (and by extension the cultural products which emerged from those civilizations) were Aryan of origin, even comparing the *ta'ziyeh*'s depiction of the story of Hussain to the great Greek tragedies. In so doing he diverged from the opinions of other commentators on the *ta'ziyeh* whose publications appeared after Gobineau's French translation in the form of travelogues or works of literary criticism. These latter texts saw the plays as oriental curiosities that did not even compare favourably to the Medieval passion plays with which they were often compared. Moreover, those who attended the performances often found them excessively emotional, crude and even barbaric in their ritualism. If Gobineau's reaction to the plays differed dramatically from those of some of his contemporaries, it was because extolling the virtues of the plays fitted neatly with the racial narrative he proposed. He notes, for example, that European mystery plays were 'vulgar', whereas nobility was always a feature of the discourses of the Persian *ta'ziyeh*. Ultimately, Gobineau extracted the plays from their religious and historical Islamic and Shia context and embedded them in a transnational racial narrative

Babak Rahimi

**The Question of Orality in *Ta'ziyeh*: Memorialization, Improvisation, and the Sensory Imaginary**

The Shi'i dramatic traditions of *ta'ziyeh* have been commonly thought of as oral performances of ritual character. In light of limited textual source material and written manuscripts, the dramatic mourning narration of the life, suffering, and martyrdom of Shi'i martyrs, in particular the Prophet's grandson, Hussain, involves simple, direct stylized poetry with shifting rhyme-schemes; in words of French Orientalist, Arthur de Gobineau, *ta'ziyeh* reflects a popular and colloquial language. The orality of *ta'ziyeh* is in its performed social milieu, an event in the spoken language of a devotional character, one that, in distinction from writing, is about what Walter J. Ong calls "communal wisdom," expressed in situational frames of reference tied to the human lifeworld. This paper expands on the orality of *ta'ziyeh* by arguing that the verbalized sonic performances of the dramatic traditions are not only about acoustic discourses but also the sensorial to imagine how things would be in different temporal and spatial contexts, namely, the battle of Karbala. The sensory imaginary is the cognitive ability to transform the lived world into something different, experiencing reality anew, although temporarily in a calendrical ritual period. While orality includes memorization and, in varying degrees of dramatic performances, improvisation, the oral-aural medium of expressions in *ta'ziyeh* involves the imaginary component that makes orality possible as a speech-driven communicative practice. The paper then offers examples of how the sensory imaginary plays a crucial role in the orality of *ta'ziyeh* in both physical and digital communication mediums.

## Panel: Studies on the Intellectual and Cultural History of Late Pahlavi Iran

Convenors: Devos, Bianca & Steele, Robert

Panellists: Bianca Devos (Philipps-Universität Marburg), Robert Steele (University of California), Marziyeh Bazyar (Iran University of Science and Technology), Anna Heller (Philipps-Universität Marburg), Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet (University of Pennsylvania), Elyas Pirasteh (Philipps-Universität Marburg), Ali Ansari (University of St Andrews)

These panels bring together scholars who explore aspects of the intellectual and cultural history of Iran in the period between the Anglo-Russian invasion of Iran in 1941 and the revolution of 1978- 79. By focusing on cultural policy and cultural production, these panels seek to contribute to augmenting a deeper understanding of state and society during the Pahlavi period. While nationalism and ideology have received considerable attention in the historiography of Pahlavi Iran, the myriad ways in which these were articulated and received have been less extensively explored.

Culture is a useful means through which to explore late Pahlavi state, society, and nationalism because there were so many competing narratives of Iranian identity, including the official ideology of the regime, which was itself complex and had various (often competing) strands. Furthermore, artists and writers often circumvented the Pahlavi regime's rigid control of political activity by engaging with its cultural policy through cultural production.

In their work, the contributors touch upon several questions: Did the state attempt to create a homogenised national culture during the late Pahlavi period? How did this develop in the years between 1941 and 1979? What policies did the shah and his ministers enact to achieve this? What was the role of intellectuals – both those in Iran in the service of the state, and foreign Iranologists – in formulating ideology, and disseminating it through cultural means, for example by writing texts, or holding academic conferences? How important was religion in the context of Pahlavi cultural policy?

How was this cultural activity received by the population, and how did they respond to it? How did they support or oppose the regime's efforts to homogenise national identity through cultural activity? And to what extent were artists hindered by state censorship? Or, on the other hand, to what extent were artists liberated by the 'enlightened' cultural atmosphere promoted by the Pahlavi court?



Session 1:

Marziyeh Bazyar

**The 6th Bahman Museum: Exhibiting the White Revolution in the Late 1970s**

This paper explores the 6th Bahman Museum, which was inaugurated in 1977 and which was designed to exhibit and commemorate the shah's White Revolution, first launched in 1963. The museum was built underneath the Shahyad Tower, which had been constructed as part of the celebrations to mark the 2,500th anniversary of the founding of the Persian Empire. Some scholarly work has been done on the Shahyad Tower itself, but very little on the 6th Bahman Museum. The paper explores how this museum reflected the state's efforts to disseminate its ideology to the population and glorify the achievements of the shah and how the White Revolution was contextualized within a longer historical narrative. It shows that the museum, though novel in its focus specifically on the White Revolution, was part of a broader policy of utilizing museums to strengthen the narratives that legitimized Pahlavi rule, both in the past fifty years and in the future towards the Great Civilization. They were also part of the state's efforts to connect the Pahlavis to an ancient monarchical tradition – indeed, the Pahlavis were presented as the highpoint of this long and illustrious tradition. The paper is based on a wide range of previously un-examined primary sources from the National Library and Archives of Iran, including letters between ministers and court officials, legal declarations and decrees, reports and official museum guidebooks.

Anna Heller

### **Representations of Women in Theatre History: The Example of Loretta Hayrapetian**

In accounts of 20th century cultural history, female creative artists are still overshadowed by their male contemporaries, as is also the case for the theatre of late Pahlavi Iran. Biographies of famous female stage stars, whose names on posters once acted as crowd pullers, are still lacking. This gap results from various reasons, of which the lack of sources on women in the theatre is only one. Most interestingly, women make numerous appearances in theatre history—but always as those who remember, and less so as those who are remembered. Thus, in works with subtitles such as “Memories of...” the focus is set on the male actors of the cultural establishment as they are remembered by their female associates. So far, it seems that historians simply forgot to ask their time witnesses also about the women of the theatre as a subject of research in its own right. Therefore, Afsaneh Najmabadi’s approach for Qajar Women’s history that “if we use gender as an analytic category, sources about men also become sources about women” (Najmabadi/Bayoumi, 2020) applies to the theatre of Pahlavi era as well. One of the few exceptions is the biography of Loretta Hayrapetian (1911-1998; Loretā Heyrāpetiyān), a pioneer of early theater. Her biography by Zaven Ghoukassian (2007) is subtitled “Jewel of the Ring of Iranian Theater”, whereas Loretta’s husband ‘Abdol-Hoseyn Noushin is remembered in an active connotation as its “founding father”. This dichotomy is used as an example to discuss which representations of women in theatre can be derived from male-oriented theatre historiographies and how, in comparison, women are represented when they themselves are the focus of research.

Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet

**In the Limelight: Print Culture, Mass Media, and Politics in Late Pahlavi Iran**

Persian society discovered the print medium in the nineteenth century. Newspapers of the Qajar era evolved from focusing on short informational features to offering editorial reflections on politics and society. For approximately the first half of the twentieth century, print medium remained the principal mode of sharing information publicly, until radio technology arrived around the start of the Second World War, and the television in 1957. This paper will focus on the emergence and impact of multisensory news-making and cultural production in late Pahlavi Iran. Using a range of primary sources, including archival documents, newspapers other printed materials from the 1950s, 60s and 70s, it will grapple with how onscreen programs on television and in cinemas shaped cultural tastes that were being challenged in local communities and non-televised cultural performances. I hope also to gauge the effectiveness of visual media in Iranian politics of the late Pahlavi period.

Elyas Pirasteh

### **Religious Censorship in the Late Pahlavi Era (1958-1979)**

During the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah, the government, in addition to promoting and supporting its desired ideologies, took several measures against alternative ideas. One of these measures was censorship. Censorship covered various areas, but since in the 1960s and 1970s the government had full control over the visual media, the control and sensitivity were more on foreign radios and printed media. Apart from political issues, which were the most problematic, the most sensitive contents were about religious issues. Persian services of the foreign radios had limited hours and mainly dealt with the political news of Iran and the world. In terms of religious subjects, these media posed fewer challenges to the government compared to printed media. A department was formed in the Ministry of Culture to censor books executed by a group of experts. The government during the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah was not a completely secular government, and there are various pieces of evidence of its involvement in favour of Shiism. One proof of this matter is the religious function of the censorship system. The censorship system simultaneously eliminated and limited revolutionary and dangerous Islamic ideas for the monarchy, as well as anti-religious, anti-Islamic, and anti-Shiite ideas. Moreover, it prevented the propagation of other religions as well. For religious censorship, clerics or people with religious education used to examine books and express their opinions about them. The criteria of this group of censors were not always the same and varied with the change of the composition of these people as well as the external political and social conditions. This research aims to present an image of the sensitive issues of religious censorships with regard to the conditions of the society in the last two decades of Pahlavi rule.

Session 2:

Ali Ansari

**Abdolhossein Zarrinkub and the Development of the Discipline of History in 20 th Century Iran**

This paper will examine the contribution of Abdolhossein Zarrinkub to the development of the discipline of history in 20th Century Iran. Zarrinkub studied at the University of Tehran under the renowned professor of Persian literature Badi'ozzamān Foruzānfar, and rose to prominence in the 1960s and 70s as a leading scholar of Persian literature and Iranian history. Looking beyond his famous study of Iran in the aftermath of the Arab-Muslim conquest, *Two Centuries of Silence* – a book which required a government health warning when it was reissued in the Islamic Republic – this paper will investigate his writings on the historian's craft and his attempts to instil a more rigorous methodology into contemporary Iranian historical writing.

Bianca Devos

### **Pahlavi Intellectuals and Islamic Mysticism in the 1970s**

As long as historical research on Pahlavi Iran focused on the 1979 revolution, it considered Islam in the 1960s and 1970s a quasi-monopoly of the political opposition to the regime. This often obscured the fact that also the Pahlavi elite was concerned with religion, for instance in search of a form of Islam that was compatible with official modernism or perceived as genuinely Iranian. An academic example of such efforts can be seen in Henri Corbin's work *En Islam iranien* (1971), which, co-financed by the Iranian state, drew the picture of a speculative Islam with mysticism and theosophy at its core. Being accessible through different approaches, Islamic mysticism attracted the special interest of various groups. After the death of Ayatollah Seyyed Hosein Borujerdi, an outspoken opponent of mysticism, in 1961, members of the Shi'ite clergy engaged more openly with mysticism in connection with philosophy, as Mohammad Hosein Tabataba'i, Morteza Motahhari or Ruhollah Khomeini did. At the same time, Islamic mysticism also had its appeal for the educated elite trained in the West, as can be seen in the example of Seyyed Hossein Nasr, who embraced it as a "mindexpanding game of an intellectual" (Michael Fischer (1980): *Iran. From Religious Dispute to Revolution*, p. 146). In addition, it was the personal spiritual experience and the aesthetic dimension of Sufism, which attracted Western-oriented, modernist circles of the Pahlavi elite. Last but not least, scholarly interest in classical Persian poetry continued to instigate the study of the mystical dimension. This presentation will explore the trend toward Islamic mysticism within the Pahlavi elite of the 1970s, focusing in particular on the hitherto little-noticed criticism of Sufism by advocates of a rationalist modernism.

Robert Steele

**Intellectuals in the Service of the State: The Imperial Cultural Council and the Role of Iranologists in Late Pahlavi Cultural Policy**

The Imperial Cultural Council (*Showrā-ye Farhangi-ye Saltanati*), established in November 1962, was an advisory body that oversaw cultural projects undertaken by the Imperial Court, and sought to direct cultural operations concerning Iranian studies worldwide. In the Council's early reports, organisations such as the British Royal Society were frequently cited, and it was intended that the Council would be a similar type of organisation; an internationally-recognised body that could dictate the contours of scholarship on Iran both within Iran itself and internationally. The Council was made up of ten of the leading scholars of the day, including Ebrāhim Purdāvud, Sayyed Hasan Taqizādeh and Sa'id Nafisi. The shah's cultural counsellor, Shojā' al-Din Shafā, served as the secretary general. This paper explores the place of scholarship – more specifically Iranian studies scholarship – in late Pahlavi cultural policy, and the roles of Iranian studies scholars themselves in devising and enacting cultural policy. By examining the Imperial Cultural Council and the work of its members, this paper aims to build a nuanced picture of the strategies and policies enacted to stimulate Iranian studies in Iran and worldwide. It also questions what subjects and disciplines were given greater attention by the state, exactly how these were supported, and how Iranian studies fit within broader cultural policy.

## Panel: The Idea of Just Ruler in the Persianate World & Its Embodiment in Art and Material Culture

Convenor: Habibi, Negar

Panellists: Negar Habibi (Univresité de Genève), Elena Paskaleva (Leiden University), Shervin Farridnejad (Hamburg University), Mélisande Bizzoire (Aix-Marseille Université), Mira Xenia Schwerda (University of Edinburgh)

Iranian kings, or those who reigned in Iranian lands, seem to follow the idea of the Just Rule; a pious ruler who looked after the divine and the spiritualities of his subjects as well as their earthly lives and needs; one who extended righteousness and peace among his people, but also patronized the constructions of palaces, gardens and new towns. The idea of a just ruler may be found in the pre-Islamic ideas that improved and flourished in the Islamic era by Iranian philosophers, poets, authors and artists.

Our panel focuses on how art and architecture demonstrate the idea of just ruler in Iranian lands from Central Asia to Tehran in Iran from the 14th to the 19th centuries. Four articles will show how different kings and rulers, not necessarily of Iranian origin, looked for the Iranian ideas of the just ruler by patronizing the new constructions, books richly illuminated and in the modern era by employing mediums such as photography for propagating and nationalizing the image of the king.

As such, the papers present the most influential dynasties governing Iran from the Timurids in the 15th century till the Qajars in the 19th. Our survey on the idea of a just ruler starts with Elena Paskaleva (Leiden University), who brings us to the Timurid royal architecture in Samarqand. Negar Habibi (Université de Genève) and Shervin Farridnejad (Hamburg University) discuss the idea of Kingship and the celestial royal Farr in the 16th-century Shah Tahmasp' *Shahnama*. Mélisande Bizoirre (Université d'Aix-Marseille) reviews one of the unknown periods in Iranian art history and discusses Afghans and Afsharids' quests for legitimation through art production just after the fall of Safavids in the 18th century. Mira Xenia Schwerda (University of Edinburgh) examines the popular and Constitutionalist imagery while looking at Muhammad Ali Shah's and Ahmad Shah's kingships, both at the very end of the 19th and early 20th century.

Our panel's papers are a selection of the forthcoming issue of the *Manazir journal* (a Swiss platform specialized in studying the MENA region's visual arts, architecture and heritage) edited by Negar Habibi. <https://bop.unibe.ch/manazir/forthcoming>.



Elena Paskaleva

**Samarqand's Congregational Mosque of Bibi Khanum as a Representation of Timurid Legitimacy and Rulership**

The Bibi Khanum Congregational Mosque is the largest Timurid monument in Samarqand. Commissioned by Timur himself after his military campaign to India in 1399, the mosque's architecture can be interpreted as a visual representation of Timur's dynastic ambitions to surpass the architectural achievements of the preceding Islamic dynasties. Striving for political legitimacy beyond the legacy of Chinggis Khan, Timur may have followed and exceeded the monumental scale of the architectural ensembles in the Ilkhanid capitals of Tabriz and Sultaniyya. In an attempt to secure the continuity of the Timurid dynasty, Timur's successors adopted Yuan iconography and visual vocabulary to forge ancestral and artistic genealogy that directly related the Timurids to the Mongols via the aesthetic legacy of the Ilkhanids and the Yuan. Their cultural production thus secured the continuity of the Timurid royal patrons as just successors of Chinggis Khan.

Negar Habibi & Shervin Farridnejad

### **The Idea of Kingship in Safavid Iran: The Sacred King in the Shah Tahmasp Shahname**

This paper aims to trace the pre-Islamic Zoroastrian concept of 'royal divine glory' (farr) through its visual translations within the Iranian manuscript cultures in the Safavid period, specifically in the illustrations of the *Shahname-ye Shahi* in the 16th century. Reviewing the longue durée Idea of Iranian Kingship perceived within the Safavid royal ideology in the reigns of the first two monarchs, we delve into the *Shahname* paintings to see the artists' assets for showing the Iranian king's divinity and dignity and the way they managed to deliver a difference between the profane and Shiite iconographies. We took for model in the Shah Tahmaps *Shahname* nine illustrations of Zahhak's story, the most tyrannical legendary King. Indeed, to see the artistic manifestations of the Royal Farr, we looked precisely at the scenes where the "true" king is literally absent.

Mélanie Bizzio

**Artistic legitimization strategies of post-Safavid sovereigns in Iran (1722-1750)**

The Idea of Kingship in Safavid Iran: The Sacred King in the Shah Tahmasp *Shahname* This paper aims to trace the pre-Islamic Zoroastrian concept of 'royal divine glory' (*farr*) through its visual translations within the Iranian manuscript cultures in the Safavid period, specifically in the illustrations of the *Shahname-ye Shahi* in the 16th century. Reviewing the *longue durée* Idea of Iranian Kingship perceived within the Safavid royal ideology in the reigns of the first two monarchs, we delve into the *Shahname* paintings to see the artists' assets for showing the Iranian king's divinity and dignity and the way they managed to deliver a difference between the profane and Shiite iconographies. We took for model in the Shah Tahmasp's *Shahname* nine illustrations of Zakhak's story, the most tyrannical legendary King. Indeed, to see the artistic manifestations of the Royal Farr, we looked precisely at the scenes where the "true" king is literally absent.

Mira Xenia Schwerda

**Visualizing Kingship in an Age of Revolution: The Portraiture of Muhammad' Ali Shah (r. 1907-09) and Ahmad Shah Qajar (r. 1909-1925)**

This paper examines photographic royal portraiture and the visualization of Kingship in the age of modernity. Photographic portraiture of the last two Qajar rulers, together with printed and painted examples, will be analyzed in connection with social and political developments in order to better understand the development of royal image-making during a time of political turmoil. Muhammad Ali Shah (r. 1907-1909) was a controversial figure in modern Iranian history. His father, Muzaffar al-Din Shah, had passed away after ratifying Iran's first Constitution, and the son at first declared his support of the parliament and the new laws. Yet, 3 later, Muhammad Ali Shah had the parliament bombarded, leading politicians imprisoned at the Bagh-e Shah, and abolished the Constitution. After these events, pro-Constitutional forces marched to Tehran in 1909, deposed Muhammad Ali, and re-established the Constitution. The ex-shah fled to the Russian legation and went, with his wife and children, into exile to Russianruled Odessa. His twelve-year-old son, crown prince Ahmad, remained in Iran and was established as his successor. The crown prince was proclaimed shah in the presence of those who now shared political power in Iran: The Constitutionalist politicians and mujaheddin, the 'ulama, the remaining Qajar grandees, and the foreign embassy officials. Azud al-Mulk Nayib al-Saltana, an elderly Qajar prince, was made regent. In 1911, Muhammad Ali Shah attempted to return to Iran, yet after four months, the Constitutionalists successfully forced the ex-ruler back into Russian territory. Therefore, even though Muhammad Ali Shah portrayed himself as a strong and pious ruler in his own time, he is now mainly remembered as a symbol of tyranny. His son, Ahmad Shah, on the other hand, was visualized as the ideal Constitutionalist monarch. This royal portraiture, which came into being during the Iranian Constitutional Revolution, a time of heightened political and social change, is fascinating and complex. Yet, until today not a single article or essay has been published on the portraiture of the last two Qajar rulers. This paper seeks to fill this lacuna.

## Panel: From Theocracy to Oligarchy? State, Society and the Religious Ruling Elite in the Islamic Republic of Iran

Convenor: Hendelman-Baavur, Liora

Chair: Meir Litvak, Tel Aviv University

Panellists: Elisheva Machlis (Bar Ilan University), Raz Zimmt (Tel Aviv University), Liora Hendelman-Baavur (Tel Aviv University)

Since the establishment of the Islamic Republic in 1979, significant changes have taken place in the Iranian religious establishment, in the status of the Shia clerics and in the mutual relations between the emerging clerical ruling elite and society in the country. These changes are the result of the politicization of the religious establishment since the Islamic Revolution, the strengthening of the Islamic Republic's control over the management of religious affairs in Iran and deep demographic, social and cultural processes that have taken place in Iran in the past decades. The proposed panel will discuss various aspects concerning the processes of change in the religious establishment since the revolution and their impact on the status of the clergy and their relations with the political elite and society in Iran.

Elisheva Machlis

**Islam of the People and to the People: The Role of the Eulogists and the Place of Agency among Ethnic Minorities in the Islamic Republic of Iran**

The creation of an Islamic state based on Khomeini's doctrine of *velāyat-e faqīh* was based on a centralized and elitist notion of leadership. It also provided space for 'the people' through the republican facet of the revolution and its emphasis on *'adl* (justice). The present paper will shift the discussion from the top leadership of the *marja'iyya*, to the more popular manifestations of authority. It will assess Iran's effort to mobilize the public in support of the regime but also the role of popular religious agents in connecting with the people, focusing on the *maddāḥān* (eulogists and praisers who lead the Ashura services). There were several problems prevalent within the profession of *maddāḥān*: the promotion of ignorant and superstitious beliefs, the use of vulgar styles to appeal to the masses and particularly the youth, involvement in political disputes and the lack of morality. The following lecture will focus on the place of agency among the *maddāḥān* looking into the case studies of ethnic Shi'i minorities in Iran (Iranian Azerbaijan and Khuzistan). It will evaluate local expressions of mourning but also the role of these religious agents in advancing their unique voice and in responding to the socioeconomic needs of deprived populations, including its youth.

Raz Zimmt

### **Trends in the Iranian Clerical Establishment against the Background of StateSociety Relations in the Islamic Republic**

Over the last few decades, the popular status of the Iranian clerics has experienced a noticeable erosion. This process has been reflected in increased hostility from citizens towards the clerics in the public sphere, decreasing public participation in Friday prayers, and growing criticism voiced against the clerical establishment in media outlets affiliated with pragmatic political factions.

Various factors have contributed to the erosion of the Iranian clerics' public status, including their identification with the Iranian regime rather than with the general public, attributes of misdeeds and injustices of those in power, their relatively good economic status, and public image as corrupt, the uncompromising position of hardline clerics, and the efforts made by the regime led by Khamenei to control the religious establishment in Qom, which has reduced its independence and turned it into an arm of the government. At the same time, the position of the religious establishment has also been affected by the strengthening of the Persian cultural identity at the expense of the religious-Islamic identity and the processes of secularization and westernization in Iranian society.

The aim of this paper is to discuss the erosion of clerical public status in Iran, its causes, and its main manifestations.

Liora Hendelman-Baavur

**Between Mission and Profession: Dress and the Formalization of the Clergy in the Islamic Republic of Iran**

The turban is undoubtedly the item of clothing most associated with Shi'a clerics in Iran, yet in addition to the head covering, their entire outfit has developed into a significant vehicle of collective regulation and formalization in contemporary Iran. The attire of Iranian clerics embodies complex and nuanced systems of social and professional distinctions as well as entails ideologies of class and gender that sustain them.

Existing literature indicates that there is no consensus on exactly when the fashion practiced today by the Shi'i clergy in Iran took shape. Some scholars trace its origins to clothing worn by pre-Islamic religious leaders of other faith communities, such as the Zoroastrians. The traditional attire and cultural practices of dress among men in the Arabian Peninsula, the cradle of Islam, serve as another point of reference. Others point to the historical outfits of senior officials in the Persian royal courts, like judges, whose clothes were initially intended, for practical reasons, to differentiate their social standing from the rest of the community.

This paper aims to explore how specific mode of embodied practices such as clerical clothing has developed into mechanisms of formalization and sustainability of the ruling elite as well as of contestation in contemporary Iran.



## Panel: The Babylonian Talmud in Contact with Sasanian Culture and Religion

Convenor: Herman, Geoffrey

Panellists: Geoffrey Herman (École Pratique des Hautes Études), Shana Strauch Schick (Bar Ilan University), Reuven Kiperwasser (Freie Universität Berlin)

The shared culture of Sasanian Babylonia and its vicinity may be revealed through comparing the literary products of diverse communities that inhabited this region. This panel will focus on the comparative study of the Babylonian Talmud alongside Persian or Zoroastrian culture, and Manichaeism (with a Buddhist reference, too). The three papers will each explore a different aspect of how the study of the Babylonian Talmud, alongside contemporary sources from other religious traditions of Sasanian provenance, can be mutually informative. The paper by Geoffrey Herman will provide examples of the recovery of hitherto unrecognized Persian terms in the Babylonian Talmud, and how these new lexica shed light on the Talmudic sources where they appear. Shana Strauch Schick will discuss a motif shared in the Babylonian Talmud and in Sasanian Zoroastrian tradition relating to the birth of the hero. Reuven Kiperwasser will focus on the use of a migrating motif concerning a blind person and a source of light between the Babylonian Talmud and Manichaean and Buddhist sources.

Geoffrey Herman

### **Persian Administrative and Ritual Terms in the Babylonian Talmud**

The Babylonian Talmud includes many Persian loanwords. However, since the medieval scribes who copied the Talmud over the centuries were typically far removed from the Persian milieu, rare words could often get corrupted in transmission, or confused with others which were more familiar to them. The result is that some Persian terms are no longer recognizable in the printed editions and late manuscripts of the Talmud. Earlier, eastern, and better textual witnesses of the Talmud, which are more precise and closer both geographically and chronologically to the period when the Talmud was produced, often allow for the reconstruction of such Persian terms. Contemporary Sasanian sources can also contribute to reconstructing the meaning of such terms within their Talmudic context. This paper will provide examples from the realm of Zoroastrian ritual (*āb-zōhr*) and of Sasanian administrative terms (*dārīg, kāframān*) preserved in the Babylonian Talmud.

Shana Strauch Schick

### **The Motif of Light in Sasanian Iran**

In a homiletic cluster expounding upon the first two chapters of Exodus, the Babylonian Talmud (tractate *Sotah* 12a-b) includes a tradition describing light filling the house upon Moses's birth. While this appears to be a fairly standard trope of the heroic nativity, the image of light filling the place of birth is actually unique to the heroic birth stories that circulated in Sasanian Iran during the period of the Babylonian Talmud's composition. In addition to the rabbinic tradition, there are parallels in depictions of the birth of Zoroaster and in apocryphal infancy gospels from the second century popular among Syriac Christians (it subsequently appears in legends concerning the birth of Muhammad as well). After examining the textual evidence pointing to the uniquely Babylonian provenance of this Talmudic tradition, and tracing its antecedents in Second Temple literature, I explore variations on the motif in Zoroastrian, Syriac Christian, and Jewish rabbinic birth narratives. Through this comparative work, we will see how this midrash reflects the need of the rabbis to imagine the focal hero of the rabbinic imagination in cosmological terms, similar to how competing religions envisioned their own heroic founding prophets.

Reuven Kiperwasser

### **Jews, Shamans, and Zandīgs as Storytellers**

This paper aims to provide evidence of cultural exchange between Rabbinic Judaism, and Manicheism, two religious traditions that emerged on Mesopotamian soil in Late Antique Mesopotamia, and Buddhism. The title paraphrases the famous inscription of Kartīr (Kirdīr) which lists the religious minorities of Sassanian Empire: Jews, Buddhists and Manicheans. In my studies, I have come across an interesting parallels between Babylonian Rabbinic traditions, Manichean literary traditions and Buddhistic lore, and this appears to be an avenue of study with great promise. This new research, devoted to parables of knowledge and understanding, brought me to a striking parallel between the enigmatic story that appears in Babylonian Talmud, Megillah 24b, the Manichean *Sermon on the Soul* (BeDhun 2000), and a famous Buddhist parabolic teaching from Dhammapada 311-312 (Brough 2001). All three sources deal with a blind person and a metaphorical representation of light, as light of knowledge. The comparative study will reveal the relationships between different variations of the shared tradition.

## Panel: Sufism and Material Culture in the Persianate World

Convenor: Hosseini, Salimeh

Panellists: Pranav Prakash (University of Oxford), Niloufar Lari Darabi (Sooreh University) & Nastaran Nejati (Tehran University of Art), Tawfiq Da'adli (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), Salimeh Hosseini (University of Chicago), Nasim Ahmadian (University of Alberta)

Sufism, as a major contributor to the formation of Islamic culture from the early Islamic centuries to the modern day has had significant impacts on the production, circulation, and reception of material culture in the Persianate world. Many Sufis and individuals with mystical inclinations have been patrons, artists, builders, and consumers themselves. Unfortunately, the study of material culture in relation to Sufism has long suffered from essentialist readings which fail to historicize and socially contextualize both Sufism and material culture.

This panel seeks to instigate alternative scholarship by shedding light on Sufism as a set of ideologies, practices, and institutions in relation to material culture in the Persianate world, by exploring the following question: How can the rich textual tradition of Sufism help us understand and place the production and reception of material culture in context in the Persianate world? This panel features five research projects examining various aspects of material culture in the Persianate world, from 13th century South Asia to 20th century Present day Iran, in relation to Sufism as a worldview and institution, and Sufis as artisans, teachers, dwellers of cities, and individuals around who shaped spaces, rituals, and practices. Pranav Parkash's paper aims to investigate the material life of a 13th century Sufi Shaikh, including the rituals associated with his path by examining diaries and other textual sources.

Similarly, Niloufar Lari Darabi and Nastaran Nejati study the embodied and erotic lives of Sufis in urban spaces in Safavid Iran through their studies of Sufi Refutation treatises and Shahrashub literature. Tawfiq Da'adli's paper focuses on the perception and treatments of paper and color within a mystical framework by late Herat painters and how it impacted the viewers' modes of engagement with the paintings. Salimeh Hosseini's discussion of an inscribed architectural tablet demonstrates how the text and the visual qualities of this tablet indicate the impacts of the ideology and institution of Sufism on the organization of craft guilds in Early Modern Iran. In her paper, Nasim Ahmadian talks about pedagogies of aesthetic education in Iranian classical music during the 20th century, arguing for its roots in Sufi practices. In addition to expanding recent scholarship on this topic and introducing new material and textual sources, this panel showcases examples of research projects that successfully build middle grounds between objects and texts in the world of Sufis. Hopefully, these projects will further

generate conversations about whether we can talk about "Sufi material culture" as an analytical category without succumbing to essentialism, generalization, and anachronistic analyses.

Pranav Prakash

**A Mutawwalī's Diary, A Serviceable Dargah and Some Hundreds of Manuscripts: Appraising the Legacy of Ḥasan Dihlavī (1253–1336) through the Material Cultures of South Asia**

How has the “material turn” in humanities and social sciences impacted the study of Sufism in contemporary scholarship? Can one potentially conceive of “Sufi material culture” as an analytical category for appraising the history of Sufism in South Asian and Persian societies? How does the introduction of contextual descriptors— consider, for example, Sufi, Hindu, Jewish, Persian, Hindi and the like—as a way of classifying material cultures enhance our understanding of the interrelationships between peoples and objects in different parts of the world? Moreover, given that neither scholars of Sufism nor theorists ruminating on the “material turn” in humanities have found any consensus on how to define Sufism and materiality in their respective subdisciplines, how may one still argue for the viability of “Sufi material culture” as a reliable mode of historical and sociological analyses? My paper will reflect on these critical issues by examining how the material cultures of South Asia memorialized the life and works of Ḥasan Sijzī Dihlavī (1253-1337) and bestowed upon him the status of a Sufi saint. Among the material remains under consideration are the diary of the *mutawwalī* (custodian) of the dargah of Ḥasan in Khuldabad, the religious and healing rituals associated with his dargah and an extensive collection of manuscript copies of his literary works.

Niloufar Lari Darabi & Nastaran Nejati

**Never Been in Love or Loved: A Narrative of Sufis' Personal Lives in Cities through the Sufi Refutation Literature in the Safavid Era**

Safavids who initially built their legitimacy on their Sufi lineage, later distanced themselves from it and even opposed it. This anti-Sufism movement was primarily carried out by Shi'i jurists and scholars (ulama). The most significant of these efforts is reflected in a body of literature known as "Refutations" in which anti-Sufi theories were elaborated. Although these texts are targeted at critiquing Sufis' worldviews, they shed light on various aspects of Sufis' personal and daily lives, such as their involvement with music, wine drinking, drug usage, and unrestrained sexual activities which stand at odds with mainstream Shari'a. Another type of literature that alludes to the Sufis' material lives is known as "*Shahrashub*" (city- disturber) which includes narratives about chasing loved ones, usually male artisans, in bazaars and other urban spaces. Building on these two groups of understudied textual sources, in this paper we intend to explore the embodied experience of Sufis in urban spaces and architectural spaces such as Sufi lodges, particularly related to their sexual and love lives in Safavid Iran.



Tawfiq Da'adli

### **Paper as a Physical Platform for a "Sufi Rite of Passage"**

Some of the painters active in Herat under Sultan Husayn Bayqara were illustrating Sufi ideas, or at least translating esoteric ideas into Sufi content. Some of those paintings refer to the afterlife, while others depicting three zones. One is the zone of the narrated story, second is the zone where the viewer or observer is and the third is the zone or dimension that stand behind both worlds, the afterlife. In some paintings we see figures gazing out of the painting to the viewer, in a way stepping out of the painting to our world. In other paintings we see elements approaching spots that meant to reach the world beyond life or reality. In a way, painters treated paper as a surface that can be imbedded or merged with their Sufi ideas. Here the paper surface became as a platform that can mediate between the different zones or dimension. Elements in the painting can "break" the surface to either direction, in or out. Each direction has its significant and the way it is introduced by colour and symbols or metaphors. This talk will build on some ideas introduced in my *Esoteric Images: Decoding the Late Herat School of Painting* and elaborate more on the material form of it. It will focus on the perception of paper and colours among the Sufi circles in which the Late Herat painters created in.

Salimeh Hosseini

**Tool of Craft or Homage to Profession? A Study of a Qajar Architectural Tablet and a *Futuwwatnama* of Architects**

This paper attempts to write a social history for a rare object; a lacquered wooden tablet that features grids and inscriptions in Persian. This tablet, made in 1891 in Qajar Iran, was a tool used for architectural draftsmanship. The inscription on this tablet is indeed a *futuwwatnama* of architects. Craft guild *futuwwatnamas*, historically derived from didactic Sufi literature, were short texts concerned with metaphysical histories, codes of honourable conduct within specific craft guilds, and how practitioners both bodily and spiritually connected with the material and tools of their craft. Building on the claim that this typologically utilitarian craft tool was fashioned in the form of an object worthy of aesthetic appreciation, I argue that this *futuwwatnama*'s discussion of sacred histories and esoteric meanings of architectural tools and processes of making can be understood as a response to the architects' shifting relationships with their craft and tools in the late 19th century Qajar Iran that undergone extensive state-sponsored modernization. This object and its inscribed text are not mere reactions to anxieties caused by a decline in the traditional practices of architecture, the emergence of modern technologies, and new methods of training, but it also speaks to a broader and deep-rooted esoteric mode of thinking about histories of crafts among Iranian traditional craft guilds.

Nasim Ahmadian

**Aesthetic Education of *Hāl* in Persian Classical Music: Developing Dichotomic Pedagogies of the *Maktab* Tradition in the 20th Century Iran**

This paper studies the formation of pedagogical dichotomy in aesthetic education of *hāl* in the *maktab* training of Iranian classical music since the nineteen-hundreds. Although barely described in detail by master-performers, the ethos of *hāl* (an ecstatic and meditative state) is a prominent aspect of Persian music aesthetics. Performers invest many years cultivating artistic appreciation of the Persian music *radīf* repertoire, classical poetry, and interpretive skills of performing *hāl* through imitation and master-disciple interaction in private *maktabs* (traditional schools of artistry and intellect). While the concept of *hāl* and many aspects of musical *maktab* training share historical and methodological roots with the gnosis of Sufism and their theosophical schools, the secular dimensions of the pedagogy and ideology of Iranian music *maktab* tradition have been overlooked. The establishment and enrichment of classical *maktabs* by masters Ali Naqi Vaziri and Abol-hassan Saba at the height of modernization, transformation from the oral to published repertoires, and cross-cultural relationships in the 20th century Iran pioneered the prominent pedagogical system of Persian music. Yet, the new cultural canonization of the 1970s and the revivalists' institutionalization and spiritualization of *maktab* through Saba's disciple, Dariush Safvat who founded the Centre for Preservation and Propagation of Iranian music, redirected the classical pedagogy of music. In this paper, I argue how these changes influenced by the orientalist perspectives followed by the socio-political reformations of 1979 Islamic Revolution intensified the refabrication of dichotomic pedagogies in *maktab* authenticity, spirituality, and aesthetic education of *hāl* in modern Iran.

## Panel: “Like graceful youths and entertainers” Figurative Margins in Persianate Manuscripts and Albums (15th-19th c.)

Convenors: Imbert, Isabelle & Zischkin, Theresa

Panellists: Ilse Sturkenboom (Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich), Jaimee K. Comstock-Skipp (University of Oxford), Theresa Zischkin (Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich), Emily Shovelton (SOAS, University of London), Isabelle Imbert (Independent Scholar)

In 1912, the Swedish scholar Frederik R. Martin published one of the first surveys of Turkish, Persian, and Indian painting before the 19th century. In it, he reproduced many drawings and paintings bound in albums, all with cropped margins. The choice to detach the paintings from their immediate environment, maybe linked to the constraints of the publisher, reflected a hierarchisation of pictorial spaces, with the most emphasis directed to the central field bearing figurative paintings, and the margins disregarded as secondary. These omissions became the norm in scholarly publications after Martin and are still a standard practice.

Placed on the four sides of the page and usually separated from the central field by one or more borders, margins occupy a large space of the overall surface and have borne some of the most lavish decorations in the history of Persianate books over the centuries. They also provide crucial information on album conception, history, and techniques, as well as on the evolution of artistic and commercial practices. Margins bearing figurative scenes have continuously been produced in the Persianate sphere from the 15th century onward. Their iconography can result from a dense intertextuality, while the visual and tacit relationship between central field and margin offers insights into the artistic and literary productions of their time.

This panel is composed of five papers dedicated to the analysis of margin adornment in the Persianate sphere from the 15th to the 19th centuries. The aim is to offer a broad overview of the production of figurative margins across several geographical and chronological areas, and highlight the evolution of artistic forms, techniques, and iconography.

Dr Ilse Sturkenboom will uncover why Persianate book artists were suddenly inclined to decorate the space around written text in the 14th century, and the impact of imported Chinese papers that instigated this decorative approach across 15th -century specimens. She will review how figuration and ornamentation were first merged, but later the marginal figure would come to hold specific meaning in later centuries.

Jaimee K. Comstock-Skipp will analyse the margin components of manuscript production in the final years of the Abu'l Khairid dynasty, commonly known as Shaybanid Uzbeks (1500-1599), as well as the artistic exchanges between the capital Bukhara and Safavid production centres such as Qazvin.

Two papers will be dedicated to the Mughal dynasty, as their patronage is vast and intricate. Theresa Zischkin will explore the eclectic figural margins of the Muraqqa'-i Gulshan to reveal the manifold ways in which Mughal artists reused, copied, and adapted European visual source materials, thereby highlighting creative image-making processes in the imperial workshop around 1600.

Dr Emily Shovelton will examine the figurative margins of the Late Shah Jahan Album from the 1650s that demonstrate a trend for decorative margins that began under Akbar, and explore the dialogue between pictorial spaces within each album page.

Finally, Dr Isabelle Imbert will focus on Qajar figurative margins added to earlier Safavid manuscripts in the late 19th century, highlighting the comeback of an artistic trade in Persia, and giving some insights into production and patronage of this era and dynasty.

Ilse Sturkenboom

### **Marginal decoration and the reinvention of the Persianate manuscript in the 15th century**

Before the 15th century, illustrations and illuminations had established themselves as common elements in luxurious manuscripts from the Islamic world. Illustrations hold strong ties to the texts they visualise and are usually positioned within the text block. Illuminations aid the navigation through texts and are often found before the start of a (section of) text, or at its very end. Only rarely do illustrations or illuminations branch out onto the margins and when found there, such elements have distinct functions.

A third category of book embellishment was added to this repertoire around 1400, when marginal decorations started to occur in Persianate manuscripts. These marginal decorations occupy a space that was previously left empty by illustrations and illuminations, and appear to lack the above-described functions. It has been hypothesised that the import and use of coloured and gold-embellished sheets of paper from China formed the initial impetus for the use of gold or monochrome illumination around written text in Persianate manuscripts. While certain decorative elements demonstrate a direct link to China, this hypothesis fails to explain the occurrence of other, non-Chinese, marginal decorations and to address the question why at all Persianate book artists were suddenly inclined to decorate the space around written text.

This paper will survey the diverse 15th -century occurrences of marginal decoration in Persianate manuscripts. Apart from so-called Chinese paper, it will also take into consideration changes in literary tendencies in the manuscript-commissioning courts as well as the availability of design albums to explain why and how aesthetics from China were 'translated' and sparked a reinvention of the Persianate book. Finally, the distinction between figuration and ornamentation will be reviewed, and it will be argued that these two levels were first merged, before the marginal figure could be imbued with specific meaning in later centuries.

Jaimee K. Comstock-Skipp

**Crossing “borders” within the Persianate sphere: late 16th-century marginal decoration in manuscripts of the Abū’l-Khairid (Shaybanid) Uzbeks**

Often overlooked in discussions of Turco-Persianate arts of the book during the early-modern period, this paper inserts the contributions of the Abū’l-Khairids (commonly known as Shaybanid Uzbeks, in power between 1500–1599) by focussing on the decorative schema of their borders to manuscripts. With time, we see increasing intricacy in embellishments to the margins, taking on a life of their own independent of the text with the incorporation of faces and figures representing human, bestial, and celestial beings and geometric or foliate designs. The figural elements also include various levels of social strata and gender.

The talk will group together some manuscripts that evidence joint production between artisans trained in the Safavid stronghold Qazvin, Abū’l-Khairid capital Bukhara, and the liminal frontier zone of Khurasan at the intersection between these two rival powers. With all three sites stylistically and historically linked, the discussion will focus on the copy of Kāshifī’s *Akh̄lāq-i muḥsinī* in the British Library (IO Islamic 1097). In the process of clarifying its provenance, the paper will elucidate late-century Abū’l-Khairid manuscript production through comparisons to other illustrated texts and uncover trans-regional peregrinations of artisans and materials crossing dynastic lines. It will demonstrate how and theorise why Abū’l-Khairid arts of the book in the final decade of the dynasty (1590s) did not atrophy and go “completely to seed[,]...reduced to ...sterile formalities” (in the words of B.W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Paintings* in the Bodleian Library, 1958), but rather the figures previously contained within ornate interior niches within the compositions of older illustrations migrated to the margins out of economic necessity, and reflect social and intellectual shifts.

Theresa Zischkin

### **Reusing, Copying, and Adapting: The *Muraqqa'-i Gulshan* and its Eclectic Figural Margins**

The *Muraqqa'-i Gulshan* is an extraordinary Mughal example of the artistic medium of albums (*muraqqa'*): collaborative works that combine paintings, drawings, and calligraphies as centrepieces, framed by a range of decorative solutions. What sets the *Gulshan* album apart is the distinctive figural imagery in the margins of its calligraphy pages, a rare occurrence within the visual traditions of the Persian and Mughal cultural spheres. Sources indicate that this album was created by artists working in the Mughal emperor Jahangir's workshop near the turn of the 17th century. Most surviving pages are stored today in the Golestan Palace Library in Tehran and in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin. Additional loose folios can be found in numerous other institutions.

While most scholars focus on the centred paintings and calligraphies in relation to their immediate marginal decoration, this comparative study of figural depictions taken from European sources with their respective prototypes aims to examine the marginal figures collectively, attesting to the artistic agency of image-makers at the Mughal court. I will argue that, contrary to the assumption that margins play a subordinate role in the overall page layout, those of the *Muraqqa'-i Gulshan* were utilised as an innovative space showcasing reused images, not as mere copying exercises but as creative manifestations.

My talk will shed light on the conscious adaptation of source materials when embedded in a new cultural context, ultimately uncovering art and its production as the primary subject matter. I will demonstrate that an analysis of the intentional play of associations between figures in the margins, between figures and calligraphy, as well as between figures and paintings will further highlight the selective image-making processes and inventive workshop practices at the imperial court circa 1600.



Emily Shovelton

### **Crossing the line: The figurative margins in the Late Shah Jahan Album**

The Late Shah Jahan album dates to the final decade of the reign of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (r.1627-58). It follows the long-established system of Mughal albums where double-page openings of paintings alternate with those of calligraphy, framed by decorative margins that occasionally contain figures. Perhaps due to the ongoing tendency among art historians to view the margins or borders of album pages as merely decorative and expendable, this album is often seen as the least innovative of all the Mughal albums. However, a closer look shows that the margins have a dynamic relationship with the central pictorial space. Here, for the first time, portraits in the central area are surrounded by a further series of smaller portraits. This marginal space presented an opportunity for the artists to provide an active narrative for the static figure in the centre, thus inverting the presentation of an illustrated manuscript.

This paper will examine the relationship between the multiple figures portrayed on each album page and demonstrate how the figurative margins challenge the usual paradigm of Mughal portraiture. This paper will also situate this set of marginal designs in the broader narrative of margin production and innovation that began under Akbar, with roots in Timurid Iran. Shah Jahan was not known for his deep interest in the arts of the book. Yet, this last great imperial album presents innovations in album making.

Isabelle Imbert

### **Back in Style: Qajar figurative margins in Safavid manuscripts**

In recent years, a small corpus of Safavid manuscripts has appeared in public and private collections, relayed by the art market. These manuscripts, which would have otherwise been lost in the mass of 17th century volumes, are remarkable for their rich marginal decorations. Added in the 19th or early 20th century, their margins are covered in figurative scenes, either added to pre-existing decoration, or completely new. They depict scenes with complex and varied iconography which remind, in parts, of the albums produced for Mughal emperor Shah Jahan two centuries prior and passed in Persian collections after the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah Afshar in 1739. Figurative margins fall out of fashion in 18th century India, as they do in Persia after the fall of the Safavid dynasty, but their comeback under the Qajars raises questions of origin and destination of these luxurious volumes.

Two manuscripts will constitute the basis of this paper. The first is a copy of *Adab-e khatt*, written in 920H./ 1514-15 by the calligrapher Sultan 'Ali Mashhadi. This manuscript, kept in a private collection, is composed of 8 folios and 2 fly-leaves. It was most likely produced in the 16th century and redecorated at the end of the 19th century with figurative margins related to the text. The second manuscript, also kept in a private collection, is a 17th century copy of Sa'di's *Kulliyat* of 359 folios and two fly-leaves, with 19th century margins and full-page paintings. Both manuscripts show different decorative techniques and styles, and were most likely produced at different times, but they also display a similar approach to the embellishment of earlier volumes.

This paper will therefore focus on the iconography of these manuscripts and others of the same kind, their possible sources of inspiration, and will draw parallels with Qajar productions of painted manuscripts and the context of patronage in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

## Panel: Iranian Revolution of 1979; Revisited

Convenor: Javadpour, Misagh

Chair: Prof. Touraj Atabaki

Panellists: Misagh Javadpour (University of Amsterdam), Hossein Pourbagheri (Leiden University), Mazdak Daneshvar

More than four decades after the Iranian Revolution of 1979, a considerable amount of literature has been published on its causes and outcomes. Although diverse and extensive, most of these accounts focus mainly on structural analysis and political aspects of the revolution. Such approaches, however, have failed to address the complexities of social and cultural dynamics of this transformative event. Moreover, the generalizability of much published research on the Iranian Revolution is also problematic as they tend to overlook the nuances of the social forces and cultural ideas across the country. This panel is organized to fill the above-mentioned gaps in the historiography of the Iranian Revolution by addressing some neglected aspects of it. Through a bottom-up approach to the revolution, the papers in this panel will cover a variety of themes and concepts to provide different views of the revolution. Concerning the themes, one of the main focuses of the panel will be on microhistories and occurrences of the revolution. Accordingly, the dynamics of the Iranian Revolution from a local perspective will be scrutinized alongside the role of crowd and its potential to spark the violence underneath society. Another focus of the panel will be on the discourses and counter-discourses of the Iranian Revolution. In this regard, the challenges of modernity to encounter an anti-modern and anti-Enlightenment narrative supported by Islamist groups will be explained through some cultural artifacts, such as films and novels. Finally, the body as an element of individual and collective identity, and the way it was represented by ordinary people during the revolutionary era will be analyzed. Ultimately, by shifting attention to a set of neglected dimensions of the revolution, the papers presented in this panel will pave the way for new readings and contribute to a better understanding of the Iranian Revolution of 1979.

Misagh Javadpour

### **Local History of the Iranian Revolution of 1979: Mobilization and Violence in Rasht**

More than four decades after the Iranian revolution of 1979, despite the publication of numerous studies, some dimensions of this revolution have not been properly examined. Although in recent years historians have shown an increased interest in explaining the social dynamics of the revolution, however, most of their analysis are limited to the central areas of Iran. Consequently, the local histories of the Iranian revolution have been either overlooked or marginally studied. Moreover, most of the accounts published on the local history of the Iranian revolution inside Iran tend to be ideological, while those studies available outside Iran, although scientific, have only unfolded one or two specific aspects of the revolution. This is while in many peripheral areas of Iran, the revolutionary conditions did not necessarily follow the same pattern of the centre. In addition, the occurrence of unprecedented events during the revolution, such as extreme acts of violence in some peripheral areas, necessitates in-depth analysis of the role of the crowd in the Iranian Revolution.

This study is going to fill these historiographical gaps by focusing on the case of Gilan. In Rasht, unlike many other urban areas in the centre, a revolutionary condition developed very lately (in the last weeks) as various social groups took part in demonstrations and other forms of protest. Moreover, modes of mobilization in Rasht did not follow the same pattern of the centre during different stages of the revolution in terms of the social groups, the political networks and the cultural ideas that sustained the protests. Another particularity of the Rasht demonstrations was the unprecedented outbreak of violence which severity cannot be found elsewhere throughout the Iranian revolution. On the night of the revolution (12th of February), a group of perpetrators to Rasht's branch of the Iran's intelligence service (SAVAK) publicly tortured and killed some members of the SAVAK and exposed their mutilated bodies around the city.

This paper retrieves the history of the revolutionary events in Rasht and analyses their particularities, as well as their cultural and political underpinnings through primary resources, including the SAVAK archives in Gilan, the archives of the National Library of Rasht and National Library and Archives of Iran, diaries, and autobiographies. In addition, a few participants in the Rasht demonstrations and witnesses of the assault to the SAVAK building are interviewed.

Hossein Pourbagheri

**The manifestation of anti-Enlightenment Ideology in Iran before the Revolution of 1979**

One aspect of the Iranian revolution of 1979 has been its anti-modern Ideology and identifying itself to be in an adversarial relationship with modernity as a philosophical and historical concept. As the revolution consolidated further its anti-Enlightenment Ideology became more evident and expressed itself in a more belligerent and universalistic manner. This paper, with a historical approach, highlights and traces back the line of an anti-modern and anti-Enlightenment narrative in the cultural products, such as cinema and literature in Iran before the revolution of February 1979.

Mazdak Daneshvar

### **Negation of the Body: Torture and Cultural Representations in the 1979 Iranian Revolution**

It has been more than a century since the Iranian Constitutional Revolution and less than 50 years since the 1979 Revolution. Despite the constitutional prohibition of torture in both political regimes, torture has continued in the Iranian judicial and security services. Although, academic publications on this topic are rare, torture and forced confessions in contemporary Iran are a widespread phenomenon.

It has been said that violence is a “slippery term”, and it is difficult to define. And the definition of torture follows the same uncertainty as the definition of violence. Torture is not always inflicting pain to satisfy the torturer’s sadistic desires, but can be for other two purposes: to extract information to oppress organized resistance or to break an individual’s resistance and replace it with obedience.

However, theories of physical pain and torture have traditionally been dominated by biomedicine and research on the notion of the pain and “cultural shaping” of pain have been neglected. Understanding the language of the body is only possible if is positioned firmly within the cultural symbolism and the contexts of social group it is part of. Therefore, both one’s interpretation and reaction to pain would be influenced by culture, due to the fact that culture is not only the meaning and interpretation we attribute to pain, but also the responses to it which we fashion.

In this respect, I explore the cultural aspect of torture and recantations in how revolutionary discourse had been constructed and then represented in 1979. I suggest an anthropological standpoint of the body and the cultural consequences aroused by inflicting pain and broadcasting forced confessions. Lastly, I try to open a new perspective on the 1979 Iranian Revolution studies and address the cultural aspects of torture and pain in the context of a social movement.

## Panel: Zoroastrian Priests

Convenor: Jong, Albert de

Panellists: Albert de Jong (Leiden University), Khodadad Rezakhani (Leiden University), Mihaela Timuş (The Romanian Academy), Nazanin Tamari (Leiden University), Alberto Bernard (École Pratique des Hautes Études), Kiyan Foroutan (Leiden University), Mehdy Shaddel (Leiden University/Institute for the Study of Muslim Civilizations, Aga Khan University London), Daniel Sheffield (Princeton), Götz König (Freie Universität Berlin), Jenny Rose (Claremont Graduate University)

### Session 1: The Zoroastrian Priesthood from Beginning to the Present

Albert de Jong                      The Zoroastrian Priesthood and the History of Zoroastrianism

Khodadad Rezakhani              Across the Deep Blue Sea: Zoroastrian Migration from Iran to India and the Kingdom of Hormuz

### Session 2: The Zoroastrian Priesthood in and after the Sasanian Empire

Mihaela Timuş                      Syllogism and Revelation in *Dēnkard 3*

Nazanin Tamari                    The Zoroastrian Priesthood and the Office of *magūh* in the Sasanian Empire

Alberto Bernard                    Framing the Zoroastrian Priesthood in the Sasanian Empire

### Session 3: The Zoroastrian Priesthood in early Islamic Iran

Kiyan Foroutan                    “Guardians of Tradition”: Exploring the Zoroastrian Priesthood in the *Persian Rivāyats*

Mehdy Shaddel                    Ethno-religion Meets World Empire: Universalism and the Fate of the 'Other' in Jewish and Zoroastrian Apocalyptic of Late Antiquity

### Session 4: The Parsi Zoroastrian Priesthood

Daniel Sheffield                    Parsi Priests as Mughal Elites: A Documentary History

Götz König                          Priests as Theologians: on the Genesis of an Ontological and Cosmological Terminology in the Younger Avesta

Jenny Rose                          Zoroastrian Priests as Mediators of Text to the Curious West in the Early Nineteenth Century

Albert de Jong                      Zoroastrian Priests in History: Concluding Observations

## Session 1: The Zoroastrian Priesthood from Beginning to the Present

Albert de Jong

### **The Zoroastrian Priesthood and the History of Zoroastrianism**

The Zoroastrian priesthood is overrepresented in the textual evidence for the history of Zoroastrianism and as a result also in the historiography of Zoroastrianism in Western scholarship. Most of the texts that have been central for any reconstruction of Zoroastrian history are priestly ones. They come in two distinct incarnations: 1) the transmission of a large body of liturgical texts (or of liturgies themselves) in Avestan; and 2) a library of priestly writings of very diverse genres in Middle Persian (Pahlavi). It has always been difficult to harmonize the strong priest-centered worldview from these religious sources with the evidence from Iranian societies in history. In this paper, I will sketch a way out of the problems by interpreting priestly Zoroastrianism as but a single strand from a much more complex Zoroastrian religious world and trace the interaction between priestly Zoroastrianism and the rest of Zoroastrian history, from the early days to the present.



Khodadad Rezakhani

**Across the Deep Blue Sea: Zoroastrian Migration from Iran to India and the Kingdom of Hormuz**

The Kingdom of Hormuz, a Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea power in the 11th-16th centuries, is commonly known for the story of its demise and destruction. A victim of Portuguese expansionism and violence, the wealth and power of Hormuz kingdom was destroyed after Albuquerque bombed its capital on the island of Hormuz (Jarrun) and reduced it to a Portuguese vassal. A hundred years later, in the early 17th century, the Safavid Shah Abbas decided to establish his power on the southern shores of his empire and, with the help of the British East India company ships, struck the final blow. The last king of Hormuz, already just a Portuguese puppet, was removed to Isfahan and later executed. This story, however, only addresses the fall of the kingdom, while it says little about the Hormuz's heydays, the reason why the Portuguese were even interested in it in the first place. The present paper, by considering local sources, will try to present a different picture of the Kingdom of Hormuz and its human and geographical aspects. Specifically, departing from a passage in the famous Parsi treatise *Qesse-ye Sanjān* - the tale of the immigration of the Zoroastrian community from Iran to Gujarat - the paper will consider the relationship of the Zoroastrian community with the Kingdom of Hormuz. Persian, Gujarati, Arabic, and even medieval Spanish sources come to shed a new light on both the history of Hormuz and that of the Parsi community in the medieval period.

## Session 2: The Zoroastrian Priesthood in and after the Sasanian Empire

Mihaela Timuş

### **Syllogism and Revelation in Dēnkard 3**

It is very likely that Zoroastrian priests either at the Sasanian court, under Xusrō I and Paul the Persian's influence, or after the Arab conquest, were instructed in matters of Greek and/or Indian logic. It is possible that the adoption of such rational tools, with purposes both apologetical and polemical, was debated and decided within the priestly assemblies (*hanjāman*). The theater of this fusion between rational structures and the *zand*, the Middle Persian translations and commentaries, became the very complex *Dēnkard 3*, the most difficult book of the whole 9<sup>th</sup> c. treatise, due to two main authors, the priests Ādurfarnbag ī Farroxzādān and Ādurbād ī Emēdān. The classification of the 420 chapters of this treatise according to their rational structures is given in the author's forthcoming monograph *Patterns of Reasoning in Dēnkard 3*.

The present contribution proposes the analysis of a couple of chapters where one finds reasoning structures with a thesis-like disposition, i.e. sentences with an apodictic, universal character. The author pays particular attention to the following problems: 1. What appears to be called 'revelation', *paydāg(īh)*, in such chapters; 2. Which are the major topics approached; 3. Which are the main rational structures used, with an either apologetical or polemical purpose.

Nazanin Tamari

### **The Zoroastrian Priesthood and the Office of magūh in the Sasanian Empire**

The term *maguh* (*mgwh*), commonly observed on numerous Sasanian administrative seals, has posed an enduring challenge for scholars aiming to comprehend its precise interpretation, function and significance within the administrative structure of the empire. This paper aims to shed light on the connection between the functions of the Zoroastrian clergy and the enigmatic office of *maguh* in the administrative structure of the Sasanian empire through an extensive exploration of the scholarly literature surrounding the term *mgwh* and an examination of its relevant sources. This paper is an opportunity to reflect on the Sasanian administrative system in general, as well as the role played by the Zoroastrian priesthood in the system.

Alberto Bernard

### **Framing the Zoroastrian Priesthood in the Sasanian Empire**

One of the challenges in understanding the ancient Zoroastrian priesthood lies in the difficulty of unraveling the internal dynamics of a diverse social body that included ritual specialists, temple servants, priestly instructors, courtly advisors, state clerks, and court judges. This is especially true for late Antiquity, when a significant portion of the Zoroastrian clergy was absorbed, to an extent unparalleled before and since, into the apparatus of a powerful centralized empire. Our comprehension of this momentous transformation is hindered by the limited and contradictory surviving evidence on the ranks and career paths of Zoroastrian priests, which also collide with modern notions of what differentiates 'religious' and 'secular' duties. This paper aims to address the issue by mapping scattered evidence and sorting out different ways, both emic and etic, of framing the nature of the Zoroastrian 'priesthood' and its role in the functioning of the Sasanian empire.

### Session 3: The Zoroastrian Priesthood in Early Islamic Iran

Kiyan Foroutan

#### **“Guardians of Tradition”: Exploring the Zoroastrian Priesthood in the Persian Rivāyats**

The *Persian Rivāyats*, a collection of correspondence between Zoroastrians in Iran and India, offer valuable insights into the lived experiences of Zoroastrian communities during the late medieval and early modern periods. One of the key components of these communities was the priesthood. This presentation delves into these *Rivāyats* to explore the multifaceted realities faced by Zoroastrian priests in both settings. It examines their complex relationships with the laity, their interactions with predominantly Muslim rulers, and their engagements with counterparts from Hindu and Muslim communities. Through a critical analysis of selected passages, the idealized perceptions of priesthood are nuanced. Additionally, the organizational structures of the priesthood among Parsis and Iranis are briefly discussed, contributing to our understanding of Zoroastrian religious leadership during this period.

Mehdy Shaddel

#### **Ethno-religion Meets World Empire: Universalism and the Fate of the 'Other' in Jewish and Zoroastrian Apocalypica of Late Antiquity**

The present contribution deals with what it construes to be universalist strands in religions that are traditionally thought of as ethno-religions, namely Judaism and Zoroastrianism. Offering a reappraisal of two rather obscure Jewish apocalyptic compositions, the Judaeo-Persian Apocalypse of Daniel and the recently published Hebrew Vision of Daniel from Saint Petersburg, it argues that both texts are to be dated to the 830s of the Common Era, and are as such products of a milieu where Islamic and Christian supersessionist and triumphalist claims were at their most strident, which is, it is further argued, why they opt to take a turn towards universalism. Comparing these texts to a number of other Jewish texts from the post-conquest period as well as Zoroastrian compositions which underwent final redaction roughly around the same time, it identifies similar 'adaptation' strategies in them. In conclusion, the talk invites a reconsideration of the notion of ethno-religion in the light of this evidence, and argues for the indispensability of political and religious universalism to the eschatological *imaginaire*.

## Session 4: The Parsi Zoroastrian Priesthood

Daniel Sheffield

### **Parsi Priests as Mughal Elites: A Documentary History**

This paper examines the role of the Zoroastrian priestly *anjuman* of Navsari in mediating between officials of the Mughal state and the Parsi communities of southern Gujarat. After introducing two large collections of Persian, Gujarati, and Marathi documents, one belonging to the Meherjirana priestly family, the other to the Bhagarsath Anjuman of Navsari, the paper focuses on a group of land-grant documents issued by Mughal officials to Parsi priests and their relation to agreements within the priestly *anjuman* concerning priestly authority. In reading precolonial Mughal and *anjuman* documents together, the paper argues that the *anjuman* functioned as a mediating body between Parsi families and state authorities, charged with negotiating authority within the Zoroastrian community itself, and between the Zoroastrian community, the Mughal state, and other actors in premodern India. Finally, I will offer some concluding thoughts on the challenges and prospects of using documentary evidence to write a social history of the Zoroastrian priesthood in early modern India.

Götz König

### **Priests as Theologians: On the Genesis of an Ontological and Cosmological Terminology in the Younger Avesta**

Since the concentration of Avesta Studies on the *Gāthās* around the middle of the 19th century the Younger Avesta has been (necessarily) excluded from the *Ouvrage de Zoroastre*. Since then, it has been regarded by most scholars as a 'primitive' text: as pre-Zoroastrian and/or intellectually trivial. Contemporary research, however, has drawn attention to the construction of the Younger Avesta and has noted its complex textual systematics. This structural systematics is – according to the first thesis of this lecture – to be complemented by a description and philosophical analysis of the systematics of those new basic concepts and conceptual arrangements that uniformly characterise the Younger Avesta and distinguish it from the *Gāthās*. This in turn raises the question of the genesis of this new concepts, which – according to the second thesis of this lecture – leads us to the 'Younger Avestan' priests in theological function.

Jenny Rose

### **Zoroastrian Priests as Mediators of Text to the Curious West in the Early Nineteenth Century**

References to Zoroastrian priests as arbiters of their religion within the context of early 'interfaith dialogue' stretch back to the Sasanian period. The subsequent role of mowbeds in religious debate in the Abbasid court is echoed centuries later with the consecutive summoning of dasturs from Gujarat and Kerman to the Mughal court to inform emperor Akbar I about the religion. From the same period, the Qesse-ye Sanjān presents a similar trope of an Iranian dastur explaining the religion to a local Hindu raja.

As the written Qesse-ye Sanjān began to circulate, Europeans in both Iran and India recorded contact with Zoroastrian priests, to whom they looked for interpretation of the texts and observances of the religion. Dastur Darab, the instructor of Anquetil Duperron, is perhaps the most well-known figure in this respect. Anquetil's work in turn impacted the presentation of the religion by some of its dasturs, including Shenshai high priest, Edalji Dorabji Sanjana (Edal Daru) whose apologia *Mojezāt-e- Zartoshti* ('Zoroastrian Miracles') is one of the works "unfolded and refuted" in Rev. John Wilson's *The Parsi Religion* (1843). In contrast, Edal Daru's Qadmi counterpart, Mulla Firuz, had worked closely with the British governor to produce an English translation of a popular esoteric text, the *Desatir*. This paper explores the intellectual interactions of these two priests, among others, with Europeans in the context of the elucidation of Zoroastrian texts and teachings.

Albert de Jong

### **Zoroastrian Priests in History: Concluding Observations**

This final paper will reflect on the 12 papers presented on Zoroastrian priests and sketch an agenda for research.

## Panel: Something Old, Something New: Niẓāmian Imitations and Adaptations from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century

Convenors: Kämpfer, Christine & Hoffmann, Alexandra

Panellists: Amanda Caterina Leong (University of California), Christine Kämpfer (Otto-Friedrich-University Bamberg), Allison Kanner-Botan (University of Chicago), Alexandra Hoffmann (University of Chicago)

Mechanisms of imitation (*naẓīra*) or response (*javāb*) to pre-modern texts are common strategies that anchor a poet's work within the tradition but also allow for innovation in themes and meaning. While literary imitation and adaptation have been studied for example with respect to the short, lyric ghazal, similar works on larger poetic units such as *maṣnavīs* remain scarce. This is also true for imitations and adaptations of poems by Niẓāmī Ganjavī (d. 1209), although his *khamsa* is among the most influential poetry in the pre-modern Persianate literary sphere.

This panel will investigate why and to what ends poets changed themes, imagery, motives or plots in their responses to Niẓāmī's poems. The Panellists are interested in what related ideas, concepts, and social commentaries subsequent poets sought to develop, and how they created meaning (*ma'nī*) for different times and audiences. Specifically, this panel is examining the ways in which specific changes - like motives, characters, or plots - result in different effects in adaptations; what new local, historical, or cultural elements poets include in their imitations; whether poets work with a different concept or commentary on the theme of love in contrast to Niẓāmī; and whether gender relations or constructions of masculinities and femininities change in the adaptation of a work.

The participants of this panel will approach the issue of literary imitation from different angles. The starting point is Niẓāmī himself and his endeavour to rewrite the literary tradition before looking at his so-called imitators. The first panellist, Amanda Caterina Leong (University of California, Merced) examines how in his *Haft Paykar*, Niẓāmī adapted the story of Bahrām Gūr and the slave girl and argues that the representation of female *javānmardī* lies at the heart of Niẓāmī's re-working of the story. The rest of the Panellists discuss what kind of literary techniques authors applied to position their works in Niẓāmī's succession and how imitation and especially the form of *javāb* served as a vehicle for cross-generational discourses. Christine Kämpfer (Otto-Friedrich-University Bamberg) questions our definitions of *javāb* using Khvājū Kirmānī's *Humāy u Humāyūn* (1331) as an example. Allison Kanner-Botan's (University of Chicago) contribution speaks to new ideas about love in the epistolary form, as voiced by those writing in response to Niẓāmī, such as Amīr Khusraw in his *Majnūn u Laylī*, and later allegorical texts such as Imād al-Dīn 'Alī Kirmānī's (fl. 14th century) *Maḥabbat-nāma-yi ṣāhib-dilān*

*(Love Story of the Lords of Hearts)*. Alexandra Hoffmann (University of Chicago) examines Fayzī's (d. 1595) *Nal u Daman* at the nexus of the epic world of the Mahābhārata and the Persianate romance genre, especially Nizāmī's *Laylī u Majnūn*. Her talk focuses on how *sawdā* (black bile) becomes the key that links both genres. In conclusion, this panel will make an original contribution to the topic of mechanisms of *javāb* in the Persian literary tradition, and will elucidate how authors adapted various discourses to make their works relevant for their own time and audience.



### **Re-thinking Intersections of Medieval Race, Class and Gender in Niẓāmī's Haft Paykar**

The most famous scene in Haft Paykar, a medieval Persian romance epic by Niẓāmī is that of Fitna, a Chinese musician slave girl lifting a bull up sixty flights of stairs towards King Bahrām Gūr. Fitna, whose name means 'rebellion', refuses to let Bahrām Gūr bully her for being honest. Instead, she uses her bull-lifting act to perform *javānmardī* (young-manliness) in order to challenge patriarchal kingship. *Javānmardī* is an ethical concept of human perfection that genders Persianate subjectivity, often translated as 'chivalry'. The scholarly consensus has been that *javānmardī* pertains to the sexed male body only. However, *javānmardī's* influence on the feminine identity remains unexplored. By uncovering how Niẓāmī rewrites Firdawsī's story of Bahrām Gūr and his lyre playing Greek slave girl, Āzāda, that Haft Paykar is based on, I seek to show how Niẓāmī creates a "mirror for princesses" that remembers women as models of *javānmardī* because of their ability to embody and redefine virtues associated with this chivalric ideal ranging from virtuous trickstery, gift-giving, 'glamor politics', and gender-bending to rebel against patriarchal kingship. With this, we can see how the medieval Persianate world understood *adab* and kingship as femaled enterprises.

Most importantly, with Haft Paykar changing Fitna's ethnicity from Greek to Chinese and showcasing her as standard of *javānmardī* regardless of identity as an enslaved Chinese other, we are able to see how China played an important role in the driving of a medieval Persianate imagination and new ways of using female *javānmardī* to understand the intersections of gender, class, and race from a medieval Persianate perspective. By also analyzing the different challenges the king and Fitna faced in their 'interracial' relationship, I locate in Haft Paykar's depiction of 'love between strangers' the tensions that governed the 'frontiers' of the Persianate world as the patriarchal concept of Persian kingship was being called into question by the elite literati.

Christine Kämpfer

**A *Javāb* Sent by a Fairy? Khvājū Kirmānī's *Humāy u Humāyūn* and the Reinterpretation of Niẓāmī's Epic Legacy**

Khvājū Kirmānī's (1290-1350) epic *Humāy u Humāyūn* (1331) is one of the major epic poems written after the Mongol conquest of Iran. The story revolves around the Syrian prince Humāy who falls in love with a painting of the Chinese princess Humāyūn and sets out on an adventurous journey to find her. The epic contains a strong mystical reading, turning Humāy into a traveler on the mystic journey or even into the soul on its journey toward the unification with God. Khvājū's work has widely been regarded as an answer (*javāb*) to the romantic epics of Niẓāmī Ganjavī (1141-1209), also because he composed a *khamṣa* compilation like his predecessor.

*Humāy u Humāyūn* challenges the formal characteristics of a *javāb* and Khvājū does not mention Niẓāmī directly as his model, yet the latter's influence on the epic is indisputable. The paper aims at highlighting the different narrative strategies and techniques Khvājū applies for positioning his work in the epic tradition with special reference to Niẓāmī. It will challenge the concept of the *javāb* and demonstrate that the innovation of epic material involves a meta level of intertextual techniques that exceeds the mere imitation of a formal structure.

Allison Kanner-Botan

### **Disputing Love: Epistolary Form in Islamic Romantic Epics**

Niẓāmī (d. 1209) is often credited with shifting the focus of the *maṣnavī* form from epic to romantic themes. This paper examines the function of the *maṣnavī* as a dominant literary vehicle for writing about love in the medieval Islamic world. It is through the form of the *maṣnavī*, I argue, that Niẓāmī and those writing in response (*javāb*) to his work posit new ideas about love in the medieval Islamic world.

Specifically, I interrogate the use of epistolary form in Neẓāmī's work and the *javāb* tradition as a technique that opens a space for disputation between different protagonists who have distinctive opinions on love. I show how the incorporation of the literary device of the letter gives voice to the beloved in Niẓāmī's *Laylī and Majnūn*, Amīr Khusraw's *Majnūn and Laylī* and later allegorical texts such as Imād al-Dīn 'Alī Kirmānī's (fl. 14th century) *Maḥabbat-nāma-yi ṣāhibdilān* (*Love Story of the Lords of Hearts*) in ways that confront a normative vision of the lover beloved relationship at the time. In Niẓāmī and Amīr Khusraw's texts, Laylī's perspective is most thoroughly explored in letters that critique Majnun's dominant perspective and that articulate her position on the role of a lover within the constraints of social life. I then compare this vision of a lover's behaviour with Kirmānī's later allegorical staging of disputations between the soul and the body in order to show how the use of epistolary form in the *javāb* tradition creates pauses that allow for the reader to consider and reconsider the relationship between love, embodiment, and sociality.

**Fayzī's *Nal u Daman* (1595) between the *Mahābhārata* and Niẓāmī's *Layli u Majnun***

When Emperor Akbar asked Abu'l Fayz Fayzī (d. 1595) to write anew the story of *Nala and Damayantī* and make it a story about "love as it happened in India," he composed a *maṣnavī* that was conceived as a *javāb* to Niẓāmī's *Laylī u Majnūn*. As such, his *Nal u Daman* lies at the intertextual nexus of the epic world of the *Mahābhārata* and the Persianate romance genre. In the adaptation of the Sanskrit material for a Persianate audience, Fayzī adapted the story to be meaningful in the Persianate context. In Fayzī's version, king Nal loses everything in a dice-game when he finds himself possessed by *'ishq* (passionate love) and *junūn* (madness). After a snake bite turns him black from head to toe, he must remain in this disguise for his chance to regain both his royal status and previous appearance.

In the adaptation of the Sanskrit material for a Persianate audience, Nal's change of appearance is a crucial element. When Fayzī changes the Sanskrit Nala – a dwarf in an epic – into a black lover in a Persianate romance, he changes what the transformed Nal signifies in the story. The narrative focus is not so much on a failed king, desolate and robbed of his royal body, as it is on the figure of the lover, modelled in part on Niẓāmī's Majnūn, embodying a lover-masculinity. Blackness becomes a topos to not only signify the exteriorization of *sawdā* (black bile, causing lovesickness), but also an opportunity for Fayzī to play with the connotations of magic, fire, and heat that were associated with India.

## Panel: Iranian Classical Music, Mathematics and Physics: Barkeshli and the Revival of the Scientific Study of Music

Convenor: Khaksar, Sepideh

Discussant and Chair: Pourshariati

Panellists: Ariana Barkeshli (Concert Pianist), Sepideh Khaksar (FU Berlin), Ali Kazemi (Tehran University)

The study of the scientific structures of “classical” Iranian music has a rather young history in the modern period, though based on all the evidence at our disposal, it has had a millennium long premodern history. The first steps in examining the works of medieval Iranian scientist such as Farabi and Ibn Sina with their musical works as the primary subject of study began in Iran by the late Professor Barkeshli and his students and colleagues. Their endeavours set up the foundations of studying the relationship of physics to acoustics which in turn defined the parameters of the dastgah system of Iranian music. In the present panel, Ariana Barkeshli, the Iranian concert pianist and music researcher, first provides us with a personal biographical depiction of her late father, Professor Barkeshli, and his aims and aspirations for Iranian music and culture and the steps he undertook in realizing his objectives. In “Understanding Iranian Musical Scales through the Mathematical and Physical Characteristics of Sound, Sepideh Khaksar will further delve into the actual scientific dimensions of the studies undertaken by Barkeshli and his league and finally in “Ornamentation in Classical Persian Music: A Concise History,” Ali Kazemi will discuss tahrir as an important musical technique, an ornamental component of the dastgah. He will argue that tahrirs are remarkable embellishments in Iranian vocal and instrumental music which comprise more than 50 percent of the traditional performances in its millennium long history . It was introduced first by Farabi.

Ariana Barkeshli

### **The Contributions of the late Professor Barkeshli to Iranian Culture and Music**

In my presentation, I will discuss the contributions of the late Dr. Mehdi Barkeshli to Iranian culture and music. Dr. Barkeshli was a pioneering physicist and musicologist who presented the Iranian traditional music scale scientifically as it conforms to the principles of acoustics. He also revitalized the heritage of Farabi, Ibn-Sina, Safiyeddin Ormavi, and Abdol Ghader Maraghehi and translated and analyzed al-Musighi al-Kabir as well as Ibn-Sina 's works. Dr. Barkeshli established several important music institutions and centers, among them: the Musicology Institute, part of farhangestan-i adab, the National Music committee at UNESCO, Saba Institute (Maktab-i Saba), the Musicology Department of the Conservatory of Music (Honarestan-e Ali-e Musighi.) He also established the Music and Theater Department at the University of Tehran, where he invited several prominent masters of traditional Iranian classical musicians, as well as Western classical musicians to teach. In addition, Dr. Barkeshli established the Musicology Department and offered a course on acoustics where he taught Iranian students about the physics of Iranian music scales. After his retirement, his student Dr. Moulana continued to teach this course until the University decided, unfortunately, to cancel it. With the added personal perspective that I bring to bear, the present talk details the contributions of my father, the late Dr. Mehdi Barkeshli, to Iranian culture and the disciplinary and scientific study of Iranian music.

Sepideh Khaksar

## **Understanding Iranian Musical Scales through the Mathematical and Physical Characteristics of Sound**

Several questions surrounding the creation of music in its varied and distinctive historical contexts in Iran, had remained outstanding by the 20th century. To address this problem, and in order to start training generations of students who would undertake research on the history of music in Iran, one of the most important developments in the last century was the foundation of a department of Iranian musicological studies in Tehran University. The idea of establishing such a department, had occurred to one of the most forward thinking and pioneer physicist, acoustic specialist and an Iranian musicologist, Dr. Mehdi Barkeshli. This long road to the foundation was traversed by Dr Barkeshli with a distinctive purpose: It was not meant to be yet another effort in Occidentalism or Eurocentric modernization, which had its peak by Ali-Naghi Vaziri, the musician, composer and the director of the Tehran Conservatory of Music in 1307- 1313. Dr. Barkeshli and some of his later colleagues<sup>1</sup>, tried to understand different Iranian musical instruments through their concrete physical characteristics which in turn determine the nature of their timbre, their spectrum and their different historical scales. How did these pioneering academics study the pioneering music theorists of a millennium prior to themselves, scientist such as Farabi (d. 950), Avicenna (d.1037) and others? I will try to share some of the main points of their specific mathematical methods for understanding intervals in Iranian history by their clear system. This system has been unfortunately removed from musicological education for the past ten years in Tehran university. The present paper will provide a critical narrative of this history and describe the project that has been launched, a project which aims at raising awareness about the state of our current acoustical studies in contemporary musicology and ethnomusicology departments in Iran.

Ali Kazemi

### **Ornamentation in Classical Persian Music: A Concise History**

One of the most important question about classical Persian music which remains outstanding is the connection of the dastgah (current traditional Iranian musical system) and the theories of medieval Iranian musical treatises such as those of Farabi, Maraghi and Urmavi and others. We face uncertainty and problems in so many aspects of our historical query when it comes to this. There are, however, historical contexts to the development of the dastgah system. One of the most important subjects in investigating the dastgah systems is its ornamentation system, which has an extremely important function in the structural aspects of the system. These ornamentations have various types in the dastgah. They are what Farabi refers to as “the superior existence of the melody,” in his great opus. Tahrir, a long continuum of tones (melisma) discussed here is an important musical technique, an ornamental component of the dastgah. Tahrirs are remarkable embellishments in Iranian vocal and instrumental music which comprise more than 50 percent of the traditional performances in its millennium long history . It was introduced first by Farabi.



## Panel: The Early History in the Iranian Music

Convenor: Khaksar, Sepideh

Panellists: Theo J.H. Krispijn (Leiden University), Sepideh Khaksar (FU Berlin)

Music had an important position in ancient cultures. There was 'official music' performed in temple and palace in honor of gods, kings, and aristocrats and folk music played in the streets, squares, and taverns which brought joy to the common people. The history of Iranian music before the advent of Islam is particularly interesting, as we see early emergence of types of instruments that are still used today. Philologists and musicologists can help each other imagine how the ancient musical instruments were played and what the cultural setting of early music was. We would like to focus on artefacts and images on stringed musical instruments but like to outline the evolution of the "lute" and its distribution over different near eastern and Iranian political territories, from its first appearance in the 3rd millennium BC until the Late Antiquity in Sassanid Era.

Theo J.H. Krispijn

### **'Pop Music' in Ancient Mesopotamia and Iran**

We know quite much about the official music of ancient Mesopotamia from texts and pictures, but much less about popular music. Fortunately, we have many images of scenes from folk music. On plaques and in figurines we see lute and lyre players, scantily clad ladies with frame drums, naked dwarfs, and monkeys, in short, a colorful company performing. Some musicians of the world of popular music belong to the "third gender", i.e. LBHTI+ community. Depictions of musicians from folk music have been found in all areas of the ancient Near East, but statuettes of musicians are particularly popular in SW Iran. It is also interesting that two important instruments in folk music: the lute and the horizontal harp most likely originated in Iran. The lute is especially interesting because this instrument might have made clearly visible the connection between music and mathematics in early music theory.

Sepideh Khaksar

### **Exploring Sassanid Music**

Music has always been one of the manifestations of the Iranian civilization. In other words, the golden age of Iranian music could be traced back to the Sassanid era. Musicians were one of the most important groups in Secretaries (Dabiran) class. Some ethnomusicologists believe that the visual resources in "Archaeology of Music" could not support the comparative studies for understanding historical musical modes and scales. But in my opinion, for historical organology and the cultural musicology in Sassanid era, the visual resources, Pahlavi textual resource like "Khusraw qubadan va ridak" and "the letter of Tansar" as well as the post Sassanid "Arabic and Persian textual resources", all complete each other. My main motivation to participate in this panel, is to introduce the several rocks relieves, marble mosaics, golden and silver bowls, coins and even inscription which are attesting to the historical path of musicians and musical instruments in the people daily life and the court life. In the final section, I will try to introduce some small part of "Seven Khosravani" and "30 Lahn" repertoire which Dr. Darioush Safvat explained in his several articles in Persian and try for a small comparative study between the Persian Dastgah, and the 12 Maqams in India, Iraq, Turkey, and Afghanistan with their fundamental differences in melody which might be inspired from this Sassanid potential sources.

## Panel: Armenian Merchants and Iran in the 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries

Convenors: Kostikyan, Kristine & Morikawa, Tomoko

Panellists: Edmund Herzig (Oxford University), Gor Margaryan (Yerevan State University), Yvette Tajarian (Yerevan State University), Greta Gasparyan (Matenadaran, Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts), Tomoko Morikawa (The University of Tokyo), Kristine Kostikyan (Yerevan State University)

Armenians were one of the most successful and enterprising merchants in the pre-modern world. Their commercial networks were extended from Europe to Far East.

From the very beginning of the 15th century the trade by the routes passing through the territory of Iran and Armenian highland revived and was more intensive in result of the destruction of Astrakhan and other trade-economic centres on the northern transit trade route by Timur (r. 1370-1405). Armenian merchants were actively involved in trade and gradually they settled crossing the Middle East and the Mediterranean. The high point of these Armenian cross-cultural ties came in the seventeenth century when Shah 'Abbas I (r. 1587-1629) forced many Armenians to migrate from the Caucasus to his new capital Isfahan. Under the Safavids they played an important role and many Armenian communities were established in many important spots on transit trade routes crossing the Middle East and Europe.

What was the key of success in trade for Armenian merchants? The panel focuses on the rise and fall of the Armenian merchants in 15th to 18th century Iran and the Caucasus, exploring the reasons of their success from different aspects more deeply and with introducing cases that contributed to their prosperity.

Armenian merchants from New Julfa of Isfahan enjoyed their privileges of raw silk trade and tax exemption, but this was not the only factor furthering their success. Edmund Herzig will consider the role of the patronage of the Safavid Shahs in the success of the Armenian merchants and also observe other reasons, like the participation of the merchants in diplomatic relations with envoys and travellers in Isfahan, and other courts and capital cities, which at the same time gave them the cultural capital that allowed them to extend their commercial activities from Western Europe to Southeast Asia.

The panel will carry on a discussion on the other factors furthering the success of the Armenian merchants and also their contribution in cross-cultural exchange between Iran and Europe. Their religious behaviour and flexibility were among major factors facilitating their trade activities. Gor Margaryan will argue this factor in different aspects, such as their relations with the Catholic world and local Muslim administrations. Yvette Tajarian and Greta Gasparyan will introduce some examples of

mixed culture of western and eastern arts in the paintings and buildings of Armenian merchants' houses in New Julfa of Isfahan, also in the manuscripts created in New Julfa by the order of eminent merchants.

Tomoko Morikawa will discuss the vast family business network and the enormous properties of Valijanians, an eminent Armenian merchant family from New Julfa. The firm family ties led them to revered position among the people, but after the conversion of one of the family members, the Family's prosperities came to an end. Another factor contributing to the success of Armenian merchants were their ties which will be considered by K. Kostikyan. Armenian merchants used their ties with the relatives, holding offices connected with trade in the Safavid and Afsharid administrations, and also established new relations through marriages with influential people. They held close ties with Armenian Church and high clergymen or the Catholic missionaries and the European powers in order to secure a successful trade.

Royal patronages, religious and cultural flexibilities, and also close ties within their families, relatives and the high clergymen were the factors promoting the success of the Armenian merchants and at the same contributing to the development of trade-economic and diplomatic relations between Iran and the world.

Edmund Herzig

**Kings and capitals: How important were the Safavid Shahs and the Safavid capital, Isfahan, in the global success of the early modern Julfa Armenian merchants?**

Contemporary European commentators identified the patronage of the Safavid Shahs, and of Abbās I in particular, as a vital ingredient in the success of the Julfa Armenian merchants in the 17th century. This paper will agree with that analysis, but will argue that we should look beyond the direct, symbiotic relationship between Shahs and Khojas in the Iranian raw silk export trade and the special status and protection given to New Julfa, the Armenian suburb of Isfahan. It will argue that the Armenians' familiarity with the Safavid court and elite and, through their role as royal envoys and merchants, with other courts and capital cities, in addition to their interactions with merchants, envoys and travellers in cosmopolitan Isfahan, gave them the cultural capital that allowed them to extend their commercial activities from Western Europe to Southeast Asia. It will use case studies of Armenian expansion into new markets, of commercial interactions with other merchant communities, and of self-fashioning by Armenian merchants abroad to develop this argument.

Gor Margaryan

**At the faces of religion and trade: Challenges in the commercial life of Armenian merchants in the late middle ages and early modern times**

Religion is known to have played a big role in public life in Europe and in the Middle East at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of modern times. The factor of religion was also important in trade and economic life. For example, it is known that in the Aq Qoyunlu state and Safavid Iran, in the Ottoman Empire, Muslim traders paid half as much in taxes as the local Christian traders, such as the Armenians. This refers, for example, to the tamgha trade tax, which in the Aq Qoyunlu state Christian traders paid 10 percent and Muslims only 5 percent. Later, in the 17th-18th centuries, the same phenomenon is found in the Ottoman Empire. Christian merchants were sometimes converted to Islam because of severe oppression and persecution of Muslim powers and sometimes also for economic reasons. More often, as a result of the active work of Catholic missionaries, Armenian traders abandoned the Armenian Apostolic Church to adopt the Catholic faith, which of course simplified their relations with the Catholic countries of Europe. In result they received priority, patronage and other privileges in trade with Europe. In this light, the province of Nakhijevan can serve as a good example, where a strong and rich Catholic community was formed of local Armenian merchants and artisans, who maintained close ties with the Catholic world, extending their trade network all the way to India. The aim of the research is to show how religion influenced commercial activity, what difficulties did the religious factor cause or vice versa, how did it help, for example, the missionary activity of the Catholic Church to expand or create a commercial network, etc.

Yvette Tajarian & Greta Gasparyan

**Armenian merchants of New Julfa as a channel of penetration of European Art into Iran in the Safavid Age**

The report will briefly touch the preconditions and the role of Armenian merchants of New Julfa in the inter-cultural relations of Iran with Europe from the point of view of architecture, miniature painting, ethnography, traditional costume, lifestyle, etc. Then it will focus on the process of Westernization of traditional Iran started under the rule of Safavids' (1501–1736) and connected with the trade activities of the Armenian merchants. As a result of these activities, a blend of Armenian, European, and Iranian art occurred, serving as the foundation for new western and eastern decorative iconographic innovations reflected in the frescoes of The Holy Savior Cathedral and St. Bethlehem churches in New Julfa, in the khojas' mansions. The influence of European art was also reflected in the Armenian manuscripts illustrated in New Julfa. The Armenians moved to Isfahan, during the rule of Shah 'Abbās I, imitated the manuscripts they brought with them from Armenia, but created their own, new style, reflected in the manuscripts copied in New Julfa. The interaction of Armenian, European and Iranian art is evident in the miniature iconography, illustrations, color combinations and other details of some manuscripts copied there. The paper will consider some of these peculiar features on the example of the manuscript N 7639 (Matenadaran collection), the patron of which is the famous khoja Avetik.

Tomoko Morikawa

### **New Julfan Armenian merchants and their properties in Safavid Iran**

In Safavid Iran, Armenian merchants had an important role in raw silk exports to Europe. Among the Armenian merchants who settled in New Julfa of Isfahan, the Valijanian Family was one of the most prominent and wealthy merchants. The family, embracing their family ties, was engaged in business amassing great wealth until the fall of the Safavid dynasty. In this paper I will reconstruct the wealth and properties they built in Iran through their deeds of conveyance (sulhnamas). Khwaja (Khoja) Petros Valijanian was the first generation of emigrants from Old Julfa at the time of the campaign of Shah 'Abbas in the early seventeenth century and built a splendid church in New Julfa at his own expense after twenty years of his settlement. In just one or two generations, their family business network covered large areas from India in the east to Izmir and Venice in the west. Through the trading business, they could accumulate enormous amounts of money and real estate in and around the Safavid new capital Isfahan. They kept their great fortune largely maintained in New Julfa (including the luxurious house of two floors built in 1668), until one of their family members converted to Islam and broke off the patriarchal family network in the latter half of the seventeenth century. After the siege of Isfahan by the Afghans in 1722, the last member of the family had to move to Madras with his huge collection of properties, where this last Valijanian, having no heir, left his most properties to charitable affairs in his will.



Kristine Kostikyan

**The ties and relations of the Armenian merchants in promotion of their commercial business in the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries**

The ties and cooperation were among the important factors facilitating the successful trade of the Armenian merchants. They developed their family business using their relative ties, and also tried to have relations and links with high officials closely connected with trade in Iran as well as Ottoman Turkey. The information of various sources allows us detect some of those ties connecting the Armenian merchants of New Julfa with the merchants in Armenia, also the links of the Armenian merchants with the officials holding certain high posts in the Safavid and Afsharid administrations. Among such were the offices of a *kalāntar* (the head of town community), *zarrābī* (the manager of a mint-house), and *gerakyarāq* (the person doing purchases for royal or local governor's household in abroad). The ties with such officials assisted their trade activities and gave additional privileges to them. Armenian merchants tried to keep their ties with Armenian Apostolic Church. They made donations to the Armenian Church and often assisted high clergymen in solving the problems of the Church and its subjects in relations with Muslim governments. As an acknowledged religious establishment, Armenian Church in its turn obtained royal decrees to secure the safe travel of the Armenian merchants in the regions of Iran, free of forced adoption of Islam and additional taxes. The archive documents of the Matenadaran contain detailed data on some of the ties of the Armenian merchants, and reveal the facts about their cooperation with Muslim merchants, officials and Catholic missionaries depending on the needs.

## Panel: Materiality and Craft in Pre-Modern South and Central Asia

Convenor: McClary, Richard

Panellists: Richard McClary (University of York), Alka Patel (UC-Irvine), Dilnoza Duturaeva (University of York), Bermet Nishanova (UC-Irvine)

This interdisciplinary panel brings together four scholars from different specialties to address materiality and historical intermediality in Central and South Asia in the period spanning the 10th to the 15th centuries, examining the movement and development of styles and techniques across scales and materials of making. It addresses craft, materiality, movement and trade by showcasing the multiplicity of interconnected craft traditions across these regions. By means of a range of case studies, the presenters will demonstrate the combined effect of the movement of both objects and artisans from western China to eastern Iran, and south into the Indian sub-continent, and prompt a broader discussion around the complex multiplicity of trading networks and regional traditions that intersected across the wider Persianate world in the medieval period in its broadest sense.

Richard McClary

**Woodwork and Stucco: Cross-media pattern transmission in 9th to 11th century CE architecture of Central Asia**

This paper examines the links between carved wood and carved stucco in monuments from Khiva to Safid Buland in the period spanning Samanid and Qarakhanid rule in Central Asia. The research draws on a combination of close study of the objects, the extensive Soviet-era scholarship, and new methodological approaches to the material culture of the Islamic world more widely. The aim is to give a clearer understanding of the mobility and working methods of artisans, and the movement and development of patterns and techniques over time and space.

Alka Patel

**Figures on Cloth and Paper, 11th-15th centuries**

Focusing on Jaina manuscripts of the Kalpasutra and Kalakacharya-katha, along with surviving coeval textiles and fragments, this paper analyzes the intermedial dialogue between textile decoration and manuscript illustration in the northern reaches of South Asia. Since the 1950s, scholars of pre-Mughal painting have identified the introduction of new figural iconographies in the otherwise conservative Jain manuscript traditions; more recently textile historians have noted similar figural types in the decorations of their objects of study. The present work brings the two cultural productions into conversation, exploring the larger context of Jaina mercantilism – often cantered on textile export around the Indian Ocean world – to understand the coalescence of figural conventions in these media.

Dilnoza Duturaeva

**Movement of craft items along long-distance trade networks in the 11th-12th centuries**

Using samples of Islamic glassware and metalwork discovered in Liao tombs in China and recent findings related to non-local sources of lead glazes produced in Qarakhanid cities in northern Central Asia this paper deals with movement of craft items and sources of its materials along long-distance caravan routes in the 11th -12th centuries.

Bermet Nishanova

**Between Islamic Central Asian Objects and Architecture: Textile Materiality as a Structural Framework in the 10th-14th centuries**

This paper will examine how textiles mediated architecture and other portable media in Islamic Central Asia. Engaging with the scholarly theories of Olga Bush and Margaret Graves, who have written about the mediation of textiles in architecture and small portable objects, I suggest perceiving the question from the opposite end in the context of Central Asia. In thinking further about the kinds of relationship that exist between different early Islamic materials, I want to examine how textiles played a significant role in shaping how architecture and small portable objects were imagined and made. Ultimately, a bigger aim of my paper will be to foreground textiles as the dominant material, which frames how other structures and works are understood, rather than perceiving textiles between liminal of relationality of different Central Asian and Islamic art artworks.

## Panel: The Shahnama Project: Past, Present and Future

Convenors: Melville, Charles, Melville, Firuza & Berg, Gabrielle van den

Panellists: Charles Melville (Cambridge University), Firuza Melville (The Cambridge Shahnama Centre for Persian Studies) Gabrielle van den Berg (Leiden University)

This panel is organized on the occasion of the upcoming anniversary of the Cambridge Shahnama Project. It includes a brief viewing of the Leiden University Library manuscript collection related to Firdausi's *Shahnama*.

Charles Melville

### **Illustrating epic or illustrating history – plus ça change?**

After a brief review of the story of the Shahnama Project, from its inauguration in 1999 through various developments to the current situation and future prospects, this presentation will focus on an offshoot of the project, namely the compilation of a database of illustrated manuscripts of Persian chronicles and histories. These were produced concurrently with Shahnama manuscripts, but in far fewer numbers, and over a similar timespan, from the 14th to the 19th century: the long 'manuscript age' of Persian literary production. The existence of the rich production of Shahnama MSS was perhaps itself one reason for the slight concentration on historical texts, since the Shahnama could sometimes be considered as surrogate for illustrating contemporary history too. Nevertheless, there is a difference between an ancient literary epic and a self-determined chronicle of current – and past – events (usually in prose), however much the language and idiom, didactic purpose and even modes of illustration might be the same. So the questions remain, which chronicles were illustrated, how often, and why; which historical events were particularly singled out for illustration, whether in one text or across several; and how were they depicted? As for the Shahnama Project, this raises the same issues of text-image relationships and the extent to which paintings suggest a visual reading of history.

Firuza Melville

### **The *Shahnama* in Contemporary Culture: contemporary visual interpretations of Persian literary classics, Farrah Ossouli's art as case study**

Gabrielle van den Berg

**The *Shahnama* and the Persian Epic Cycle, with a tribute to Abolfazl Khatibi**

As a normative text in Persian history and literature, the *Shahnama* is a living epic poem, subject to change and adaptation, and a model for a great variety of texts in which heroism is celebrated. Epic materials directly inspired by or related to the contents of Firdausi's *Shahnama* found their way into *Shahnama* manuscripts as supplementary material, often in the form of interpolations; but these materials can also be found as stand-alone texts preserved, sometimes in an elaborate form, in manuscripts. This supplementary can be referred to as the 'Persian Epic Cycle', by analogy with the Greek Epic Cycle of poems supplementing Homer's Iliad and Odyssey. Until quite recently, the majority of the epic texts from the so-called Persian Epic Cycle were not readily available in printed editions and remained hidden, as it were, in the extensive *Shahnama* manuscript tradition. One of the results of the Cambridge Shahnama project has been a growing focus on studying these texts, previously often dismissed as secondary material, in a more coherent manner. This was one of the main aims of the Leiden Persian Epic Cycle Project (funded by NWO). An important scholar in the endeavour to bring to light Persian Epic Cycle texts was Abolfazl Khatibi, who prepared a critical edition of a number of these texts in collaboration with the Leiden Persian Epic Cycle Project. In this presentation an example of this collaborative work will be presented, with reference to the oldest manuscript copy of the so-called *Shabrangnama*, Acad 150, kept in Leiden University Library.



## Panel: Rereading Hans E. Wulff's Archive of the Traditional Crafts, Technology, Science, Material Culture, and Art of Iran as A Source for Iranian Studies

Convenors: Moosavi, Mahroo & Zenhari, Roxana & Khosronejad, Pedram

Panellists: Pedram Khosronejad (Western Sydney University), Hadi Safaeipour (Shahid Beheshti University Tehran), Ana Marija Grbanovic (Otto-Friedrich-University Bamberg), Elnaz Latifpour (University of Virginia), Abigail E. Owen (Carnegie Mellon University Pittsburgh), Roxana Zenhari (Georg August University Göttingen), Mahroo Moosavi (University of Oxford)

### Background

Johannes Eberhard Wulff was born in 1907 in Westphalia, Germany. In 1936, he was given an official position to go to Iran at the request of Reza Shah Pahlavi the king of Iran (r. 1925- 1941), to plan and set up the first ever schools of technical engineering, as foreign aid of the German government to the Iranian government. The first technical college was established by Wulff in Shiraz in 1937, and it was during the official opening of this school that he received a royal order from Reza Shah, to collect the necessary data for the preparation of an encyclopaedia of the "Traditional Crafts, Technology, Science, Material Culture and Art of Persia".

In parallel with administering and teaching at the Technical Colleges in Shiraz, later in Isfahan and finally in Tabriz, from 1937 to 1941 Wulff travelled all around the country observing, interviewing, and photographing master masons and craftsmen of many different guilds to record their techniques of production and tool making, to teach at his new schools and to use them as primary resources in his royal project. However, with the Second World War outbreak, and the invasion of Iran by the British and Soviet Armies in 1941, Wulff and many other Germans who were employed in Iran, were accused of being Nazi associates and sent to the Australian internment camps. In 1950 and following the release of the civilian internees in 1947 Wulff joined the University of New South Wales in Sydney, as a lecturer. In 1953 he retrieved all his research materials from Iran, including his notes, diaries, and photographs. In 1963 the Department of Industrial Arts at the University of New South Wales accepted Wulff as a doctoral candidate to work on a thesis based on his work on the traditional crafts of Iran. To complete his field research, Wulff returned to Iran twice during 1964 and 1965, and published a small part of his research in a book entitled *The Traditional Crafts of Persia: Their Development, Technology, and Influence on Eastern and Western Civilizations* (MIT press, 1966). Having finished the project of documentation of the traditional crafts, art, science, and technology of Iran, Wulff died in 1967. His

archive – the bulk of which are unpublished - was retrieved from his family in 2019 in Australia by Pedram Khosronejad and is currently in his custody.

## Proposal

This panel first and foremost aims to shed light on the significance of Wulff's project as a basic research tool from different disciplinary angles such as art/architectural history, anthropology, and philology, his potential agency in the development of the field of Iranian Studies, and his grand yet mainly understudied project of the documentation of the traditional art, craft, science, and technology of Iran. To this end, the panel approaches the subject through two main intersecting domains: Firstly, Wulff's 1966 publication entitled *The Traditional Crafts of Persia: Their Development, Technology, and Influence on Eastern and Western Civilizations*; and secondly the recently retrieved in Australia Wulff's archive. The first domain which comprises three papers of the panel, will look at the Wulff's book as an instrument of documentation of the traditional crafts of Iran in terms of the processes of design, technical practice, construction, and production. Studying Wulff's work gains more importance when considering that in many cases the contemporary art/architectural-historical studies of Iran have been mainly limited to the notions of visual language, aesthetics, style, and evolution of form. The three papers in this section of the panel will deal with this aspect through three topics: 1) Interpretation of a construction system – vaulting without centring – by Wulff; 2) Research of an ornamentation method – Ilkhanid carved stucco – by Wulff; 3) Examination of an infrastructure management knowledge – *qanāt* [groundwater] – by Wulff. These three papers use in some manners Wulff's book as a tool that turned the non-written knowledge/technique – of master masons and craftsmen – to written form, a matter that brings forth the notion of Wulff's methodology in approaching the subjects of his book. The second section of the panel deals with this aspect of Wulff's work, and consequently how his project and particular methodological lens has affected and may continue to contribute to the field of Iranian studies. Two of the papers in this section will deal firstly with the importance of Wulff's entire project for the field of Iranian Studies from the perspective of the current custodian of the Wulff's extended archive, and secondly with the reception and impact of Wulff's book on the contemporary and later approaches – tied to economic-politic factors - to the traditional art and craft of Iran by the Iranian and Western scholarship. Closing the circle of papers in the panel, the methodological complexities of Wulff's book will be revisited in the third paper in this section, where it is brought out of the vacuum of the book and contextualised in the mainly neglected, recently retrieved archive of Wulff in Australia. This paper suggests the necessity of looking at the archive parallel to the book to fathom some of the major gaps and lacunas of the book. The importance of the archive lies not only in

the exploration of more historical and technical data, but also in elaborating on the author's agency tied to the psyche and related politics; things that may potentially become visible in this case in the Wulff archive's mass of notes, diaries, photographs, and sketches.

In this context, the panel papers will collectively ask: Why is Wulff's project important and still relevant to the field of Iranian studies? In which micro and macro-scales does the Wulff project operate and how these different scales can be better comprehended by a resonating study of the book and the archival material? Under what methodological mechanisms does the Wulff project function and in what modes and through what interpretive systems can both the book and archive be used in the contemporary studies of Iranian art/architectural history, anthropology, and philology?

Through these main themes, we argue that the Wulff's project – along a number of other mid-twentieth century similar landmark projects – needs to be reapproached in a fresh manner where the constituent elements of the book are contextualised in a minute methodological analysis and also in the framework of the archival material in an attempt to achieve three main goals: firstly to obtain more technical documentary information, secondly to facilitate reading the means of operation of the book, and thirdly to elaborate on the relatively obscure parts of the study

Pedram Khosronejad

### **Uncovering Hans E. Wulff Collection: A Life Contribution to the Study of Iran and Iranian Studies**

In 1936, twenty-nine-year-old Johannes Eberhard Wulff (1907-1967) was given an official position to go to Iran at the request of Reza Shah (1878-1944), the king (r. 1925-1941), to plan and set up the first ever schools of technical engineering, as foreign aid from the German government to the Iranian government. The first technical college was established by Wulff in Shiraz in 1937, and it was during the official opening of this school that he received a royal order from Reza Shah to collect the necessary data for the preparation of an encyclopaedia regarding the “Traditional Crafts, Technology, Science, Material Culture and Art of Persia.” In parallel with administering and teaching at the Technical Colleges in Shiraz, later in Isfahan and finally in Tabriz, Wulff spent time from 1936 to 1941 travelling all around the country observing, interviewing, and photographing master craftsmen of many different guilds to record their techniques of production and tool making, to teach at his new schools and to use them as primary resources in his royal project. Since July 2019, I have been working closely with the children of Hans E. Wulff in Sydney. They have recently donated his entire collection and archival material to our project. This collection contains more than 5,000 unpublished photographs, negatives, slides, and drawings; more than ten handwritten diaries; more than 5,000 field notes; and the entire official letters and communications. This paper will present the life and research conducted by Hans E. Wulff in Iran 1936-1941 and 1964-65 and the significance of his archive and collection for the study of the traditional craft, art, technology, and science of Iran.

Hadi Safaeipour

**Vaulting without Centring in the Work of Iranian Master Masons: Interpretation of a Construction Habit through the Lens of Hans E. Wulff**

In Iranian architectural history, building habits were passed on mainly in the workshop and through apprenticeship practices, orally or by observational learning. Therefore, available written sources, as well as surviving inscriptions and the few documented scrolls usually contain no more than a few words regarding building crafts. In this historical context, referring to master masons, as the genuine reservoirs of construction knowledge and skills, is one of the essential methods for recognizing Iran's traditional architecture. Johannes Eberhard Wulff's (1907-1967) ethnographical study of technology, carried out from 1936 to 1941, is among the very pioneering works through which the study of traditional crafts was revolutionized in Iran at a time when many building habits had survived the vast modernization trends and were still alive. In his *The Traditional Crafts of Persia: Their Development, Technology, and Influence on Eastern and Western Civilizations* (MIT press, 1966), under the chapter building crafts and ceramic crafts, after identification of spatial types and constituent elements of Iranian historical architecture, Wulff introduces the construction methods applied by contemporary artisans and classifies these methods based on a geographical-constructive perspective. In addition to the description of distinct building crafts, Wulff indirectly illustrates how various local techniques introduce similar constructive features which despite their differences, shape an integrated construction culture in Iranian architecture. With this perspective, the current study investigates one of the outstanding vaulting craftsmanship habits in Iran which has significantly attracted the attention of Wulff: vaulting without centring; a habit that based on the available physical evidence practiced extensively throughout centuries even millennia in the architecture of the Iranian plateau. Accordingly, this paper addresses the requirement, circumstances, and results of vaulting without centring in the work of contemporary Iranian master masons through investigating three main topics: these vaults techniques and tools; their constructive, formal, and structural features; their influence on the configuration of a distinct construction culture. To this aim, the required information will be gathered by referring to three resources: a) archival study of Wulff's treasury which has remained largely neglected and unstudied to date; b) precise and complete survey of vaulted brick structures made by contemporary master masons and reverse engineering of their execution techniques; c) revisiting the results of the author's four-year-long field experience of direct observation and loosely-structured interviews with contemporary master masons at work in Isfahan, Tehran, Yazd, Kashan, and Qom.

In sum, reconsideration, re-presentation, and revisiting Wulff's archive will result in simultaneous revelations about two distant yet linked cultural heritages: The first is the knowledge of Iranian vaulting

traditions; the second is the collection of documents by Wulff, a pioneering scholar, whose research is under-appreciated and who, himself, has been largely relegated to anonymity. It is an irony of history that such a missing link of Iranian architecture, remains tucked away in Australia. It is my hope that this work will be the first step in not only filling a glaring lacuna in the history of Iranian traditional craftsmanship knowledge but also potentially revitalizing Iranian western academic dialogues.

### **Johannes Eberhard Wulff and Research of Carved Stuccos in Iran**

Scarcity of literature concerning Islamic stucco artistic techniques, Ilkhanid stucco revetments included, leaves an extensive gap in knowledge and understanding of how Ilkhanid stuccos were produced and how their production process impacted the overall visual appearance of stuccos. One of very few points of references in Western languages remains Hans E. Wulff's (1907-1967) publication on arts and crafts from 1966. In his section regarding gypsum and stucco Wulff provides a few pieces of general information regarding the stucco making, which were based on his observations of contemporary stucco craftsmen. The monograph by Aslani from 2014 focuses on the history of Islamic stucco artistic techniques in the Isfahan region, but it is lacking a systematic approach and a chronological framework. Some recent Iranian publications also provide new information about stucco artistic techniques, but they are also often based on contemporary knowledge of stucco production, rather than historic research of stucco material (e.g., Kamalizade and Kamalizade 2016). More substantial research has been published concerning Islamic stucco techniques and production technology in Spain by Ramón Rubio Domene (2010). But this information needs to be comprehended in an indicative manner, because stucco production technology variates between geographic and chronological contexts. In a similar manner, research of stucco technology of the Sassanid period by Moslem Mishmastnehi (2016), provides for comparative material. Rather than indicative of stucco production technology of the Ilkhanid period, these publications need to be treated as comparative material.

Lack of discussion of stucco production technology and stucco artistic techniques resulted in superficial comprehension of stuccos in Western art historical literature. Islamic art historians most commonly approached discussion of Ilkhanid (and other) stucco revetments based on the criterion of stylistic comparison. By doing so, the scholars discussed stuccos based on their visual elements, studies of inscriptions and especially by focusing on their ornamental iconography (e.g., Pope and Ackermann 1977 [1938-1939], Vol. 3). The multitude of different approaches to stucco production, design transfer and stucco carving were almost entirely ignored and are accordingly given attention in this paper. The fact that the knowledge of stucco body production and carving determined the final appearance of stuccos, was not discussed. In order to fill these gaps, this paper provides a preliminary taxonomy of stucco artistic techniques, which is based on field observations and documentation of Ilkhanid pre-Ilkhanid stuccos. As mentioned, substantial archaeometric research would have to be performed on stuccos from at least the Early Islamic period until the Late Ilkhanid times in order to comprehend the basics of their production technology and the differences in their production technology which occurred through the passing of time.

Elnaz Latifpour

### **The Concept of 'Tradition' in Wulff's Work on Textiles**

It is undeniable that Hans E. Wulff is one of the most important individuals in preserving and transmitting information about Iranian handicrafts during the twentieth century, as documented in his notable book, *The Traditional Crafts of Persia*, published in 1966. Regarding textiles, he wrote that aniline dyes first entered Iran in the 1870s due to the increasing demand for carpets. According to Wulff, bringing synthetic colours from western Europe to Persia caused the carpets to lose their original character. This paper aims to determine whether Wulff's concept of "tradition" also applies to twentieth-century textiles and to explore what Wulff meant by "loss of original character." It also seeks to examine whether the early sparks of new weaving traditions in Persia can be traced to the use of industrial products in weaving practices starting around 1870. Lastly, the emphasis of this paper is to "shed light on Wulff's concept of tradition" and how this has impacted studies of carpet weaving, as well as the way in which he documented continuity and changes in dyes over time.



Abigail E. Owen

**Embodied knowledge and the role of technique: Wulff's Contribution to the History of Groundwater Management**

In my 2011 doctoral dissertation, *Hidden Waters: Groundwater Histories of Iran and the Mediterranean*, I examined Hans Wulff's classic work, *The Traditional Crafts of Persia*. In my dissertation, I compared Wulff's 20th-century documentation of Iranian technical knowledge for groundwater management with the 11th-century manuscript by Mohammed al-Karajī, *Treatise on the Extraction of Hidden Waters*. Both Wulff's and al-Karajī's work belong to a genre of written documentation that makes sense of, and translates, the sophisticated technical practice of craft knowledge into written form.

This paper will further consider Wulff's work within the context of 21st-century areas of study in the history of science, which emphasize the importance of technique; embodied knowledge, and modes of exchange of knowledge by practitioners, especially across borders, while relying on methods of exchange that do not include the written word. In this sense, Wulff's 1966 encyclopaedia, *The Traditional Crafts of Persia*, is an important document and forerunner of 21st-century directions in the history of science. Wulff's archive will be examined in this light; I will also revisit al-Karajī's 11th-century work as an example of the challenge and serendipity of turning nonwritten knowledge into written form, exactly as Wulff did.

Roxana Zenhari

### **Idealism of Hans Wulff about the Traditional Crafts and the Impact of his “Weltanschauung” on the Theory of Sustainable Development**

In 1966 the German engineer Hans E. Wulff (1907-1967) published his long-term research findings in the book “The Traditional Crafts of Persia: Their Development, Technology, and Influence on Eastern and Western Civilizations”. A year later, the Iranian publishing house, Franklin, submitted it to Siroos Ebrahimzade for translation. However, it remained unpublished for years. When in 1976, Bank-e Melli, Iran’s national bank, commissioned a book about Iranian traditional handicrafts, Wulff’s book was not able to meet the expectations of new cultural and economic policies. Instead the book “A Survey of Persian handicraft: a pictorial introduction to the contemporary folk arts and art crafts of modern Iran” edited by Jay and Sumi Gluck fitted to the new description of traditional crafts defined by the Ministries of Science and Culture. The prolific use of coloured images as well as its emphasis on the aesthetic aspects of crafts and objects juxtaposed to Wulff’s methodology and his definition of crafts which he embodied through photos, diagrams, and phonetic terminology.

After the 1979 Islamic revolution, Ebrahimzade’s translation of Wulff’s book was published by Enteshārāt-e Āmūzesh-e Enghelāb-e Eslāmī (Publisher of the Islamic Revolution in Education) in good quality, on glossy papers; though with the complete removal of author’s preface.

The purpose of this paper is to examine Wulff’s methodology in the transmission of knowledge he collected in Persian crafts. It argues about the interaction between the knowledge he produced and the cultural and economic policies of the country during three eras: in the first and the second Pahlavi epoch, and the Islamic republic period. In the next section, I will discuss the multidimensional nature of Wulff’s work and its implications for new investigations on the relationship between traditional crafts/technology and sustainable development.

Mahroo Moosavi

### **Intermediary Authorial Agency in the Archival Material: Hans E. Wulff's Archive of the Traditional Crafts of Persia**

*The Traditional Crafts of Persia: Their Development, Technology, and Influence on Eastern and Western Civilizations* is the title of a book published in 1966, written by the German engineer Hans E. Wulff (1907-1967) who was in Iran from 1937 to 1941 (and in two shorter periods in 1964 and 1965) with the order of Reza Shah Pahlavi (r. 1925-1941) to plan and set up the first ever schools of technical engineering in Iran and to collect information for an encyclopaedia of the "Traditional Crafts, Technology, Science, Material Culture and Art of Persia".

Rather than limiting the scope of the study to the book, this paper focuses on the recently retrieved in Australia behind-the-scenes mass of archival notes, diaries, sketches, and photographs of Wulff, and emphasises on the necessity of examination of Wulff's archive and book in parallel to each other to answer questions in terms of the validity of historical information and to explain the possible methodological fallacies of the book. To this end, along the Wulff's archive, the paper will also look at John Carswell's (1931-) archive (the section that led to the publication of his book *New Julfa: The Armenian Churches and Other Buildings* published in 1968), currently housed at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.

While there are fundamental methodological and strategic-pedagogical differences between Wulff's and Carswell's work, the parallel study of their archives sets the stage for the emergence of a bigger picture in which we may see the 'processes' of authorial thinking about art, architecture, and crafts of Iran as a concept of study. These processes of authorial thinking are not necessarily visible in the final book product but mainly constructed gradually and progressively through acts and stages such as collecting information, taking photographs, making sketches, correspondence with others, adding notes, writing diaries, and in the end the selection and curatorial modes, manners, and procedure for the creation of the book. Concentrating mainly on the latter stage in this paper, the close study of Wulff's - and Carswell's - archive reveals considerable and, in some cases fundamental thematic and methodological incongruities of the raw material and the book and raises questions regarding the intermediary psychology and polity involved in the authorship, editorial, and compilation mechanism. The paper draws the scholarly attention to two main points: Firstly, the importance of behind-the-scenes archival notes, diaries, sketches, and photographs; and secondly the complexities of the authorial agency - of Wulff - in the book production process. Through this new lens, the close analysis and examination of the understudied archival material not only allude to more historical and art-

historical documents and information, but also and more importantly sheds light on the agency of the author's 'self' and layers of engaging facets and factors with the notion of personhood.

## Panel: The River and What Is Beyond: A Tribute to Andreas Wilde (1976-2022)

Convenor: Nölle-Karimi, Christine

Panellists: Ulfatbek Abdurasulov (Austrian Academy of Sciences), Nigora Allaeva (Institute of History, Tashkent), Philip Bockholt (University of Münster), Christine Nölle-Karimi (Austrian Academy of Sciences), Florian Schwarz (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

For the following panel we would like to suggest the format of a roundtable, if possible. The event is designed as a tribute to commemorate our late colleague and friend Dr. Andreas Wilde, who will be remembered as a splendid personality and gifted scholar. Despite his untimely death he has left behind a massive legacy in the form of scholarly works and, perhaps most importantly, human ties embracing the academic community across the globe. An expert on the history of early modern Central Asia, Afghanistan and Iran, his fame rests on his seminal and voluminous book entitled *What is beyond the River?*, which examines the dynamics of power relations in Transoxania from the late 17th to the late 19th century. Based on a diligent and far-reaching study of Persian documents and narrative sources, this work allows unique insights into courtly rituals of power and the allegiances maintained by patronage ties. The scholars assembled in this panel are experts on the early modern history of Central Asia and the broader Persianate world who had the privilege of working with Dr. Wilde and engaging with his findings. The papers presented draw on some of the multifarious aspects of his scholarly work and address topics ranging from diplomatic communications, concepts of political order and governance to historiographical narratives and their transmission through time and space. Florian Schwarz will reassess regional configurations of power and the relationship between Bukhara, Khiva and Khorazm and in the light of long-term developments since the 16th century. Nigora Allaeva will analyze the continuing strength of the Chingizid dispensation in the 18th century. Ulfatbek Abdurasulov will explore the role of Turkic in Russian diplomatic communications with Khiva and Bukhara. Philip Bockholt will reflect on Amīr Maḥmūd's *Zayl* against the background of historiographical traditions that had evolved until the 16th century. Christine Nölle-Karimi will revisit the development of narrative conventions in the historiography of the 18th and early 19th centuries.

Ulfatbek Abdurasulov

### **Turkic as Soft Power: Russian-Central Asian Diplomatic Correspondence (17th and 18th Century)**

This paper deals with texts produced by Muscovite and, later, by Russian diplomatic chancelleries over the 17th and early 18th centuries as means of diplomatic communication with the Central Asian courts. More specifically, it examines the content of a number of Turkic royal missives written on behalf of the Russian Tsars to their counterparts in Khiva and Bukhara. Scholars examining Turkic as one of the paramount language choices of the Muscovite diplomatic bureaucracy's communication with some Islamic and non-Islamic courts have noted that its use had roots in earlier chancellery practices of the Golden Horde and Russian princely states. There is little to object to such an interpretation: indeed, many aspects of the Muscovite protocol seem to have been borrowed from the earlier practices and were conditioned by the demographic makeup of the diplomatic offices. Still, continuity in chancellery practices between Muscovy and its predecessor khanates hardly explains why the Muscovite authorities were so persistent in favouring Turkic over Persian in diplomatic communication. In this paper I hope to be able to show that by providing a common medium for diverse languages and cultures across Eurasia to communicate with one another, diplomatic Turkic, employed by the Russian chancellery, anchored a variety of predominantly spoken vernacular languages. Moreover, by privileging Turkic over Persian – which remained the lingua franca elsewhere in Eurasia – Muscovite chancery practices empowered Turkic to compete with Persian as the region's cosmopolitan language. With this in mind, the hard power of empire was intimately intertwined with the soft power of chancery culture.

Nigora Allaeva

### **Nadir Shah's Campaign and the Chingizid Dispensation in Early Modern Khorazm**

In 1740 the Iranian ruler Nadir Shah Afshar launched a large-scale campaign against the Khanate of Khiva, a relatively small Islamic principality located in lower reaches of the Amu Darya River, on the territory of historical Khorazm. Following the successful takeover of the Khanate, Nadir Shah asked the representatives of the Khorazmian nobility whether they could propose someone truly worthy of them, to whom he could entrust “the bridles of authority over this realm”. The response Nadir Shah received seems to have been telling indeed. According to the chronicler, he was told the following: “[f]rom the time of Chingīz Khān to the present, the government of this country has belonged to the exalted members of the Chingizid dynasty alone. Whatever his royal majesty deems necessary, our humble request is that he comply with the long-established custom.” Based upon this and other evidence derived from contemporary sources, the current paper sets out to showcase that notwithstanding conventional truth about the shrinkage of the Chingizid mandate in early modern Central Asia, and namely in Khorazm, the practices of the Chingizid dispensation were still prevalent in the Khorazmian patterns of governance in the early modern period.

Philip Bockholt

**Historiography in Khurasan in the Mid-16th Century and Its Transmission: Some Observations on Amīr Maḥmūd's *Zayl-i Ḥabīb al-Siyar***

Despite two published editions of Amīr Maḥmūd's *Zayl* on the universal history *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* of his father Khvāndamīr, the text has hardly been researched to date. Apart from valuable but cursory commentaries on the work in publications by Maria Szuppe and Sholeh A. Quinn, there has been no serious attempt to locate the work in the tradition of historiography in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Khurasan or Iran and Central Asia. The paper will approach the *Zayl*, which recounts the history of Iran at the time of Shah Ṭahmāsp until about 1550, in two ways: First, the text will be analyzed as a historiographical narrative in its own right, focusing on the elements of the Shi'ite tradition of Islam that were central to the legitimation of the dynasty. In a second step, with a view to the enormous dissemination of his father's much larger world history, the question of why Amīr Maḥmūd's work was hardly disseminated will be discussed. Manuscripts preserved in various collections will be considered in order to highlight the *Zayl*'s limited readership. This will shed light on why Amīr Maḥmūd's supplement to the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* was never as successful as the original work, and can use the example of this work to help understand the transmission of works designated as "*Zayl*" in general.



Christine Nölle-Karimi

**Driving away the Demons: Narrative Conventions in Nadirid and Early Qajar Historiography**

The analysis of Persian historiography typically attempts to fathom the relationship between narrative conventions and the need to address the political circumstances specific to a given reign. In the light of the upheavals of the 18th century, there is a tendency to assume a corresponding rupture in historiographical conventions. This paper makes a case for continuities. Looking at prefaces and postfaces, it follows a theme that recurred from Safavid to Qajar times. In different variants, the authors invoke the complex of royal protection to establish an immediate link between the rulers' exquisite qualities on the one hand and the economic wellbeing of the population and the realm on the other. Aside from underlining the legitimacy of the rulers in question, they use narratives of royally-induced efflorescence to offer a wide-angle and accelerated overview of the historical panorama and thus reinforce a cyclical historical concept defined by alternating phases of expansion and retraction. Viewing historiography from this perspective uncovers one particular facet of the authorial agenda and the means typically chosen to represent it. The imagery employed (demons and wastelands versus reclamation and abundance) constitutes an intermediate literary space between "factual" accounts and the "bustanification" (Tucker 2012) of 18th and early 19th -century historiography

Florian Schwarz

### **Rebuilding Authority in Early Modern Persianate Central Asia**

Recently, the conventional imagination of the political order of early modern Central Asia has come under considerable scrutiny. Challenging the notion of three major political formations – “khanates” or “emirates” – centered on Bukhara, Khiva and Khorazm, alternative concepts imagine 18<sup>th</sup> - and 19<sup>th</sup>-century Central Asia as a landscape of “overlapping, quasi-autonomous city states” (Pickett) or –at least in its earlier phases – as “an anarchic transition space ... made up of half a dozen petty principalities without centralized power structures” (Wilde). This paper subjects these revisionist models to an appreciative yet critical review. Rather than considering the development of political and social order in 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century Central Asia primarily in relation to Nadir Shah’s military and political intervention and a “Bukharan crisis” of the 18th century, the paper looks at longer-term developments in the dynamic relations between localized power and hegemonial claims since the 16<sup>th</sup> century and their continuing effect on political visions in the 18th and 19th centuries. Against this backdrop, this paper traces the complementary and entangled narrative and performative practices of evoking crisis and ruin and (re)building authority by rulers and elites in Persianate Central Asia from the 16th century into the early colonial period.

## Panel title: Women's Resistance, Resilience and Trauma in Iran: Trajectories, Memories, and Mobilisations

Convenors: Rahbari, Ladan & Morgana, Stella

Panellists: Ladan Rahbari (University of Amsterdam), Sama Khosravi Ooryad (University of Gothenburg), Paola Rivetti (Dublin City University) & Shirin Saeidi (University of Arkansas), Stella Morgana (University of Liverpool)

Women have played an active role in Iran's historical and contemporary social, cultural, and political transformations in spite of the legal and socio-cultural challenges and limitations they face. Centralizing this very resilient role, this panel consists of four presentations engaging with different aspects of the history of women's labour and activism in the post-Iranian Revolution period. Focusing on the four themes of (a) the role of religion in women's activism, (b) affective mobilization by mothers seeking justice for their children, (c) the potential of liberal feminism in activism, and (d) the struggles of female teachers in Iran, this panel brings together elements of history, religion, activism, and culture. We aim to connect the past and the present of Iranian women's trajectories, memories, and mobilizations across different socio-cultural domains and to trace histories of resistance, resilience, and trauma. The panel thus engages with three of the main topics of ECIS-10, namely History, Religious Studies, and Cultural Studies, by looking at education, religion, mobilizations, and activism as sites of cultural (re)production.

Ladan Rahbari

**Where Is Religion in the Many Slogans of ‘Women, Life, Freedom’: History of the Relationship between Gender-Based Political Activism and Religion in Iran**

This paper is an attempt to answer the question ‘What role does religion play (or not) in the new uprising in Iran?’ substantively and historically. While arguments about the shrinking significance of religion in Iranians’ everyday life and the significance of religion for younger generations of Iranians have been made, a closer and more in-depth investigation of the role of religion in the ‘Women, Life, Freedom’ uprising is missing. The paper aims to first offer a historical account of the relationship between gender-based political activism in Iran and religion. It will then further discuss the relationship between political activism and the (shifting) attitudes of the new generations of Iranians to religion. It will focus on discourses around the ‘Women, Life, Freedom’ uprising in Iran in 2022 and the presence and absence of religious symbolism and discourse by focusing on the uprising’s imagery online. I will conclude by arguing that the Iranian state and its entanglement with religious and clerical organizations have played a role in the generational shifts in Iran, in the (re)definition of religion in society, and in changing the significance of religion in Iranian people’s everyday lives in general and gender-based political activism in particular.

Sama Khosravi Ooryad

**Dadkhah mothers of Iran: Tracing (elderly)women’s grassroots activism and mediated, affective mobilization of justice demands in post-revolutionary Iran**

This paper presentation focuses on the crucial figure of the ‘Dadkhah mother’ – the ‘justice seeking mother’ – by highlighting her historical, political and feminist significance in contemporary Iran and beyond. By drawing on a conceptual-historical analysis of visual images, oral and written history, and social media posts, I elaborate on what I call ‘transnational coalitional mothering’ and ‘digital *dadkhahi*’. The article offers a novel perspective of radical alternative modes of thinking about mothering and (elderly) women’s resistance in contemporary Iran. Such modes acknowledge these women’s undeniable contributions to activism and to doing gender and politics across borders, beyond patriarchal motherhood, familial kinship ties, Western-centric co-optive voices and hierarchical framings, and in direct opposition to authoritarian spatiotemporal nation-building myths and impositions. Moreover, the paper highlights the key role of the Dadkhah mother and her longstanding activism through her use of multiple innovative tools in shaping and unfolding the recent ‘*Zan, Zendegi, Āzadī*’ (Woman, Life, Freedom) uprising in Iran, thereby making a case for her continued relevance and significance to the latest (trans)national feminist demands of the uprising.

**Re-Assessing The Possibilities and Limits of Liberal Feminism and Women's Rights Activism in Iran**

With a view to contextualise the ongoing protest movement, our paper discusses the past trajectory of feminist activism in Iran. It argues that a particular strand of feminism, liberal feminism, succeeded to become dominant and expand middle-class participation while building a feminist vocabulary. We aim to examine the legacy of this history for the current context, where feminist organizing has become less structured as a movement, with online communities discussing gender and individualised protest activities taking foot, yet more diverse and radical than in the past, centring demands which have historically been marginalised by liberal feminists. In particular, we first suggest a reading of the history of feminism in Iran since early 1990s foregrounding class and the dynamics of political inclusion and exclusion that have characterised it. Then, we draw attention to activist strategies as a way to capture larger movement's configuration, both in the past and the present. We draw attention to two aspects of contemporary political work. First, we examine social media activism and its role in empowering or disempowering a politics of freedom. Second, we draw attention to dispersed forms of activism, based on affective connection between women and "everyday forms of resistance". In conclusion, we put Iranian feminism and its intellectual production in dialogue with the broader internationalist struggle for freedom and the current upheaval in Iran, asking what can be learnt from a re-examination of it.

Stella Morgana

**Teaching the nation: the struggle of female teachers in Iran**

Abstract: How are female teachers represented in the Islamic Republic of Iran's official discourses? What is their agency and role in the public space? As more than 60 per cent of Iranian teachers are women and their role in teaching the nation has been fundamental in the historical transformations of the IRI, this paper reflects on the abovementioned questions by combining a top-down and bottom-up approach. First, it investigates the Islamic republic's hegemonic discourses towards teachers. Second, it explores female teachers' practices of resilience and the re-negotiation of public spaces. This paper follows a historical trajectory. As Iran lost nearly a million military and civilian personnel in the 1980s during the Iran-Iraq war, the Islamic republic's propaganda machine mobilized in schools. Textbooks began to propose a one-way female model: (a) with the *maghnaeh* – the headgear used in public offices and in schools which covers the chest and shoulders – or with the chador; (b) as a mother or caretaker. It is within this context that the definition of the teacher as a "pillar" of the nation originates as a crucial tool for "perpetrating the moral values of Iran and the family." The same rhetoric permeated the IRI's discourse until the most recent Teacher's Day speeches (May 2). Drawing from the analysis of May Day speeches, official teachers' day sermons, and teachers' slogans and actions during different waves of protests, this paper aims to tackle the political agency of female teachers within the context of Iran's institutional and political configurations over time.

## Panel: News from the Black Hole: New Insights on Safavid Diplomatic Relations under Šah Soleyman (1666-1694) and Šah Soltan Hoseyn (1694-1722)

Convenor: Rota, Giorgio

Panellists: Selim Güngörürler (Austrian Academy of Sciences), Goodarz Rashtiani, Giorgio Rota (Austrian Academy of Sciences), Lukáš Rybár (Comenius University), Davide Trentacoste (The Haifa Center for Mediterranean History)

It is a well-known fact that the history of the Safavid period after 1629 has been often dismissed as a period of political and cultural decline hardly of interest in itself, and that the period 1666- 1722 (corresponding to the reigns of the last two Safavid Shahs, Šāh Soleyman and Šāh Soltān Hoseyn) is a sort of black hole, also on account of the relatively small number of Persian written sources available. This has of course concerned the history of the foreign relations of Safavid Persia as well. Thanks in particular to numerous publications by Rudi Matthee (see for instance his *Persia in Crisis*, 2011) there is now a growing awareness that this is not the case. In its turn, and again on account of the nature of the sources, the field of the study of the diplomatic relations of Safavid Persia has been dominated until very recently by two notions that somehow complement each other: first, that the main diplomatic partner of the Safavids was Christian Western Europe and, secondly, that the period after the Ottoman-Safavid peace treaty of Zohab/Kasr-ı Şirin (1639), being a period without wars, was also a period both without history and without the sources to document it. These sources however exist: one just need to locate them in the Turkish archives, and they show that the Ottoman Empire remained also after 1639 the main diplomatic partner of the Safavids, just as it had been before that year. Similar considerations can be made in the case of the Russian Empire too: Safavid-Russian relations developed slowly and relatively late but they steadily grew in importance together with the growth of the imperial ambitions of the Tsars: the result is a vast mass of documents of various nature preserved in the Russian archives, which are still to a very large extent untapped. At the same time, and despite the decline paradigm, during this period the Safavid court was not only able to maintain its contacts with its traditional “friends” but was also able to find new partners, both in Europe and in Central Asia (as, for instance, the publication in 2014 by Floor, Javadi and Kachalin of the *Farhang-e Nāšeri*, a six-language Safavid dictionary written in the final decades of the 17th century, shows). Finally, in order to be able to understand the complexity of Safavid imperial diplomacy fully, one should be aware of the fact that several vassal states of the Safavids, located on the periphery of the empire, were ruled by governors who actually were the scions of the traditional local ruling or royal families, and who at times felt



legitimated to entertain independent diplomatic relations with foreign powers. These relations were not always aligned with those of the Safavid court: for obvious geopolitical reasons, this phenomenon was particularly frequent and momentous in the Caucasus and in Kurdistan.

The present panel is meant to be a further contribution to this “new Safavid diplomatic history”. It both brings to bear the above-mentioned new awareness created by the most recent scholarship on the field and, at the same time, offers the audience a glimpse on the current research of the panel participants, including historical sources yet to be published. Selim Güngörürler (“Safavid Iran’s 2 Foreign Policy Shift After 1639”) will deal with, indeed, the paradigm shift that took place in Persia after that year and that concerned the very nature of its relations with the Ottoman Empire (which is why its chronological starting point is beyond the general temporal frame of the panel). He will also set the stage better to understand the cold response given by the Safavid rulers to European proposals of an alliance against the Ottomans after 1639 as well as the next two papers. Davide Trentacoste (“Late Italian-Safavid Diplomacy in the Decades Between the 17th and the 18th Centuries: the Tuscan Case”) and Giorgio Rota (“A Late 17th-Century Papal Diplomatic Offensive Towards Safavid Persia”) will focus on two traditional partners of the Safavids, the Papacy and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, which maintained their contacts with Persia until the collapse of the Safavid dynasty in 1722. Trentacoste will thus deal with an Italian state that, despite its limited means, had a very ambitious foreign politics that included, indeed, Persia and that today shares with the latter a scholarly narrative of decline which is difficult to reconcile with a reality made of lively diplomatic relations. Rota will take into examination two Papal missions that visited the Safavid court in 1699 and 1700-1701: he will discuss, among other things, two Safavid royal letters that allow interesting remarks on Persian knowledge of European geography and political affairs in those years, and its possible channels. The two papers are connected by the figure of the Capuchin Father Felice Maria da Sellano, a missionary and a diplomatic envoy, and are to be seen as “companion papers”, as it were, dealing with different sides of outwardly similar diplomatic missions. Lukáš Rybár (“Dagestan and the Military Campaign of Peter the Great to Safavid Iran in 1722-1723”) will focus on the “Russian diplomacy” of two Muslim rulers from Safavid Dagestan, the Shamkhal of Tarku and the Utsmi of Qarā Qaytaq (two of those vassal states with a sometimes independent foreign politics mentioned above), on the eve of the Russian invasion of 1722, showing what was the reality of the political life (and of the necessity to remain afloat in times of turmoil) of small border potentates caught between much larger imperial powers, beyond the theory and appearance of the official religious solidarity and political allegiances.

Finally, last but not least, Goodarz Rashtiani’s presentation (“Self-Proclaimed Representative: Israel Ori and the Attempt to Convince Europe and Russia to ‘Free’ the Armenians of the Caucasus”) ideally reconnects to the first paper of the panel and shows how ideas of a “holy effort” of the Christian powers

on behalf of Eastern Christians were still alive at the beginning of the 18th century and could also have Safavid Persia as a target, and not only the Ottoman Empire as usual. Rashtiani's presentation will highlight other aspects of the Safavid foreign relations too. For instance, it will show how the issue of the Caucasian Christians led to the formation of the initial European projects to enter this region: although this particular plan was never implemented, in the end it became a pretext for Russia's pragmatic policy in the Persian Caucasus and the eventual annexation of the latter. It will deal with the person of Israel Ori, one of the latest among several diplomatic interlopers whose presence characterise the history of the Safavid period, that is, private persons who more or less of their own will tried to play a role in the foreign relations of the time in the service of a country or an idea (in Ori's case, Armenian independence) but also to improve their own social and financial status: Ori in particular can be seen as a *trait d'union* with the 3 historiographical category of the 18th-century adventurer. And finally, it will bring together the two poles of the "Christian foreign politics" of Safavid Persia, that is, Western Europe and Russia.

Selim Güngörürler

### **Safavid Iran's Foreign Policy Shift after 1639**

This paper looks into the restructuring of Safavid Iran's foreign policy towards its principal neighbor, the Ottoman Empire, after 1639. Ottoman-Safavid dealings provide us with insights fundamental enough to shed light on Iran's internal mechanisms through the prism of its foreign relations, because, as will also be argued in the paper, it was first and foremost the conflict with the Ottomans that, gradually but directly, contributed to the shaping of Safavid Iran's geography, identity, and even legacy. Focusing on Iran's long and final peace with its western neighbour, the paper will discuss how the Safavids gave up their entrenched policy of looking for anti-Ottoman allies, and began to see their own well-being in upholding friendship with the Ottomans, to the point of rejecting any offer of anti-Ottoman alliance coming from Europe, even those made under the most convenient circumstances (for instance during the War of the Holy League, 1684-1699). After a necessary historical introduction on the peace of Zohab/Kasr-ı Şirin (1639), the paper will then focus on the reign of the two last Safavid rulers, Şāh Soleymān and Şāh Solţān Hōseyn, and provide examples of unprecedented occurrences that arose out of this transformation in Safavid Iran's foreign relations, such as the downgrading of the tangible content of Iran's occasional European diplomacy to ceremonial formalities and the upgrading of its ceremonial friendship with the Ottomans into real cooperation and even alliance.

Davide Trentacoste

**Late Italian-Safavid Diplomacy in the Decades between the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: the Tuscan Case**

The late Safavid period has always been depicted as a period of mere decline, as if the state was no longer able to play an important or active role in international and regional politics. Decline was undeniably present, but it was not the same in every sector of the Safavid state. For instance, diplomacy and foreign relations seem to have expanded, and this fact appears to challenge the common notion of decline of a state. Indeed, the downsizing of its role as a great power did not necessarily imply relinquishing its network of international relations. The same could be said of late Medici Tuscany which, after a few decades of prosperity, experienced from the late seventeenth century onwards what has always been described as a steady decline. However, even Tuscany, despite a general decadence, was able to maintain an active international diplomatic role. In this context, it is interesting to note that Tuscany was one of the states with which the Safavids maintained constant and cordial relations until their final collapse. By analysing Safavid-Tuscan diplomatic relations in the light of new archival documents that prove the continuity and longevity of this relationship, this paper questions, at least in part, the narrative of their decline, while also providing new perspectives on Euro-Persian diplomacy at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Giorgio Rota

### **A Late 17th-Century Papal Diplomatic Offensive towards Safavid Persia**

In 1699, the Carmelite Father Peter Paul of S. Francis, on his way to India where he was to serve as Vicar Apostolic, visited the Safavid court at Esfahan with the double aim of securing protection for the Catholic missions and proposing a military alliance against the Ottomans. In 1700, the same court was visited by the Capuchin Father Felice Maria da Sellano, who was likewise tasked with obtaining the Shah's protection for the Catholic missions. These two embassies represented a sort of comeback, after many years of abeyance, of Papal diplomacy in Persia: the Popes had looked at the country as a possible ally against the Ottomans since the 15th century and had sent envoys to the Safavids as early as the first decades of the 16th, but diplomatic contacts gradually came to a standstill in the 17th. This comeback was made even more spectacular by the fact that Father Peter Paul was none other than (the former) Prince Ferrante Palma d'Artois, a nephew of the reigning Pope, Innocenzo XII. The present paper will briefly analyse the two missions, on the basis of da Sellano's memoirs and Father Peter Paul's unpublished letters. Then it will discuss two letters (in Persian) brought back by da Sellano for the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Doge of Venice, which include a number of Italian geographical names that cannot have been known to the Iranians of the time: this will provide the clue for a brief discussion of the Persian knowledge of Europe at the time. Finally, the paper will discuss the possibility that the author of the letters is the former Augustinian Father António de Jesus, who after converting to Islam became known as 'Aliqoli Jadid al-Eslām and served as an interpreter at the Safavid court.

Lukáš Rybár

### **Dagestan and the Military Campaign of Peter the Great to Safavid Iran in 1722-1723**

This paper aims at scrutinizing the position of the rulers of the Dagestani principalities before and during Peter the Great's invasion of Safavid Iran (1722 – 1723). At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the nominal Russian-Dagestani border was the Terek River but, south of that, Dagestani Khanates were nominal vassals of Safavid Iran. Nonetheless, the Russian court maintained diplomatic contacts with Dagestan's rulers for a long time before the invasion, as is evidenced by several letters that are still preserved. The Russian tsar sought to sway the local rulers to his side in order to gradually gain control over the territory of Dagestan. As a result, the Shamkhal of Tarku, Adil Girey II, accepted Russian suzerainty in 1717. Moreover, two years later, the Shamkhal together with another Dagestani ruler, the Utsmi of Qarā Qaytaq Ahmed Khan, revolted against the Safavid shah. Subsequently, Dagestani rulers became important allies of Russia during the military march on Iran. The analysis of individual letters and documents shows the Russian way of gaining control over Dagestani territories, which were of strategic importance for later inroads of the Russian army into the Caspian region. At the same time, it shows how the Dagestani rulers, giving up a long-term balance act between the two powers, cooperated with the Russian officials in order to retain at least some degree of political sovereignty.

**Self-proclaimed representative: Israel Ori and the attempt to convince Europe and Russia to ‘free’ the Armenians of the Caucasus**

As Christian peoples, the Armenians and Georgians of the Caucasus were among the most important subjects of the Safavid and Ottoman Empires from the point of view of the domestic and foreign policies. Their presence was an issue that took on more and more complex dimensions while, beginning with the end of the Safavid period and with the increasingly aggressive policy of Russia, the geopolitical scene of the Caucasus slowly changed until it became an internal region of the Tsarist Empire in the early 19th century. The orientation of a part of the Armenians and Georgians towards Russia (since the 17th century) is not an unknown issue, of course, although pro-Russian activities also had stubborn opponents among the Christians of the Caucasus. The present paper will examine the efforts of Israel Ori (1658-1711) – himself an Armenian subject of the Safavid state -, who worked tirelessly to gain the support of the European states and Russia for the freedom of the Armenians of the Caucasus from the “yoke” of Muslim political domination. Besides traveling to Europe in the last two decades of the 17th century and staying in Venice, Paris and Vienna, Israel Ori met with Leopold I, Holy Roman Emperor (1658-1705) and Wilhelm II, Elector Palatine (1690-1716) and tried to persuade the European governments to take up an active role in the Caucasus. This interesting and somehow surprising proposal made the Holy Roman Emperor seriously think of an expedition through the route Poland-Russia-Northern Caucasus and Shamakhi to Armenia. With this offer from Leopold I, Ori went to Peter I (1682-1725) to obtain his consent for the European army to pass through Russia on its way to the Southern Caucasus: of course it became soon very clear that the Russian Tsar would never consent to the passage of such an army. The following years of Ori's life in Russia were spent trying to bring the Caucasian Armenians closer to the Tsar and had an important impact on Russian politics. This paper will review in detail the crude plan for the European army's passage through Russian territory and also Ori's activities in connection with the Safavids and Russia in the first decade of the 18th century.

## Panel: Iranian and Minority Languages at Home and in Diaspora

Convenors: Sedighi, Anousha & Zolfaghari, Sima

Chair: Sharzad Mahootian (Northeastern Illinois University)

Panellists: Yahya Modarresi (Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies), Carina Jahani (Uppsala University), Sima Zolfaghari (Leiden University), Anousha Sedighi (Portland State University)

This panel discusses a recently published volume entitled: *Iranian and Minority Languages at Home and in Diaspora*. While the typology, syntax, and morphology of Iranian languages have been widely explored, the sociolinguistic aspects remain largely understudied. This volume addresses this essential yet overlooked area of research in two ways: (i) The book explores multilingualism within Iran and its neighbouring countries. (ii) It also investigates Iranian heritage languages within the diasporic context of the West. In the current era of migration and globalization, minority and heritage speakers are increasingly valuable resources. By focusing on the speakers, the volume provides new insights into a multitude of sociolinguistic issues including language attitude and identity, language use and literacy practices, language policy, language shift and loss .



Yahya Modarresi

### **The Sociolinguistics of the Iranian and Minority Languages**

As a country with considerable linguistic and ethnic diversity, Iran or the Iranian linguistic and cultural territory as a whole, is ideal for sociolinguistic studies. Various linguistic, ethnic, and religious communities such as Muslim, Zoroastrian, Armenian, Mandaic, Assyrian, Jewish, and all their separate sects, have lived together in Iran for centuries. The native languages and religions of such communities are certainly the most important influences in sustaining their group solidarity. Some of the endangered languages such as Mandaic, Vakhi or Tati for instance, only have a few thousand native speakers or less. Thus, they are likely to be in danger of extinction by the end of the twenty first century. This book intends to bridge the gap in the study of language status and language use within a wider linguistic territory of Iran and the neighbouring countries. Therefore, the book can be considered an essential reference for scholars and students interested in key fields of language studies such as sociolinguistics, Iranian languages, minority languages, heritage languages, bilingualism, migration and diaspora studies, and language policy and planning.

Carina Jahani

### **Balochi, Literary Development, Status and Vitality**

Balochi is spoken in Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, the Gulf States, Turkmenistan, India and East Africa by at least 10 million people. Balochi is not an official language in any of these countries. Some attention was given to Balochi in British India during colonial times, and there has also been more of a movement to read and write Balochi in Pakistan than in Iran, where any use of regional languages in written form has been a suspect activity ever since the days of the Pahlavi monarchy. For this reason, as well as because of the lower level of education in Pakistan than in Iran, Balochi has remained stronger in Pakistan than in Iran. In today's Iran, many Baloch parents speak Persian rather than Balochi to their children. The purpose of this article is to discuss the status and vitality of Balochi, mainly in Iran and Pakistan, and to describe the desire to preserve and promote Balochi among its speakers. Balochi as a language with a long oral literary tradition, as well as recent attempts towards developing a standard written language will also be addressed.

Sima Zolfaghari

**The Bakhtiari Language Maintenance or Shift? A Diachronic Survey on the Status of Bakhtiari in the City of Masjed Soleiman between 1996–2020**

In 1996 a research was conducted, investigating language choice among Bakhtiari speakers in Iran to see whether Bakhtiari is in danger of shifting to Persian or maintaining its practical status. A questionnaire was distributed to 150 women and men between the ages of (under 20) to (above 50) in three educational groups (illiterate, high school diploma, and higher education), in Masjed Soleiman where over 90% of the population spoke Bakhtiari. I concluded the variety of Bakhtiari used in Masjed Soleiman was not an endangered language, mainly due to the robust attitude of its speakers towards their culture, language, and traditions (Zolfaghari, 1997, 2001, 2003). This chapter presents an updated version of this research, with questions added to the original questionnaire that include inquiries about the effects of new social media on the language choice and usage of Bakhtiari speakers of Masjed Soleiman. I will report the new results of this diachronic research that represents the status of Bakhtiari after 24 years.

Anousha Sedighi

**Persian as a Diasporic Language in the United States: A Survey of Heritage Persian Learners at College Level**

The United States hosts the largest population of Iranians outside Iran. There has been a wealth of scholarship on the topic of Iranian diaspora mainly focusing on sociological and anthropological aspects with fewer studies focusing on psychological and linguistic issues. The first part of this chapter provides a transdisciplinary overview of the existing research on the Iranian diaspora to familiarize the readers with the highlights of this emerging field. The second part of the chapter is a new research on the college level heritage speakers of Persian in the United States and tackles a large array of issues such as language attitude, language use and literacy practices, identity and belonging, parental and community attitudes, language policy, and language vitality. The research employs quantitative and qualitative methods. A survey consisting of a 50-item questionnaire, with both multiple-choice and open-ended questions, was designed and then completed by 45 heritage speakers of Persian at college level. The survey was followed up by informal interviews. The findings of this study have important implications for scholars of heritage languages, educators, curriculum developers, and policy makers.

## Panel: Beyond Sharia: The Role of Sufism in Shaping Islam

Convenor: Seyed-Gohrab, Asghar

Panellists: Amin Ghodratzadeh, Alexandra Nieweg, Maarten Holtzapffel, Fatemeh Naghshvarian (all University of Utrecht)

This panel examines the emergence, flourishing and lasting appeal of various non-conformist movements such as wise-fools, qalandars, and malamatis in Islamic intellectual history from the 10th century to the seventeenth century. Each paper examines how these antinomian hierarchies in the Islamic society challenged, redefined or sometimes rejected Islamic canonical law through questions they posed in their poetic, philosophical and political writings and teachings. In the early Islamic period renunciative and ascetic movements emerged, reacting to the luxurious lives of Muslims, questioning what true Islam and a true Muslim are. Asceticism was a demonstrative rejection of what the ascetics considered to be a corrupt society, and a way to protect their own piety from the dangers of hypocrisy. The papers in this panel demonstrate the role of various non-conformists hierarchies in society, also examining their reception history.

Amin Ghodratzadeh

### **Madness and its Categories in 'Aṭṭār's Ilāhī-nāma**

This paper examines the wise-fools in Persian religious poetry, focusing on madness and how it was perceived in medieval Islamic societies. Scholars such as M.W. Dols and H. Ritter have written about the subject of madness or the fool in medieval Islamic society and literature. Dols provides a classification of madness in medieval Islamic societies and Ritter provides an overview of fools' strive for God. However, both approaches are encyclopaedic and holistic in the sense that they have provided many examples from various sources and also explicate anecdotes, but have not carried out an in-depth study on the types of madness. Unfortunately, we know little about the different kinds of madness in Persian poetry. To bridge this undesirable gap, I will study the groundwork of these authors vis-à-vis the poetry in the works of Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār in order to find, analyse, and categorise the different kinds of folly. Interestingly, 'Aṭṭār has several poems about madmen (*divānagān*) with different traits. For instance, there are madmen who weep, madmen who converse with God, madmen who are chained (in asylums) and so on. Nevertheless, these categories of madmen have not been categorised and studied systematically. In addition, research on the connection between the behaviour of the wise-fools and antinomian mystics such as the qalandars is lacking. This paper discuss this connection by focusing on 'Aṭṭār's poetry.

Amin Ghodratzadeh is PhD candidate in the ERC Advanced Grant project entitled *Beyond Sharia: The Role of Sufism in Shaping Islam* at Utrecht University, focusing on his research about Wise Fools and the Interrogation of God. Amin studies the phenomenon of the wisefools, as a possible forerunner of qalandar mystics, between the 9th and 12th century. Amin Ghodratzadeh obtained his Research MA in Middle Eastern Studies at Leiden University, specialising in the Persian-speaking world. In his thesis, he examined Muḥammad-Taqī Bahār's (1886-1951) poetry, addressing Great Britain's occupation of Iran, Afghanistan, and India. From 2010 to 2014, Amin served as a student-assistant and library cataloguer. From 2016 to 2018, he taught Persian at both Leiden University and Leiden University Campus in The Hague for students of International Studies. In addition to his academic career, Amin served as an intern at the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Leiden municipality, exercising his other expertise which lies in International Relations. He has a special interest in Islamic mystical philosophy, Persian poetry, and philosophical treatises.

Alexandra Nieweg

### **Studies on Ḥakīm Sanā'ī and Qalandariyyāt**

Today, Islam is often depicted as exclusively orthodox and Sharia-centred, but Persian classical *qalandariyyāt* poetry shows that from the 12th century onwards, mystical Islamic ideas and doctrines have chiefly been communicated to broad Muslim audience in the Persian cultural areas through the vehicle of antinomian motifs, metaphors, imagery, and stories, to challenge the central religious hierarchy and Islamic orthodoxy. The *qalandariyyāt* genre, as a central part of antinomian movements, thus forms an important contribution to a more complete and accurate understanding of Islam. Despite this, scholarship on the topic has yet to give an analysis of the complete arsenal of the genre's themes and motifs and leaves us with various questions regarding the relations between the genre and society, which I aim to contribute in my research. In particular, I shall focus on the *qalandariyyāt* poetry of Ḥakīm Sanā'ī (d. 1131). It is in Sanā'ī's poetry that the genre appeared in a fully-fledged form for the first time. Although several authors have launched new investigations on the topic, a deep analysis of the genre is a desideratum. In this critical appraisal of studies done on the genre, I shall analyse the influential publications on classical *qalandariyyāt* poetry in chronological order, focusing on both the approach and the aspects of the poetry scholars of Persian and Iranian Studies have included in their discussions.

Alexandra Nieweg is a PhD candidate and works on 'Literary Qalandars' within the ERC Advanced Grant *Beyond Sharia: The Role of Sufism in Shaping Islam*. Here, Alexandra shall explore religious and antinomian motifs, metaphors, imagery, and stories in Persian poetry from the 12th century onward. To this day, this poetry has had a great appeal to Muslims in the Persianate world. She also analyses how *qalandarī* themes in this poetry impacted social, political, and religious developments in subsequent centuries. Throughout her studies, Alexandra has had a keen interest in the way Islamic traditions feed into contemporary ideologies and their cultural expression in the Turco-Persian world in general, and in relation to Sufi-Shiism in Iran and Afghanistan and Sufism in Central Asia in particular.

Maarten Holtzapffel

### **A Mystic's Eternal Truth: Rumi's Reception by the Perennialist Tradition**

Due to the global popularity of the thirteenth-century Sufi poet Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273), he has been interpreted in a variety of ways, from a New Age guru, a Sufi poet, a Western-styled humanist philosopher, to an anti-religious rebel criticizing Islam and organized forms of religion. In my presentation, I shall examine the Perennialist tradition, which had a considerable influence on Rumi's modern reception history in the West as well as in Iran. This tradition, which originated in the nineteenth century as a critique of Western modernity, deriving its name from *sophia perennis* or "eternal wisdom," is characterized by the search for the eternal, non-formal Truth at the heart of all orthodox religions. In their search for this primordial truth, the authors affiliated with this tradition frequently refer to medieval mystics such as Suhrawardi (1154-1191), Ibn al-Arabi (1165-1240), and Rumi. In my presentation, I shall compare the interpretation of Rumi's poetry by several scholars affiliated with this tradition, such as Frithjof Schuon (d. 1998) and Seyyed Hossein Nasr (b. 1933) and examine which lines of Rumi's poetry they use to support their perennial messages.

Maarten Holtzapffel is a PhD candidate for the ERC Advanced Grant *Beyond Sharia: The Role of Sufism in Shaping Islam*, working on the project *Of Love and Wisdom: Rūmī's Transgressive Ideas and the Rise of Humanism*. In this project, he investigates Rumi's reception in the modern world, examining how the antinomian ideas expressed in his poetry are interpreted as a humanist philosophy, transcending religious boundaries.



Fatemeh Naghshvarian

### **Qalandars in Divine Religion: the antinomian poetics of Feyzī in Akbar's court**

The Mughal emperor Jalāl al-Dīn Akbar (1542-1605) in the late 16th century AD formulated a syncretic religious movement known as 'Divine Religion' (*Dīn-i ilāhī*). Being the first Indian Muslim emperor, who propagated equal respect for all religions, Akbar designed an ethical belief system that signaled progressive ideas revolving around tolerance and 'Universal Peace' (*Ṣulḥ-i kull*). Akbar's revolutionary ideas contrasted the dominant Islamic practices at the time, especially when he demonstrated an inclination towards the antinomian genres and heterodox religious thinking. By studying the poetry of the poet laureate Feyzī (1547-1595) as a representative of the Mughal commission of Persian poets, I aim to navigate the role of antinomian mystic poets in shaping the humanist ideologies and libertine policies in premodern India. What were the political implications of Persianate antinomian ideas in 16th-century India? How did Qalandariyya, as an antinomian movement, and Qalandar, as a literary figure, contribute to the formation of Akbar's pluralist initiatives and alternative forms of sovereignty? In this presentation, by focusing on the life, career, and poetry of Feyzī, I aim to demonstrate the role of the Persian language in translating transgression and the formation of innovative ideas in medieval Northern India.

Fatemeh Naghshvarian is a PhD candidate in the ERC Advanced Grant *Beyond Sharia: The Role of Sufism in Shaping Islam*, working on the project Qalandars in the 'Divine Religion' in India. In this project, she investigates the formation of "Divine Religion" (*dīn-i ilāhī*) at the Indian Mughal court of Emperor Akbar relying mainly on the works of the poet laureate Feyzī (1547- 1595). By conducting an inquiry into the applicable influences of antinomian movements and heterodox religious thinking within Islam, she aims to explore the traces of Islamic critical thinking on shaping the political concomitants of Divine Religion and "Universal Peace" in 16th-century Mughal India. For her Cultural Studies Master thesis, Fatemeh focused on the independent cinema of Ramin Bahrani exploring the aesthetic experimentations and the socio-cultural questions concerning the representation of the migrant body on the screen.

## Panel: Beyond Sharia: Transgression in Persianate Culture and Shi'i Legal Discourses

Convenors: Seyed-Gohrab, Asghar & Alipour, Mehrdad

Panellists: Zhinia Noorian, Mehrdad Alipour (all University of Utrecht)

This panel examines the concept of transgression in gender- and belief-norms using a genealogical approach. Speakers present their close-readings of extant poetry, prose, Sufi, and legal literature from the Indian sub-continent and Iran. Two papers are devoted to gender and trans-genderism or non-binary sexuality, examining their definitions, elaborations and reception in Persian societies. The main question is when and why gender roles are transgressive? The other two papers deal with transgression in the legal, theological and philosophical contexts in which categories of belief and unbelief were defined. Here, problematic doublets such as centre-periphery, profane-sacred, good-evil, normal-pathological, purity-impurity, and safe-dangerous will be examined. Drawing from Bataille's and Foucault's theories, transgression is understood as a negotiation with the limit to complement, affirm and even praise the laws whose limits it breaks. The papers in this panel elucidate the semiotic and discursive mechanisms of non-conformist religious behaviour and ideas, on the one hand, and ambiguous sex or gender identities, on the other hand.

Zhinia Noorian

### **Qalandarī Bodily Heresy: The Case of Jamāl al-Dīn Sāvī (d.c. 1232/3)**

At the heart of the patriarchal sharia law regulating social behaviour in Islamic societies lies a set of strict gender norms that good Muslims have been required to observe. Even today for men in Islamic societies, growing a beard is associated with masculinity. A group of Sufi saints known as *qalandars* sought to invert these gender norms as a means of growing closer to the Divine, and this practice provoked extreme blame from the respectable Muslim society. These *qalandars* (all male Muslims) engaged in homoerotic activities, sometimes dressed like women, went about naked, shaved all their facial and bodily hair, had (genital) piercings, and even at times adopted a feminine voice in public. Trying to cultivate their piety inwardly, they used their body and social image as a means to show their indifference to the opinions of others (especially religious scholars and jurists) regarding their social status or reputation. In this paper, I investigate the *qalandars'* behaviour as an instance of using the body as a vehicle for religious transgression. By examining one of the anecdotes about how Jamāl al-Dīn Sāvī (the Sufi master whose disciples became known as *qalandars*) turned to asceticism, I consider the bodily aspect of heresy in the *qalandarī* tradition. This case study contextualises the religious implications of Sāvī's closely shaved face as code of bodily heresy, and as a means to assert *qalandarī* piety.

Zhinia Noorian is a Postdoc candidate for the ERC-Advanced Grant *Beyond Sharia: The Role of Sufism in Shaping Islam*, working on the project *Feminising Masculinity: Negotiating Gender Norms*. In this project, she investigates the homoerotic aspect of the Sufi saints better known as the *qalandars*. In her research, she focuses on examining how and why the *qalandars* assumed a feminine voice and transgressed the strict gender norms regulated by the sharia law in Islamic societies. Her research aims at explaining the sexual embodiment of the concept of 'blame', which was used by these saints as a means to attain union to the Divine. For her PhD dissertation, Zhinia studied the poetry and reception of Parvīn I<sup>ʿ</sup>tišāmī (1907-1941), as an Iranian female poet. She investigated the enduring mark that I<sup>ʿ</sup>tišāmī left on the literary and religious culture of Iran in the early 20th century through transgressing the socio-cultural norms of her patriarchal society. Her research demonstrated I<sup>ʿ</sup>tišāmī's prowess in using the classical genre of Persian debate poetry and Persian mystical tradition as safe spaces to express her thoughts on the socio-politically sensitive issues of her times.

Mehrdad Alipour

### **Gender Transgression in Premodern Persianate and Shi'i Legal and Medical Discourses: The Case of Intersex**

The present traditional Muslim and orientalist approaches assert that Islam is intolerant of transgenderism or non-binary sex/gender divisions. By contrast, Islamic medical and legal discourses on sex and/or gender are oftentimes surprisingly more flexible than one might expect. Although the dominant discourse in premodern Islamic culture amplifies a dichotomous of sex/gender, I challenge the exclusive binary notion of gender in Islam and Persianate cultures. To elaborate, on the one hand, a number of classical Persian medical experts have transgressed the gender norm and apparently suggested a discourse on non-binary conceptions of sex/gender. On the other hand, a group of Shi'i jurists, notably since the post-classical period of the 14th century, have categorised indeterminate intersex people as a third nature (third sex and/or gender). Focusing on two premodern treatises entitled "Risāla fi al-ubna or al-Dā' al-khafī (the Hidden Illness)" and "Risāla fi al-khunthā", composed by the physician Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (d. 925) and the jurist Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī al-Yazdī (d. 1919) respectively, I shall examine the aforementioned legal and medical assessments of intersex as illustrations of non-binary conceptions of sex/gender in Shi'i and Persianate cultures. I will also elaborate on how these two figures debated and classified intersex nature within various human categories.

Mehrdad Alipour is a scholar of Islamic studies. His research mainly focuses on pre-modern and modern Islamic law, legal theory, Shi'i studies, and Iranian intellectual traditions. He is in particular interested in the transformation of Islamic legal and ethical traditions concerning gender, sex and sexual diversity in the premodern and modern eras. In September 2022, Mehrdad started his NWO Veni project titled "Beyond Binaries: Intersex in Islamic Legal Tradition" at the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies at the University of Utrecht. This study will examine *intersex* identity as a third sex and/or gender in (Shi'i) Islamic legal tradition between the 16th and early 20th centuries. Before joining Utrecht, Mehrdad was a postdoctoral researcher at the Goethe University of Frankfurt (September 2020-July 2022), participating in the two-year project *Wege zu einer Ethik* which studied classical Islamic thoughts and how they might be employed to tackle modern issues concerning gender and sexuality in Muslim communities. Having graduated from the Seminary of Qum (Iran) and received his first PhD in Comparative Philosophy (Centre of Tarbiyat Modarres, Iran), in 2017- 2020, Mehrdad pursued his second doctoral research in Arab and Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter (U.K.). His PhD dissertation entitled 'Negotiating Homosexuality in Contemporary Shi'i Islam' is the first academic exploration of discursive space(s) for debating homosexuality in modern Shi'i Islam, based on a legal-

hermeneutical analysis of Islamic law. An overview of his publications can be found here: <https://uu.academia.edu/MehrdadAlipour>

Arash Ghajarjazi

### **The Movement of Khayyāmic Antinomianism in 1210-1406**

This paper deals with the emergence and growth of ‘Umar Khayyām’s (d.ca. 1131) quatrains from the early thirteenth century to the mid-fifteenth century. I develop the concept of Khayyām as a conceptual persona to show how a certain group of quatrains moved in time in the Persian intellectual landscape. These quatrains have been dealt with mainly through the concept of “authenticity” by many scholars, particularly since the early twentieth century after the global impact of Fitzgerald’s translation. They have been mainly concerned with the historical identity of Khayyām and sought to determine whether a certain quatrain had been truly written by Khayyām himself. Far fewer scholars, however, have considered the linkages between some of Khayyām’s quatrains and the intellectual context in which they circulated, irrespective of their literary identification. Following this rather minor trend in Khayyām studies, I wish to offer an intellectual history of Khayyām’s quatrains between 1210 and circa 1406. It is in this context that I re-define Khayyāmic quatrains as radically transgressive. I argue that these transgressive quatrains should be understood as part of what Asghar Seyed Gohrab calls “the crisis of piety”.

Arash Ghajarjazi received his PhD from the department of Philosophy and Religious Studies at Utrecht University. His work deals with the relations between Islam, sciences, and media technologies in the Middle East from the 19th century onwards. More broadly, trained both as a cultural analyst and a historian, he explores how Islamic traditions have evolved in and as media. He approaches histories of Muslim material cultures and ideas together. His work seeks a balance between historical contextualisation and philosophical conceptualisation. He is currently working as a postdoc researcher in the ERC-Advanced Grant *Beyond Sharia: The Role of Sufism in Shaping Islam*, where he studies the intellectual 12 genealogies and the shifting popularity of ‘Umar Khayyām’s quatrains from the thirteenth to the twentieth century.

Ali-Asghar Seyed-Gohrab

### **Curing Doubt and Unbelief: Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad Ghazzālī on Freethinkers**

The notion of “unbelief” (*kufr*) is overall present in the works of the polymath Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad Ghazzālī (450-505 / 1058-1111). He was born in Ṭūs in the province of Khurasan, a heartland of the Persian culture, a centre of intellectual activities, where several antinomian trends and movements emerged. Reflecting on the tumultuous political period Ghazzālī lived, especially the crisis of piety and his search for certitude (*yaqīn*), I shall argue that Ghazzālī’s writings engage with refuting others, whether they are philosophers, theologians, or antinomians. In this paper, I shall examine how Ghazzālī defines “belief” (*īmān*) and “unbelief” (*kufr*), and how he battles against antinomian groups, which he characterizes as *ibāḥatīyān*. Who are these groups of people? Why do Ghazzālī and other authors abundantly treat the concepts of unbelief, inviting their audiences to a new religious system in which Sharia-based Sufism is a central part?

Ali-Asghar Seyed-Gohrab is Professor of Persian and Iranian Studies at Utrecht University in the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies. He has published extensively on Persian literature, mysticism and religion. His publications range from Persian poetry to Sufism and the role of religious and mystical motifs and metaphors in Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988) and how peaceful religious injunctions are used to justify violence. He authored *Soefisme: een levende traditie*, (Amsterdam: Prometheus/Bert Bakker, 2015 third print); *The True Dream: Indictment of the Shiite Clerics of Isfahan*, (London: Routledge, 2017, with S. McGlinn), *Layli and Majnun: Love, Madness and Mystic Longing in Nizami’s Epic Romance*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003); *Mirror of Dew: The Poetry of Ālam-Tāj Zhāle Qā'em-Maqāmi*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015); *Courtly Riddles: Enigmatic Embellishments in Early Persian Poetry*, (Leiden: LUP, 2010). His recent publication is *Martyrdom, Mysticism and Dissent: The Poetry of the 1979 Iranian Revolution and the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988)* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021). He has edited twelve books, among which *Pearls of Meanings: Studies on Persian Art, Poetry, Sufism and History of Iranian Studies in Europe* by J.T.P. de Bruijn (Leiden: Leiden UP, 2020) and *The Layered Heart: Essays on Persian Poetry, A Celebration in Honor of Dick Davis* (Washington, DC: Mage Publishers, 2019). At the moment he is the Principal Investigator (PI) of an ERC-Advanced Grant entitled *Beyond Sharia: The Role of Sufism in Shaping Islam* ([www.beyondsharia.nl](http://www.beyondsharia.nl)).

## Panel: Shi‘i-Sunni Interactions in the Persianate World

Convenor: Tiburcio, Alberto

Panellists: Edmund Hayes (Leiden University), Dennis Halft (University of Trier), Alberto Tiburcio (Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich)

The panel explores cultural and intellectual interactions between Sunnis and Shi‘is in Iran and the broader Persianate world communities throughout different time-periods and through the lenses of different documentary corpora. The papers address questions of community demarcation, confessional ambiguity, conceptualizations of identity, and religious conversion, as well as disputations and intellectual exchanges across sectarian lines. Our quest is to contextualize and provide nuance to the phenomenon of intersectarian interactions in Persianate societies. Our papers deal mostly with theological disputations and legal treatises, with a focus on the late medieval and early modern periods.

Edmund Hayes

### **Encountering the Internal Other: Non-Shi'i Family Members Among the Imami Shi'a**

The Imami Shi'a developed between the death of Ja'far al-Šādiq in 765 CE and the death of al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī in 874 CE, before they were superseded by the Twelvers, and other groups who traced their allegiances to more-or-less the same set of Imams. When we approach the concept of "encounter" with reference to the Imami Shi'a, we must be aware of the categories by which the Imami Shi'a conceived of boundaries between themselves and other communities. In some respects, the Imami Shi'a were Muslims among other Muslims, and therefore the boundaries would be between Muslims and non-Muslims. Categories such as *dhimmī*, *ahl al-kitāb*, and so on, are found in early Shi'i works as in non-Shi'i works. However, in some contexts, a further boundary was conceptualized between the Imami Shi'a and non-Shi'a which was conceived as in some ways more significant than the division between Muslims and non-Muslims. For example, in the fiqh of almsgiving (*ṣadaqa*), the Imams are quoted as saying that it is licit to give alms to non-Muslims and unknown beggars, but not to someone who is virulently anti-'Alid (*nāsib*). The process of dealing with anti-'Alids was conceived as a troubling encounter with an essential other. This encounter was particularly troubling when the ideological division occurred in a context in which the other was not to be expected: within the family. The phenomenon of having family members who did not recognize the true Imam, or worse, were explicitly anti Shi'i or anti-'Alid and therefore posed a worrying problem which is reflected in hadith and *fiqh*. In this presentation, the navigation of these issues will be analyzed as it relates both to legal thinking and to the practical solving of issues of inheritance, purity, marriage, and so on.



Dennis Halft

### **The Shi'i-Sunni Divide as Seen Through a Medieval Polemical Work**

The *Risāla-yi Yuḥannā* ("Treatise of Yuḥannā") has been mistakenly attributed to the 6th/12th-century scholar Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī. In this work, the unknown author presents, depending on the Persian or Arabic manuscript tradition, a Jewish or Christian *dhimmi* called *Yuḥannā*. Following a rational argument with different representatives of the *ahl al-sunna*, *Yuḥannā*, who is likely to be a literary figure, decides to convert to Shi'i Islam. The paper analyzes the construction of a Shi'i-Sunni divide through the lens of one of the most widely disseminated anti-Sunni works. Based on the study of forty-five extant manuscripts in Persian and Arabic, the paper focuses on questions related to translation, provenance, and transmission history in Iran, India, as well as in Arab countries.

Alberto Tiburcio

### **Sunni-Shi'i Disputation in Early Modern India: the case of 'Abd al-Vahhāb Daybulī Shīrāzī"**

This paper delves into the work of 'Abd al-Vahhāb Daybulī Shīrāzī, an Indian Shi'i "convert" from Sunnism, who recorded his debates with Sunni and Shi'i ulama in early seventeenth century Delhi under the title of *Ibṣār al-mustabṣarīn* (The Sight of the Clairvoyants). The study, based on a manuscript held at the Majlis Library in Tehran, seeks to elucidate what "embracing Shi'ism" meant for Daybulī. By considering the themes of the discussions, the references to canonical sources, authoritative source quotations, and occasional references to contemporary figures, this study seeks to situate Daybulī Shīrāzī's intellectual networks within Delhi of the early 1600s. In so doing, it sheds light into intersections between the local (Mughal) and transregional (Safavid-Mughal) nature of Shi'i-Sunni controversies in the early modern period