

**THE ASSOCIATION FOR
THE STUDY OF PERSIANATE
SOCIETIES**



9TH BIENNIAL CONVENTION

MAY 30—JUNE 3, 2023

YEREVAN, ARMENIA

**The Institute of Oriental Studies,
Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University**

&

**The Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography,
National Academy of Sciences of
the Republic of Armenia**

PROGRAM & ABSTRACTS



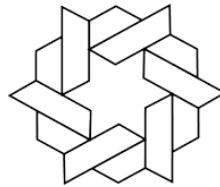
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THE NINTH BIENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF PERSIANATE SOCIETIES (ASPS)



30 May—2 June 2023

Yerevan, Armenia

VENUE:

30 May—1 June

**The Institute of Oriental Studies
Russian-Armenian (Slavonic)
University**

123 Hovsep Emin Street

2 June

**Hotel Ibis Yerevan Center
(Hosted by the Institute of
Archaeology & Ethnography
National Academy of Sciences
of the Republic of Armenia)**

Northern Avenue 5/1



CONFERENCE VENUE

May 30—June 1

Russian-Armenian (Slavonic University)

123 Hovsep Emin Street, Yerevan

Chartered buses will run between Hotel Ibis, Radisson Blu, and RAU with the following schedule

Tue 30 May—depart Ibis and Radisson at 9:00

Return to Ibis and Radisson at 20:30

Wed. 31 May—depart Ibis and Radisson at 8:30

Return to Ibis and Radisson at 18:00

Thur. 1 June—depart Ibis and Radisson at 8:30

Return to Ibis and Radisson at 18:00

From the Hotel Ibis Yerevan Center, one may also take the Metro from Republic Square to Barekamutyun and then take the No 3 Minibus to RAU's campus. Both the Metro and the Minibus will cost 100 AMD (~\$0.25).

From the Radisson Blu, one may also take the No 50 Minibus to Komitas/Zaryan and then walk north along Riga Street until you reach the campus.

The Minibus will cost 100 AMD (~\$0.25)

Taxis are also quite cheap (\$2-4), but you will need to download an app to your phone and set up an account with either GG Taxi or Yandex Taxi.

Registration: In front of the RAU Main Hall (RAU main building; central entrance, ground floor)

Room 1—Piotrovsky Auditorium (RAU new building, 7th floor)

Room 2—Orbeli Auditorium (RAU new building, 7th floor)

Room 3—Chinese Room (RAU new building, 4th floor)

Room 4—Orbeli Library/Iranian Dept. of the RAU Institute of Oriental Studies (RAU main building, right wing, 3rd floor)

Film Screenings—RAU Main Hall (RAU main building; central entrance, ground floor)

Book Exhibition—RAU new building Library, 5th floor

WIFI at RAU: RAU Free (no password)

RAU_IOS (password: ASDF123456)

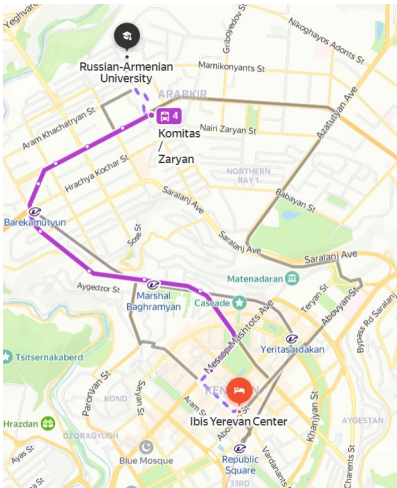
June 2

Hotel Ibis Yerevan Center

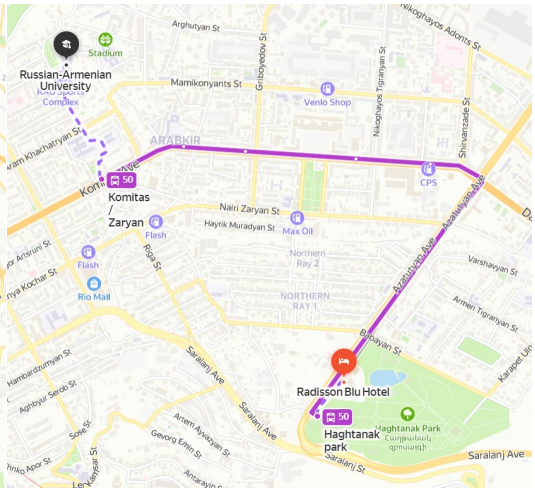
Northern Avenue 5/1

(Hosted by the Institute of Archaeology & Ethnography

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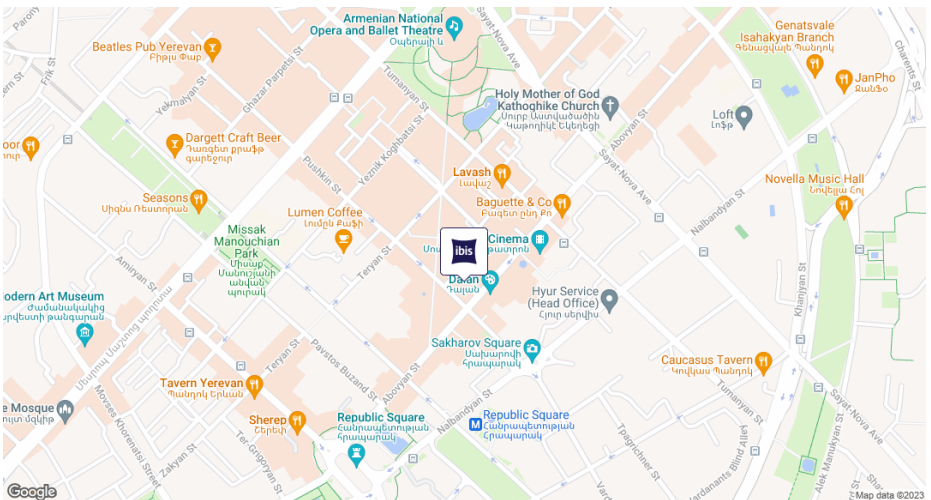


Public transit route from Ibis to RAU



Public transit route from Radisson Blu to RAU

Location of Hotel Ibis Yerevan Center



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*ASPS Gratefully Acknowledges the Kind Collaboration and
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FILM FESTIVAL

This year, we are very proud to be exhibiting three documentary films as part of the conference program. Films will be shown in the RAU Main Hall on the afternoons of May 30, 31, and June 1. Please consult the program for more details.

Zemistan ast (2019, 85 minutes, Persian), directed by Mehrdad Zahedian, tells the story of Tehran's Lalezar Street. Lalezar reflects Iran's path to modernism. It was a place to experience the modern west in the heart of Tehran. It was a meeting place for intellectuals, newspaper offices, literary, philosophical, politically themed plays and cinemas showing the latest movies.

Zemistan ast shows how after the 1953 coup d'état and the increase of the capital's population, Lalezar's culture gradually changed.

Awarded Best Feature
Documentary at the 21st
Annual Iran Cinema
Celebration

Zemistan ast will be shown
on May 30.

زمستان است IT'S WINTER

کارگردان | مهرداد زاهدیان | Director | Mehrdad Zahedian

تهیه کننده | پرویز حاشی • ویکتور آموچهر آیزر • طراس صدا | مهرداد زاهدیان
آهنگساز | محمد سرینی • تدوین | مهرداد زاهدیان • مدیر تولید | شهنام سالاسو
Producer | Pirooz Hachchi • Narrator | Manouchehr Anvar
Sound | Mehrdad Zahedian • Music Composer | Mohammad Noorali
Edited by | Mehrdad Zahedian • Producer Manager | Shahnaim Salasoo



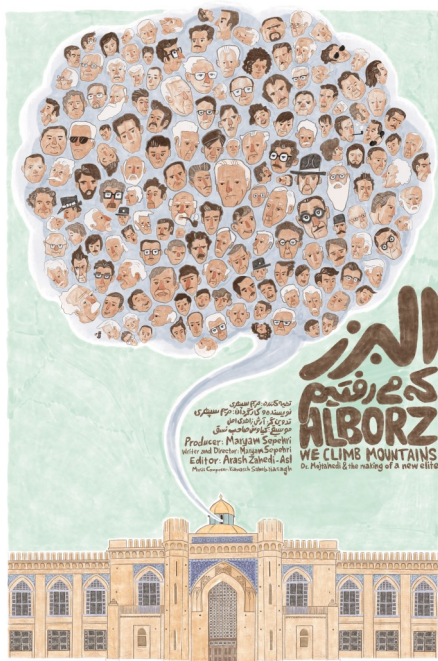
FILM FESTIVAL, CONT.

Alborz, We Climbed Mountains (2023, 84 minutes, Persian with English subtitles), directed by Maryam Sepehri.

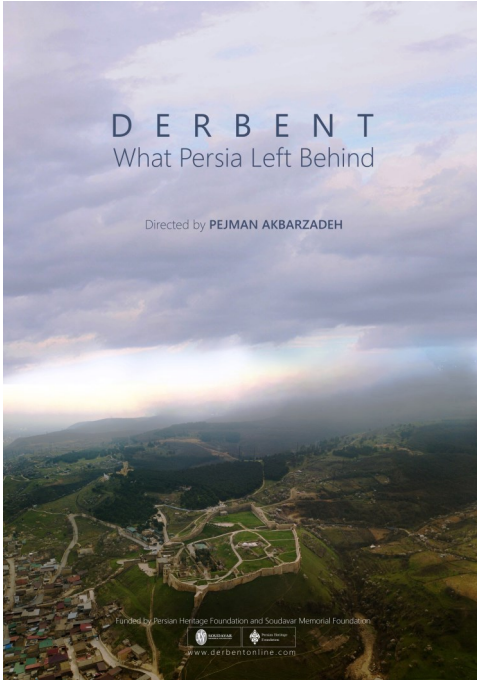
Alborz High School was initially an American Presbyterian missionary institution in Tehran that began as a grade school in 1873. In 1924 it became a junior college and in 1928 an accredited liberal arts college. After many upheavals, in 1940, it was transformed into the Alborz High School for Boys, under the watchful eyes of Dr. Mohammad-Ali Mojtahedi, the famed Iranian educator. The school sent its bright graduates to top universities in Iran and around the world; some institutions even waived the entrance exams to admit them. Alborz graduates are now important businessmen, distinguished physicians, scientists and academics in the best academic centers in Iran and abroad, among them the acclaimed architect Hossein Amanat, the famous physicist Firouz Partovi, and the eminent mathematicians Cumrun Vafa and Mehdi Zarghamee.

Dr. Mojtahedi was not only a successful leader of this school from 1942 to the 1979 Revolution, but a significant initiator of modern education in Iran. He turned Alborz into the highest-ranking school for boys.

Alborz, We Climbed Mountains tells the story of the school during many tumultuous years in Iran's modern history, from the perspectives of its graduates, teachers, and even Dr. Mojtahedi's own voice from archival recordings; it tells it with humor, fondness, and nostalgia for a bygone era. *Alborz, We Climbed Mountains* will be shown on May 31.



FILM FESTIVAL, CONT.



Derbent: What Persia Left Behind (2022, 30 min., English), directed by Pejman Akbarzadeh

Registered as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, the 6th-century Derbent (Darband) fortification complex is considered the largest defensive structure of Sasanian Persia in the Caucasus. It is now located in the Republic of Dagestan, the southernmost tip of Russia, where Westerners have been advised against travelling due to the bloody conflict between Islamist groups and Russian forces. This film illuminates the historical significance of the fortification system, which was originally built to guard the northern frontier of the

Persian Empire. “Derbent: What Persia Left Behind” also explores the unique architecture of the massive fortress, and how it has been preserved for some fifteen centuries by Persian, Arab, Turkish and Russian rulers.

The fortification includes the northernmost Middle Persian (Pahlavi) inscriptions in the world, which are in danger of destruction. Funded by the Persian Heritage Foundation and Soudavar Memorial Foundation, the documentary features commentary from four internationally recognized scholars: Murtazali Gadjiev (head of the Archaeology Department of the Dagestan Science Academy), Dietrich Huff (German Archaeological Institute, Berlin), Parvaneh Pourshariati (New York City College of Technology), and Matthew Canepa (University of California, Irvine).

More info & trailer: www.derbentonline.com.

Derbent, What Persia Left Behind will be shown on June 1.

PROGRAM

Tuesday May 30, 2023

Registration (RAU Main Hall) - 9:00-17:00

Book Exhibit (RAU New Building Library, 5th floor) - 10:00-18:00

SESSION 1.1

11:00-12:30

Panel 1.1.1—Sufism, Poetry, and the Irshād Tradition

Room 2—Orbeli Auditorium

Chair: **Domenico Ingenito** (*University of California, Los Angeles*)

Fateme Montazeri (*University of California, Berkeley*): Contempt for Hafiz? A Forgotten Historical Approach

Jo-Ann Gross (*The College of New Jersey*): The Faqrāt of Khwājah ‘Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār and the Irshād Tradition

Abdulmamad Iloiev (*University of Central Asia, Dushanbe*): Spiritual Ascension to the ‘Forty Worlds’: The Notion of Mi‘rāj in Mubārak-i Wakhānī’s Risāla-yi Chihil Dunyā

Panel 1.1.2—Mithraism in Iran I

Room 1—Piotrovsky Auditorium

Sponsored by **the Soudavar Memorial Foundation**

Organized by **Parvaneh Pourshariati** (*NYCCT/CUNY, New York*)

Chair: **Matteo Compareti** (*Capital Normal University, Beijing*)

Pierfrancesco Callieri (*Università di Bologna*): The Mirage of Mithraea in Iran

Katarzyna Maksymiuk (*University of Natural Sciences and Humanities in Siedlce, Poland*) and **Patryk Skupniewicz** (*University of Natural Sciences and Humanities in Siedlce, Poland*): The Cross as a Symbol of Mithra: On the Necessity of Re-Consideration of Selected Sasanian Seals

Parvaneh Pourshariati (*NYCCT/CUNY, New York*): Mitra in Lakh Mazar and Kāl Jangal in Southern Khurasan

Panel 1.1.3—Persianate Minorities in Europe and India

Room 4—Orbeli Library/Iranian Dept.

Chair: **Talinn Grigor** (*University of California, Davis*)

Ariane Sajed (*Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Iranian Studies, Vienna*): (Re-) Covering a Mutual Language: Persianate Muslims and Jews in Austria

Tsovinar Kirakosian (*Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University, Yerevan*): On the Issue of Zaza Identity in Europe

Mariano Errichiello (*SOAS University of London*): Between the Persianate and the Western World: The Entangled History of Modern Parsis

Panel 1.1.4—Iranian Language I

Room 3—Chinese Room

Chair: **Ludwig Paul** (*University of Hamburg*)

Kianoosh Rezaia (*Ruhr University Bochum*): Middle Persian Corpus and Dictionary (MPCD): The Lexicographical Process and the Structure of the Dictionary

Behrooz Mahmoodi-Bakhtiari (*University of Tehran*): Notes on Sīstānī Dialect Materials from the Early 20th Century

Gohar G. Hakobian (*Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main*): The Sprachbund of the South Caspian-Aturpatakan Iranian Languages

LUNCH BREAK

12:30-14:00

SESSION 1.2

14:00-15:30

Film Screening—*Zemistan Ast* (2019, 85 minutes)

Directed by **Mehrdad Zahedian**

RAU Main Hall

Panel 1.2.1—Aspects of Shi'i Thought in Iran and Central Asia

Room 2—Orbeli Auditorium

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

Maria De Cillis (*Institute of Ismaili Studies, London*): The Debate on *qaḍā' wa'l-qadar* in the Iranian School of Ismaili Philosophical Theology: Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī's Perspective

Dagikhudo Dagiev (*Institute of Ismaili Studies, London*): The Ismā'īlī Hierarchy - Ḥudūd al-Dīn in the Context of Central Asia

Louise Marlow (*Wellesley College, Massachusetts*): Translation and Diffusion of the Words of 'Alī in Fourteenth Century Isfahan

Ryo Mizukami (*Tokyo University of Foreign Studies*): "De-Shi'itized" Veneration of the Twelve Imams: Khunjī's Affirmation of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan's Mahdīship

Panel 1.2.2—(Re)Writing the Past in Qajar and Pahlavi Iran

Room 1—Piotrovsky Auditorium

Chair: **Houchang Chehabi** (*Boston University*)

Mohsen Kateb (*Yazd University*): Nationalism and Historical Rethinking of Zoroastrianism

Ali Mohammad Tarafdari (*National Library & Archives of Iran*): The "Ferdowsi Millennium" Ceremony (1934) and the Development of Shahnameh Studies in Iran and the World

Panel 1.2.3—Judaeo-Persian Language and Literature I

Room 3—Chinese Room

Chair: **Justine Landau** (*Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris*)

Ofir Haim (*Mandel School for Advanced Studies, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*): Judaeo-Persian Religious Literature (10th-14th Centuries)

Julia Rubanovich (*The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*): Retelling the Hebrew Bible in Verse: What Was Shāhīn's Authorial Intent?

Ali B. Langroudi (*University of Göttingen*): "Trans-Judeo-Persian": Meaning and Methodology

COFFEE BREAK

15:30-16:00

Plaza

SESSION 1.3

16:00-17:30

Panel 1.3.1—European Travelers in Persianate Societies

Room 1—Piotrovsky Auditorium

Chair: **Sussan Babaie** (*The Courtauld Institute, University of London*)

Jose Cutillas Ferrer (*University of Alicante*): The Idea of Persia in the Spanish Imaginary (16th-18th Centuries)

Rudi Matthee (*University of Delaware*): A Jesuit in 17th Century Shirvan: Jean Baptiste de la Maze and his Writings

Nishat Manzar (*Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi*): Societal Crisis and Colonial Concerns in the Nineteenth Century: *Tashrih-ul-Awqam* of Colonel James Skinner (1825 CE)

Panel 1.3.2—Late Antique Religions

Room 3—Chinese Room

Chair: **Iain Gardner** (*University of Sydney*)

Gianfilippo Terribili (*Sapienza University of Rome*): Grasping Hands: Soul Ascent Imagery between Iran and the Mediterranean Sea

Neda Darabian (*Ruhr-Universität Bochum*): Accusation of Magic and Witchcraft in the Late Antique Persianate World

Matthias Weinreich (*Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University, Yerevan*): Zarathustra and St. Gregory: What Their Life Stories Have in Common, and Why

Panel 1.3.3—Material Culture across Persianate Societies

Room 2—Orbeli Auditorium

Chair: **Peyvand Firouzeh** (*University of Sydney*)

Lyla Halsted (*Duke University, Durham*): Warding off the Evil Eye: Material Evidence from Early Islamic Nishapur

Rushongul Shofakirova (*Khorog State University*): Pamiri Traditional Ornament “Swastika”

Ali Mashhadi Rafi (*Freelance Researchers, Tehran*): Persian Chronicles of Hagia Sophia

Margaret Squires (*The Courtauld Institute, University of London*): Fragmented Histories: A Deccani Carpet in the Chehel Sotun?

SESSION 1.4

18:00-20:00

OPENING CEREMONY & RECEPTION

RAU Main Hall

Sponsored by **Brill Publishing**

Master of Ceremonies: **Robert Haug**, ASPS Secretary and
Conference Chair

Welcoming Addresses and Introductions from

Garnik Asatryan, Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian-
Armenian (Slavonic) University

Pavel Avetisyan, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, National
Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia

Jo-Ann Gross, CERF Director

Sussan Babaie, ASPS President

Followed by reception with light food and wine in the plaza.

Buses will depart from RAU for both Ibis Hotel Yerevan Center and
Radisson Blu at 20:30.

Wednesday May 31, 2023

Registration (RAU Main Hall) - 9:00-16:00

Book Exhibit (RAU New Building Library, 5th floor) - 10:00-17:00

SESSION 2.1

9:00-10:30

Panel 2.1.1—The Safavids and Their Neighbors

Room 2—Orbeli Auditorium

Chair: **Sussan Babaie** (*The Courtauld Institute, University of London*)

Ayşe Baltacıoğlu Brammer (*New York University*): Safavid Shiism, Ottoman Sunnism and the Border Formation in Between

Tomoko Morikawa (*The University of Tokyo*): Armenian Merchants and Trade Routes under the Safavid Empire

George Sanikidze (*Iliia State University, Tbilisi*): Iranian-Georgian Interactions during the Safavid Era: A European Perspective

Tamar Lekveishvili (*Iliia State University, Tbilisi*): Fazil Beg Khuzani Isfahani about Iranian-Georgian Relations during the Reign of ‘Abbas I: The Significance of Georgian Royal Women

Panel 2.1.2—Turkic-Persian Encounters

Room 1—Piotrovsky Auditorium

Chair: **Beatrice Manz** (*Tufts University, Boston*)

Aziza Shanazarova (*Columbia University, New York*): The Book of Women’s Rituals: The Central Asian Adaptation of the ‘*Aqā’id al-Nisā’*’

Yayoi Kawahara (*University of Tokyo*): Turkic Translations of *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* by Muḥammad Ḥakīm Khān

Annika Törne (*Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University, Yerevan*): Ziya Gökalp on the Zaza: The Challenge of Ethno-Linguistic Diversity in Nation-Building in Turkey

Panel 2.1.3—Sasanian Mesopotamia: Ctesiphon Courtly Elites and Religious Communities

Room 3—Chinese Room

Chair: **D Gershon Lewental** (*University of Oklahoma & The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*)

Paul Dilley (*University of Iowa*): Mani and Cultural Interactions at the Sasanian Court

Iain Gardner (*University of Sydney*): Locating Mani in the Geography and Society of Early Sasanian Mesopotamia

Scott McDonough (*William Paterson University, New Jersey*): “The Care of the New Cyrus”: Echoes of the Sasanian Court in the Synodal Acts of the Church of the East

Panel 2.1.4—Music, Film, and the Performing Arts

Room 4—Orbeli Library/Iranian Dept.

Chair: **Jane Lewisohn** (*Golistan Project*)

Haydar Tavakkalov (*Khorog University*): The Role of “Falak” in the Traditional Music Culture of the People of Badakhshan

Genichi Tsuge (*Tokyo University of the Arts*): Jāmi’s *Risāla-ye mūsīqī* Revisited

Parviz Ejlali (*Iranian Sociological Association, Tehran*): Cinema-Going and Competing Lifestyles and Subcultures in Iranian Cities

COFFEE BREAK

10:30-11:00

Plaza

SESSION 2.2

11:00-12:30

Panel 2.2.1—Iranian Borderlands in the 18th through 20th Centuries

Room 1—Piotrovsky Auditorium

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

András Barati (*Institute for Medieval Research, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna*): Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī's Policies towards Mashhad and the Āstān-i Quds-i Rażawī

Nourmamadcho Nourmamadchoev (*The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London*): History-writing in Poetic Form: Sayyid Farrukhshāh and His *Tā'rikh-i shāhān-i Shughnān*

James Clark (*The University of Nebraska at Omaha*): Interpreting the Shaykh Obayd Kurdish Incursion of Azerbaijan

Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet (*University of Pennsylvania*): Tales of Trespassing: Borderland Histories of Iran, Iraq, and the Persian Gulf

Panel 2.2.2—Apocalypse and Innovation in Seljuk and Mongol Iran

Room 2—Orbeli Auditorium

Chair: **Evrin Binbaş** (*Universität Bonn*)

Bruno De Nicola (*Institute for Iranian Studies, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna*): Names, Places and Dynasties in the Narrative of the *Kitāb-i Hakīm-i Jamasp*

Stefan Kamola (*Institute for Iranian Studies, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna*): Popular and Political Astrology in Mongol Iran

Florence Somer (*École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris*): Ancient Iconographical Explanation on the Jāmāspian Tradition Texts

Shervin Farridnejad (*University of Hamburg*): “Sphere of Mixture”: Zoroastrian Astrology and the Priestly Tradition after the Mongol Conquest of Iran

Panel 2.2.3—Judaean-Persian Language in Literature II

Room 3—Chinese Room

Chair: **Julia Rubanovich** (*The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*)

Imke Mizera (*University of Hamburg*): Between Translation and Explanation: Some Linguistical Characteristics of the Early New Persian *Tafsīrs* (10th-11th centuries)

Maximilian Kinzler (*University of Hamburg*): Dialectal Features of Early Judaean-Persian Verbs

Ludwig Paul (*University of Hamburg*): The 'Late Early Judaean-Persian' *Tafsīrs* of the 13th-14th Centuries

LUNCH

12:30-14:00

SESSION 2.3

14:00-15:30

Film Screening—*Alborz, We Climbed Mountains* (2023, 84 minutes)

Directed by **Maryam Sepehri**.

RAU Main Hall

Panel 2.3.1—Modern Persianate Poetics: Literary Forms, (Im)mobility, and Temporality

Room 2—Orbeli Auditorium

Chair: **Sunil Sharma** (*Boston University*)

Abdul Manan Bhat (*University of Pennsylvania*): Poems as Shared Vocabulary, Poetry as Shared Landscape: Poetic Life-Worlds of 20th Century Persianate Poets, Faiz Ahmed Faiz and Khalilullah Khalili

James Caron (*SOAS University of London*): Ma'na, Reality, and Truth amid the War on Terror

Alice Lyzcia (*SOAS University of London*): Resistance and Reconstruction in the Urdu Nazms of Sara Shagufta

Panel 2.3.2—Making and Unmaking the Safavid Empire

Room 1—Piotrovsky Auditorium

Chair: **Rudi Matthee** (*University of Delaware*)

Gennady Kurin (*Oxford University*): Reading the Five Stories of Shah Tahmāsb as a Mirror for Princes

Mordechai Levy (*The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*): Shaping Didactic Royal Self: Edifying Messages in the Memoirs of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and Jāhāngīr

Irakli Paghava (*Iliia State University, Tbilisi*): Monetary Challenges of State-Building at the Former Safavid Periphery: The Georgian Experience

Tamar Demetrashvili (*Iliia State University, Tbilisi*): The “Persian Element” in 17th–Century Western Georgia

Panel 2.3.3—Mithraism in Iran II

Room 3—Chinese Room

Sponsored by the Soudavar Memorial Foundation

Chair: **Piefrancesco Callieri** (*Università di Bologna*)

Meysam Labbaf-Khaniki (*University of Tehran*) & **Parvaneh Pourshariati** (*NYCCT/CUNY, New York*): Mithraism in Khorasan and Mithraic Symbols in the Fire Temple of Bāzeh Hūr

Patryk Skupniewicz (*University of Natural Sciences and Humanities in Siedlce, Poland*): On Some Possible Trace of Mithraism in Sasanian Art

Parvaneh Pourshariati (*NYCCT/CUNY, New York*): Mazdakism Revisited: Mithra and Mazdak

COFFEE BREAK

15:30-16:00

Plaza

SESSION 2.4

16:00-17:30

Panel 2.4.1—Legal and Historical Aspects of Women and Gender in Iran and Tajikistan

Room 2—Orbeli Auditorium

Chair: **Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet** (*University of Pennsylvania*)

Tinatin Kupaṭadze (*Ilia State University, Tbilisi*): The Origins of Iranian Feminism and Its Pioneers

Houri Berberian (*University of California, Irvine*): Iran's Armenian Red Cross: Succor and Self-Enlightenment

Raihon Sohibnazarbekova (*Russian-Tajik (Slavonic) University, Dushanbe*): Actualization of the Women's Issue in the Tajik Periodical Press of the First Half of the 20th Century

Irene Schneider (*University of Göttingen*): "Honor" and "Honor-Killing" in the 2013 Iranian Penal Code

Panel 2.4.2—Philosophical Physiology: Embodiment, Medicine and Vision in Medieval and Early Modern Persian Poetry

Room 1—Piotrovsky Auditorium

Chair: **Alyssa Gabbay** (*University of North Carolina-Greensboro*)

Justine Landau (*Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris*): Healing in Rhyme: Ḥakim Maysari's Therapeutic Poetry

Domenico Ingenito (*University of California, Los Angeles*): Philosophical and Sufi Approaches to Nizāmi's Tale of the Competition between Greek and Chinese Painters

Austin O'Malley (*University of Arizona*): Allegory and Ascent: Reading 'Atṭār's *Moṣibat-nāma* as Spiritual Practice

Jane Mikkelson (*Yale University, New Haven*): Searching for a Lyric Pulse: Jūyā Tabrīzī's Medical Poetics

Panel 2.4.3—Islam in India

Room 3—Chinese Room

Chair: **Gulfishan Khan** (*Aligarh Muslim University*)

Ayako Ninomiya (*Aoyama Gakuin University, Tokyo*): From Delhi to Jawnpur: Shihāb al-Dīn al-Dawlatābādī's *Manāqib al-sādāt*

Job Hasantabar (*Mazandaran University*) & **Hassan Shojaee** (*Mazandaran University*): Expressing the Impact of Akbar's Reforms on Shah Waliullah Dehlavi's Religious Innovations According to Hegel's Model of Historical Progress

ASPS Board Meeting

18:00-19:30

Room 4—Orbeli Library/Iranian Dept.

Thursday June 1, 2023

Registration (RAU Main Hall): 9:00-16:00

Book Exhibit (RAU New Building Library, 5th floor): 10:00-17:00

SESSION 3.1

9:00-10:30

Session 3.1.1—Science in the Qajar Era

Room 1—Piotrovsky Auditorium

Chair: **Gulfishan Khan** (*Aligarh Muslim University*)

Kamran Arjomand (*Freelance Researcher, Göttingen*): Natural Law and Laws of Nature versus Divine Laws: Reflections on Debates about Constitutionalism in the Qajar Era

Amir Mohammad Gamini (*Institute for the History of Sciences, University of Tehran*): Muḥammad-Karīm Khān Kermānī and a Persian Text of Early Modern Astronomy in the 19th Century

Mona Shakerian (*Institute for the History of Science, University of Tehran*) & **Amir Mohammad Gamini** (*Institute for the History of Science, University of Tehran*): The First Scientific Newspapers in Iran

Session 3.1.2—Iran under the Seljuks and Ilkhans

Room 2—Orbeli Auditorium

Chair: **Beatrice Manz** (*Tufts University, Boston*)

Karim Javan (*The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London*): Three Schoolmates; History or Myth? Re-examining Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāh's Biography and its Sources

Adam Knobler (*Ruhr Universität Bochum*): The Enemy of My Enemy is My Friend: The Il-khāns in Latin Crusading Proposals

David Gilinsky (*University of Hamburg*): Western European Medieval Rabbinic Commentaries in Ilkhanate Iran

Panel 3.1.3—Views from Within and Without: Aspects of Modern Iranian Politics

Room 4—Orbeli Library/Iranian Dept.

Chair: **James Clark** (*The University of Nebraska at Omaha*)

Miranda Basheleishvili (*Iliia State University, Tbilisi*): South Caucasus in Iran's Current Politics - Analysis of Iranian Academic Works

Houchang Chehabi (*Boston University*): An Indian Ocean Odyssey: Reza Shah's Exile in Mauritius

Rowena Abdul Razak (*University of Oxford*): The Tudeh Party in Britain: Isolation and Activism

Panel 3.1.4—Iranian Language II

Room 3—Chinese Room

Chair: **Garnik Asatrian** (*Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University, Yerevan*)

Elena Besolova (*North Ossetian Institute for Humanitarian and Social Studies*) & **Asghar Godrati** (*Allameh Tabatabai University, Tehran*): On the Ethno-Cultural Specificity of the Zoonym "Camel" in the Language of the Iranian Ossetians and in the Persian Language

Amir Zeyghami (*Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University, Yerevan*): Some Plant Names in Persian Phytonymy

Elahe Taghvaei (*Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University, Yerevan*): The Toponyms Formed from Color Names in the Province of Isfahan

Holkar Mirzakhmadava (*Tashkent State University of Oriental Studies*): اصطلاحسازی از کلمات فارسی در زبان ازبکی

COFFEE BREAK

10:30-11:00

Plaza

SESSION 3.2

11:00-12:30

Panel 3.2.1—Legacies of Pre-Islamic Iran

Room 2—Orbeli Auditorium

Chair: **Kazuo Morimoto** (*The University of Tokyo*)

Mohsen Zakeri (*Ruhr Universität - Bochum*): Āyīn-nāmak Revisited

D Gershon Lewental (*University of Oklahoma & the Hebrew University of Jerusalem*): Sāsānian War Elephants and Islamic Historical Memory

Robert Haug (*University of Cincinnati*): Khatun and the Arab Conquest of Bukhara: Conquest and Memory in Early Islamic Transoxiana

Natasha Parnian (*Macquarie University, Sydney*): The Problems of Persianising: The Memory of Persian Kingship in the Samanid Period

Panel 3.2.2—Modern Persianate Transformations in Urdu Literary Texts

Room 1—Piotrovsky Auditorium

Chair: **Abdul Manan Bhat** (*University of Pennsylvania*)

Sunil Sharma (*Boston University*): Remembering Illustrious Women in the Age of Print

Sumaira Nawaz (*McGill University, Montreal*): Ottoman Modernity in the Garb of Urdu

Francesca Orsini (*SOAS University of London*): Turkey under the Indian Skin

Panel 3.2.3—Christianity in Persianate Societies

Room 4—Orbeli Library/Iranian Dept.

Chair: **Ali B. Langroudi** (*University of Göttingen*)

Victoria Arakelova (*Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University, Yerevan*): Reshaping an Identity: The Udi Case in Azerbaijan Republic

Edith Szanto (*University of Alabama*): Leaving Islam in Iraqi Kurdistan

Panel 3.2.4—Texts as Objects

Room 3—Chinese Room

Chair: **Yui Kanda** (*Tokyo University of Foreign Studies*)

Redman Rasooli Mehrabani (*University of Tehran*): Role of Bibliomancy with Persian Poems in the Life of Crimean Tatars and Ottoman Turks as Depicted in Hüseyin Kefevi's *Rāznāme*

Sabohat Donayorova (*Khorog State University*): Pre-Journalistic Phenomena in Badakhshan

Kristine Kostikyan (*Matendaran, Institute of Ancient Manuscripts & Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University, Yerevan*): Persian Documents of the Matenadaran on Some Issues of History of the Catholicosate of Aghvank in the 17th-19th Centuries

LUNCH BREAK

12:30-14:00

SESSION 3.3

14:00-15:30

Film Screening—*Derbent: What Persia Left Behind* (2022, 30 minutes)

Directed by **Pejman Akbarzadeh**.

RAU Main Hall

Panel 3.3.1—Spatialities of Urban Struggle in Tehran

Room 2—Orbeli Auditorium

Chair: **Ali Mozaffari** (*Alfred Deakin Institute, Victoria*)

Alireza Akbarian (*Independent Researcher, Mashhad*): Placing Social Movements in Tehran: Three Decades of Urban Protest

Mohammad Davarpanah (*University of Tehran*): Climate Change and Social Capital for Urban Youth: An Analysis of Tehrani Students' Outlook upon the Future

Amir Khaghani (*Florida International University*): Perceptions of the Post-Revolutionary Tehran: Enghelab Street and Spatialities of the Periphery

Muhammad Qudsi (*Iranian Political Association, Tehran*): Sermons on the Campus Soccer Field: A Semi-Temporary Sacred Place for Friday Prayers within University of Tehran

Panel 3.3.2—Persianate Societies and the Mongols

Room 3—Chinese Room

Chair: **Stefan Kamola** (*Institute for Iranian Studies, Austrian Academy of Sciences*)

Beatrice Manz (*Tufts University, Boston*): Iranians and Khwarazmians during the Mongol Invasion of Eastern Iran

Kazuo Morimoto (*The University of Tokyo*): An Eyewitness of the Religio-Political Climate of the Post-Mongol Persianate World: 'Alī b. al-Qāsim al-Mūsawī al-Najāfī the Genealogist and His Notebook

Panel 3.3.3—Persianate Miniature Painting

Room 1—Piotrovsky Auditorium

Chair: **Sussan Babaie** (*The Courtauld Institute, University of London*)

István Kristó-Nagy (*University of Exeter*): Tracing a Devil in Islamic Art

Yui Kanda (*Tokyo University of Foreign Studies*): Reception of the Persian Metrical Version of Kalilah wa Dimnah in Late 15th Century Anatolia

Pavel Basharin (*Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow*): Images of Dīvs in Indo-Persian Culture

Ikbāl Dursunoglu (*Boston University*): Beautiful Iconoclasm: The Long Afterlife of a Mughal Manuscript

COFFEE BREAK

15:30-16:00

Plaza

SESSION 3.4

16:00-17:30

Panel 3.4.1—The Functioning of the Safavid and Mughal States

Room 1—Piotrovsky Auditorium

Chair: **Evrin Binbaş** (*Universität Bonn*)

Stanislaw Jaskowski (*University of Warsaw*): Some Notes on Early Modern Persianate Reporting Practices

Gulfishan Khan (*Aligarh Muslim University*): The Production of Imperial Historiography and Emperor Shah Jahan

Abha Singh (*Indira Gandhi National Open Museum, New Delhi*): Mughal Taqavi (Agricultural Loans): A Study of Some Rare Eighteenth Century Taqavi Documents in Persian Issued by the Ijaradars

Panel 3.4.2—Literary Patronage in the Mongol and Post-Mongol World

Room 2—Orbeli Auditorium

Chair: **Alyssa Gabbay** (*University of North Carolina—Greensboro*)

Kaveh Niazi (*Stanford Online High School*): Convolutions of Clienthood in the Procurement of Patronage: Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī and His Early Patrons

Simone Ruffini (*The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*): Panegyric Qaṣīdas as Historical Letters: Four Odes from the Ilkhanid Period

Andrew Peacock (*University of St. Andrews*): Badr al-Din Kashmiri and his Zafarnama

Panel 3.4.3—Model Women in Photography and Literature

Room 4—Orbeli Library/Iranian Dept.

Chair: **Behrooz Ghamari-Tabrizi** (*Princeton University*)

Talinn Grigor (*University of California, Davis*): “Ethnic Type”
Photography and the Invention of the “Armenian Woman” in Qajar Iran

Sima Abbasi (*Payam Noor University & Tashkent University of Oriental Studies*): کهن الگوهای زن ایرانی در آثار رماننویسان زن معاصر ایرانی (شهرنوش پارسی پور، غزاله علیزاده، گلی ترقی و سیمین دانشور)

Panel 3.4.4—Pre-Islamic Religions in Persianate Societies

Room 3—Chinese Room

Chair: **Shervin Farridnejad** (*University of Hamburg*)

Sifei Li (*Shaanxi Normal University, Xi'an*): Zoroastrian Elements on Sixth Century CE Sogdian Funerary Monuments Excavated in China

Matteo Compareti (*Capital Normal University, Beijing*): New Evidence for the Identification of Problematic Zoroastrian Deities in Sogdian Art

Zohreh Zarshenas (*Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies, Tehran*): “šyr” in Buddhist Sogdian Texts

Abbas Azarandaz (*Shahid Bahonar University of Kerman*) & **Masoume Bagheri** (*University of Kerman*): Literary and Dramatic Elements in Avestan Hymn to Aši (Ard Yašt)

Journal of Persianate Studies Board Meeting

18:00-19:30

Room 4—Orbeli Library/Iranian Dept.

Friday June 2, 2023

ALL SESSIONS HELD AT IBIS HOTEL YEREVAN CENTER
NORTHERN AVENUE 5/1

Hosted by the Institute of Archaeology & Ethnography
National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia

SESSION 4.1

9:00-10:30

Panel 4.1.1—Medieval Armenia Entangled (Result of the ERC project ArmEn)

Yerevan Room

Organized by **Zaroui Pogossian** (*University of Florence*)

Chair: **Alison Vacca** (*Columbia University, New York*)

Armine Melkonyan (*University of Florence*): The Persian Emir Abdlay in an Armenian Interreligious Disputation

Elisa Pruno (*University of Florence*): The Circulation of Kashani Pottery in Historic Armenia: *status quaestionis*

Leonardo Squilloni (*University of Florence*): Trade, Cultural Exchange, and Political Representation: The Caravanserai of Selim as a Product of Interregional Entanglements

Gagik Danielyan (*University of Florence, Matenadaran: Institute of Ancient Manuscripts of Yerevan*): Letters, Envoys, and Interpreters: Diplomatic Correspondence between the Mongol Ilkhans and the Kings of Cilician Armenia

Panel 4.1.2—Indo-Persian Literature

Masis Room

Chair: **Sunil Sharma** (*Boston University*)

Hallie Swanson (*University of Pennsylvania*): Translating Love: The Indo-Persian Masnavi

Christa Hart (*Princeton University*): Hidden Authors: Positioning the Tawāif in the 19th Century Persian and Hindustani Literary Canon

Julien Columeau (*Georgian State University, Tbilisi*): Evolution and Revival of dāstāngōī ('Romance telling') on the Indian Subcontinent

Jaideep Pandey (*University of Michigan*): *Sūz-o-gudāz* and the Modern Iqbalian Self: Politics of the Persianate in Modern South Asia

Panel 4.1.3—Heritage and Politics in the Persianate World

Sis Room

Chair: **Rowena Abdul Razak** (*University of Oxford*)

Ali Mozaffari (*Alfred Deakin Institute, Melbourne*): Heritage and Regional Geopolitical Competition between Iran and Turkey

Mehmonsho Sharifov (*University of Central Asia, Dushanbe*): *Nomus* and 'the Politics': The Genealogy of 'the Politics' in Central Asia

COFFEE BREAK

10:30-11:00

SESSION 4.2

11:00-12:30

Panel 4.2.1—Persian Learning in the Ottoman World

Yerevan Room

Chair: Ayşe Baltacıoğlu Brammer (New York University)

Munir Drkić (*University of Sarajevo*): Learning Persian from the *Golestan* in Ottoman Bosnia

Hasmik Kirakosyan (*Matenadaran: Institute of Ancient Manuscripts of Yerevan*): Kemālpaşazāde's (1468-1534) Work *Daḳāyīḳ ul-ḥaḳāyīḳ* in the Context of Persian Learning in Ottoman Turkey

Ani Sargsyan (*University of Hamburg*): On the Practical Usage of the 15th-17th Century Persian-Turkish Dictionaries in the Ottoman Empire

Panel 4.2.2—Health, Medicine, and the Family in Iran

Masis Room

Chair: **TBA**

Irène Natchkebia (*Ilia State University, Giorgi Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies, Tbilisi*): Some Data by Napoleon's Envoys about Medicine and Hygiene in Persia (1807-1808)

Afarin Tavakoli (*Yazd University*): Saving the Motherland: Women's Health Care during the Reign of Reza Shah (1926-1941)

Panel 4.2.3—Late Antique and Medieval Geographies in the Archives

Sis Room

Chair: **Robert Haug** (*University of Cincinnati*)

Khodadad Rezakhani (*University of Leiden*): Geographical Observations from the Pahlavi Archives: From Esperez to Nemwar

Alexandra Cuffel (*Ruhr Universität Bochum*): Trade, Migration and Artisanal Imitation between Egypt, Armenia, Georgia and Iran: Evidence from the Cairo Geniza

LUNCH BREAK

12:30-14:00

SESSION 4.3

14:00-15:30

Panel 4.3.1—The Making of Modern Iran

Masis Room

Chair: **James Clark** (*The University of Nebraska at Omaha*)

Alessandro Cancian (*Institute of Ismaili Studies, London*): Mysticism, Power and Authority in Early Modern Iranian Shi'i Sufism: The Jurists and the Mystics in Nineteenth-Century Ni'matullāhī Literature

Stephanie Cronin (*Oxford University*): The Ambitions of Modernism: State-building and Kulturkampf in Early Pahlavi Iran

Niko Kelbakiani (*Iliia State University, Giorgi Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies, Tbilisi*): The Revolution in the Iranian Shi'ite Clergy: The Impact of the Demotion of Ayatollah Shariatmadari

Panel 4.3.2—Form and Structure in Classical Persian Poetry

Yerevan Room

Chair: **Louise Marlow** (*Wellesley College, Massachusetts*)

Maia Sakhokia (*Iliia State University, Tbilisi*): Towards Rhetorical Typology in Iranian Literary Tradition (Achaemenians and Shahnameh)

Alyssa Gabbay (*University of North Carolina at Greensboro*): Counterfeit Stories and True Tales: Ferdowsi's "Bizhan and Manizheh" and the Art of Narration in the Shahnameh

Christine Kämpfer (*Bamberg University*): The Sāqī Filled the Cup with Meaning: The Role of Subgenres in Khvājū Kirmānī's (1290-1350) Epic Poem "Humāy-u Humāyūn"

Amanda Leong (*University of California, Merced*): Re-thinking Female Javānmardī and Medieval Race in Nizami's Haft Paykar: An 'Interracial' Epic Romance between a Persian King and his Chinese Musician Slave Girl

Panel 4.3.3—Iranian Languages III

Sis Room

Chair: **Saïd Amir Arjomand** (*State University of New York at Stony Brook*)

Sultonbek Aksakolov (*University of Central Asia, Khorog*):
Pamirovedenie and the Construction of Knowledge on the Eastern
Iranian (Pamiri) Languages

Umed Mamadsheerzodshoev (*Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan,
Dushanbe*): Shohabdulloh Badakhshi - One of the First Researchers
of Pamirian Languages

COFFEE BREAK

15:30-16:00

SESSION 4.4

16:00-17:15

Ararat Room

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Sussan Babaie

The Courtauld Institute, University of London

**Persianate Studies through the Lens of
Trans-Asias: The Mongols**

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

17:30-18:30

Ararat Room

Announcement of the winner of the inaugural *ASPS/JPS* Early Career Prize and the site for our 10th Biennial Conference scheduled for 2025.

CLOSING BANQUET

19:00

Location TBA

Buses will depart from Ibis Hotel at 18:45.

Saturday June 3

Cultural Excursion to Geghard Monastery and Garni

9:30—depart from Ibis Hotel for Geghard Monastery

11:00—arrive at Geghard Monastery

13:00—lunch (included)

14:30—depart for Garni

15:00—arrive at Garni

17:00—depart for Yerevan

19:00—arrive at Ibis Hotel

NOTES



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Journal of Persianate Studies

The *Journal of Persianate Studies* is a peer-reviewed publication of the Association for the Study of Persianate Societies. The journal publishes articles on the culture and civilization of the geographical area where Persian has historically been the dominant language or a major cultural force, encompassing Iran, Afghanistan and Tajikistan, as well as the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Indian Subcontinent, and parts of the former Ottoman Empire. Its focus on the linguistic, cultural and historical role and influence of Persian culture and Iranian civilization in this area is based on a recognition that knowledge flows from pre-existing facts but is also constructed and thus helps shape the present reality of the Persianate world. Such knowledge can mitigate the leveling effects of globalization as well as counteract the distortions of the area's common historical memory and civilizational continuity by the divisive forces of modern nationalism and imperialism.

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Journal of Persianate Studies

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Congratulations to the winner of the ASPS/JPS Early Career Prize!

The *Journal of Persianate Studies* congratulates the winner of the inaugural ASPS/JPS Early Career Prize and acknowledges all those who submitted their work for consideration. The biennial prize seeks to encourage and reward scholarship about the broader Persianate world by ASPS members who are still in the early stages of their careers. Based on creativity of topic and source materials, originality of analysis, and overall scholastic contributions, an ASPS prize committee selected a winner, who will be announced at the general assembly. The winner will receive a cash prize of \$250 and the paper will be published in the *Journal of Persianate Studies*. We encourage end-stage doctoral students and early-career scholars to look out next year for the call to submit original and unpublished work for the prize to be awarded at our next convention in 2025.

Publish your work in JPS

We encourage ASPS members and presenters at the conference to publish their research in the association's flagship journal. Materials for publication in the *Journal of Persianate Studies* should follow the Instructions for Authors regarding style and citation and be submitted through Editorial Manager. For more information, as well as past issues, visit <https://brill.com/view/journals/jps/jps-overview.xml>

ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF PERSIANATE SOCIETIES

The Ninth Biennial Convention

Yerevan, Armenia

May 30-June 3, 2023

ABSTRACTS



Editor: Robert Haug

Cincinnati and Yerevan 2023

EDITOR'S NOTE

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

Robert Haug

Secretary, ASPS

University of Cincinnati

Cincinnati, Ohio USA

ENGLISH ABSTRACTS

Rowena Abdul Razak (*University of Oxford*): The Tudeh Party in Britain: Isolation and Activism (Panel 3.1.3)

This research will examine the activities of the Tudeh Party in Britain, touching upon their sense of isolation and loss in the wake of the 1979 revolution. In the 1970s, many party members found themselves in exile in Europe, either in Austria or East Germany. A number of them went to the United Kingdom where they established connections with the British left. Together, they worked to promote labor and worker rights in Iran while producing plenty of anti-shah writings. They also wrote about women's rights and exposed the suppressive nature of the shah's regime. While much research has been made on the Tudeh in Iran, such as those by Cosroe Chaqueri, Ervand Abrahamian, Stephanie Cronin, Maziar Behrouz and Sepehr Zabih, this paper will shed unique light on the British-based and English-language activism of the party. They became active from the early 1970s and produced a huge body of work that have not been properly examined. The People's Museum in Manchester holds a wealth of material from the Tudeh. My research draws upon these materials and will show them in a new and critical light. This paper will examine their activities, their publications and how their activism translated into English and to an English audience and how they differed from Persian material. Primary questions will include what topics were chosen, why certain imagery was displayed, and how they tried to remain relevant when the left in Iran was being suppressed in the wake of the revolution and with the collapse of communism in Europe.

Alireza Akbarian (*Independent Researcher, Mashhad*): Placing Social Movements in Tehran: Three Decades of Urban Protest (Panel 3.3.1)

In the past years, socio-political movements in the cities of Iran have become a platform for many protests against the government. In this research, in order to identify and analyze protest movements in Tehran, occurrences of such in the past three decades are examined. The reasoning behind this time frame is that the Iran-Iraq war ended three decades ago and, after that, in the post-war society, social, political and economic issues were further scrutinized. An examination of these movements and their motives and demands, will provide a better understanding of different fractions of society and their relation with the state and the nation.

Insights from the urban movements literature, especially the "political opportunity structure" approach apply here. Based on this, the movements of 1997, 2009, 2017, 2019, and 2022 are analyzed from three aspects of Insurgent Consciousness, Organizational Strength, and Political Opportunities. Written reports, pictures and videos of these movements are the primary sources of this research. In addition, the experience of people who were present in these movements has been utilized through ethnographic work. For this purpose, in-depth interviews have been conducted.

Preliminary investigations show that the identity of the movements is divided into three categories: (I) political, (II) economic, and (III) cultural. In addition, the organization of all investigated movements are bottom-up, except for the 2009 green movement, which was rather top-down due to being led by political leaders and parties. The locations of the protests show that although the beginning of each movement is in various parts of Tehran, each movement is recognized and acquires a national or international aspect with presence in major streets such as Enghelab and Valieasr. By representing the locations of the movements on Tehran map, which will come in the article, along with the information and analysis of each movement, that includes slogans, goals and demands, social groups active in the protest, and achievements, this essay attempts at a mapping of the localities and identification of the variety of protests and demonstrations that has happened in the past three decades to better present an exhaustive picture of Tehran's ongoing struggle.

Sultonbek Aksakolov (*University of Central Asia, Khorog*): *Pamirovedenie and the Construction of Knowledge on the Eastern Iranian (Pamiri) Languages* (Panel 4.3.3)

This presentation explores the formation of the specific branch of an area studies Pamirovedenie, and its contribution to the study of indigenous Eastern Iranian languages known as Pamiri languages in Tajikistan. The historiographical analysis of the studies on the Pamiri languages conducted within the frame of Pamirovedenie reveals important points in understanding a) the development of the ancient Iranian languages; and b) the role the Soviet academia played in representing and constructing the specific identity of the group of the people. Based on the analysis of the selected articles and monographs, arguments of the Soviet linguists on the Pamirs, the paper argues that Pamirovedenie as a field of knowledge had succeeded in creating knowledge about the marginalized groups of population but had less effect on the status of this language. The paper demonstrates the lack of connection between academic studies on the Pamiri (Eastern Iranian languages), and the Soviet national and ethnic policy, and larger cultural policy to protect non-titular minorities in the Soviet Union.

Kamran Arjomand (*Freelance Researcher, Göttingen*): *Natural Law and Laws of Nature versus Divine Laws: Reflections on Debates about Constitutionalism in the Qajar Era* (Panel 3.1.1)

One of the neglected research areas regarding the historiography of modern Iran concerns the debates generated by the impact of scientific and technological achievements of the West. Beside Western political thought and philosophical ideas, also scientific theories and technological achievements of the West became an important ingredient in those debates. The ulama opposed to the constitution, who gathered around Shaykh Fażl-Allāh Nūrī, accused many of the elected representatives in the first Majlis of belonging either to the sect of Bāb or to the group of ṭabī'iyūn who were likewise considered to contradict the religious dogma. In the Western historiography of the constitutional revolution one encounters various

interpretations as to whom the pejorative term *ṭabī'īyūn* referred to. The term has been translated as “materialists”, “naturalists” and “atheists”. None of which is, however, satisfactory. In this paper I shall try to clarify this matter.

Victoria Arakelova (*Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University, Yerevan*): Reshaping an Identity: The Udi Case in Azerbaijan Republic (Panel 3.2.3)

The Udi people are currently the only autochthonous Christian community in the territory of the Azerbaijan Republic. This tiny group (officially, around 4000) live in the actually only remaining Udi-dwelled village of Nij (historical Nidzh) of Gabala region.

For most of the Udi people, Armenian Christianity has always been the main identity marker; they shared with the Armenians common spiritual values, onomasticon, and fate in the most dramatic historical periods. However, as a result of the persecution of Armenians in and their exodus from Azerbaijan, the activity of the Armenian Apostolic Church in the country was terminated. While many Udis also left Azerbaijan Republic, the remaining part was forced to drastically change their identity, in order to get a chance to save their lives and stay in the homeland. The Udis had to abandon the iconic markers of their identity, change their Armenian names, get rid of the Armenian cultural attributes, etc., but most importantly, distance themselves from the Armenian Apostolic Church. At the same time, there is no move toward their transition to Russian Orthodoxy, despite the presence of the Russian Orthodox Church and the fact that there are Orthodox Udis living primarily in Georgia. Thus, the Udis in Azerbaijan turned out to be hostages of Baku's project of the so-called “reviving the Albanian Church”.

The paper focuses on the process of changing the Udi identity markers in Azerbaijan Republic and shaping a new Udi identity, having occurred during the last three decades as a result of new geo-political realities in the region.

Abbas Azarandaz (*Shahid Bahonar University of Kerman*) & **Masoume Bagheri** (*University of Kerman*): Literary and Dramatic Elements in Avestan Hymn to Aši (Ard Yašt) (Panel 3.4.4)

Yašts are Avestan hymns in which the divine beings are praised and worshiped by expressing their characteristics and sometimes the myths related to them. From the verses of these syllabic hymns, we can see a clear picture of the ancient Iranian society; in other words, Yašts show the life of Iranian farmer-herdsmen (*wāstaryōš*) in the passage of time and reflect the beliefs, dreams, victories, failures and thought changes of the ancient Iranian society like a mirror. Avestan hymn to Aši (Ard Yašt), the eighteenth Yašt, can be considered one of the oldest and at the same time the most beautiful Yašts, with its harmonious and symmetrical retrogressive structure with 10 chapters (Karde) and 62 stanzas. This hymn, which was written in praise of "Aši varuhī", the goddess of wealth, comfort and good fortune, presents a very beautiful example of a mythological prayer in a poetic and dramatic style. By using artistic devices such as simile, metaphor, repetition, pun, alliteration, and with the mythological basis of dragon slaying, the poet-artist

portrays pre-Zoroastrian and Zoroastrian ideas so skillfully that the reader or hearer feels as if he or she is watching a play about a glorious life in the Achaemenid era. The curtain moves away, the beautiful Aši, standing on the roaring wheel, enters the stage majestically; The narration of the story of this ancient Iranian goddess is depicted so fluidly between the past and present in the form of the third person and the first person that the audience thinks that he or she is riding on the magical boat of the hymn and is passing a beautiful passage over the river of time and observing the events of the Aryan people. Ard Yašt is a hymn in the form of syllabic order and full of original poetic images that shows a period of aristocratic life thousands of years ago. In this article, we try to show the image of society and its goddess of wealth and good fortune along with the analysis of some dramatic and literary aspects of Avestan hymn to Aši.

András Barati (*Institute for Medieval Research, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna*): *Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī's Policies towards Mashhad and the Āstān-i Quds-i Rażawī* (Panel 2.2.1)

Following the death of Nādir Shāh (1736-1747), the founder of the Durrānī Empire, Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī (1747-1772), considered himself as the rightful heir to Nādir Shāh's empire and therefore established a claim to the city of Mashhad. In order to realize this ambition, he led three military campaigns against the Nādirid successor state to western Khurāsān, which was afflicted by constant power struggles. However, due to the limited size of our narrative sources, we have hardly any information regarding how lasting these conquests were and what kind of changes took place. In my presentation, I attempt to analyze the published and unpublished royal decrees of Aḥmad Shāh in regard to western Khurāsān and to shed light on two interlinked areas of his policies: Mashhad and the Āstān-i Quds-i Rażawī. Accordingly, I will identify the extent of Aḥmad Shāh's rule over the region and how he utilized the different tribal factions to maintain his sway over the area, and the purpose of keeping in power the Nādirid ruler, Shāh Rukh (1750-1796), even if in name only. Furthermore, I am going to demonstrate what centralizing measures did he take in respect of the Āstān-i Quds-i Rażawī, to have a more thorough overlook of the religious endowment. Additionally, I wish to draw attention to the fact that these documents often contradict the narrative historical sources.

Ayşe Baltacıoğlu Brammer (*New York University*): *Safavid Shiism, Ottoman Sunnism and the Border Formation in Between* (Panel 2.1.1)

As significant historical points of reference, borderlands in the early modern era revealed different state-society dynamics. These broadly defined "end territories" were places "where one empire flowed into (and out of) another ... wars were fought, garrisons built, and allegiances tested." I argue that in the Safavid-Ottoman rivalry, the border manifested itself as a fluid concept that in many cases extended into the central parts of Anatolia and Iraq, where the actual boundaries of jurisdictional competency and religio-political legitimacy existed. On one hand, every Safavid shah and Ottoman sultan, with the

importance and the volatility of borders (as well as loyalties) in mind, had to (re)negotiate their position not only with the high-ranking members of their court and the provincial elites, but also with the population(s) of this “frontier,” in many cases the Qizilbash, Qizilbash-to-be, and/or the former Qizilbash. On the other hand, these actors amassed varying degrees of power not only as the cultivators of the land and the providers of tax revenues and foot soldiers, but also as the de facto intermediaries or negotiators, leaders, or protectors of these contested zones in between. All major participants of this complex network were concerned either with the expansion of their empire and the upholding of their legitimacy (in the case of Safavid and Ottoman courts), or with the anxieties and sensibilities stemming from specific circumstances (in the case of ordinary subjects and community/tribal leaders alike). My talk aims to unpack the complexities of the interactions among the major participants, who formed, maintained, protected, and challenged the borders within the context of Safavid-Ottoman geo-political and religious rivalry.

Pavel Basharin (*Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow*):
Images of Dīvs in Indo-Persian Culture (Panel 3.3.3)

During the process of Persian culture's borrowings in the Indian subcontinent the basic elements of Iranian demonology have been borrowed too. This presentation deals with the demonic images of Indo-Persian literature both the miniature painting. In Islamic Persian culture the dīvs have been contaminated with the Arabian jinns. This synthetic image landed up at the territory with a great autochthonic tradition, including specific demonology. The demonic images continued to transform. The border between various demonic creatures, for example between dīvs and ghūls has been eliminated. For example, Indian dīvs create false beacons as well as ghūls. These demons are mixed in one content. Dīvs contaminate with the traditional Indian demons rakshasas. They live in water and compare with crocodiles. In Indo-Persian painting the dīvs have some attributes of demonic nature: spotty skin, fangs, long hairs and beards, fiery eyebrow, bushy tails. Some demons have human forms. Others have animal forms as horse-headed, ass-headed, and elephant-headed figures. They are wearing drawers or loincloth, bracelets on the arms, legs and necks and armed by maces. This kind of weapon is painted in Islamic art as a primary weapon of demons. In Mughal, Deccani, and Golconda style of art their images were transformed according to the indigenous rules. Demons are depicted as Indian asuras against whom gods (devas) fight. Some of them with swarthy skin, roundish heads, small ears, moustaches and the heads of indigenous Indian animals are not similar to Persian painting, but to Indian canons. The scenes with king Solomon's retinue are very symptomatic. The dīvs are very close to real retinues of local rulers. The demonic figures from 'Abd al-Rahim's copy of the Mughal Ramayana of the Freer's Gallery's collection are the peculiar case of this kind of synthesis.

Miranda Basheleishvili (*Ilia State University, Tbilisi*): South Caucasus in Iran's Current Politics - Analysis of Iranian Academic Works (Panel 3.1.3)

In the paper, we try to understand the perception of the region by Iranian academic scientific circles and compare researchers' attitude and the Islamic Republics official policy towards the region while considering Iranian scholars' works. It should be noted that almost all researchers indicate that Iran lost influence in the South Caucasus with the treaty of Turkmenchay, which concluded the Russo-Persian War (1826-1828). After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia gained independence and a new stage and opportunities emerged for relations between Iran and the region. According to Iranian researchers and scientists, during tense relations between Iran and the West, the development of political, economic and cultural interactions with the countries of the region is given a special role for Iran. Considering current challenges and Iranian positions in the region, preference should be given to the economy and cultural element .In general, in the Iranian scientific circles, the role of the South Caucasus in the contemporary regional politics of Iran and important social-political events in the region is correctly understood. Islamic Republic of Iran's several university researchers during review and evaluation of the war of August 2008 presented the real picture of the problem and a large-scale view of the issue. Despite this former president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad with his statements mainly supported Russia. Such events negatively impact the development of relations between Tehran and the region's countries. As a result of the coordination of Iranian researchers' positions and recommendations with political circles, it may be possible to develop regional policy, which will facilitate the development of mutually beneficial relations between Iran and South Caucasus.

Houri Berberian (*University of California, Irvine*): Iran's Armenian Red Cross: Succor and Self-Enlightenment (Panel 2.4.1)

The Iranian Constitutional Revolution witnessed the emergence of an array of associations. Among them was the Red Cross, formed in 1909 in Tabriz and New Julfa by Armenian women under the auspices of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, which had established itself as a significant political party through its revolutionary activity. The ARF Red Cross, despite its 1909 founding, has been treated in secondary literature –when it has been at all– as the child of the first World War. Even a “fiftieth” anniversary publication (1965) by a later iteration of the group – New Julfa's Armenian Women's Compassion Society (1937) – gives the date of its founding as 1915. Based on Red Cross documents discovered in ARF archives, this paper explores the early history of the organization up to Armenia's Sovietization in 1920 through a discussion of its stated goals and actual activities. While the group's first goal, predictably, was to provide aid to the “poor and helpless,” schools and students, disaster victims and soldiers, its second –unexpected– goal avowed “to maintain...members' moral, intellectual and physical level through self-enlightenment” to prepare “good mothers and loyal citizens.” Close examination of documents demonstrates

that soon after its establishment, the group began to prioritize self-enlightenment, pursuing it through reading and discussion of newspapers and books, including authors writing on the women's question (e.g., Bebel, Artsruni, Raffi...) and essay writing and lectures often followed by intense exchanges on topics such as taxation, government, class, and the women's question, including education and suffrage. This paper argues that the Red Cross' self-enlightenment project sought to prime women for more visible and active engagement in society and the national/ist project, to instill professionalization, and consequently to challenge gender norms. Thus, they became the embodiment of the principle promoted by their authors: that society required enlightened women to develop and prosper.

Elena Besolova (*North Ossetian Institute for Humanitarian and Social Studies*) & **Asghar Godrati** (*Allameh Tabatabai University, Tehran*): On the Ethno-Cultural Specificity of the Zoonym "Camel" in the Language of the Iranian Ossetians and in the Persian Language (Panel 3.1.4)

The research views the cult of animals, which developed from the ideas about souls that preceded the image of a human deity. The reasons for the cult lie both in the mental impression of the appearance and behavior of the animal, and in the fact that being human impersonators, animals were considered patron spirits, bringing good or evil, happiness or misfortune. The study of the essence of the idolization of animals and its manifestation in everyday life among Iranian Ossetians and Iranians has undergone a number of metamorphoses and has played an important and definite role in their mythology, rituals and customs.

Scientists noted that the fundamentals of the religious ideas of the Ossetians are the legacy of the ancient forms of the Scythian-Sarmatian-Alanian religion; the primitive beliefs of the Iranians progressed from totemism to cosmogony.

Rudiments of mystical views of the camel among the Iranian Ossetians have been preserved in folklore and its minor genres. Shortage of material makes it almost impossible to fully describe and analyze it, and this at a time when, in the religious beliefs of the Indo-Iranians, the camel retains the sacred, magical and protective image for a long time. It also turned out that the ritual qualities of the camel in the archaeological material contributed to the belief of the camel being a strong amulet, expressed, for example, in amulets-pendants made of long shreds of camel hair. These views are also reflected in ethnographic material, in which both the motives of connection with a deity and the sacred power of fertility are characteristic of Zoroastrian customs.

Problems of zoometaphor in comparative phraseological units, zoonyms as constituent parts of the world-view of the Iranian Ossetians and Indo-Iranians, as well as the figurative potential of zoomorphisms, present specific interest (e.g. "camel chicken (ostrich شترمرغ)"; idiom شتری ی کینه "camel offence". Friendship and closeness between a man and a camel, living side by side for centuries, led to the fact that the counting unit was the same for

them in Farsi: "nafar" (طباطبای، عامری 1396: 222).

The survivals of zoolatry among the peoples of Central and Western Asia reflect both elements of the cult of animals in an individualized form, and in its absence; they represent the initial layer of religious beliefs, on which, apparently, the considered religion of the ancient Iranians, dating back to pre-Islamic cults, developed. Both archaeological, historical and ethnographic factual material prove that.

Abdul Manan Bhat (*University of Pennsylvania*): Poems as Shared Vocabulary, Poetry as Shared Landscape: Poetic Life-Worlds of 20th Century Persianate Poets, Faiz Ahmed Faiz and Khalilullah Khalili (Panel 2.3.1)

This paper puts in conversation the careers of the Urdu poet Faiz Ahmed Faiz (d.1984) and the Persian poet Khalilullah Khalili (d.1987), two uniquely mobile poets of the Persianate world in the twentieth century. As cosmopolitan literary figures at the forefront of transregional cultural politics and later as exiles, they undertook distinct journeys. However, I demonstrate how these two individuals, as poets, shared an Islamic literary tradition in their reliance on the Persianate classical literary amalgam, their penchant for shaping aspirational moral selves, and their use of poetic performance to engender a space of nearness and learning. In addition to analyzing their poetic and prose works, I also compare their trajectories within academic, poetic and activistic circles, punctuated by periods of imprisonment and exile, through which they came to embody two different itineraries of Islamic cosmopolitanism in the twentieth century. I will also put in conversation the forms of expression through which Faiz and Khalili are remembered in subsequent Persian and Urdu literary life-worlds, to explore gestures of remembrance in the modern Persianate milieu.

The paper studies their preference for established genres, internal innovations within and across them, their use of Persianate metaphors and Quranic allusions, and contextualizes their engagement with shared interlocutors. I show that as their careers matured firmly into the twentieth century, their poetry, in Urdu and Persian respectively, presupposes shared and inter-permeable emotional landscapes. These shared landscapes are not coincidental, but historical and deliberate, and they, in part, constitute the evolving Persianate "forms of expressions" (Kia, 13) in the twentieth century. As a metaphor for a different sense of (poetic) belonging, this shared tradition also compels us to think of Afghanistan and Pakistan and the whole of Central and South Asia as centers of Islamic literary culture that negotiate the changing contours of Persianate poetics.

Pierfrancesco Callieri (*Università di Bologna*): The Mirage of Mithraea in Iran (Panel 1.1.2)

In the archaeological literature of Iran since the mid-20th century, we have witnessed the appearance of articles, both on daily newspapers and in specialized journals, concerning the discovery in Iran of alleged mithraea.

While it is by no means my intention to deny such a possibility - and I would be delighted if this panel were to bring forth evidence of actual sites consecrated to the cult of the god Mithra in its earliest form - the few alleged mithraea of which I have been fortunate enough to obtain sufficiently extensive documentation were all devoid of features supporting such an interpretation. Interestingly, underlying some of these interpretative proposals is an error in the analysis of the comparative documentation provided by mithraea of the Roman empire.

The presentation will examine in detail one of the monuments discovered in Iran and interpreted as a mithraeum on the basis of a comparison with a Roman mithraeum. While the two monuments are apparently similar in the documentation provided, the proposed analysis highlights the profound differences that negate the proposed interpretation.

Alessandro Cancian (*Institute of Ismaili Studies, London*): *Mysticism, Power and Authority in Early Modern Iranian Shi'i Sufism: The Jurists and the Mystics in Nineteenth-Century Ni'matullāhī Literature* (Panel 4.3.1)

In the early 20th century, one master of the Ni'matullāhī order, Nūr 'Alī Shāh II, wrote a booklet in which he invited the Iranians to unite under the banner of Sufism to put an end to the fragmentation of the country in the years of the civil war that followed the Constitutional Revolution. Despite the overt profession of adherence to the tenets of modern Shi'i Islam made, indifferent occasion, by the Ni'matullāhī Sufis, their approach to the question of spiritual leadership remains problematic if analyzed against the mainstream principles of primacy in Shi'ism. In this paper, I intend to address this problematicity mainly through analyzing the ideas on the matter of Sulṭān 'Alī Shāh Gunābādī, the eponymous master of the order and father of Nūr 'Alī Shāh II, and one of the most prominent—if not the most prominent—characters of early modern Sufism. The literature produced by the Ni'matullāhī Sufi masters is punctuated without cries against the ignorance and arrogance of the 'exoteric clergy', and their record of suffered persecution, even quite recent, speaks of a troubled relationship that never came to the point of an accomplished accommodation. Under this respect, modern Iranian Sufi literature remains largely unexplored, and an investigation into the textual corpus of this Sufi brotherhood allows a better understanding of this relationship. Sulṭān 'Alī Shāh in particular seems to have proposed a binary structure of religious authority, whereby Shi'i jurists are seen as custodians of one aspect of spiritual authority (*walāya*) through an uninterrupted chain of transmission parallel to the one through which the Sufis have received their share of spiritual authority. Sulṭān 'Alī Shāh, in other words, proposed an alliance between the jurists and the Sufis whose unity he holds to.

James Caron (*SOAS University of London*): *Ma'na, Reality, and Truth amid the War on Terror* (Panel 2.3.1)

This paper looks at how the metaphysics of the War on Terror replicated its modes of being, especially a nihilistic denial of reality itself, into the "ilm-i

ma'na tradition" as well as ways in which that literary tradition might simultaneously resist ontological devastation. I explore this through the case of Abdul Rahim Muslim Dost: a literary theorist as well as an Islamic State propaganda head. Muslim Dost's experiences in Afghanistan's devastated landscape, and also in Guantánamo prison, lead him to envision a world, in his works, in which language and affect take primacy over any external reality. At the same time, his engagement with poetry while incarcerated also reads as self-therapeutic flight into a differently-structured world of creativity. Through this case, I argue that examining Persianate literary-theoretical responses to ontological destruction allows us to appreciate this intellectual tradition's continued dynamism across radical violent social change, while it also gives us a vocabulary with which to understand the metaphysics of that change.

Houchang Chehabi (*Boston University*): An Indian Ocean Odyssey: Reza Shah's Exile in Mauritius (Panel 3.1.3)

In 1941 Reza Shah was forced to abdicate as shah. When he went into exile, he thought he would be taken to South America, but instead the British took him first to Bombay, then to Mauritius. After a few months in Mauritius, he left for South Africa, where he died in 1944. This paper recounts the circumstances of his voyage and his sojourn on the island of Mauritius. It also puts his exile in the context of the Indian Ocean of World War II. It is based on Iranian, British, and Mauritian sources, gathered during a research trip to the island in the summer of 2017.

James Clark (*The University of Nebraska at Omaha*): Interpreting the Shaykh Obayd Kurdish Incursion of Azerbaijan (Panel 2.2.1)

The Kurdish revolt that occurred in the Iranian province of Azerbaijan in 1880 was one of the most disruptive events to occur in the second half of Naser od-Din Shah's reign. In the fall of that year, disgruntled Kurds in western Azerbaijan allied with Kurdish forces of the charismatic Shaykh Obayd Allah, a Sufi religious leader in eastern Anatolia, and advanced into the western portions of the important province with the apparent aim of toppling the provincial government and liberating the Kurds. After taking the towns of Sowjbulagh and Maragheh, and unsuccessfully besieging Bonab and Urmia, the Kurdish forces broke up and the fighters fled. In one sense, the revolt represented the culmination of years of problems associated with the administration of the province. That engendered discontent among the Kurdish population in the western parts of the province. Some scholars argue that the revolt represented the beginnings of a national consciousness among the Kurds of eastern Anatolia and northwestern Iran. Others have argued that Shaykh Obayd and his followers were trying to unite the Kurds, including those in Iran, under the flag of the Ottoman caliph. They argue that there was a strong sectarian aspect to the movement with the majority Sunni Kurds competing with Armenians, Nestorians, and Shiites. Still other scholars contend that the incursion represented another example of the same traditional tribal rebellions that had been occurring since time immemorial,

only on a relatively larger scale. This essay will explore those and others of the various interpretations of upheaval in western Azerbaijan. It will also pay particular attention to the Iranian government's understanding of the insurrection and its response.

Julien Columeau (*Georgian State University, Tbilisi*): Evolution and Revival of dāstāngoī ('Romance telling') on the Indian Subcontinent (Panel 4.1.2)

Dāstān-goī – or recitation in Persian of lengthy romances, developed in the Indian subcontinent in the Middle Ages with the arrival in India of Persian Dāstāngos (storytellers). These Dāstāngos very quickly became part of the royal courts of the country, and the genre went through some metamorphosis over the time. Firstly, from the 17th century some of the dāstāns began to be written (the tradition of oral recitation continued side by side), and secondly by the end of the 18th century, as Urdu was becoming the language of literature and culture of the Muslims of northern India, the dāstāngoī (oral and written) began to take place in Urdu. The genre reached its height of popularity during the second half of the 19th century, a period during which the rise of the printing press as well as the active patronage of the landed nobility (Nawabs) gave it a great boost. Two huge cycles, that of Bostān-e khiyāl (9 volumes) and Tilism-e hoshrubā (46 volumes) were published and enjoyed great success, but this genre fell into disuse at the beginning of the 20th century. The oral tradition of dāstān-goī also died out with the demise of the last dāstān-go of Northern India Mir Baqir Ali in 1928. However, dāstāngoī was revived in 2005, with the formation of a team of dāstāngos who resumed reciting classical dāstāns (such as Tilism-e hoshrubā) and diversified the genre by writing dāstāns with contemporary relevance (on the social, historical or political level). This paper will trace the evolution of dāstāngoī from its inception in the Indian subcontinent to its revival in modern times and highlight its generic features as well as the factors that contributed to its success and decline.

Matteo Compareti (*Capital Normal University, Beijing*): New Evidence for the Identification of Problematic Zoroastrian Deities in Sogdian Art (Panel 3.4.4)

Despite the uninterrupted and fruitful archaeological campaigns that local and Russian archaeologists have been carrying out since the end of the Second World War in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, the rich pantheon of pre-Islamic Sogdian religion still presents several unidentified deities. This paper discusses some images of those deities from the important site of Penjikent, in western Tajikistan. Special attention is dedicated to the god holding an arrow while sitting on a dragon who usually appears with the main pre-Islamic Central Asian goddess Nana. In her original Mesopotamian milieu, her husband was the god of scribes Nabu. Most likely, Sogdians superimposed to the "original" Mesopotamian husband of Nana the Zoroastrian rain god Tishtrya. The divine couple Nana–Tishtrya had clear astrological connections since the goddess was usually holding the sun and the moon in her hands while Tishtrya had some connections with Tir, the planet Mercury. At least two more deities who formed another popular divine couple in Penjikent

paintings could be identified on astronomical-astrological basis. They are the god sitting on the camel who could be Washaghn (the planet Mars) and the goddess sitting on a ram who could be Anahita (the planet Venus). One last deity to be obviously considered within the astrological frame in Sogdian art is Mah, the Moon deity who could have preserved some Mesopotamian iconographical elements as well.

Stephanie Cronin (*Oxford University*): The Ambitions of Modernism: State-building and Kulturkampf in Early Pahlavi Iran (Panel 4.3.1)

The Pahlavi shahs, and particularly Reza Shah, have always been seen through the prism of their state-building efforts. Indeed, the history of interwar Iran is often reduced to a listing of the major political, legal and fiscal measures introduced by a dictatorial and isolated monarchy, these measures were often profoundly unpopular and enforced by the army and the police. The key features of this agenda are well-known and included the creation of a modern army based on universal conscription, a new legal system, tribal settlement, and a degree of women's emancipation. This paper takes issue with this version of early Pahlavi Iran. It argues, firstly, that this approach has contributed to the formation of a narrow, and unbalanced, picture of the dynamics of early Pahlavi Iran, a picture which has encouraged too great a preoccupation with the figure of the shah himself and his small coterie of advisers. Secondly, it has radically underestimated the more generalized ambitions of modernism in this period and the range of mobilizations on the cultural and ideological fronts which modernists deployed in their struggle with what they understood to be tradition. This struggle included, for example, a spatial revolution, the transformation of family and communal life through the destruction of Tehran's old city and the construction of modern apartment blocks, the emergence of powerful discourses of reform and rehabilitation, backed up by prison and brothel, directed at criminals and those categorized as deviant, the dissemination of ideologies of health and of work and time keeping, and battles on the unlikely fronts of sport, music and dance. Most central and overarching was the invention of the concept of the dangerous classes, the impoverished and marginalized constituting a perfect foil for the emerging modern middle classes. Seen thus, the modernism of early Pahlavi Iran, which wove together these disparate elements of contention into a single pattern, emerges not as the vision of an aloof and erratic shah and his advisers but as a coherent class project, this project reaching back into the nineteenth century and the constitutional period, and deep into society.

Alexandra Cuffel (*Ruhr Universität Bochum*): Trade, Migration and Artisanal Imitation between Egypt, Armenia, Georgia and Iran: Evidence from the Cairo Geniza (Panel 4.2.3)

Drawing primarily from sources from the Cairo Geniza, with supplementary information from Muslim and Christian chronicles, geographic and travel narratives and collections of canon law, I will examine indications of travel, for personal and economic purposes, trade, and settlement between Egypt,

Armenian lands, Georgia and Persianate regions, primarily Iran itself. Goitein, in his *Mediterranean Society*, collected evidence of textile trade between these regions as well as some indications of the settlement of professional Jewish artisans from the Caucasus and Iran in Egypt. In this paper, this evidence will be reexamined and placed in the broader context of Armenian Christian settlement in Egypt, and the history of Persian-speaking Jews and other religious groups and their economic activities in West Asia, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. Suggestions that references in the Cairo Geniza to textiles – carpets and divans – implying Armenian, Persian and Central Asian origin, were in fact imitations created in-situ, or elsewhere in the Mediterranean, will be evaluated and placed in the context of practices of imitation in the textile trade and the movement of artisans in the Mediterranean. I contend that the presence, cultural and economic impact of Jewish and other artisans from the Caucasus and Persia in Egypt and elsewhere in the Mediterranean have been underestimated.

Jose Cutillas Ferrer (*University of Alicante*): The Idea of Persia in the Spanish Imaginary (16th-18th Centuries) (Panel 1.3.1)

The project will analyze the idea of Persia and the Persians in the Spanish imaginary from the Early Modern times to the eighteenth century. I want to analyze what mechanisms and how the political and cultural entanglement with an Islamic kingdom were built, structured and occurred in the context of the religious cultural purification of sixteenth-seventeenth century Spain. The approach is interesting because it takes place at a time when a process of disentanglement of Islam is taking place, materialized in the process of denaturalization of the Moors as Spaniards on the one hand and the attack on Islam personified in the Ottoman power on the other. The analysis not only implies a process of reflection on political-diplomatic aspects related to the Spanish-Safavid policy towards the Ottomans, but also aims to analyze the multiple points of focus of the phenomenon of the Persian in the Spanish Golden Age cultural imaginary and beyond.

Dagikhudo Dagiev (*Institute of Ismaili Studies, London*): The Ismā'īlī Hierarchy - Ḥudūd al-Dīn in the Context of Central Asia (Panel 1.2.1)

This paper endeavors to delve into how, despite the efforts made by Russian and Soviet scholars, before and during the Soviet era, many aspects of Ismailism are yet to be adequately studied within the context of Central Asia. One such aspect is the role of the religious leaders, specifically, the hierarchy of the religious authorities—the ḥudūd al-dīn—within the Ismaili ṭarīqa. The Ismaili hierarchy served as a tool in maintaining and providing advice on religious matters for the murīds (followers) and on socio-political issues within the Ismaili community. However, due to the risk of being persecuted, the Ismaili religious leaders and the religious authorities lived out of sight, compelled to hide their identity, and revealing their status to only a few representatives. By examining the scholarly findings of Wladimir Ivanow, Henry Corbin, Andrei Bertel's and Farhad Daftary, and with the help of important Ismaili manuscripts discovered in Badakhshan of Tajikistan during

the Soviet era, this study will investigate how, particularly in Central Asia, the ḥudūd al-dīn were structured and how their role and function served the Ismaili community which lived amid the hostile milieu of the Sunni majority.

Gagik Danielyan (*University of Florence, Matenadaran: Institute of Ancient Manuscripts of Yerevan*): Letters, Envoys, and Interpreters: Diplomatic Correspondence between the Mongol Ilkhans and the Kings of Cilician Armenia (Panel 4.1.1)

An important source has come down to us from the 14th century, which gives us some idea about the protocol of diplomatic correspondence between the ruling authorities of the Mongol Ilkhanate of Iran and the Armenian kings of Cilicia, as well as the Armenian catholicoi and clergy. That source is *Dastūr al-kātib fī ta'yīn al-marātib*, a chancellery handbook written in Persian by *Muḥammad ibn Hindušāh Naḥḡawānī* (d. 1376), also known under the nickname of *Šams Munšī*.

Along with the crucial data on socio-economic and public life in Iran and adjacent countries under the rule of the Ilkhanid and Jalayirid dynasties, *Dastūr al-kātib* also contains invaluable material on the organisation and structure of the state system and administrative offices (*dīwāns*), including the state chancery (*dīwān inšā*). Being a high-qualified clerk and secretary in the royal chancery, *Naḥḡawānī* provides significant information on the activities of the military and financial offices, gives numerous examples of documents issued by them, describes the functions and duties of the state officials. Despite its high merits, the manual has never been thoroughly studied and fully translated to any language.

The paper deals with the intriguing piece of information in *Dastūr al-kātib* so far overlooked by the scholars of the history of Cilician Armenia concerning the formulae of correspondence of the Mongol ilkhans of Iran with the Armenian ruling elites.

Medieval sources contain also interesting reports on Christian, including Armenian, scribes, envoys and interpreters employed by the Ilkhanid court in its contacts with Cilician Armenia and the Latin world.

Neda Darabian (*Ruhr Universität Bochum*): Accusation of Magic and Witchcraft in the Late Antique Persianate World (Panel 1.3.2)

Iran, with its religious plurality and its conversion from Zoroastrianism to Islam, provides rich opportunities for studying the interactions between different religious communities. By examining the encounters between the religious specialists based on the discourse of magic, this paper attempts to provide a better understanding of the relationship between Zoroastrians, Christians and Jews in late antiquity. Furthermore, it seeks to examine the changing nature of their interactions as the Persianate world shifted from Zoroastrian to Islamic rule. In late antiquity, the institutional religious specialists, such as Zoroastrian priests and Christian clergies used accusations of “magic” as a polemical tool to create boundaries and

marginalize the religious “other”. In this paper, I aim to highlight the ways in which different religious groups were depicted and labeled as “magic practitioners” in Zoroastrian literature along with the Syriac and Armenian literature. I seek to show a) how institutional religious specialists such as Zoroastrian priests and Christian religious authorities demonized their opponents and employed “magic” accusations as a rhetorical strategy to marginalize their opponents and draw the borderlines of their own religious identity and b) to examine the consequences of magic labels for interreligious relations in this era and area.

Mohammad Davarpanah (*University of Tehran*): Climate Change and Social Capital for Urban Youth: An Analysis of Tehrani Students’ Outlook upon the Future (Panel 3.3.1)

Adapting to climate change in environmentally friendly ways and transforming local and urban communities to become more sustainable would be done by collaborations among non-profit, government, educational, and business organizations. In short, resilience to climate change requires an environmental education, which should start early on.

The significance of youth awareness concerning environmental issues cannot be overstated. In this research, focusing on High school students of Tehran (case study of the 6th school district), an attempt has been made to investigate the importance of climate change and its effects on this social group. The extent of their role acceptance, as a form of social capital is also going to be investigated. Such social capital may help the community adapt furthermore. A community may even transform by building greater social capital, when working together to rebuild after facing deeper challenges of climate change.

This research is a descriptive-analytical type of study that is conducted using survey methods and tools and questionnaires. The sample size is calculated using Cochran’s statistical method and the number of people is determined using stratified random sampling. The required data is collected through a questionnaire tool (Likert scale) and the validity and reliability of the questionnaire is confirmed according to the standard. The prepared and completed questionnaires are analyzed statistically by SPSS software and the results are extracted.

It is predicted that due to the lack of macro policy in the field of environmental education and the influence of other important factors such as the state of economic well-being, lack of social freedoms and other factors that will be exhibited in the research, the issues related to climate change and relevance of building social capital upon it, in the students’ view, have a low degree of importance compared to other issues. Meanwhile, the effects of social media and being exposed to this topic on a transnational level and also education beyond mandatory school are taken into account.

Maria De Cillis (*Institute of Ismaili Studies, London*): The Debate on *qaḍā' wa'l-qadar* in the Iranian School of Ismaili Philosophical Theology: Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī's Perspective (Panel 1.2.1)

It is well-known that as one of the most renowned Ismaili *dā'īs* of the Fatimid age, Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. after 411/1020), attempted to create a complex system of thought blending together inherited Ismaili traditions—including gnostic cosmological elements—and philosophical strands, mainly drawn from Fārābian Neoplatonism. Achieving prominence during the reign of the Imam-caliph al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (r. 386-411/996-1021), al-Kirmānī set for himself, among other things, also the task of intervening in a doctrinal controversy which had erupted amongst the major representatives of the so-called Iranian School of Ismaili philosophical theology, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/934), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī (d.332/943) and Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijjstānī (d. c. 361/971) whose discussions and arguments are reported in al-Kirmānī's *Kitāb al-riyāḍ*.

Through references to the translation and analytical commentary of the eighth chapter of the *Kitāb al-Riyāḍ*—which is dedicated to the issue of divine preordination and human redemption—this paper will highlight al-Kirmānī's theologically distinctive interpretation of the question of *qaḍā' wa'l-qadar* (divine decree and destiny). In particular, this study guides the audience through the metaphysical and esoteric correspondences which al-Kirmānī used in order to provide a very Fatimid answer to the many doctrinal controversies raised among the most prominent Iranian Ismaili *dā'īs*.

Tamar Demetrashvili (*Ilia State University, Tbilisi*): The "Persian Element" in 17th–Century Western Georgia (Panel 2.3.2)

From the scientific literature, the "Persian element" is well known in Georgia of the 16th and 17th centuries, both in everyday life and in art.

The "Cultural Expansion of Iran" left a much more significant and large-scale imprint in Eastern Georgia. Although the kingdom-principalities of Western Georgia were declared the sphere of influence of the Ottoman Empire under the Treaty of Amasya in 1555, Iranian cultural influences intensified in Western Georgia as well. Persian customs were introduced into the life of the upper classes, which can be explained by the political orientation of individual princes and their ties with Iran in this historical period.

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 painting (frescoes) of Western Georgian Christian churches of the 17th century how and to what extent the clothing of depicted church donors, 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.

Bruno De Nicola (*Institute for Iranian Studies, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna*): Names, Places and Dynasties in the Narrative of the *Kitāb-i Hakīm-i Jamasp* (Panel 2.2.2)

The *Kitāb-i Hakīm-i Jamasp* is an apocalyptic text composed in the 13th century after the Mongol invasions of Central Asia and Iran by Chinggis Khan first, and Hülegü later. The text claims to contain the predictions made by the Zoroastrian mythical figure Jamasp, in which the fate of the world is narrated from the beginning of time until the end of the World. By describing the position of the planets in the sky and the relations to one another at a given time, the author casts different astrological horoscopes used to predict the fate of different individuals, dynasties and territories. The result is a narrative that enumerates the succession of rulers and kingdoms that governed Iran, Anatolia and Central Asia based on the biblical, Persian and Islamic traditions. The surviving manuscripts of this text also include diagrams that were inserted next to the description of the horoscopes to better illustrate the position of the planets when a particular historical or mythical figure was born or a dynasty began to reign. However, the text is not always consistent. Many of the horoscopes do not include the name of the person (or dynasty) for whom it has been casted, other horoscopes are duplicated and, finally, others are simply mistaken. This paper will look at the specific mentions and omissions of different characters, dynasties and places in the *Kitāb-i Hakīm-i Jamasp* with the aim of making better sense about the authorship, the literary tradition and the potential audience of this little-known text from the Ilkhanid period.

Paul Dilley (*University of Iowa*): Mani and Cultural Interactions at the Sasanian Court (Panel 2.1.3)

This paper addresses the variety of cultural traditions at the court of early Sasanian Iran, with special reference to a number of illuminating passages in the second volume of the Kephalaia, part of the Medinet Madi Library of Coptic Manichaean Codices. In particular, Mani’s assertions about his visions of the afterlife—and those of his predecessors, including Jesus, Zarades, and Buddha—echo the claims of the magos Kartir in his inscriptions, suggesting that the two were involved in a struggle for power based on competing claims to authority; the paper demonstrates how Judaeo-

Christian, Iranian, and Indian Buddhist texts from this period make similar claims, suggesting a common koine in which these very different traditions could interact and be deployed in the search for patronage.

Sabohat Donayorova (*Khorog State University*): Pre-Journalistic Phenomena in Badakhshan (Panel 3.2.4)

This paper explores the presence of journalistic expression in Badakhshan in the pre-journalism, pre-print era. With the advent of writing, people recorded their thoughts and dreams on wood, stones and walls, although the scope of this method of local information delivery was very limited, and the number of people who utilized it was limited, especially in Badakhshan. Prior to the establishment of the Soviet Government in Badakhshan not all people of Badakhshan were literate. There were people that utilized the Persian script, but only a limited number of people knew this script. Among those who were literate, there were also many who recorded their thoughts on wood and stones, especially since there was a scarcity of paper in Badakhshan.

Later, with the appearance of manuscript culture in Badakhshan, historical and literary works were created by scholars in which events were recorded specifically to achieve the transmission of information between people, which scholars of journalism today consider to be a form of "pre-journalistic journalism." In this paper, we will describe examples of inscriptions on stone and wood as well as several public works of Badakhshan, such as "Safarnama" by Nasir Khusrav, "Guide to Badakhshan and Katagan" by Burhoniddin Kushkeki, "History of the Shugnon Empire" by Haidarshah, "History of Badakhshan" by Akhon. Sulaiman and Muhabbatshohzoda Shahfutur discussed the "History of Badakhshan" by Sangmuhammad Badakhshi and Fazlalibek Surkhafsar, and in these works he identified features of journalism, interviewing, reportage, news, essay and other journalistic genres that were used by the authors of the middle ages of Badakhshan.

Munir Drkić (*University of Sarajevo*): Learning Persian from the *Golestan* in Ottoman Bosnia (Panel 4.2.1)

Alongside Rumi's Masnavi, Pandnama ascribed to Attar, Hafez Shirazi's Divan and Saadi's Bustan, the Rose Garden (*Golestan*) by Saadi Shirazi was one of the five most widespread Persian texts in Bosnia, the westernmost frontier of the Ottoman Empire and the Persianate world from the 15th to the 19th centuries. *Golestan* was a source of inspiration and imitation model for the only known Persian work written by a Bosnian author in the Ottoman period, namely 18th-century Sufi teacher and Ottoman bureaucrat Fevzi Mostari's *Bolbolestan*. Relatively numerous commentaries upon *Golestan* by several Ottoman scholars were read and taught in Ottoman Bosnia, many of which have been preserved in local manuscript collections. Finally, *Golestan* was an almost inevitable textbook on ethics, religious instruction and the Persian language in local madrasas and other learning institutions in Ottoman Bosnia.

Following a short description of different aspects of Golestan's status in the western Ottoman borderland, this paper focuses on its usage as a source of Persian learning. Exploring the data extracted from local manuscripts' margins, I intend to reconstruct when Saadi's work was introduced for Persian learning, how it was approached as time passed, which social groups read and transcribed this book, and how Persian was taught from the Golestan.

Ikbal Dursunoglu (*Boston University*): Beautiful Iconoclasm: The Long Afterlife of a Mughal Manuscript (Panel 3.3.3)

The problem of the legitimacy of figural images in Islamic art has rarely been studied from the lens of Mughal painting. This is due to an implicit assumption that within this tradition, it was not a problem to begin with, given the fact that some of the most celebrated examples of Islamic painting are from early modern Mughal courts. Yet, material evidence demonstrates deep preoccupations with the questions of the legitimacy of images among Mughal viewers. This paper focuses on one such case study in a manuscript of the *Divan of Hafiz*, now in the British Library (Grenville XLI), which was originally produced in the late sixteenth-century. Tracing the manuscript's complex afterlife, which involved at least one phase of 'iconoclastic' and another of 'iconophilic' interventions, the paper reveals a multiplicity of viewpoints contesting and negotiating the legitimate boundaries of figural painting, physically confronting each other on the pages of the same book.

More importantly, the paper demonstrates how the thoughtfully planned, meticulously rendered, and purposefully beautified acts of iconoclasm, enacted by a Mughal painter, could pursue consciously subversive aims, while the efforts of a restorer, aiming to mend the paintings to their original forms, could backlash to create more defacement than those caused by the iconoclast. While significantly complicating the binary terms iconoclasm and iconophilia, the interventions on the manuscript gain even richer registers of meaning through their visual dialogues with the Neoplatonism that underpins Hafiz's poetry. By engaging such philosophical concepts that also surrounded the contemporaneous written debates on the legitimacy of images, the post-production interventions on the manuscript bring the commentaries on images already latent in the manuscript's original paintings into much sharper focus.

Parviz Ejlali (*Iranian Sociological Association, Tehran*): Cinema-Going and Competing Lifestyles and Subcultures in Iranian Cities (Panel 2.1.4)

This paper aims to explore what social groups and lifestyles have been represented more frequently in the Iranian feature films in different periods of history of Iranian cinema? Why and how? In fact the paper is aimed to answer three questions regarding this preference. First what social groups and life styles, second, why those groups and life-styles , and third how those groups and life-styles have been imaged on the screen.

To answer what frequently represented groups in each period have been

distinguished, the paper poses the hypothesis of audience reflectivity, ie. film makers try to tailor the characters of their films to their audiences.

As an answer to the “how” question, despite this fact the Realism came later and was not common in the majority of films. This paper hypothesizes a middle class bias on the ground that most of the filmmakers and audiences belonged to this class.

To prepare a meaningful sample , except decade of 1320(1940), in which no film was produced, films of the middle year of the other decades have been selected for studying. By examining this sample, the paper reached the following conclusions. First of all, audience reflectivity was not substantiated. Interestingly, in some decades the relationship between class tendency of the audience and personages was negative; while in some others they co-varied. And finally, despite the fact that in some films, film-makers have been successful in observing society through the eyes of lower classes, in most of the films in all decades middleclass attitudes and approach were quite visible.

Mariano Errichiello (*SOAS University of London*): *Between the Persianate and the Western World: The Entangled History of Modern Parsis* (Panel 1.3.2)

In 651 CE, the Arab conquest of Persia put an end to one of the largest empires in the world whose religious identity was constructed around Zoroastrianism. In order to escape persecutions, around the 10th century CE, groups of Zoroastrians fled to India and established what is known as the Parsi community. Across the centuries, Parsis maintained their religious customs, making Zoroastrianism the stronghold of their identity. During the 19th century, the participation of the Parsis in the Persianate transregional networks made them permeable to the Iranian nationalist discourse. Furthermore, having become a preferred trade partner of the British, Parsis' proximity to the colonial power increased their exposure to the Western culture. The attacks of the Christian missionaries exposed the religious vulnerability of the Parsis whose heterogenous response triggered the emergence of the need to define what authentic Zoroastrianism was. The historiography of modern Parsis largely rests on two models: the triadic framework of Diaspora Studies, through which Parsis (community) are studied in the context of their relations with Iran (homeland) and, partially, with India (host country); and the diffusionist model of unidirectional acculturation (West=>East), according to which a Westernization process fragmented the Parsi community in two factions: orthodox and reformist. Both frameworks, however, tend to neglect religious expressions that do not fit them, producing essentialisms. By holding the relations of Parsis with the Persianate world and the West as cultural entanglements, this paper illustrates case studies that show how transculturation processes (i.e. multidirectional cultural transfers) took place between the 19th and 20th centuries. In doing so, this paper proposes to overcome current interpretive models, placing Zoroastrianism in Global Religious History.

Shervin Farridnejad (*University of Hamburg*): “Sphere of Mixture”: Zoroastrian Astrology and the Priestly Tradition after the Mongol Conquest of Iran (Panel 2.2.2)

Several Zoroastrian texts have survived that show the intellectual contribution of Zoroastrians to the knowledge of horoscopes. These texts, like their Muslim counterparts, are usually attributed to the Prophet Zarathustra or the Zoroastrian sage Gāmāsp the Wise. This article examines the sources on astrology found in priestly Zoroastrian literature and literary traditions in classical New Persian after the Mongol conquest of Iran in the 13th century. The aim is to provide an overview of how astrology continued to perform its theological and social function in the Zoroastrian priestly tradition and became popular within the corpus of Zoroastrian New Persian texts.

Alyssa Gabbay (*University of North Carolina at Greensboro*): Counterfeit Stories and True Tales: Ferdowsi’s “Bizhan and Manizheh” and the Art of Narration in the Shahnameh (Panel 4.3.2)

Perhaps nowhere in the Shahnameh does Ferdowsi use framing devices to better effect than in the story of Bizhan and Manizheh, which features a set of interlocking stories, all of which depend and reflect upon each other. The story begins, famously, with the poet describing the terror he felt on a fear-somely dark night before moving into the story told by his companion to calm him. Nested within these two highly successful stories, however, are two tall tales that do not land so well with their intended audiences: one told by Bizhan to Afrasyab after the former has been caught in a compromising position with the latter’s daughter, Manizheh; and the other told by the warrior Gorgin to Bizhan’s father, Giv, to explain Bizhan’s disappearance, for which Gorgin is actually responsible. Both stories are full of supernatural figures who are blamed for the events that occurred: in the first, a demon-inspired fairy; in the second, a wild ass identified by Gorgin as the White Demon. Both stories, though entertaining, fail to persuade their audiences of their truth. This paper examines these tall tales to determine what makes them bad. It argues that although they contain many of the same elements as the “good” frame stories, they attempt to absolve their tellers of personal responsibility, instead putting all control in the hands of malevolent forces. By including them in his story as failed narratives, Ferdowsi implicitly indicates what good storytelling is and is not. He also comments (again implicitly) on the degree to which humans have control over their affairs. The tall tales perform a third function: they reveal key elements about the psychological states of their tellers, with the supposed demons and fairies representing internal destructive urges that they cannot recognize as their own. Seen this way, the tales do contain grains of “truth.”

Amir Mohammad Gamini (*Institute for the History of Sciences, University of Tehran*): Muḥammad-Karīm Khān Kermānī and a Persian Text of Early Modern Astronomy in the 19th Century (Panel 3.1.1)

Muḥammad-Karīm Khān Kermānī (1810-1871), in his detailed letter (1852) to

his brother and follower, Khosro Khān, criticized a Persian treatise on the new astronomy translated from a European language. Khosro Khān had sent this treatise to him demanding his opinion. Kermānī presented a summary of this treatise in Arabic as well as two fragments including a Newtonian geometrical explanation of the planetary orbits around the sun as well as an experiment to prove the Earth's motion. It seems that it was the first time that this Newtonian proposition appeared in Persian, since as far as we know the previous Persian texts in heliocentrism, Abū Ṭālib Husaynī's Treatise in modern cosmology (1186 H), *A Summary in Cosmology* translated by Mas'ūd Anṣārī (1233 H), and Merrick's *Science of Astronomy* (1257 H), lacked such a proposition to explain the motion of the planets around the sun in the absence of the celestial orbs. This Arabic summary, which is the only thing that remained from that Persian translation, declares the theories of Copernicus, Descartes, and Tycho Brahe.

Following the summary of the treatise and the two fragments, Kermānī presented his criticism of and responses to the mentioned theories in detail. Some of these criticisms and responses are sound and some are rooted in a misunderstanding of modern theories:

1. He presents a modification in Aristotelian theory about the lightness of celestial orbs based on experimental arguments to show why the motions of these orbs are more acceptable than the rotation of a heavy rocky Earth.
2. His refutation of the Newtonian proposition is based on an Aristotelian understanding of natural motion. This prevented him from realizing the concept of inertia.
3. Kermānī indeed finds out that the experiment described in the second fragment is not without difficulties. He concludes that one may hardly accept its validity. This experiment is based on the assumption that the air brings the projectiles and birds in the companion to the Earth's rotation. Kermānī intelligently refuted this wrong supposition believing in Earth's immobility.

Iain Gardner (*University of Sydney*): Locating Mani in the Geography and Society of Early Sasanian Mesopotamia (Panel 2.1.3)

This paper forms part of an ongoing historiographical project on the life of Mani and his authentic writings. See I. Gardner: *The Founder of Manichaeism. Rethinking the Life of Mani*, Cambridge 2020; *ibid. Mani's Epistles*, Stuttgart 2022. The paper will assess evidence to establish the center or "seat" for much of Mani's public life in Ctesiphon and its environs during the mid-third century. His relationship to the king and the court, as well as to the Jewish and Christian communities of the area, will be explored.

David Gilinsky (*University of Hamburg*): Western European Medieval Rabbinic Commentaries in Ilkhanate Iran (Panel 3.1.2)

The Judeo-Persian poet, Shahin-e Shirazi (fl. 1327-1359) wrote three masnavi works: his *Musa Nameh* (1327 CE), *Ardashir Nameh* (1333 CE), and *Bereshit Nameh* (1359 CE). These are not Shahin's names for his works – they were ascribed by Rabbi Dr. W. Bacher, the first western scholar

to study Shahin.

Musa Nameh and *Ardashir Nameh* were both written during the reign of Abu Sa'id Bahadur Khan (r. 1317-1335 CE), the Ilkhan emperor of Iran. At the start of his work, after the traditional chapters of praise for the Almighty, the Prophets Moses, and Aaron, Shahin includes a chapter praising the Sultan.

My research focus is to locate internal evidence within Shahin's poetic work that demonstrates his use of specific midrashic material or rabbinic commentaries by Rishonim which therefore must have been available to him in hard copy form in Ilkhanate Iran in the 1320s and 1330s.

The term 'Rishonim' meaning 'earlier scholars', is a term used in Jewish studies to denote rabbinical scholars who lived in the period c.900CE to 1500CE, and who wrote either Biblical commentaries or Talmudic or halachic works. It sits in contrast to the 'Acharonim', the 'later scholars', who lived post c. 1500CE. Those 'Rishonim' who wrote biblical commentaries prior to 1340CE will be the subject of this talk. Most of these rabbis were born in Spain, France, Germany and Italy.

'Midrash' is a form of homiletical biblical exegesis, often anonymous, often very unliteral, sometimes fantastical, that has been edited into collections since the earliest times. Some collections date to late Antiquity – i.e. late Roman period, and others are preserved within the Talmud itself. The latest collections were put together in the 12th or 13th century CE. Some 'Rishonim' often used midrashic material in their commentaries.

During the last seventy years or so, it has been the wont of scholars studying the Ilkhanate Jewish community to assert that the Iranian Jewish community was cut-off from the rest of the Jewish world, and that rabbinic works of literature, particularly classical Biblical commentaries, either (1) did not reach Iran, or (2) what did reach Iran was obliterated in the Mongol onslaughts prior to 1258 CE, and (3) after 1258 there was devastation, that meant the community was laid low, and left in a state of Jewish ignorance.

An example of a midrash collection that seems to have been collated in the Persianate world, and been preserved there until the 1970s since it was collated in its current form is *Midrash Pitron Torah*. This is preserved in a unicum manuscript today held in the National Library of Israel.

In my conference talk I will briefly introduce Shahin's two early works, their reception in Iran and the West, and place them into the context of other Jewish activity in the same period. I will however focus on external hard copy evidence in the form of manuscripts of rabbinical biblical commentaries that were either copied in Iran during the Ilkhanate, or must have reached Iran during the latter period of the Ilkhanate, and illustrate how these manuscripts have not been given the necessary attention in the sphere of Hebrew rabbinical studies, or Iranian Jewish studies relating to the 1300s.

Talinn Grigor (*University of California, Davis*): “Ethnic Type” Photography and the Invention of the “Armenian Woman” in Qajar Iran (Panel 3.4.3)

Based on original research in several photographic collections in the US, Europe, and Armenia, this paper traces the evolution of the visual discourse on the “ethnographic type” of the “Armenian woman” from the spread of the photo camera in Qajar Iran in the 1860s to the Constitutional Revolution when Armenian women began to represent themselves. This visual discourse ran parallel to and intermingled with the intensification in urban centers—such as Tehran, Tabriz, Rasht, and Isfahan—of Armenian women’s organizations’ activism in defense of women’s rights and girls’ education. Three groups of photographers honed the image of Irano-Armenian women in the late Qajar era: European businessmen or diplomats turned photographers and collectors, Irano-Armenian professional male photographers, and the neither entirely farhangi nor entirely native Antoin Sevruguin and Dmitri Ermakov.

Instrumental in this ethnographic type-making project are the thousands of pictures of women from the North Caucasus to the Persian Gulf that these photographs produced, which circulated in all sorts of milieus from London to Calcutta, from private middle-class homes to the royal court, from travel literature to erotica, from collectors’ vaults to women’s boudoir. With a close look at select photographs, the paper argues that instead of mere sitters for the camera, Irano-Armenian women of the late Qajar era were instrumental in shaping the contours of the Armenian ethnographic type as a strategy of self-representation. From the photo studio, they went on to launch women’s organizations, open girls’ secular schools, and in no uncertain terms, contribute to the Women’s Awakening struggle in Pahlavi Iran.

Jo-Ann Gross (*The College of New Jersey*): The *Faqarāt* of Khwājah ‘Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār and the *Irshād* Tradition (Panel 1.1.1)

Khwājah ‘Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār’s (d. 791/1490) leadership of the Naqshbandī *ṭarīqah* in Samarqand steered the *ṭarīqah* in a more centralized, communal direction in response to his activities in the agrarian and commercial economy of Central Asia, to the large number of loyal *murīds* who gathered around him, some of whom Aḥrār authorized as *khalīfas* to disseminate the Naqshbandiyya outside his own community, and to his role as a mediator and spiritual advisor to Timurid sultans and *amīrs* (Gross, 1988, 1990, 2002; Paul, 1991; Algar, 1990; Babadjanov, 1996). During his lifetime and after his death the Naqshbandī *ṭarīqah* expanded to the farthest reaches of the Perso-Islamicate sphere, to central and western Iran, Ottoman Turkey and the Balkans to the west (LeGall, 2005), southeast to India (Dale, 1997; Foltz, 1996) and east to Kashgar in northwest China. Aḥrār’s political role is well documented in the *malḥūzāt* literature (Gross, 1990, 1992; Gross and Urunbaev, 2002; Nawshahi, 2001; Paul, 1991) and alluded to by his biographers, Timurid court chroniclers, and in his own correspondence (Gross and Urunbaev, 2002). His economic role is likewise documented in extant purchase deeds and *waqf* endowments (Chekhovich, 1974, Dale and

Payind, 1999; Gross, 1988 and 2002). The record of the Aḥrārī era of the Central Asian Nashbandiya's development is thus well documented, and a substantial corpus of scholarship has examined the Naqshbandiya from its early development as the Khwājagān-Naqshbandiya in the oasis of Bukhara to its rapid and successful growth in Timurid Transoxiana under Khwājah Aḥrār.

Less attention has been paid to a discussion of the writings (*risālas*) of Khwājah Aḥrār: *Faqarāt*, *Vāliḍiya* and *Hawrā'īyya* (published by Arif Nowshahi in 2015). Focusing specifically on the *Faqarāt*, this paper will consider the doctrinal aspects of Aḥrār's *pīr*ship through an examination of the Sufi Naqshbandī principles contained in it and the spiritual and intellectual aspects of the *irshād* tradition. We rely on the Persian manuscript copy stored in the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, Tashkent (No. 507), and the Persian edition of Arif Nawshahi, *Risā'il-i Khwājah Aḥrār: Faqarāt. Vāliḍiya, va Hawrā'īya* (Herat, 2015).

Ofir Haim (*Mandel School for Advanced Studies, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*): Judaeo-Persian Religious Literature (10th-14th Centuries) (Panel 1.2.3)

Judaeo-Persian religious literature during the pre-Mongol and Ilkhanid periods (up to the 1330s) consists of several dozen manuscripts dealing mostly with the Jewish Bible, as well as later texts such as the Mishna, Babylonian Talmud, and Midrashim. The study of these Judaeo-Persian compositions provides a glimpse into the rich and diversified intellectual activity of Iranian Jewry and reflects their strong ties to their co-religionists to the west, particularly in the Arab-speaking world. These compositions, most of which remain unpublished, are divided into several types, predominantly glossaries, dictionaries, translations, and commentaries. In this paper, I provide a survey of the different types of Judaeo-Persian religious literature and the state of the art of their research. Particular attention is given to the geographical distribution of their authors, their religious affiliations, and the sources used by them.

Gohar G. Hakobian (*Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main*): The Sprachbund of the South Caspian-Aturpatakan Iranian Languages (Panel 1.1.4)

The term Sprachbund implies as a rule a union of non-related or only remotely related languages that have acquired similar features on the levels of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon as a result of long coexistence and language contacts.

The proposed Sprachbund includes a group of genetically closely related north-western Iranian languages, namely, Zazaki, Gorani, Talishi, Tati, Gilaki, Mazandarani, the languages of the region of Semnan, the Central Caspian dialects and some of the transitional dialects of the Central Alborz, based on phonological, morphological and lexical isoglosses, resulting from their geographical neighborhood.

Lyla Halsted (*Duke University, Durham*): Warding off the Evil Eye: Material Evidence from Early Islamic Nishapur (Panel 1.3.3)

Excavations at Nishapur conducted between 1935 and 1947 unearthed a variety of objects with varying degrees of formal resemblance to eyes, from natural eye-like stones to painted and incised images. This eye imagery echoes well-documented late antique practices of warding off the harmful effects of the evil eye, the widespread belief that harm can be exerted through the gaze, with the likeness of an eye through the logic of *similia similibus curantur* (like repels like). The phenomenon of the evil eye, *al-‘ayn* or *al-nazar* in Arabic, and *chesm-e bad* in Persian, is referenced in the earliest Islamic texts, including canonical hadith collections, medical manuals, and grimoires. Yet premodern Islamic beliefs and practices relating to the evil eye have received little scholarly attention, particularly in regard to the artifacts deployed for protection from this threat. Engaging with this lacuna, this paper examines a cluster of eighth to tenth century artifacts from Nishapur whose imagery is suggestive of their use for personal protection against the evil eye, making them the earliest as yet identified examples of Islamic apotropaic eye imagery.

Amongst the artifacts excavated at Nishapur is an eighth or ninth century Khorasani buff ware bowl (40.170.1) with polychrome slip decoration on display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. At the center of the bowl, a green-glazed dot-in-circle resembles an abstracted eye. The imagery of this bowl suggests that it may represent an entirely unstudied type of early Islamic apotropaion, a possible “missing link” between the material practices employed against the evil eye between the late antique and medieval Islamic periods. This paper examines this bowl’s iconography alongside that of other artifacts unearthed in Nishapur, highlighting apotropaic images, overlooked in previous scholarship, which suggest the use of a range of protective practices against the evil eye within a single Khorasani city.

Christa Hart (*Princeton University*): Hidden Authors: Positioning the Tawāif in the Indo-Persian and Hindustani Literary Canon (Panel 4.1.2)

Persianate India hosts a myriad of influential and colorful characters whose contributions to the Persian and emerging Hindustani literary canon shaped not only cultural production, but also themes of communal and cultural identity at the same time that the British Raj materialized. This paper aims to elucidate the literary cosmopolis of 18th and 19th century India through the perspective of the *tawāif*, expanding our understanding of the Indo-Persian world through a lens of gender and sexuality that is seldom considered in tandem with the production and consumption of its literature. The *tawāif*—North India’s premiere courtesans—often go unnoticed for their role as not only authors, but also as mediators, performers, and symbols in their own right. Such literary productions include the posthumously published Hindustani works of Hyderabad’s Mah Laqa Bai (d. 1824), but also the contributions of courts and individual *tawāif* concentrated in Awadh, Banaras, and Rajasthan to the literary/musical genres of *thumri*, *ghazal*, and

nazm. While many the known works of even the aforementioned tawāifs are no longer preserved, or were perhaps credited to male counterparts, it is important to consider the function the tawāifs played in the recitation and performance of particularly Indo-Persian poetry, and how their positionality as performers, and the atmosphere of the mehfil (gathering) impacted the experience of the listener, and the interpretation of the literature itself. This paper also analyzes the preservation and portrayal of the tawāif in Indo-Persian literature, deconstructing the place that tawāifs held in pre-colonial and colonial cultural memory. This approach looks at the tawāif holistically, taking seriously their contributions to the Indo-Persian world from multiple angles.

Job Hasantabar (*Mazandaran University*) & **Hassan Shojaee** (*Mazandaran University*): Expressing the Impact of Akbar's Reforms on Shah Waliullah Dehlavi's Religious Innovations According to Hegel's Model of Historical Progress (in Persian) (Panel 2.4.3)

The emergence and development of Akbar the Great's reforms at the end of the Hijri millennium in India, which parallel and even go beyond the reforms resulting from the European Renaissance, are extremely remarkable phenomena. Akbar, after establishing the power of the newly established Mughal Empire, delegated authority and absorbed the indigenous power of India, in this way, he implemented reformist ideas in the political and especially cultural fields and in the struggle of dissent affected by the attitude. Empathetic with different religions and the spread of religious tolerance, he achieved the inherent unity of religions and understanding their essence. In this way, with the announcement of Divine Religion, he tried to eliminate their confrontation while discussing religions. Many religious scholars did not like the manifestation of this very different and challenging attitude in the peaceful coexistence between religious people. This confrontation between conservative and liberal was going on behind the scenes while Akbar was alive. The transformation of Akbar's successors in thought and action towards the opponents of tolerance and tolerance itself was done slowly but very experimentally, in the course of Jahangir and his son Shah Jahan's reigns. The transformation of the Mughal king's attitude had been completely implemented in Aurangzeb 's rule, and this time the religious rightist forcefully crushed other dissidents and left the ruins of decay and destruction for his successors. Shah Waliullah Dehlavi, following the obvious discovery of decadence, started a rationalistic approach to the Islamic tradition by looking again from within the religious texts. Hegel's historical dialectic analysis can be used to analyze the origin of Waliullah's revision. In this adaptation, Akbar's reforms are presented as a Thesis, and the opposition of Muslim scholars against it as Antithesis, and finally, Wali Allah's revising is manifested as a synthesis.

Robert Haug (*University of Cincinnati*): Khatun and the Arab Conquest of Bukhara: Conquest and Memory in Early Islamic Transoxiana (Panel 3.2.1)

Reports of the Arab conquest of eastern Iran including both Khurasan and

Transoxiana/Mawarannahr are filled with accounts of Arab generals and local, Iranian lords in conflict and coming to terms with each other. Most of the local notables appear at most once while others reappear again and again. One figure who plays prominently in several stories is the Queen of Bukhara known simply by the title Khatun. This paper examines the role of Khatun in the Arab conquest of Bukhara and Transoxiana more broadly including her relationship with the rulers of Samarqand and the Turkic armies that came to defend the cities of Sogdiana against Arab expansion. This paper will compare the different reports found in Arabic chronicles with the unique and more detailed reports found in al-Narshakhi's *Tarikh-i Bukhara* with the goal of analyzing the memory of this Sogdian queen in both Arabic and Persian sources. The reports of Khatun, her life, and her interactions with the armies of the conquest vary significantly and this paper will examine the role of local traditions in formulating these narratives. Do such detailed accounts give us a better lens into the perspective of the conquered rather than the conquerors? Who preserved these narratives and what do they tell us about the post-conquest society in Bukhara and Transoxiana more broadly?

Abdulmamad Iloiev (*University of Central Asia, Dushanbe*): Spiritual Ascension to the 'Forty Worlds': The Notion of *Mi'rāj* in *Mubārak-i Wakhānī's Risāla-yi Chihil Dunyā* (Panel 1.1.1)

The myth about Prophet Muhammad's outward journey, which is believed to have happened on either the 27th night of *Rajab* or the 17th night of *Rabī' al-Awwal* in the year before the *Hijra*, for centuries has been a popular genre in Islamic mystical literature, especially in Persian poetry. Examining *Risāla-yi Chihil Dunyā* ('The Epistle of the Forty Worlds'), a didactic poem by Mubārak-i Wakhānī (d. 1903), a Persian mystical poet and polymath from Badakhshan, this article aims to explore the meaning of *mi'rāj* in Pamiri Ismaili popular beliefs concerning the spiritual authority of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661). Similarly, it questions where Muhammad as the final Muslim prophet of God stands in Wakhānī's mystical discourse on the 'second phase' of the prophet's *mi'rāj* to the mysterious *Chihil Dunyā* ('the Forty Worlds') – the divine kingdom of 'Alī. For as Wakhānī believes, it is in this celestial world that Muhammad undergoes an extraordinary spiritual experience and upon his return to the physical world proclaims the *imāmat* of 'Alī.

Domenico Ingenito (*University of California, Los Angeles*): Philosophical and Sufi Approaches to Nizāmi's Tale of the Competition between Greek and Chinese Painters (Panel 2.4.2)

In his *Iskandar-nāma* (completed in the 1190s CE), Medieval Persian poet Nizāmi Ganjavi narrates that Alexander the Great was once engaged in a dispute with the emperor of China to determine whether Greek or Chinese artists should be considered the most excellent masters in the art of painting. Thanks to an architectural expedient, the royal onlookers staged a test that was meant to assess the technical expertise of the two groups of artists. It is not surprising that, for centuries, painters from all corners of the Islamo-

Persianate world were inspired by this legend. In fact, the uncanny outcome of the competition narrated by Nizāmi constitutes one of the most fascinating meditations on the relationship between vision, imagination, and artistic experience ever circulated in the history of Persian literature.

The aim of this paper is to offer a close reading of the philosophical and aesthetic underpinnings of this story from the perspective of Nizāmi's approach to the visual arts, especially in the context of *Haft Paykar* and *Khusraw-u Shirin*. Analyses of the influence of the Avicennian theory of perception and imagination on Nizāmi's account of the competition between Greek and Chinese painters will help contextualize how Iranian Sufi thinkers and poets, such as al-Ghazāli, Rumi, and Sa'di, interpreted the same narration in the context of the metaphysical quest for the Unseen.

Stanislaw Jaskowski (*University of Warsaw*): Some Notes on Early Modern Persianate Reporting Practices (Panel 3.4.1)

The goal of this paper is to analyze the early modern reporting practices in the Persianate world – mainly Safavid and Mughal Empires – and compare them to each other. This is largely based on the study of court diaries and provincial reports, as well as the analysis of the responsibilities and position of the officials charged with reporting. These offices, called *vaqi'a-nivis*, *majlis-nivis* etc., have been analyzed mostly through the lens of the Safavid state manuals – *Tazkirat al-Muluk* and *Dastur al-Muluk*, and *Ain-i Akbari* in case of the Mughal Empire. The reports and documents have also been put on the backdrop of the historiography of the period, to see whether they might have impacted it – especially in case of *Jahan-Ara-yi Abbasi*, written by Vahid Qazvini, who held the position of *majlis-nivis*. Furthermore, as Vahid Qazvini was also an author of well-known *munsha'at* (a collection of the examples of letters and official documents), these have been looked at, especially in the case of the documents called *raqam*, which had probably been drafted by the office of *majlis-nivis*. Attention has also been paid to the reporting on leisurely meetings – be it *Tarikh-i Kishikkhana* or *Majalis-i Jahangiri* – to see whether they may be better understood in the context of the above-mentioned reports and diaries. Information found in them has in turn led to a brief look at the Sufi literature, especially *malfuzat*, as a possible influence on the official reporting. As it will become apparent, there is clearly a link between the accounts of the leisurely meetings and the *malfuzat* literature; some parallels can also be seen between the latter and the official recording practices. While there are mentions of official reporting predating the *malfuzat* literature, lack of surviving examples precludes any definitive statements about the influences between the bureaucratic and Sufi practices.

Karim Javan (*The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London*): Three Schoolmates; History or Myth? Re-examining Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's Biography and its Sources (Panel 3.1.2)

The life of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ has been one of the most contested stories among scholars of history. While his enemies present an image of him which

is evil and deceitful, his admirers describe him as a saint and selfless man who tried to fight against injustice and religious intolerance. One of the most disputed episodes of his life the period before his conversion to Ismaili faith and capture of Alamūt castle in 483/1090. This is a period that is not covered in his famous “Sargudhasht” and most of the available information today come from a source known to us as the “Waṣāyā” or “Naṣā’ih-i Khwāja Nizām al-Mulk”. According to this source, Nizām al-Mulk, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and ‘Umar Khayyām went to school together (three schoolmates) in Nishābūr. They made a pact to support each other whenever any of them gained success in their future careers. Although this story is as old as Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ’s Sargudhasht, scholars cast doubts on the authenticity of the story and its sources. In this paper, these sources will be more examined in light of new sources such as the “‘Ahd-i Sayyidnā” that have come to light within unpublished manuscripts of Ismaili communities. Furthermore, some aspects of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ’s life that seem unquestionable such as his age and difference with Nizām al-Mulk will be re-examined based on these sources.

Stefan Kamola (*Institute for Iranian Studies, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna*): Popular and Political Astrology in Mongol Iran (Panel 2.2.2)

The Maragha observatory founded by Hulegu and Nasir al-Din Tusi in the early years of the Ilkhanate was a landmark in the development of astronomical observation, and especially in the modeling of planetary motion. However, Tusi and his staff were also involved in other developments that have received less attention. These include the emergence of popular forms of astrological practice and the application of astrological ideas to political ideology. With the Mongol conquests, these two processes collided, as the Buddhist Hulegu, partnering with the Shi’ite Tusi, laid the groundwork for a form of political expression that would not have been possible under the preceding orthodox Sunni caliphal regime. This paper explores the role of Mongol patronage, Islamic sectarianism, and political exigency that gave birth to the idea of the millennial sovereign that predominated at subsequent Persianate courts.

Christine Kämpfer (*Bamberg University*): The Sāqī Filled the Cup with Meaning: The Role of Subgenres in Khvājū Kirmānī’s (1290-1350) Epic Poem “Humāy-u Humāyūn” (Panel 4.3.2)

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. This interweaving of epic action and mysticism is considered to be one of the key characteristics of Persian epic poetry after the Mongols, but the epic also contains other elements that possibly usher in the phase of a so-called post-Mongol literature. One striking feature is the

implementation of subgenres into the epic's narrative: It features not only a sāqī-nāma ("Song of the Cupbearer") but also a dah-nāma ("Ten Letters") and a munāẓara ("Disputation"), three forms that turned into independent genres later on. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate how these subgenres affect the epic's genre and its narrative. Furthermore, it will be shown what they reveal about the literary context of Khvājū's time and how he employs them to both revisit and innovate the Persian epic tradition.

Yui Kanda (*Tokyo University of Foreign Studies*): Reception of Qānī'ī Ṭūsī's Version of Kalilah wa Dimnah in Late 15th Century Anatolia (Panel 3.3.3)

In recent years, a considerable literature has grown up around the theme of the diffusion and reception of various versions of Kalilah wa Dimnah, a collection of didactic animal fables that circulated widely in the Middle East and beyond after the production of Arabic prose version by Ibn al-Muqaffa' in the eighth century. Up to now, however, research concerning Persian metrical version of Kalilah wa Dimnah, particularly that composed by Qānī'ī Ṭūsī around 1260 for the Seljuq ruler of Anatolia, Kaykā'ūs II (r. 1246–62), in the meter of mutaḳārib, remains underdeveloped due to a relatively small number of manuscripts that survive to date. To address this gap in the literature, this presentation examines the only known illuminated and illustrated manuscript of this hitherto less explored version of Kalilah wa Dimnah, dated 900/1495 (Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya [Mumbai], 51.34). While seven illustrated folios of this particular manuscript have occasionally been mentioned by art historians in the context of discussing the development of Ottoman illustrated manuscripts, its detailed codicological and textual analysis has yet to be conducted. Based on my own examination of this Mumbai manuscript and analysis of contemporaneous primary sources (including two unillustrated manuscripts of Qānī'ī Ṭūsī's Kalilah wa Dimnah), this paper argues that it was produced in Istanbul for the court of Bāyāzīd II (r. 1481–1512). It also discusses a possible implication of this finding for the reception history of Kalilah wa Dimnah in the early modern Persianate world.

Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet (*University of Pennsylvania*): Tales of Trespassing: Borderland Histories of Iran, Iraq, and the Persian Gulf (Panel 2.2.1)

In this study, I document the intermingling of ethnic Arabs, Persians, Turks, Kurds, Baharna, and others through stories of trade, pilgrimage, intermarriage, disease management, and smuggling in a distinct geographic setting and era. I focus on a moment of transition, from the late 18th to the early 20th centuries, as the region takes on the lineaments of modernity. I limit my study largely to Iran, Iraq, and the southern Persian Gulf coast given that much changed in the region due to the intervention of British imperial policies. I trace the ways in which sectarian upheavals intensified in times of distress such as plague epidemics or international crises. As states developed and improved mechanisms for policing their borders (such as the use of passports, quarantines, and custom houses), migrants and settlers adapted and found new ways of alternately succumbing to, or trespassing,

state surveillance. What impact did these changes have on claims over land ownership, natural resources, and belonging?

My research considers the myriad ways in which an understanding of borderlands can inform our knowledge of Ottoman Iraq, Iran, and the Persian Gulf through commerce, consumption, the sharing of natural resources, and social contact -- all of which had an enormous impact on the daily lives of individuals in the region. I rely on a range of sources from the Ottoman archives, Iranian Foreign Ministry and National Archives, and published Arab accounts and Arabic newspapers to chronicle this history.

Mohsen Kateb (*Yazd University*): Nationalism and Historical Rethinking of Zoroastrianism (Panel 1.2.2)

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier was a 17th-century French gem merchant and traveler who made six voyages to Persia and India between the years 1630 and 1668. In his travelogue, he made very detailed reports of the ideas and customs and traditions and rituals of the Zoroastrians in Iran that are unique among the travelogues before and after him. But, nonetheless, these reports are contradictory with today's Zoroastrian customs and rituals so that Arbab Keikhosrow Shahrokh(1864-1939 AD), former chairman of the Zoroastrian Association of Tehran, and ten term representative to the National Parliament of Iran, rejects all of them and considered it a new religion which is the invention of Tavernier himself and does not exist among the Zoroastrians in Iran. In this research, relying on the scholars' works in the field of Iranian Studies and researchers on Zoroastrianism and authentic Zoroastrian documents such as Avesta (Vandidad) and using the writings of other travel writers an attempt has been made to measure the accuracy and validity of some of the topics (such as: relating Zoroaster to Abraham the Prophet, polygamy, getting divorced due to adultery or becoming Muslim, quarantine of women and girls during menstruation, killing frog) raised by Tavernier and to determine the reasons for the existence of these customs as far as possible. This study concludes that Tavernier has provided an accurate report in his travelogue in most cases, although these are not error-free. It seems that the rise of the archaic nationalism during the reign of Reza Shah and special attention to Zoroastrianism as one of the manifestations of it led to the refinement of some of the common superstitious traditions and customs and religious rituals of this religion.

Yayoi Kawahara (*University of Tokyo*): Turkic Translations of *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* by Muḥammad Ḥakīm Khān (Panel 2.1.2)

The purpose of this presentation is to systematically analyze the Chaghatay translations of *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* authored by Muḥammad Ḥakīm khān, the principal historical work of the Khanate of Khoqand (early 18th century to 1876).

This work, written in Persian in 1843, is a voluminous work consisting of a general history, which is a verbatim copy of the earlier histories, a history of

the Amirate of Bukhara and the Khanate of Khoqand compiled by the author himself, and the author's journal of the pilgrimage to Makkah.

Among the copies of the work, four Turkic translations are known to exist (D90 and D225 of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences and 594 and 1560 of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan). Although these Turkic manuscripts have been well used for the historical study in Central Asian countries, the differences between the Persian original and Turkic translation and the phylogeny of the four manuscripts have not been clarified at all. This presentation aims to clarify the position of *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* in Central Asian historiography through an analysis of the phylogeny of the translated manuscripts. In addition, by examining the language transition from Persian to Turkic, I will examine the cultural transformation of Central Asian society during the annexation of the Russian Empire in the 19th century.

Niko Kelbakiani (*Ilia State University, Giorgi Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies, Tbilisi*): The Revolution in the Iranian Shi'ite Clergy: The Impact of the Demotion of Ayatollah Shariatmadari (Panel 4.3.1)

Ayatollah Seyyed Mohammad Kazem Shariatmadari was one of the leading figures of the 1979 Iranian Revolution and one of the few senior Shi'ite clerics with a political vision different from Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Shariatmadari was a traditionalist cleric and did not support Khomeini's concept of Velayat-e Faqih. Despite his support for the revolution and Khomeini initially, Shariatmadari did not support the way the new political system was organized and Khomeini's vision of the Islamic Republic.

Shariatmadari had a considerable political influence, especially in his native Tabriz, and the Islamic People's Republican Party, associated with him, was one of the prominent parties participating in the revolution. The party is also worth mentioning considering the fact that there were few non-Khomeinist Islamist parties during the revolution.

However, a figure like Shariatmadari was a challenge for the regime and in 1982 he was implicated in an alleged coup attempt alongside Sadeq Qotbzadeh, once a confidant of Khomeini and former foreign minister. Subsequently, Shariatmadari was banished from the political life and died four years later in house arrest.

More importantly, Shariatmadari was demoted from the rank of Ayatollah, which was a sign of another revolution being made by Khomeini, this time in the Shi'ite clerical hierarchy. The 1979 Revolution saw the break in the traditional clerical hierarchy with some clerics finding their promotion through the state and political power, rather than the system of the Iranian Islamic seminaries. Shariatmadari's demotion was an indication of a new era in the Iranian clerical hierarchy, in which the clerical ranks were decided by the country's political power.

Amir Khaghani (*Florida International University*): Perceptions of the Post-Revolutionary Tehran: Enghelab Street and Spatialities of the Periphery (Panel 3.3.1)

Tehran, the Iranian capital for over a hundred years, has been at the epicenter of social and political struggles in the past century. This wide variety of struggle has been overwhelmingly urban. This trend continued after 1979 and discontent materialized on the street more than anywhere else.

Enghelab street looms large over this history of protest. Containing countless numbers of social, cultural and political institutions with various degrees of significance in its vicinity, provided Enghelab with a sense of centrality while the city was growing rapidly towards the north in the years proceeding Mohammadreza Pahlavi's ascension to the throne. The University of Tehran, Polytechnic School of Tehran (later Amirkabir University), Art University and many other schools and colleges brought an ever-growing young population to Enghelab. Cinemas, Theaters, bookstores, and later cafes saturated the street, inviting many for a stroll down the revolution (Enghelab literally translated from modern Persian, means revolution). Many on the peripheries of the dominant Shiite, male, heteronormative narrative, also found refuge within this space. This research aims to address the nuances of a post 1979 Enghelab street, that has turned into a place of resistance, a place for the peripheries and an alternative space for the middle class, women, youth and queer. Such perceptions of Enghelab street started forming long before 1979, but it was reproduced on a larger scale after that moment.

This research draws from the literature of right to the place and inclusion/exclusion in space to create a theoretical framework for spatialities of Enghelab street. Also accounts of collective memory and "Lieu de Mémoire" have been part of the theoretical structure. Data collection has been made through the written works produced after 1979. This ranges from novels and poems to essays and articles that have Enghelab street as a contributing factor in them. These are pieces that are published physically and are categorized periodically within thematic and structural similarities.

This research provides an understanding of Enghelab street's symbolic reproduction and how it has been firmly connected to the more general public climate, Perceptions of Enghelab have remained connected to those of the peripheries and distanced from state interventions.

Gulfshan Khan (*Aligarh Muslim University*): The Production of Imperial Historiography and Emperor Shah Jahan (3.4.1)

The paper would seek to shed light some aspects of Indo-Mughal historiographical tradition mainly from the imperial historical works produced under emperor Shah Jahan. It would seek to highlight continuities and changes in the production of historical chronicles during the second half of the seventeenth century. It would argue that the Emperor, unlike his father, wrote no biographical memoirs but he was closely involved in the supervision and production of *Badshahnama*. The emperor is portrayed as a multifaceted

genius who oversaw every state activity from production of historical text to organizing military campaigns. It is a richly textured text which describes a wide variety of themes conceived and produced under imperial gaze. But at times the imperial history contains personal and emotional material which makes it an official document as well as a personal account. Thus, the paper would highlight multiple views of Badshah Namas.

Maximilian Kinzler (*University of Hamburg*): Dialectal Features of Early Judaeo-Persian Verbs (Panel 2.2.3)

Early Judaeo-Persian texts offer an interesting glimpse into Early New Persian dialectology, especially of the less known south-west of the Persian language area. One feature of Early Judaeo-Persian texts of this region is an innovation in perfect and pluperfect forms, as, for example, in *ḥabar dādum būd*, 'I had informed.' These forms have strikingly similar counterparts in the modern dialects of a similar region, namely in Lori-Bakhtiari (with Dezfuli-Shushtari) dialects. At the same time, presumably northern dialects of Early Judaeo-Persian continue the Middle Persian pluperfect forms, such as, for example, in *girift būdand*, 'they had taken,' while texts from eastern Early Judaeo-Persian only seem to have pluperfect forms like *gufta būdī*, 'you had said,' known from other New Persian varieties including the other Early Judaeo-Persian dialects. However, in these eastern texts, the perfect tense forms like *kardastēm*, 'we have made,' are also attested. In this paper, I will discuss dialectal variation of Early Judaeo-Persian, especially in verbal morphology, with an attempt to place it in its linguistic context, including other Early New Persian varieties and modern dialects.

Tsovinar Kirakosian (*Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University, Yerevan*): On the Issue of Zaza Identity in Europe (Panel 1.1.3)

The successive emigration of Alevis, including Zaza-Alevis from Turkey over the past 40 years, led to the emergence of Zaza communities in various European countries, primarily in Germany and Sweden. A significant stratum of the Zaza intelligentsia has been formed in Europe, for whom the issue of the Zaza identity and its transformations has gained new dimensions in fundamentally new conditions. The liberal environment, the absence of persecution on religious or ethnic grounds, and the presence of the press and literature in their native language allowed the community to form a sustainable identity. At the same time, a fundamentally new paradigm of values, the departure from the traditional way of life, a certain mode of integration has also become the reasons and motives for qualitative changes in their identity which resulted in the emergence of its new markers.

To trace the transformation of the identity among the Zazas in Europe and identify the emergence of new markers in their identity nowadays, a content analysis of the semi-structured interviews with the representatives of the intelligentsia (first and second generation) of the community is conducted.

Hasmik Kirakosyan (*Matenadaran: Institute of Ancient Manuscripts of Yerevan*): Kemālpaşazāde's (1468-1534) Work *Daḳāyīḳ ul-ḥaḳāyīḳ* in the Context of Persian Learning in Ottoman Turkey (Panel 4.2.1)

“*Daḳāyīḳ ul-ḥaḳāyīḳ*” is a Persian-Turkish lexicological work compiled by Kemālpaşazāde to be used as cultural and educational tool for instruction, translation and explanation of Persian literature in the 16th century. This work was a special tool in the Ottoman educational system for teaching the Persian language and through it Persian poetry. In that period, the process of teaching Persian continued and rapidly developed, as did the propagation and appreciation of Persian poetry, with which Persian-Ottoman Turkish bilingual lexicography was strongly connected. In order to study Persian literature beginners had to learn Persian, which was also considered to be desirable for serving in the Ottoman court, and especially needed to master the lexical and grammatical nuances of Persian to correctly understand Persian poetry and use it in their own works. “*Daḳāyīḳ ul-ḥaḳāyīḳ*” is a glossary of Persian synonyms and homonyms with Turkish explanations.

In this paper I will focus on the educational role of “*Daḳāyīḳ ul-ḥaḳāyīḳ*” and analyze the linguistic and stylistic aspects of word-list included in that work.

Adam Knobler (*Ruhr Universität Bochum*): The Enemy of My Enemy is My Friend: The Il-khâns in Latin Crusading Proposals (Panel 3.1.2)

Crusading occupied the minds of Latin courts well beyond the traditional terminus ad quem of 1291. By this point in time, the Il-khâns had been ensconced in western Asia for nearly a half-century. Latinate planners and propagandists of crusading, thought of the Il-khâns as potential participants in crusading operations from the Fall of Acre to the death of Abu Saïd. Following a half-century of Latin-Mongol diplomacy in Central and East Asia, the ambivalently cautious optimism the Latins held toward the Chinggizid khans was transferred to their Persianate relatives. Seen as potentially friendly, anti-Mamlûk, allies who would blithely follow Latin crusading plans, the Il-khâns come to appear as something of a trope in 14th century crusading propaganda. Several of the propagandists had a more skeptical view of the Il-khâns, but still saw them as potential allies in the Latin fight against the Mamlûks. Some propagandists show a genuine knowledge of Il-khânid polity and practice, while others barely acknowledge the Il-khâns as little more than a hermeneutical device. This paper will examine the nearly dozen pieces of Latin crusading propaganda which have the Il-khâns as an element in Latin crusade planning, examining the roles and reasons for their inclusion and treatment.

Kristine Kostikyan (*Matenadaran, Institute of Ancient Manuscripts & Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University, Yerevan*): Persian Documents of the Matenadaran on Some Issues of History of the Catholicosate of Aghvank in the 17th-19th Centuries (Panel 3.2.4)

Christianity being spread in Aghvank (or Albania) since 4th century, from the period of Arabic conquest faced the challenge of Islam, which gradually

gained power and started to prevail, especially after the rule of Seljuk sultans over the territory. The seat of the Catholicosates of Aghvank being first in Qabala, then in Derbend, from the beginning of the 6th century had moved to Barda (Arm. Bartav), and from 14th century to Gandzasar Monastery.

A group of Persian documents in Matenadaran archive: decrees, letters and shariya-notarial documents refer to the history of the catholicosate of Aghvank and its eparchies in Ganja, Karabagh, Shirvan and Kashatagh.

The issues of history reflected in these documents are the following:

- The subordination of the eparchies of Shirvan, Ganja and Kashatagh. From olden times these regions had been subject to the Catholicosates of Aghvank, but since 17th century their subordination was argued by the Catholicosates of Etchmiadzin. The reason for the dispute was the right of collecting the church taxes from the eparchies which was a significant source of income.
- The disputes around the throne of Catholicos of Aghvank.
- The land and other property (including church serfs) belonging to the Catholicosates of Aghvank.
- The existence of a great number of (about 60) Armenian settlements and villages in the regions of Ganja, Quba, Shaki and Shirvan subject to the Armenian Apostolic Church.
- Some facts about hard economic state of the Armenians in Shaki at the beginning of 19th century.

The paper will represent some of the important documents referring to these issues of history of the Catholicosate of Aghvank and consider their contents on the basis of rich source material.

István Kristó-Nagy (*University of Exeter*): Tracing a Devil in Islamic Art (Panel 3.3.3)

Dr Zohar Hadromi-Allouche and I are working on a co-authored monograph exploring views on the Devil in Islamic and comparative contexts. The working title of our project is: 'Satan is with the individual': The liminal and ambiguous Devil. This talk is dedicated to a picture that we consider using for the front cover of this book, as it reflects those aspects of the images of Satan we aim to discuss: ambiguity, sexuality, arts, music and violence, humor and terror. Tracing the possible origins and deciphering the potential meanings of this picture will require the same transdisciplinary and transcivilisational approach that we will employ in the book. We will look at and discuss representations of mythical plants, animals, humans, angels and demons and various mixtures of them.

Tinatín Kupatadze (*Iliá State University, Tbilisi*): The Origins of Iranian Feminism and Its Pioneers (Panel 2.4.1)

The concept of feminism in Iran and the first attempts of defending women's rights appeared in the end of 19th century. The specifics of women's activity have been changing over the past century according to the country's regime and government's policy. Thus, there always have been two camps of

feminists—those who were fighting independently and those, who were the supporters of government. In the century long history of Iranian women movement there are some notable persons, whose roles and contribution in the development of the movement are unique. These are the pioneers of the Iranian Feminism from whom one of the most prominent and notable is Sedighe Doulatabadi, often referred as “the mother of Iranian feminism” [P.Sheikholeslami].

The 1920s is regarded as the most democratic period for the women's movement, when they were independent and had less pressure and influence of government. Women's activity and struggle for their rights in this period were expressed either by women's periodicals or women's organizations, parties and educational institutions. Sedighe Doulatabadi was among those brave women who fought against patriarchal regime of Iran, foreign powers' domination in the country and the first women who publicly abandoned the veil. She was the founder of “Zaban-e Zanan”—the first magazine where the word “woman” was used in the title. She also supported the reforms of Reza Shah that was banning the veil and also was the representative of so called “Government sponsored feminism” that makes her activity paradoxical.

The first steps of the Iranian feminism and its development, as well as the activity and the role of Sadighe Doulatabadi in these processes will be discussed in the paper.

Gennady Kurin (*Oxford University*): Reading the Five Stories of Shah Tahmāsb as a Mirror for Princes (Panel 2.3.2)

The literary monument from the Safavid era, throughout its rather long history variously known as Shah Ṭahmāsb's *ḥekayāt*, *maqālāt*, *rūznāmeḥ*, or *tezkereḥ*, has received a fair amount of scholarly attention. While some have focused on its autobiographical character (Teufel, Beveridge, Phillott, Babayan), others have simply used it as a repository of historical data (Newman, Mitchell, among others). However, no comprehensive study of this manuscript-textual tradition exists resulting in a limited understanding of the work, its meaning and significance.

Having closely studied, and elsewhere presented and discussed, its history, I have come to believe that the *Five Stories* (*ḥekayāt*) at its core might be the most appropriate title for this text, whatever recension/edition we consider. I have also realized that hardly anybody has asked just how the Safavid-era readers might have understood it. While it is beyond doubt that it was conceived, composed, and initially read as a royal apology, there is evidence to suggest that it was also read as an idiosyncratic mirror for princes.

Let us consider the evidence. First, the text is described as ‘words of guidance’ (*kalemāt-e hedayāt-taʿthīr*) and ‘instruction’ (*dastūr al-ʿamal*) in prefaces to its second and third ‘editions’ respectively. Second, the number of stories, hardly coincidental, immediately calls to mind the famous works such as *Panchatantra*, *Khamseh*, or even the *Pentateuch*. Thirdly, it is

'punctuated' throughout by various maxims, in Torkī and Fārsī, verses from Sa'dī's Golestān and Bostān, Quran and Hadiths, or Isra'iliyyat. Fourth, Ṭahmāsb, unlike the authors of most other well-known Persianate mirrors for princes, presents his own actions as examples of proper conduct. Lastly, I shall argue that each story can be read as a sketch of one of five central pillars of Safavid ideology.

Meysam Labbaf-Khaniki (*University of Tehran*) & **Parvaneh Pourshariati** (*NYCCT/CUNY, New York*): Mithraism in Khorasan and Mithraic Symbols in the Fire Temple of Bāzeh Hūr (Panel 2.3.3)

Recent archaeological excavations at the Sasanian fire temple of Bāzeh Hūr, 75 km southeast of Mashhad, have revealed a ritual complex the specifications of which include a number of Mithraic symbols. The fire temple of Bāzeh Hūr, is located atop a high mound overlooking the vast pastures and fields -- recalling the position of Mithra as described in the Mihr Yašt of Avesta. The grandeur of the Fire Temple which reflects the wealth sustaining it, the fact that it is located in the region of Bust/Pušt, the putative homeland of the famous ĀDUR BURZĒN-MIHR Fire Temple, the stucco decorations discovered from the temple including the high reliefs of reclining rams, consecutive swastikas, radiating suns, as well as a portion of a peacock's tail that was painted on the gypsum plaster of the wall, all symbols of Mithra, all lead one to believe that we have in fact excavated one of the most important Fire Temples of the Parthian-Sasanian periods, probably the ĀDUR BURZĒN -MIHR Fire. Archaeological evidence clearly indicates the worship of Mithra here. In fact, there are other evidence of Mithra worship in this region. The rock carvings of Lākh Mazār and Kāl Jangal, give quite clear evidence of Mihr worship in southern Khurasan. Lākh Mazār was certainly a spiritual setting of sorts beckoning the travelers and pilgrims to come to it and to "drink to the happiness" – of the Parthian dynasts ruling the region. Drinking to the happiness of someone is thoroughly Mithraic Oath as we will establish. This Parthian dynast to the happiness of whom the pilgrim was called to drink, was also a naxarar! In Kāl Jangal inscription Mitra is specifically invoked, and his name is carved in Parthian script and set in stone. This southern Quhistan region was also the scene of the rebellion of Behāfarīd, the Iranian rebel who clearly espoused Mithraic doctrines. As has been noted before, the eschatological dimensions of the ArdaVīrafnāma clearly also informed Behāfarīd's rebellion. Here we should note that Mir Salar Razavi has confirmed that the oldest version of ArdaVīrafnāma in Persian verse (versified in the 13th century), was penned by Zartusht-i Bahrām and his family who lived in small village of Mābīzhanābād (today's Mizhanābād), near Khwāf, the home region of Behāfarīd.

Justine Landau (*Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris*): Healing in Rhyme: Ḥakim Maysari's Therapeutic Poetry (Panel 2.4.2)

Against all odds, the longest extant poem in Persian to predate Ferdowsi's Shāhnāme could be the work not of a poet, but of a physician. Most scholars agree that the *Dānešnāme dar 'elm-e pezeški* was composed between the

years 978-980 of the common era by Ḥakim Maysari, a medical practitioner active in Khorasan under Samanid rule. As such, the book is not only the earliest treatise of medicine known in the Persian language, but also a rare testament to the standing of Iranian medical knowledge before Avicenna's paradigm-shifting *Qānūn fī'l-ṭibb* (Canon of medicine), completed in Arabic around the year 1020. A full-fledged maṭnavi of about 5000 couplets in the meter hazaj, Maysari's book provides a comprehensive, if accessible, compendium on the science of medicine and Galenic humoral theories—yet one in which ailments and remedies are set to meter and rhyme. Beyond the pedagogic virtue of phonologic repetition, what motivated the physician to compile such technical knowledge in verse-form? In several instances, the author suggests that his *Dānešnāme* holds therapeutic benefits beyond mere physical healing: reading and reciting his lines, he claims, procures the reader some relief from the vicissitudes of the world, if not an actual sense of joy (šādi). Through close readings of these and other passages from the book, this paper probes the therapeutic virtues of language in Maysari's unorthodox poem. In the physician's composition, words, I argue, are vested with special powers; more efficient than drugs and electuaries, they are inseparable from the cure—perhaps embodied by the very poem that prescribes them.

Ali B. Langroudi (*University of Göttingen*): “Trans-Judeo-Persian”: Meaning and Methodology (Panel 1.2.3)

Truly, it has been said that Judeo-Persian texts (texts written in Hebrew characters and Persian language) escaped the attention of scholars of both groups of Iranian Studies and Jewish Studies. This status can be explained by the scarcity of interdisciplinary investigations. Fortunately, the situation is gradually changing with the development of Judeo-Persian Studies, although it is still an in-between field.

Less known, and even lesser-studied materials, are those Judeo-Persian texts transliterated in Arabic characters. They are somehow slipped into a further level of interdisciplinarity. The present paper is aiming to discuss the features of these texts, which are called “Trans-Judeo-Persian,” and are abbreviated as TJP.

The paper begins with an introduction to the emergence of TJP and its development in the early modern era. After introducing TJP, the methodology of the study of relevant texts, mainly manuscripts of the books of the Hebrew Bible in, will be discussed. Practically, some verses of the Hebrew Bible in TJP will be presented and analyzed. The results of the analytical part will be displayed in the conclusion.

Tamar Lekveishvili (*Iliia State University, Tbilisi*): Fazil Beg Khuzani Isfahani about Iranian-Georgian Relations during the Reign of 'Abbas I: The Significance of Georgian Royal Women (Panel 2.1.1)

In the paper is discussed information of the 17th century Iranian historian Fazli Beg Khuzani Isfahani about Georgian-Iranian relations during the reign of Shah 'Abbas I (1587-1629). 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, Christ's College Library by British Iranist, professor Charles Melville.

The above-mentioned chronicle is significant not only for studying the period of Safavid Iran, but also for analyzing several aspects of the history of Iranian-Georgian and generally, of Iranian-Caucasian interactions.

The author of these chronicles, Fazli Beg Khuzani Isfahani was from Isfahan. His relatives, who belonged to the Iranian bureaucracy, held high positions in the Safavid administration. Therefore, Fazli's career was linked to Caucasus, in particular to Georgia, from the very beginning. He was a vizier of Peikar Khan, the ruler of Kakheti (part of the Eastern Georgia) during the dominance of Kizilbashs. Thus, he is a witness of 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.

I have already had an opportunity to present some references from this historical chronicle with the Georgian translation and to emphasize the inconsistency of specific information. I continue the work on the Georgian translation of Fazli's chronicle and its study.

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 families' women representatives in political affairs is apparent.

Amanda Leong (*University of California, Merced*): Re-thinking Female Javānmardī and Medieval Race in Nizami's Haft Paykar: An 'Interracial' Epic Romance between a Persian King and his Chinese Musician Slave Girl (Panel 4.3.2)

Scholars of medieval critical race studies, like Geraldine Heng, have shown how Europeans represented Chinese and Persians in the European Middle Ages while acknowledging the impossibility of covering how "the entire pre-modern world conceptualized and instantiated race". Heng calls for the need to expand premodern race studies by focusing on how racialization operates in places beyond Europe. This article seeks to respond to Heng's call to action by conducting a re-reading of Haft Paykar, a twelfth-century Persian epic poem by Neẓāmī Ganjavī (1141–1209). Haft Paykar narrates the 'interracial' romance between Persian King Bahrām Gūr and a Chinese musician slave girl, Fitna. Fitna, whose name means 'rebellion' in Persian, is

celebrated by the Persianate literary and aesthetic traditions for her refusal to concede to patriarchal kingship embodied by Bahrām Gūr regardless of her liminal identity as an enslaved Chinese female ‘other’ in the Persian court. Instead, she lifts a fully grown bull up sixty steps to assert her ability to embody javānmardī (young-manliness), a Persianate masculine chivalric concept, and ultimately becomes Queen of Persia. I argue that the poem provides a counterpoint to the scholarly over-emphasis on racial xenophobia in Medieval Europe, and how a gendered ‘sinophilia’ helped shape an emerging racist ideology of Persian masculine perfection around the same period in the medieval Persianate world. By re-reading Haft Paykar as a “mirror for princesses”, this article showcases how the medieval Persianate world understood race by uncovering how they idealized Chinese women like Fitna as chivalric leaders capable of reviving Persianate ādāb (etiquette) and kingship when current Persian patriarchal models of governance were failing with the collapse of the Abbasid and Seljuk Empires as well as the rise of the Mongol Empire. This is seen from how Chinese women were celebrated for their ability to embody and redefine virtues associated with this chivalric ideal ranging from virtuous trickstery, gift-giving, ‘glamor politics’, and gender-bending. While the scholarly consensus has been that javānmardī pertains to the sexed male body only, the way women, specifically foreign, Chinese ‘enslaved’ women like Fitna were remembered as masculine models of javānmardī, points to a lesser understood history of medieval Persianate race, gender, and class intersectionality in which bodies sexually shapeshift in the act of storytelling.

Mordechai Levy (*The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*): Shaping Didactic Royal Self: Edifying Messages in the Memoirs of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and Jāhāngīr (Panel 2.3.2)

Persian literature is known for having produced a rich body of ethical and didactic writings, within which the “mirrors for princes” genre looms large. The popularity and influence of this genre under the prominent dynasties of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals, find unique expression in the self-narratives written by different dynastic members in the 16th and 17th centuries. Although composed in various literary forms and in different languages, these accounts exemplify the intention of their royal writers to leave a self-authenticating record of their personal experiences and project a specific image for posterity. The authors’ tendency to describe their lives as exemplary also accounts for the clear didactic dimension of the royal self-narratives, which manifests itself through the delivery of lessons about proper behavior and morality.

My presentation explores the relationship between the ethical literature and the royal self-narratives. I comparatively analyze the didactic materials found in the memoirs of Safavid Shāh Ṭahmāsp (r. 1524-1576) and Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr (r. 1569-1627), which were explicitly designated as manuals. I examine the repertoire of didactic themes that each ruler chooses to present to his readers, at the same time looking into the intertextual aspect

that situates the two works within the tradition of Persian didactic literature. In so doing, I attempt to demonstrate how the edifying messages articulated in the memoirs facilitate the representation of their writers' self-image and ideology.

D Gershon Lewental (*University of Oklahoma & the Hebrew University of Jerusalem*): Sāsānian War Elephants and Islamic Historical Memory (Panel 3.2.1)

While numerous contemporary sources attest to the presence of war elephants in the Sāsānian military arsenal, the exact role that these animals played in the battles of the Arab-Muslim expansion is not certain. Islamic annals record their presence at a number of engagements—sometimes, too frequently, suggesting that war elephants became a topos that later Arab story-tellers would add to their tales in order to praise the heroism of their tribes, while further entertaining their audiences.

Nevertheless, details from the historical sources suggest that Muslims did in fact endure a traumatic encounter with elephants at the Battles of the Bridge and perhaps, too, at al-Qādisiyyah. Yet the memories of even these accounts appear to engage in dialogue with those of pre-Islamic Arab encounters with elephants: famously during the 'Year of the Elephant', when Muḥammad is said to have been born, but also during the reign of the early Fourth-Century Sāsānian shāh Shāpūr II, who—like Yazdegerd III—acceded to the throne as a child and faced a challenge from Arab nomadic raiders. Shāpūr, unlike Yazdegerd, soundly defeated and humiliated the Arabs, leaving a lasting impression upon the Arabs for generations. In addition, Shāpūr constructed local defenses along the southern frontier, including the city of al-Ḥīrah and a border fortification known in Arabic as 'the ditch of Shāpūr (khandaq Sābūr)'—of which al-Qādisiyyah was one station.

Comparisons, both explicit and implicit, in the historical sources between Shāpūr and Yazdegerd and the Fourth-Century defeat and the Seventh-Century victories suggest that war elephants—whether remembered or imagined—appear to have served later Muslim society as more than a simple literary topos, but as a sign, reflecting the complex relations between Persians and Arabs, long before—and long since—the coming of Islam.

Sifei Li (*Shaanxi Normal University, Xi'an*): Zoroastrian Elements on Sixth Century CE Sogdian Funerary Monuments Excavated in China (Panel 3.4.4)

Experts of Iranian studies devised the term "Sino-Sogdian art" to point at a group of funerary monuments that Chinese archaeologists excavated in good number in the last twenty-five years. As the epitaphs (sometimes even bilingual) found with those funerary monuments clearly elucidated, such Sino-Sogdian tombs belonged to powerful Sogdians who had settled in the territory of sixth century northern China and held important positions at court. Sino-Sogdian funerary monuments presented very rich decorations that, in some cases, had connections with the religion of pre-Islamic Sogdiana. This was a local form of Zoroastrianism called in Chinese sources Xian, which

presented substantial differences than the religion of Sasanian Persia and the pre-Christian Caucasus. Some scholars were able to identify on Sino-Sogdian funerary monuments the passage of the Chivat Bridge by the soul of the dead and images of Sogdian deities such as Nana (who, in origin, was a Mesopotamian goddess) or Weshparkar (who corresponded to the Zoroastrian wind god Vayu). Some observations could shed further light on the figure of Weshparkar. In fact, the Sogdians living in China could have adopted the attributes of the local wind deity Fengbo that even reappeared, some centuries later, in the artistic production of their motherland. Other specific decorative elements on those funerary monuments seem to point at attempts to intermingle the religious culture of the Sogdians with features rooted in Chinese art and traditions.

Alice Lyzcia (*SOAS University of London*): Resistance and Reconstruction in the Urdu Nazms of Sara Shagufta (Panel 2.3.1)

Consistently read in disruptive relation to the canon of Urdu poetry, the nazms of Sara Shagufta have been characterized as obscure post-modern products dissociated from classical Persianate form and content. As an uneducated, lower-class woman, Shagufta was a peripheral figure in the Pakistani literary world whose work was located outside the scope of its poetic traditions. This paper argues that her work is very much in conversation with these traditions, even as it pushes the logics of their imagery to unfamiliar limits. Writing from within violent and immobilizing conditions, including frequent imprisonment, Shagufta's re-signification of classical images is significant not only in producing a highly unique literary aesthetic, but also as a practice of ontological reconstruction with compelling socio-political implications. Drawing on genealogies of resistance in Urdu literary histories, this paper situates Shagufta's work in productive relation to both classical and modern poetry in the region to expand possibilities for the theorization of a twentieth-century Persianate poetics.

Behrooz Mahmoodi-Bakhtiari (*University of Tehran*): Notes on Sīstānī Dialect Materials from the Early 20th Century (Panel 1.1.4)

The British delegations and missionaries in Iran during the early years of the 20th century used to collect and publish some valuable dialect materials about their places of mission. Three of these publications deal with the dialect materials of Sīstān, published as revenue and military Reports. The present article introduces these important texts: Military Report on Persian Seistan (1902) which contains a glossary of 44 Sīstānī words, under the title "Glossary of Vernacular Terms". The other work, Notes on Persian Seistan (1903) containing 130 English words, with their Sīstānī equivalents under the title "Vocabulary and useful phrases in the local dialect", as well as some sentences in Sīstānī, together with their transcription in Arabic script and their English translations. The third, the most rewarding report in terms of the dialect materials of our concern, is Seistan: Revenue Report and Notes of the Perso-Afghan Arbitration Commission (1906), with a glossary of 592 Sīstānī words and their descriptive meanings, dealing with the words about

soils, river and irrigation, words about Hāmūn and Neyzār, cultivation, cattle and flock-owners, the administration system of the region, agricultural implements, seasons and weather, building materials, tools and Artizans, together with the specific words related to the wind-mill and fishing-net in Sīstānī.

Katarzyna Maksymiuk (*University of Natural Sciences and Humanities in Siedlce, Poland*) & **Patryk Skupniewicz** (*University of Natural Sciences and Humanities in Siedlce, Poland*): The Cross as a Symbol of Mithra: On the Necessity of Re-Consideration of Selected Sasanian Seals (Panel 1.1.2)

Rika Gyselen ('Les témoignages sigillographiques sur la présence chrétienne dans l'Empire Sassanide' 2006) promotes the idea of a culturally significant Christian presence in the Sassanid Empire, based on sigillographic sources. In her publication, Gyselen attributes seals bearing a cross, among other iconographic elements, to professed Christians. However, a detailed analysis of selected seals (represents the cross and the ram or the cross and the scorpion) shows that some of the seals linked by the French researcher to followers of Christianity should be interpreted in the context of Iranian religious traditions and linked to followers of the cult of the god Mithra.

Umed Mamadsherzodshoev (*Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan, Dushanbe*): Shohabdulloh Badakhshi - One of the First Researchers of Pamirian Languages (Panel 4.3.3)

Shohabdulloh Badakhshii Jirmi is one of the famous scientists of Afghan Badakhshan at the beginning of the 20th century. He researched different cultural aspects of Badakhshan, including the history of Badakhshan, Pamirian languages and literature, and ethnography and law, and he made a valuable and important contribution to these fields of study. Among his valuable works are *Armugoni Badakhshon* and *Dictionary of Aryan languages of Afghanistan*, the first volume of which was dedicated to the study of the Pamirian-Ishkoshimi, Shughni, Sangleji, Vahi and Munji languages that are extremely famous among the people of Badakhshan. In this paper, we will discuss the etymology and geographical meaning of the word Sanglej and argue that the etymology of this word is related to the Sanglej stone. Shohabdulloh relates the people of Badakhshan to the Aryan peoples and their languages in the group of "Pomeranian" languages, indicating that Aryan and Pamiri languages were known to Shohabdulloh and his predecessors.

We will also argue that the first researcher of the Pamirian languages wasn't Russian scientists I. Zarubin, as is commonly assumed. Apart from Zarubin, Badakhshan linguists of past centuries, such as Muhammad Ismail Khan Nazim Badakhshi, Fazli Kuchori, and Shohabdulloh Badakhshi, also made an immense contribution to the study of these languages. Shohabdulloh accurately classified the Pamiri languages and proved that 18 languages belong to the group of Pamir languages. He also determined which Pamirian languages are related to one another, such as Munjani and Ishkashimi.

Overall, we draw attention to the fact that Shohabdullohi Badakhshi is one of the first researchers of the history, ethnography, linguistics, literature and sociology of Badakhshan.

Beatrice Manz (*Tufts University, Boston*): Iranians and Khwarazmians during the Mongol Invasion of Eastern Iran (Panel 3.3.2)

Chinggis Khan's conquest of eastern Iran has often been described, and the emphasis, quite naturally, has been on the actions of the Mongols. Scholars have also described Iranian and Khwarazmian resistance to the Mongols, and have noted the existence of Iranian troops fighting on the Mongol side, both willingly and unwillingly. There has been less attention to the active local politics and military activities of these groups when they were dealing with each other.

The Mongols came into an active political field. Most of eastern Iran was controlled by the Khwarazmshahs, but much of this territory was very recently won; the Ghurids dynasty had controlled much of Khorasan and adjacent regions, and the Khwarazmian conquest of the southern regions was completed with the taking of Ghazni in 1215, only four years before the Mongol onslaught. Many cities had changed hands more than once over the last 15 years; former governors and rulers were still present, ready to take advantage of any new opportunity. When the Khwarazmshah fled before the Mongols, he disbanded his army but did not destroy it; a number of troops and commanders remained in the region. Thus, the Mongols were not the only active fighting force in the region, and not the only danger that regional cities and towns had to deal with. If we are to understand how the local population experienced the conquest, and what the Mongols faced, we must take into account the politics and the military activities of both Khwarazmians and Iranians.

Nishat Manzar (*Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi*): Societal Crisis and Colonial Concerns in the Nineteenth Century: *Tashrih-ul-Awqam* of Colonel James Skinner (1825 CE) (Panel 1.3.1)

An illustrated account of the various occupational groups, mainly, of North India, the Persian text compiled under the aegis of James Skinner is a good example of a new genre of Persian literary works of the nineteenth century. Skinner engaged Delhi artists, especially Ghulam Ali Khan, to prepare the paintings in water color, but who actually penned the script of the Persian text is not certain. This must have been the job of an Indian as the presentation of the information suggests. Scholars have studied the work as the first specimen of ethnography in modern India. However, some of the features discussed in *Tashrih-ul-Awqam* need a proper evaluation. Why Skinner was interested in gaining knowledge about the lower rungs of the society and commissioned such a project which could be of little literary value? Was he really concerned with the plight of professional groups in the society that he was yearning for these to be put to record? It was, perhaps, a constituent of the larger agenda of the rapidly growing colonial power that Indian

occupational groups were to be projected as the one always ill-treated, uncultured, uneducated; and that only the British could liberate them. Also, the text suggests that many occupational groups were undergoing a hard time and there was a real societal crisis because of the oppressive system of taxation and administration leading to unemployment. Many well off and respectable people were forced to take up the job of menials and service providers. Here an attempt will be made to understand the nature of changes that were affecting the society because of the oppressive rule of the British.

Louise Marlow (*Wellesley College, Massachusetts*): Transition and Diffusion of the Words of 'Ali in Fourteenth Century Isfahan (Panel 1.2.1)

This presentation explores the professional activities and cultural production of a local literary-scholarly network that had its center in Isfahan in the 1320s and 1330s. Chiefly attested in the significant number of manuscripts copied in Isfahan in these decades, this network of scholars, *littérateurs* and copyists played, I shall argue, a significant role in the development and dissemination, in Persian, of the orations, epistles and sayings of 'Ali b. Abi Talib in the pre-Safavid period. Many of the individuals brought together in this network had links with the town of Saveh (between Kashan and Qumm) and its surrounding villages, including Aveh. According to the contemporary observer Hamd Allah Mustawfi (d. c. 1349), this area had a distinctive religious geography, which perhaps played a role in the movement of this group of individuals to Isfahan. In Isfahan, they produced a notable literary corpus made up of copies of existing texts, translations from Arabic into Persian, adaptations into Persian, and new compositions; it is notable that much of this activity had as its focus the wisdom and practical ethics of 'Ali b. Abi Talib. The individuals involved in this pattern of religious-cultural expression were conspicuously bilingual; several of them enjoyed, or sought, the patronage and support of local viziers; some appear to have belonged to established families of *munshis* and *mustawfis*. This presentation will explore the historical as well as the literary contexts for the activities of the network in the late Ilkhanid period.

Ali Mashhadi Rafi (*Freelance Researcher, Tehran*): Persian Chronicles of Hagia Sophia (Panel 1.3.3)

Hagia Sophia is one of the most famous and unique architectural works of the Byzantine period, which functioned after the conquest of Constantinople as a model for the architecture of the Ottoman era. The conversion of this church into a congregational mosque of the Ottoman capital has resulted in the formation of its image in the public sphere of the Muslim community and furthermore, some efforts were made by Muslim writers and historians to write the history of its construction.

A handful number of Persian manuscripts about the history of Hagia Sophia have been identified so far, all of which are a translation of the fourth part of the "Patria of Constantinople" that concerns the history of the construction of Hagia Sophia from Greek into Persian.

Although the original source of all these texts is the Greek narratives of the Patria, all of the translators rewrote it during the process by stating their intention of translating the Greek text and adding particular information about other monuments and famous figures of Constantinople as well as the events of the city following its capture by the Ottoman army.

This article aims to compare the textual features of the Persian texts of the translations with literary style of the Greek text of the Patria of Constantinople, to examine the level of conformity of each of the translations with the original text as well as to extract some facts about the translators and their approach in translation from Byzantine Greek to Persian.

Rudi Matthee (*University of Delaware*): A Jesuit in 17th-Century Shirvan: Jean Baptiste de la Maze and his Writings (Panel 1.3.1)

With the Carmelites and the Augustinians, the Jesuits were the most prominent of the various European missionary orders that operated in Safavid Iran. The Portuguese spearheaded an initial, brief and rather unsuccessful Jesuit mission on the island of Hormuz in the late sixteenth century. The ones who returned to Iran and entered the mainland in the 1640s, however, were mostly French. Taking advantage of the welcoming environment of Shah `Abbas II's reign, they first took up residence in Isfahan, where they were allowed to build a convent, later to branch out of various towns in the Caucasus. Although their numbers remained small and they never had much success converting Muslims, the Jesuits came to play a significant role in culture and politics in the Safavid realm, and they left behind important albeit little-known writings.

Aside from the founders of the mission in Isfahan, Aimé Chézaud and Franciscus Rigordi, by far the most important of the Jesuit fathers active in the Safavid realm in the second half of the seventeenth century was Father Jean-Baptiste de la Maze (1624-1709). De la Maze first came to Iran 1664. From 1674 to 1687 he served as the superior of the Jesuit mission of Isfahan. In the latter year he moved to Shamakhi in Shirvan, where he founded a small mission. He died in the latter city, aged 87, in 1709, having spent more than forty-five years in Safavid Iran.

After giving a brief overview of the nature of European missionary activity in Safavid Iran and the Jesuit role in it, my paper will offer an outline of De la Maze's life and career based on various archival sources in addition to his own writings, most notably the travelogue that appears in P. Fleureau's 1811 collection of Jesuit writings, *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des Missions Etrangères. Mémoires du Levant*, as well as an anonymous account titled "Mémoire de Sirvan," which appears in the same collection and is clearly from the hand of the same author. I will pay particular attention to an unpublished and untitled text that De la Maze wrote on the region of Shirvan and that is held in the Jesuit Archives in Rome. Full of information on

a part of Iran that is otherwise poorly covered in the sources, this journal reflects De la Maze's intimate knowledge of the region that was his home for more than two decades.

Scott McDonough (*William Paterson University, New Jersey*): "The Care of the New Cyrus": Echoes of the Sasanian Court in the Synodal Acts of the Church of the East (Panel 2.1.3)

In 410, honoring the request of Iṣhāq, Grand Metropolitan of the Church of the East, the Sasanian King of Kings Yazdgard I facilitated the first general assembly of the Church of the East at Seleucia-Ctesiphon. At the Synod, the assembled bishops lavishly praised their monarch, and received his prestigious messengers, Kosrow Yazdgard the harmadārā rabbā ("great framadār/Chief minister") and Mehr-Šāpūr mn bētā d-argbeṭā ("of the house of the argpat/fortress commander") in their company to deliver the king's formal endorsement of the Church and its leaders.

From this time onward, the Church of the East was intimately connected to the people, politics, and ritual of the Sasanian royal court. Bishops served as spiritual leaders, they also became valued advisors and ambassadors of their kings, who affirmed their authority over Ērānšāh's Christian Church and communities. For their part, Kings and courtiers played roles in the selection of the Church's prelates and influenced its canons.

The acts of the synods of the Church of the East, collected in the 13th—14th century manuscript, Alqosh Syr. 169, document these interactions between court and clergy in Sasanian Iran. Ritual acclamations of the monarch, formal and informal appeals to royal and aristocratic authority, and other echoes of Sasanian court life were regular elements of these synods. Through these, the acts of the synods of the Church of the East present a fascinating window into the ceremonial and routine of the Sasanian royal court, as observed by Christian "outsiders" between the 5th and 7th centuries.

Armine Melkonyan (*University of Florence*): The Persian Emir Abdlay in an Armenian Interreligious Disputation (Panel 4.1.1)

In an Armenian Homiliary (d. 1404), an engaging disputation entitled "Story of the Monk Holy Makar, and the Emir, and Aghtap'ar, and the Jew, and Nestor and the Sorcerer who Believed in Christ" was recently unearthed. According to the colophon of another manuscript with the same text, an Armenian king of the Andzevats'ik' province (in the South-West of Vaspurakan) named Bardoghimēos, also called Apu Sahl, translated this work from Arabic, when he was captured by the "infidels" (Muslims).

The *Story* claims to recount a debate that took place in Ctesiphon, in 801 AD, during the reign of the Persian emir Abdlay (in some examples Ablaziz), who is presented as a generous and God-fearing ruler. The Emir's beloved and faithful servant whose name is Aghtap'ar, meets a monk called Makar while hunting and takes him to the Emir. Almost the entire text is set

up as a debate, a question-and-answer between the monk Makar on the one hand, and emir Abdlay, an anonymous Jew, a Nestorian, and a sorcerer on the other.

The focus of this paper will be the portrayal of the Persian Emir Abdlay, who plays a key role in the *Story*: he creates the *scenario*, invites the disputing figures, raises the main issues around which the disputation unfolds. I will touch upon the historical events and figures mentioned in the text.

Then, I will provide some comments on the satire in the text which is particularly remarkable.

Jane Mikkelson (*Yale University, New Haven*): Searching for a Lyric Pulse: Jūyā Tabrīzī's Medical Poetics (Panel 2.4.2)

This talk examines the remarkable lyric poetry of the Kashmiri Persian poet Mīrzā Dārā Beg Jūyā of Tabrīz (d.1706), who has so far received very little modern scholarly attention. Jūyā was a prominent and highly regarded Persian poet from Kashmir whose poetry was considered by premodern critics and literary historians to be on par with the achievements of his renowned compatriot, Ghanī Kashmīrī (d.1669). As an avowed follower of the lyric style of earlier luminaries such as Šā'eb Tabrīzī (d.1676) and Ṭāleb Āmolī (d.1626/7), Jūyā composed poems that broadly conform to poetic conventions established by the early modern *tāze-gūyān* (poets of the Fresh Style of Persian poetry)—while at the same time forging a style of his own within those parameters. My talk traces a topos that runs through Jūyā's works like a basso continuo: his preoccupation with pulse (*nabẓ*). While pre-modern Persian poetry furnishes ample examples of poets writing in abstract or metaphorical ways about agitation, fever, heart-pain, and other somatic experiences whose etiology can be traced to separation from the beloved, Jūyā's extensive—even obsessive—descriptions of human veins, pulse, inrushes of blood to heart, fever, diagnostic palpation, and other concrete medical themes seems to be distinctive and original. Through close readings of Jūyā's poems, prefaces, and letters, which I contextualize alongside other early modern poems and texts about medical science, I argue that Jūyā's idiosyncratic deployment of the idea of pulse allows him to make striking connections across medicine and poetry. This conjunction, as I aim to show, importantly structures Jūyā's orientation to the Persian poetry of his time and to his own literary craft.

Imke Mizera (*University of Hamburg*): Between Translation and Explanation: Some Linguistical Characteristics of the Early New Persian *Tafsīrs* (10th-11th centuries) (Panel 2.2.3)

The early Persian commentaries on the Qur'ān (*tafsīrs*) occupy a special position among the oldest pre-served written sources of the early New Persian language. Apart from providing evidence of the rise and establishment of Persian Muslim exegesis, they also give a broad insight into the state of the Persian language of the Eastern Iranian regions of the 10th and 11th centuries. The fact that they contain not only extensive and partly

unique commentary with an authority of their own but also independent translations of the Qur'anic verses makes it possible to examine their respective linguistic characteristics in two contexts: the translation and the explanation context. It seems likely that the authors of these works – not all of them identifiable due to the fragmented state of some of the manuscripts – took great care to adhere to the meaning of the Holy text as closely as possible. At the same time, the respective approaches to explain them are methodologically and linguistically diverse, demonstrating stylistic as well as dialectal influences, and show that there was no homogeneous language for this purpose in this era yet. Due to the common method of overlapping translation and explanation, it is not always possible to separate exactly between the two contexts. However, this very circumstance also shows how confidently the Persian language was already used as a language for exegesis.

By presenting selected examples of some linguistic characteristics from the Persian tafsīrs of the 10th-11th centuries and their comparison with regard to the two contexts mentioned above, it becomes clear how variable and complex the early New Persian language of this era was, while it already possessed the authority of a language of religion.

Ryo Mizukami (*Tokyo University of Foreign Studies*): “De-Shi’itized” Veneration of the Twelve Imams: Khunjī’s Affirmation of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan’s Maḥdīship (Panel 1.2.1)

Veneration for the Twelve Imams, the so-called Shi’i Imams, among Sunnis has drawn attention from researchers in premodern Islamic history. Although studies tend to regard such imamophilic Sunnis as “pro-Shi’i” people, we can find many terms in their works that reflect their Sunni identities. To illuminate the relationship between their confessional identities and loyalty to the Imams, this study analyzes the discussion of the maḥdī (savior) by Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī (d. 1521) and how he affirms the maḥdīship of the twelfth Imam, that is, one main doctrine of Twelver Shi’ism. Subsequently, this study contextualizes his view of the twelfth Imam in the long tradition of Sunni imamophilia.

Khunjī is well-known as an anti-Shi’i and anti-Safavid Sunni scholar. Conversely, he overtly shows his respect for the Twelve Imams and compiled a Persian faḍā’il (virtues) work on them, *Wasīlat al-Khādīm ilā al-Makhdūm*. However, his understanding of them does not always parallel Shi’i doctrine. In the chapter regarding Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the twelfth Imam, Khunjī recognizes him as maḥdī based on precautionary judgement (*iḥtiyāt*), referring to the possibility this might be another person. Thus, his discussion maintains distance from the Shi’i understanding of the maḥdī. This “de-Shi’itized” affirmation of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan’s maḥdīship should be regarded as an expression of Khunjī’s Sunni identity.

How to identify the maḥdī and use its Shi’i interpretation indicates the confessional identities of imamophilic Sunnis. Similar de-Shi’itized

affirmations are found in other works by imamophilic Sunnis, such as Ibn Ṭalḥa (d. 1254), Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kanjī (d. 1260), Jāmī (d. 1492), and Khwāndamīr (d. ca. 1535–6). Through the de-Shi'itized affirmation of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan's maḥdship, these Sunnis attempted to harmonize loyalty for the Imams with their confessional identities.

Fateme Montazeri (*University of California, Berkeley*): Contempt for Hafiz? A Forgotten Historical Approach (Panel 1.1.1)

The second half of the sixteenth century witnesses a new awareness of Hafiz among the Ottomans. The emergence of numerous Turkish poetic imitations as well as commentaries in this period reveal the extent to which Hafiz's poetry is celebrated and is attempted to be made accessible to a broader audience in the Ottoman lands. This corpus of literature, surprisingly, does not center around praising Hafiz altogether; indeed, it also includes pejorative approaches toward the poet, which has not received sufficient scholarly attention. The rise of the anti-Hafiz attitudes culminates in a fatwa issued by Sheikh al-Islam Abussa'ud 'Imadi (d. 1580) in which he warns against non-cautiously reciting of the Divan, assimilating the poetry of Hafiz to the snake poison hence advocating the need to pay vital attention to distinguish between the worthy and unworthy in his verse. Such cultural attitude in the Ottoman territory coincides with the power consolidation of the neighboring Safavids. I shall argue that the Ottoman discourse on Hafiz is informed by a reactionary response to the venerated cult of Hafiz undertaken by the Safavids, whose early period is characterized by pro-Sufism. To this ends, I shall discuss pieces of evidence, from the poetry of Shah Isma'il to the verses woven onto the carpets of the shrine of Sheikh Safi in Ardabil, to suggest how Hafiz was appropriated by the Safavid shahs to represent their rule. I shall further explore some instances in which Hafiz is attacked in the Ottomans fatwas or commentaries as a Safavid symbol. The underlying anti-Safavid agenda sheds light, for instance, on why Sudi (d. 1592), the famed commentator, attributes, unprecedentedly, the beginning line of the Divan to Yazid b. Mu'awiyya, the most abhorred figure by the Shi'is.

Tomoko Morikawa (*The University of Tokyo*): Armenian Merchants and Trade Routes under the Safavid Empire (Panel 2.1.1)

In Safavid Iran, Armenian merchants had an important role in raw silk exports to Europe. 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 immigrate from the Caucasus, especially from the town of Julfa (Jugha) on the banks of the Aras River to the quarter called New Julfa in Isfahan in 1605 giving the Armenian merchants of New Julfa a monopoly over the Persian raw silk exports. Shah 'Abbas's granting of trade privileges enabled Armenians to dominate the trade throughout the seventeenth century, and by mid-century, they controlled seventy percent of the raw silk trade. Additionally, they developed their trade network not only in Europe but

in India and far beyond, to the extent stated by a French traveler, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, that “The money was all in the hands of Armenians of [New] Julfa.”

Although Europe and India were the main targets of their trades, while shipping and cooperating with European companies by sea, for New Julfan Armenians, the importance of the inland trade still did not decrease. As far as the New Julfan Armenians engaged in silk trade, they passed through northern and western Iran to the Caucasus, Syria, and Anatolia. Also, from these neighboring regions, foreign merchants gathered in Isfahan, the Safavid capital city, including Armenian merchants from mainland Armenia and sometimes from Syria and Anatolia. These Armenian merchants had their own bazaars and caravanserais in Isfahan, where they were handling luxurious goods from India and Europe as well as New Julfan Armenias.

In this paper, I will trace Armenian trade activities under the Safavid empire focusing on land routes in the early modern period.

Kazuo Morimoto (*The University of Tokyo*): An Eyewitness of the Religio-Political Climate of the Post-Mongol Persianate World: ‘Alī b. al-Qāsim al-Mūsawī al-Najafī the Genealogist and His Notebook (Panel 3.3.2)

MS British Library Or. 1406 represents what remains today of a “notebook” that an expert on the genealogy of sayyids named ‘Alī b. al-Qāsim al-Mūsawī al-Najafī compiled during the second half of the fifteenth century. The manuscript comprises numerous texts that thematically resonate with al-Mūsawī al-Najafī’s interests in genealogy and history, especially of sayyids. A series of studies have unearthed different pieces of intriguing historical information this manuscript comprises since an article published in 2008 pointed to its potential interests. This presentation offers an overview of what this unique manuscript reveals to us about the religio-political climate of the post-Mongol Persianate World.

After describing the manuscript briefly, the presentation surveys the different pieces of historical information in relation to the significance of ‘Alid lineage and its multiple implications in the post-Mongol Persianate World that the studies to date have discovered in MS BL Or. 1406. The manuscript, for example, records the pre-dynastic claim by the Ṣafavids to the same Mūsawī genealogy that they famously claimed during the dynastic period. Another instance is an attestation the manuscript includes of the Muḥammad Shāhī branch of the Nizārī Ismā‘īlīs that also sheds fresh light upon the situation of the latter during the most obscure period of their history.

The presentation then questions why MS BL Or. 1406 came to comprise such intriguing pieces of information and outlines the activities of the experts on the genealogy of sayyids hailing from the Twelver Shi‘ī centers in Iraq during the post-Mongol periods that al-Mūsawī al-Najafī and his “notebook” represent. They peregrinated widely around the Persianate World in

response to the supra-confessional demands for the knowledge about sayyid pedigrees and in search of the opportunities for patronage that such demands created.

Ali Mozaffari (*Alfred Deakin Institute, Melbourne*): Heritage and Regional Geopolitical Competition between Iran and Turkey (Panel 4.1.3)

How is the past reinterpreted in the present as heritage and used in diplomacy and international relations? How is it mobilized for hegemonic regional pursuits? In this paper, I will examine the use of shared heritage in regional geopolitical competitions in West Asia. On the one hand, such heritage can promote mutual understanding and convergence yet on the other hand, and more often, it forms the basis for power competitions. Often, these two conflicting potentials are advanced concurrently by regional powers. Building on scholarship in heritage studies and drawing on fields of cultural diplomacy and soft power, I examine the regional implications of the competition between Iran and Turkey over shared heritage. I will do this with reference to cases such as Mowlana and the Nowruz Celebrations. I argue that heritage, by virtue of its dual potential, is implicated in, and in fact the bedrock of, regional geopolitical competitions with implicit or explicit territorial corollaries. Heritage claims thus correspond with hegemonic ambitions.

Irène Natchkebia (*Iliia State University, Giorgi Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies, Tbilisi*): Some Data by Napoleon's Envoys about Medicine and Hygiene in Persia (1807-1808) (Panel 4.2.2)

In the present paper we focused on the information of Napoleon's envoys (Jaubert, Bontems-Lefort, Dupré, Trézel, Tancioigne, Salvatori) about medicine and hygiene in Persia. According to their data the treatment of Persian physicians was founded on the traditional oriental herbal and natural means medicine, and the appropriate nutritional treatment of the patients—testing of pulse, urine, and using of an enema. Though the Persians had some books about issues of anatomy, religion created a very great obstacle to surgery and there was impossible its progress. Some Persian physicians more believed in prayers, charms and talismans.

The manuscript by Antoine Salvatori, the doctor-surgeon of the mission of General Gardane—Minister Plenipotentiary of France in Persia in 1807-1809, presents a special interest. According to the instructions of the General, he described the places where the Mission passed through from Constantinople to Tehran. As the first necessary element for the existence of an army Salvatori analyzed water quality of Asia Minor and Persian rivers, examining Persian cuisine and composed everyday useful menu for the European troops. On the basis of this information he formulated hygienic recommendations to be taken into account by the European soldiers who would participate in the Indian expedition.

In his *Mémoire* the doctor criticized Persian pseudo-medicines of surgeons and physicians, but noted Fath-Ali shah's progressive attitude towards Western medicine: he was also the first European doctor who treated

habitants of the Shah's harem. Salvatori describes and considers the reasons for the spread in Persia of eye inflammation—ophthalmia. Also, according to his opinion, the cataracts were a very wide-spread condition among the mirzas and mullahs. Its reason, he concluded, was the sedentary life, unreserved from the sensual pleasures, and abuse of alcoholic drinks, etc.

The article is based on manuscripts kept in the Paris archives.

Sumaira Nawaz (*McGill University, Montreal*): Ottoman Modernity in the Garb of Urdu (Panel 3.2.2)

An emigre bureaucrat and litterateur, Sajjad Haider “Yildirim” translated a range of Turkish novels, short-stories and plays into Urdu in the early twentieth century. He reported works of prominent literary figures like Namik Kemal and Ahmet Mithet Efendi, reformist thinkers and polemicists who were active in the Ottoman intellectual landscape during the Tanzimat period (Reorganisation, 1839-1876). Ottoman writers were struggling to move beyond older Persianate literary traditions to create a combination of pleasure, fantasy, and moral guidance that appealed to the sensibilities of an Urdu readership attempting to be both modern and Eastern. At a time when didactic Urdu prose was forcing readers to turn to semi-erotic English novels, Yildirim introduced readers to a new range of genres like gothic-romance and historical patriotic theatre set in a Muslim context. He cautiously adapted Turkish text and context to suit Persian aesthetics of love and romance that were popular among Urdu readers, creating a sense of familiarity for literary innovations. These “transcreations” thus present an interesting case study of South-South literary relations within the field of world literature that do not follow the “centre-periphery” models of West “diffusing” and East “receiving” (Thorner 2009, Orsini 2016). My paper will focus on Yildirim’s techniques of literary re-telling and interlocation reflected in *Sālis bilkhair* (1902), *Jamāluddīn khwārizm shāh* (1925) and *Āseb-i ulfat* (1931), to illustrate the dynamics of proximity and distance among texts circulating between regions that were once part of a shared Persianate ecumene.

Kaveh Niazi (*Stanford Online High School*): Convolutions of Clienthood in the Procurement of Patronage: Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī and His Early Patrons (3.4.2)

Akhlaq-i Muhtashamī is among the earliest published works of the renowned Khwajah Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1274). In the introduction (which, sadly, survives only in fragmentary form) Ṭūsī describes the work as jointly authored, and names muhtasham Nāṣir al-Dīn, the Ismāʿīlī governor of Quhistan, as his coauthor. Ṭūsī adds further that his main contribution in producing the book was in translating the governor’s words and in completing some of his thoughts. This work shares part of its title with the roughly contemporaneous and well-known *Akhlaq-i Nāṣirī*, indicating ethics as the main topic for both. As sole author, Ṭūsī dedicates *Akhlaq-i Nāṣirī* to muhtasham Nāṣir al-Dīn in an ornate introduction that the author was later

forced to alter due to political necessity. The two compositions, though nominally covering the same topic, were different in conception and content, and experienced widely different receptions. *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* was widely disseminated and is generally considered the most important work on ethics in the Persian language. *Akhlāq-i Muḥtashamī*, on the other is a relatively obscure work that survives in a single copy (fragmentary, as we have said), dating from the 17th century CE. A comparison of the dedicatory text present in each of these works—and in other early Ṭūsī compositions, works dedicated to Nāṣir al-Dīn, as well as the astronomical text *Risāla-yi Muʿīniya* dedicated to Nāṣir al-Dīn's son—suggests that *Akhlāq-i Muḥtashamī* may have helped in gaining Nāṣir al-Dīn's patronage, thus securing Ṭūsī's entry into the Ismāʿīlī court of Quhistan.

Ayako Ninomiya (*Aoyama Gakuin University, Tokyo*): From Delhi to Jawnpur: Shihāb al-Dīn al-Dawlatābādī's *Manāqib al-sādāt* (Panel 2.4.3)

During the reign of Sultan Ibrāhīm Sharqī (r. 1401-40), ruler of a newly established Sharqī kingdom based on Jawnpur, a famed Indian qādī Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad al-Dawlatābādī wrote a Persian work titled *Manāqib al-sādāt*. This relatively short work discusses the due respect to and merits of sayyids, referring to around 120 works. It quotes Qurʾānic verses, hadiths and other Arabic works, as well as Persian anecdotes of former kings, such as ʿAmr b. al-Layth or Shams al-Din Iltutmish, or intellectuals such as Abū al-Hanīfa. With the analysis of these works and anecdotes, this presentation points out that *Manāqib al-sādāt* and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Dawlatābādī represent multiple kinds of turning-point: Academic and cultural trends from Delhi to regional kingdoms; and from Arabic to Persian in the choice of language to discuss religious matters.

Nourmamadcho Nourmamadchoev (*The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London*): History-writing in Poetic Form: Sayyid Farrukhshāh and His *Tāʾrīkh-i shāhān-i Shughnān* (Panel 2.2.1)

In one of his poems, Sayyid Farrukhshāh compares the flora and fauna of Iṣfahān with Shughnān, a landlocked country in the foothills of the Hindu Kush and the Pamir mountains where he was born and raised. The life, intellectual legacy, and religious activities of Sayyid Farrukhshāh remain understudied in modern scholarship.

In this presentation I will introduce Sayyid Farrukhshāh and briefly talk about his family that migrated to the mountainous Shughnān from Khurāsān. I will also introduce one of his poetic compositions known as *Tāʾrīkh-i shāhān-i Shughnān* and analyze selected passages from it. In studying his legacy, I will also talk about his religious activities as Sayyid Farrukhshāh came from a well-known family of local Ismāʿīlī pīrs who remained active until the 1930s of the 20th century.

Austin O'Malley (*University of Arizona*): Allegory and Ascent: Reading 'Aṭṭār's *Mosibat-nāma* as Spiritual Practice (Panel 2.4.2)

This paper explores the allegorical frame-tale of 'Aṭṭār's *Mosibat-nāma* not just to explicate its deeper meaning, but to clarify its performative work and the philosophical assumptions that make that work possible. The frame-tale recounts a visionary experience witnessed by a sufi wayfarer (*sālek*) over the course of a forty-day retreat (*chella*). This wayfarer travels throughout the cosmos on a journey reminiscent of the Prophet's ascent to heaven (*me'rāj*), over the course of which he encounters and discourses with a variety of interlocutors including angels, the Throne and Footstool, the four elements, and various prophets. The narrative is not meant to be taken as an account of physical events in the waking world, as 'Aṭṭār makes clear, but as an allegorical vision that encodes a particular understanding of the cosmos in which human beings might reascend to God through the soul. At the same time, the poem invokes a metaphysical system and theory of visions in which allegorical interpretation leads not only to the recovery of hidden meanings, but itself constitutes a symbolic ascent to higher realms of reality, granting ontological access to referents that could not otherwise be grasped. When understood in this light a literary encounter with the *Mosibat-nāma* becomes a ritualized, transformative action, the performance of a vicarious forty-day retreat in textual form, and a symbolic ascent towards the supra-personal soul.

Francesca Orsini (*SOAS University of London*): Turkey under the Indian Skin (Panel 3.2.2)

Tanzimat and Republican Turkey loomed large in the Indian political and cultural imagination in the late nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, producing a new iteration of connections and shared tropes within the Persianate world, this time under the looming shadow of the British empire. If Sumatra Nawaz's paper in our panel deals with Urdu translations and trans creations of Turkish literary texts, my paper will explore the characteristics and connotations of Turkish characters in the popular Urdu play by the Parsi Theatre playwright Agha Hashr Kashmiri, *Turki Hur* (The Turkish Hour, 1922), made into a silent film in the same year. Parsi Theatre has been acknowledged as a major transmitter of Persianate stories, characters, poetry and tropes to new theatre-going audiences who had not necessarily acquired them through a Persianate education. At the same time, Parsi Theatre combined eloquent dialogue and Urdu Poe poetic verses and songs with the wider repertoire of Indic songs and stories and Victorian melodrama to create new, thrilling spectacles. Agha Hashr in particular experimented with new stories and foreign characters, most famously in *Yahudi ki larki* (The Jew's daughter), set in ancient Roman times and adapted from a libretto and opera by Jewish French composer F. Halévy, *La Juive* (1835). Did Kashmiri have a model also for *Turki Hur*? Why is the heroine Turkish, what connotations accrue to her and other Turkish characters, and how does Agha Hashr's play relate to the Indian discourse about Turkey at the time?

Irakli Paghava (*Ilia State University, Tbilisi*): Monetary Challenges of State-Building at the Former Safavid Periphery: The Georgian Experience

Our goal is to review the monetary challenges faced by the polities rising from the political ruins of the former Safavid state (after the short Ottoman-Afsharid interlude). Methodologically, we confine ourselves geographically to South-Eastern Caucasus, and to the 2nd half of the 18th century chronologically. We focus on a case study of the east-Georgian state, the united Kingdom of Kartl-Kakheti (early 1740s-1801); three generations of the local royal dynasty of Bagrationi, the Kings Teimuraz II, Irakli II and Giorgi XII had to deal with various economic challenges, including the need to organize (and control, ideally) the monetary system of the realm. We have discussed the factors which affected its establishment and evolution (as well as their output): 1) Need of monetary metal/s (metal-smelting manufactures established by Irakli II yielded approximately 6-10 tons, 660 kg and 1-4 kg of corresponding copper, silver and gold annually); 2) Importation of foreign currency (influx of Russian coppers had particular significance for the iconography and metrology of Georgian copper coinage); 3) Centuries-long tradition of minting Islamic coinage in Tiflis, the capital (hence the absence of Georgian letters on the precious metal coinage); 4) Safavid tradition of issuing small change in copper for petty transactions, silver coins to serve as the principal means of exchange, and gold ones primarily for donative reasons (Kartl-Kakheti adhered to silver monometalism as economic system, but had bimetallic copper-silver monetary market, and issued donative gold shauris); 5) Safavid tradition of minting “civic coppers” as a prerogative of the local ruler, minting coinage in precious metal obligatorily in the name of the Persian suzerain, as well as nominally vassal status of the Georgian King—explaining why he abstained from indicating his name on the coins. Narrative, documentary and coin circulation data complement the general picture.

Jaideep Pandey (*University of Michigan*): *Sūz-o-gudāz* and the Modern Iqbalian Self: Politics of the Persianate in Modern South Asia (Panel 4.1.2)

This essay looks at Allama Muhammad Iqbal's poem, 'Masjid-i Qartaba' from his 1932 poetry collection, *Bāl-i Jibrīl* [Gabriel's Wing] to look at the role that the Persianate played in the constitution of a literary modernity in Urdu. Usually, the narrative of Urdu literary modernity is understood as one which entailed a dramatic rejection of the Persianate associations of its past, widely identified as the very narrow *gul-o-bulbul* [rose and nightingale] style of poetry. However, Iqbal not only continued to use Persian, but rather, seemed to have used it as the very grounds to imagine a literary modernity for Urdu. As a poet working across four languages namely Urdu, Persian, Arabic and English, Iqbal consistently chose Persianate idiom and poetic expressions to elaborate a modern Muslim subject. In my paper, I read the role of the Persianate in his Urdu poem, 'Masjid-i Qartaba', written in the aftermath of his visit to Spain in 1931-2 while returning from London to British India. As a poem written in Urdu, about the Arab past of Islam, and with a heightened awareness of a British articulation of this past, it is interesting that Iqbal

chooses an entirely Persianate set of poetic vocabulary to outline his version of the modern Muslim subject. In this essay, I focus on one such expression—the affective state of *sūz-o-gudāz* [arduous burning and melting] that for Iqbal distinguishes the modern Muslim subject from all others, especially the *farang*, and even the angels. At the same time, the mesmerizing beauty of the Cordovan Mosque too originates in this capacity for *sūz-o-gudāz*. By looking at the meanings with which Iqbal overlays this term in the context of the rest of his poem as well as his larger Persian and Urdu oeuvre, my paper will argue that the Persianate allows Iqbal to access a non-Western cosmopolitanism within which a modern South Asian Muslim self, or as Iqbal calls him, *kāfir-i hindī* [Indian infidel] can be materialized.

Natasha Parnian (*Macquarie University, Sydney*): The Problems of Persianising: The Memory of Persian Kingship in the Samanid Period (Panel 3.2.1)

The Samanids are hailed as the great restorers of the Iranian tradition, who not only resisted "foreign" culture but actively restored Persian literary culture. This period is commonly referred to as the "renaissance" from which a renewal of Persian literary culture can be traced. Despite ruling from Transoxiana, the Samanids successfully utilized the Sasanian concept of Eranshahr, now removed from its geographical entity, to inform their own grasp to power. Thus, the promotion and transmission of the idea of Eran formed part of a broader, bureaucratic tradition of Persian kingship which informed political and cultural identities. The tenants of Persian kingship remained a significant component of the discourse surrounding leadership long after the Sasanians, particularly to legitimize rulers in a period of political chaos. This paper will trace the multifaceted use of the courtly concept of Eran in various textual sources of the Samanid era and investigate the extent to which the Samanids utilized the Sasanian literary past. This paper will situate the Samanid re-imagination of Persian kingship within a broader phenomenon of appropriating the "Persian" as a trope for leadership, comparing it to the European "mirror of princes" genre. As temporal power was negotiated across Sasanian to Abbasid and Samanid rule, so did Persian learning and imperial traditions pass onto new landscapes and thus, ushered new appropriations of Persian kingship. This paper will reflect on the trajectory of Persian kingship and most importantly, the implications of its legacy.

Ludwig Paul (*University of Hamburg*): The 'Late Early Judaeo-Persian' *Tafsīrs* of the 13th-14th Centuries (Panel 2.2.3)

Besides two isolated private letters from the 8th century C. E. found at Dandan Uiliq (China), the earliest Judaeo-Persian documents are from the 10th and 11th centuries, from south-western Iran, and display a variety of text genres: private and commercial letters, legal documents, *tafsīrs*, etc. The Early Judaeo-Persian language of these texts is dialectally quite different from the New Persian that was emerging during the 10th century in north-eastern Iran, soon to develop into a language of administration and literature

of various Islamic Empires, and into a lingua franca of the “Eastern Caliphate.” As such, it would influence and assimilate other regional forms of Persian, including the Persian written by Jews in southern Iran. Later Jewish Persian poets like Shāhīn (fl. late 13th-second part of the 14th c.) wrote their works in more or less “Standard Persian,” recognizable as Jewish only by the Hebrew script and some Hebrew loanwords.

At the same time, some Judaeo-Persian tafsīrs are extant from the 13th and 14th centuries (e.g., the “London Pentateuch” or the “Paris Book of Esther”) whose language was only partially assimilated to the contemporaneous New Persian standard, and which retained certain dialectal and grammatical features of the 10th-11th-century tafsīrs. These “late Early Judaeo-Persian” tafsīrs might be remnants of an old manuscript tradition going back to the early period. While the language of the older Early Judaeo-Persian texts has already been described more or less comprehensively (Paul 2013), the language of the later Early Judaeo-Persian tafsīrs has hardly been worked upon so far, obviously because it is not as old and “important” linguistically, and because these tafsīrs are largely perceived as being slavish translations. The present paper aims at a first systematic description of the salient grammatical features of these tafsīrs, especially in relation to the language of their earlier counterparts.

Andrew Peacock (*University of St. Andrews*): Badr al-Din Kashmiri and his Zafarnama (Panel 3.4.2)

Badr al-Din Kashmiri has attracted some attention as a prominent Sufi in 16th century Transoxiana whose works contain rich contemporary documentation of the Juybari shaykhs who played a major role in the political and religious life of Shaybanid Bukhara. However, to date scholarship has not devoted any attention to his verse chronicle the Zafarnama, which survives in manuscripts in Dushanbe and London. Dedicated to the Shaybanid ruler Abdallah Khan (d. 1598). The present paper examines the main characteristics of the chronicle, which integrates both Sufi and historical elements, and constitutes a major source for Shaybanid history. I further compare the work with another neglected historical work by Kashmiri, his Iskandarnama.

Parvaneh Pourshariati (*NYCCT/CUNY*): Mithra in Lakh Mazar and Kāl Jangal in Southern Khurasan (Panel 1.1.2)

The present article offers a new reading of the Lākh Mazār and Kāl Jangāl's Parthian rock inscriptions. It argues that these Parthian inscriptions pertain to a Parthian family, the leader of which was Wištiwēnēn Mehrbān Ardashīr, a naxarxar, (who probably also functioned as a priest (?)) and his offspring: Pīrūz Wištiwēnēn, Wahrām Wištiwēnēn, Gardāzād Mehrbān Wištiwēnēn (?) and Mihrūk Wištiwēnēn. The Parthian inscriptions boasts about the contributions of the Wištiwēnēn family to the location in which they had constructed a pilgrimage site. Importantly, the author will argue that the Wištiwēnēn family were actually a Mithraist family. The individual members of the family all carried theophoric Mithraic names. The family in fact

specifically invoke Mithra (mtrw) in the Kāl Jangāl inscriptions. In the Lākh Mazār inscriptions, the family informs the public about the construction of a Temple. It further directs the travelers to come and pray for the happiness of Wištīwēnēn, he who leads with wine, by drinking wine. Drinking wine to the happiness of someone is a thoroughly Mithraic ritual, one of the best testimonies to which is contained in the Mithraic Parthian epic of Samak 'Ayyar. The Parthian inscriptions are located on a thoroughfare for travelers, and merchants, and functioned like billboards. The sanctity of Lākh Mazār has continued through the ages.

To this day pilgrims come to pray and solicit help from the metamorphosed temple to *qadamgāh*. Many symbols are carved on the "sacred rock" of Lākh Mazār, among them a great many lions, hands, chalipas and depictions of the sun, all Mithraic symbols.

Parvaneh Pourshariati (*NYCCT/CUNY, New York*): *Mazdakism Revisited: Mithra and Mazdak* (Panel 2.3.3)

Much has been written about the Mazdakite uprising, and much wild speculations have been offered (Crone 1994) in explanation of this important historical event, the most convincing of which is probably Gaub's assertion (Gaub 1982) that no such figure as Mazdak ever existed in history! In the present paper, the author hopes to show that the Mazdakite uprising was inspired by Mithraic beliefs of the ayyārs unleashed by the Parthian Mihrānid dynast, Shāpūr Rāzī, when he came to the aid of King Kavād in order to rid the King of the stranglehold of Kārinid Sukhrā on the Sasanian dynasty. It will be shown how the accusations of practicing communism, and the ostensible practice of *ibāḥat al-Nisā'* (sharing of wives) and debauchery that was unleashed against the so called "Mazdakites," was nothing but the praxis of 'ayyārs who were themselves in fact Mithraic brother and sisterhoods of Iran!

Elisa Pruno (*University of Florence*): *The Circulation of Kashani Pottery in Historic Armenia: status quaestionis* (Panel 4.1.1)

The Kashani pottery production is a very important and luxury Iranian pottery and its presence in different sites (urban or not, for example) and in different period (from XII to XIV cc.) can put in light both economic and social information. The main goal of this work will be to define the presence of Kashani pottery in a wide geographical area (the lands between Caucasus, Anatolia and Mesopotamia), starting from the site of Dvin, and try to understand the motivation (economic, political, of social values?) of this presence.

Muhammad Qudsi (*Iranian Political Association, Tehran*): *Sermons on the Campus Soccer Field: A Semi-Temporary Sacred Place for Friday Prayers within University of Tehran* (Panel 3.3.1)

This research seeks to identify aspects of making a Sacred place through the performance of religious practices within public spaces. Friday prayer is one of the most paramount practices of Islamic belief, which is required to be held Congregationally on Fridays. Performing this duty in The Great Mosques or

other sacred places of a city (Musallas or shrines) has created extensive effects in the urban fabric. Performing the “Spiritual-Political act of Friday prayer” inside the University of Tehran’s premises since 1979 has taken place contrary to the canonical religious consensus of Islamic Jurisprudence (Fiqh) regarding the specified places designated for practicing Friday prayer. This has practically led to forms of occupation of space and the making of a “semi-temporary sacred place” in the university. Additionally, Friday prayer, led by the “Temporary Friday Imam of Tehran”, with controversial political references in the second sermon, has always overwhelmed the “spiritual” aspect of this practice, furthering the control over space. This research derives from the literature of place making and occupation of space, referencing forebears such as Henri Lefebvre and others of more recent works (J. Friedmann, D. Massey, N. Thrift, etc.) to build a framework explaining the ongoing politics of place. Also, the literature of right to the city has been utilized to frame the practices of inclusion and exclusion in space. In addition to archival resources of nearly five decades of Friday Prayers at University of Tehran, ethnographic methods have been implemented to support this research. This work aims to investigate these spatialities of place making and exclusion over the spaces of University of Tehran through the practice of Friday prayer, and the ways it is materialized in space. Sermons dominate the prayer by reproducing and reinforcing a space for political mobilization. This is amplified by the occupation of space at the heart of the University of Tehran, on Enghelab street, an eventful and prominent place of resistance. This attempt at occupation of the narrative and space is an ongoing strive for control.

Redman Rasooli Mehrabani (*University of Tehran*): Role of Bibliomancy with Persian Poems in the Life of Crimean Tatars and Ottoman Turks as Depicted in Hüseyin Kefevî's *Rāznāme* (Panel 3.2.4)

Persian was regarded as a language of exquisite literature and mysticism in the territory of the Crimean Khanate. Among the Crimean Khans, Ğazi II Giray was the most eloquent in Persian. During his imprisonment in Iran, he composed a famed Persian Rubai. He had strong ties with Hüseyin Kefevî, a well-known litterateur from Kefe (Kaffa/ currently Feodosia in Crimea). He wrote at least two letters to him containing Persian poetry and phrases. Likewise, Hüseyin Kefevî dedicated *Savânih al-Tafa'ol va lavâih al-Tavakkol* to Ğazi II Giray, in which he gathered anecdotes about bibliomancy with using Quran, Divan-e Hafez and rarely other Persian poems (Fal zadan/ Tafa'ol). Afterward, he revised the book, appended more anecdotes, entitled it *Rāznāme* and dedicated it to Murad III, the Ottoman emperor. Later, he prepared the second edition of *Rāznāme* and dedicated it to Sultan Mehmed III. Although a portion of this book was translated from *Maftūh al-Qulūb*, he added numerous anecdotes concerning the presence of Persian poetry and bibliomancy in everyday life of Crimean Tatars and Ottoman Turks, as well as in their khans and sultans' courts. These anecdotes demonstrate various social and cultural nuances, such as Sultan Selim II and Mehmed II's bibliomancy as Humayun and Jahangir, Mughal emperors of India (Based on

a manuscript of Divan-e Hafez in Khuda Bakhsh oriental library of Bankipore). Some of the anecdotes happened in Kaffa, the author's birthplace, e.g., a dervish prospered in the ring game (yüzüğü gizlemek) and accurately guessed who concealed the ring through bibliomancy by Divan-e Hafez. Some anecdotes related to Ottoman statesmen, e.g., at a feast hosted by Hasan Beyzade Efendi (judge of Aleppo), a man complained about his life and the Ottoman court's disregard for him. They performed a bibliomancy with Hafez's Divan. The verses implied that one should not be despairing and should contact the Sultan. A while later, the man interpreted several of the Sultan's poems and was appointed to Defterdar of Temeşvar.

Khodadad Rezakhani (*Leiden University*): Geographical Observations from the Pahlavi Archives: From Esperez to Nemwar (Panel 4.2.3)

The so-called Pahlavi Archive(s), consisting of published and unpublished documents kept in various libraries in Europe and the US, as well as private collections in Iran, includes documents from the two regions of Tabarestan (Mazandaran Province) and Qom (Qom and Markazi Provinces). The documents have so far been read and studied by Philippe Gignoux and Dieter Weber, with further studies by Maria Macuch, as well as other scholars. Most studies so far have concentrated on philological and palaeographic challenges of the documents, while Macuch's commentary has provided the needed legalistic background to their content. The present study, following the author's previous work, will concentrate on historical and geographical issues within the documents, including identification of certain toponyms as well as historical context of the documents. The paper will make use of previously published studies of the Pahlavi Archive supplemented by observations from unpublished examples.

Kianoosh Rezanian (*Ruhr University Bochum*): Middle Persian Corpus and Dictionary (MPCD): The Lexicographical Process and the Structure of the Dictionary (Panel 1.1.4)

The Zoroastrian Middle Persian corpus, by far the most exhaustive Middle and Old Iranian corpus, has been only partially investigated to date. A comprehensive dictionary of Middle Persian is an old desideratum. The MPCD project (mpcorpus.org), therefore, aims, on the one hand, at creating a corpus of Zoroastrian Middle Persian texts in Pahlavi script, and, on the other hand, at developing a corpus dictionary based on the corpus.

The starting point of the project is about the 20 oldest Pahlavi codices, from the 13th-17th centuries, whose contained texts will be annotated on several levels, including orthographic and phonographic, semantic, grammatical, and inter-textual annotation. Based on this corpus, a Middle Persian-English dictionary will then be created.

In the project, the corpus and the dictionary represent two closely interlocked analytical instruments, which intertwine with different emphases on syntax and semantics. The instrument is thought to provide the possibility to explore

the Zoroastrian Middle Persian texts by switching between dictionary, corpus, and photographs of the folios of the original manuscripts.

The paper will present the designed structure of the dictionary on the presentational level, its data model, and the planned lexicographical process in the project. As our dictionary is assumed to provide onomasiological access to the material, the paper will discuss the chosen approach in the project in this regard. Moreover, it will introduce some useful means for the study of the Pahlavi literature that are developed in the MPCD project and made available for the community.

Julia Rubanovich (*The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*): Retelling the Hebrew Bible in Verse: What Was Shāhīn's Authorial Intent? (Panel 1.2.3)

Shāhīn (fl. in the late 13th – the first half of the 14th c.) is the first known poet to versify parts of the Pentateuch in the Judaeo-Persian language in the form of long narrative poems (mathnavī). He is credited with four works, all of which provide versified renderings of specific parts of the Hebrew Bible. It has been demonstrated that while paraphrasing and reliant on the Pentateuch, the Jewish poet makes ample use of Islamic accounts, originating mostly in the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* genre; in order to make Islamic material palatable to his co-religionists, he accommodates it by means of various narrative techniques, including omission, redistribution of emphases, focalization, narrator's asides, etc.

Although due to recent research we have a better understanding of the ways by means of which Shāhīn reworks the biblical material, the circumstances surrounding the composition of his poems are still shrouded in obscurity. In the present paper, I offer a close reading and analysis of the paratextual sections of Shāhīn's works in the chronological order of their composition. I will examine the main themes and motifs found in the introductory and concluding parts of his poems, in an attempt to elucidate the reasons for Shāhīn's endeavor and reconstruct the authorial intent within a particular socio-historical context of his time.

Simone Ruffini (*The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*): Panegyric Qaṣīdas as Historical Letters: Four Odes from the Ilkhanid Period (Panel 3.4.2)

Despite being one of the most important literary forms of expression of Medieval Persianate societies, the panegyric qaṣīda has attracted little scholarly attention in comparison to other poetic genres. This neglect especially applies to the Ilkhanid period, whose panegyric poems have often been discarded as mere exercises in rhetoric, insincere flattering and inferior copies of the masterpieces of the previous eras (Şafā 1390/2011; Keyvani 2019). These opinions notwithstanding, some of the panegyric odes produced during the Mongol period by lesser known poets such as Pūr Bahā'-i Jāmī (d. ca. 1284) and Sayf-i Farghānī (d. ca. 1305-6) furnish unique historical insights and offer a glimpse on the relation between the poets and the notables for whom they were composed. This paper analyzes four

qaṣīdas by the abovementioned poets, which were dedicated to some of the most important political figures of the time: ‘Aṭā-Malik Juvaynī (d. 1283), his brother Shams-al-Dīn (d. 1284) and the Ilkhan Ghazan (d. 1304). The structure and themes of these odes suggest that they were meant to function as letters, in which the authors complained of the economic and political conditions of the regions in which they resided and asked for the direct intervention of their addressees. I will attempt to historically contextualize the poems and elucidate how the two poets utilized the poetical form of the qaṣīda to reflect the historical realities of their time.

Ariane Sajed (*Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Iranian Studies, Vienna*): (Re-) Covering a Mutual Language: Persianate Muslims and Jews in Austria (Panel 1.1.3)

In the process of constituting group boundaries, social groups discard certain elements of their past, orient themselves towards new reference groups and adopt new traditions. This paper traces this process among Central Asian Jews in Austria. Several centuries of Jewish experience in Persianate societies are falling into oblivion due to emigration and the transformation of religious boundaries. One aspect of this process is to delineate religious from cultural aspects and to define what is “truly” Jewish (or Muslim). This leads to a highly selective remembering of the past and the framing of communal memory according to contemporary demands or religious and ethnic belonging.

The methods used for this research were biographic interviews as well as a specifically developed format of a group reading circle, at which individuals from Afghanistan and Central Asia participated. The results of both formats will be discussed in regard to how Persianate Jews have come to delineate themselves from their cultural heritage and sine qua non from Persianate Muslims. A comparison with the experience of Afghans in Austria will highlight different experiences of migration and the changing images of Muslims and Jews beyond the Austrian context.

The presentation starts with an overview of Jewish history in Central Asia and Afghanistan from the late 19th century until now, their historical networks across the region and mutual influences between Muslims and Jews in Persianate societies. In the 1930s, most of these networks were disrupted, leading to the almost complete emigration from these regions. I will then turn to the trajectories of Muslims and Jews from these regions in Austria and discuss how new religious identities are formed by rejecting what has come to be considered “foreign” influence although it was part of their ancestral culture for centuries. I argue that knowledge about this mutual cultural heritage, including language, will help both communities to learn about their histories and to dismantle images of the “Other”.

Maia Sakhokia (*Iliia State University, Tbilisi*): Towards Rhetorical Typology in Iranian Literary Tradition (Achaemenians and Shahnameh) (Panel 4.3.2)

It had been said recently that: the typological rhetorical textual data between Achaemenids and Shahnameh of Ferdousi are revealed; these relationships should be examined more precisely (Sakhokia ASPS 2018). The next researches show the certain formal textological typological parallels. It became relevant to carry out typological comparison of Old Persian thematic, linguistic and textological-idiomatic units with the Shahnameh of Ferdousi. Rhetoric shapes a key axis of external, creative-literary, linguistic cover of all the mentioned aspects. Various groups and elements of characteristics and features are outlined. Components and features of the texture demonstrate a general typological tradition of rhetoric and aesthetics. These two chains have common aesthetics mostly. We can see here the paradigmatic lexical sequences as Rhetorical Codes: lexemes, taxemes, phrases, systematically repeated. The repetition seems as method of Rhetoric in OP inscriptions as well as in Shahnameh. The parallel typological-rhetoric samples reflect the certain rhetoric-thematic and textual-paradigmatic units, which are common for both epochal chains. Pragmatic semantics and lexical data create Rhetorical Rules and its Paradigms. The typological unity of rhetorical data of OP/Shahnameh (through Sassanian data too), shows a live heritage of Pragmatic Rhetorical Ideas. Such Ideas are realized by formal paradigmatic lexical codes and morphosyntactic structures (literary lines, poetic ranks), connected with certain contexts. The paradigmatic vertical ranks by variable units (code words, etc.) can be singled out. Among these ranks there are just identical sequences, repeated sometimes without changes in Shahnameh too. In OP such repetitions are the constant contents of Rhetoric Construction (System). For example, let us see: the contexts of “coronation” in Shahnameh, the contexts of “creation” in OP, the contexts of “palace building” in both OP and Shahnameh, etc., in a lot of different special or common literary contexts of both epochs.

George Sanikidze (*Iliia State University, Tbilisi*): Iranian-Georgian Interactions during the Safavid Era: A European Perspective (Panel 2.1.1)

In the paper are analyzed different aspects of Iranian-Georgian relations during the Safavid Era on the basis of the study of the European primary sources. There are lots of important information concerning the topic in these sources-reports of Catholic missionaries (Don Pietro Avitable, Archangelo Lamberti, etc.) and works by European travelers (Jean Chardin, Jean-Baptiste Tournefort etc.) which compliment and enrich data of Persian and Georgian sources and sometimes present more realistic and less tendentious point of view about Georgian-Iranian relations.

Main attention is given to the study of Iranian-Georgian relations from 1630s up to the collapse of the Safavid state. From the 1630s onwards the so-called “politics of compromise” was established between the Eastern Georgian kingdom of Kartli and Persia; this implied that Persia would leave

Kartli's social-economic structure unchanged, and the Georgian dynasty of Bagratians would maintain the royal throne with the condition of adopting Islam and subordinating to the Safavid shah. Kartli is considered as a velayet of the Safavid Empire but as this province was a border entity, the valis of Georgia exercised more autonomy than other provinces. This specific situation can be considered in the framework of the asymmetric model of the imperial organization. European travelers stress peculiarities of Iranian-Georgian interactions during this period. For example, Jean Chardin notes that Iran's influence in Kartli (Gorjestan) was expressed in several aspects but at the same time, besides Tbilisi used to obey the Muslim state and the Muslim ruler used to govern the city and its surrounding territories, Georgians maintained certain freedom. Persians are obliged not to carry out ultimate measures and they had to grant full rights to Tbilisi and Georgia to maintain all formal signs of their religion. Tournefort considers that the King of Persia spends much more finances than gains in Georgia, etc.

Ani Sargsyan (*University of Hamburg*): On the Practical Usage of the 15th-17th Century Persian-Turkish Dictionaries in the Ottoman Empire (Panel 4.2.1)

Being acknowledged in studies focused on situation of knowledge about Persian language and literature in the Ottoman realm in the 15th -17th centuries (Green (ed) 2019; Fragner 1999), my aim in this contribution is to grasp the main usage spheres of dissemination of Persian learning via the corpus of the Persian – Ottoman Turkish bilingual dictionaries written during the examined period.

In the 15th -16th centuries Persian learning diffused and predominantly thrived in princely residents, Sufi communities (convents or lodges), primary schools (sibyan mektepleri) and other official and private “institutions”. The Persian-Turkish dictionaries which are under scrutiny, let us convincingly conjecture the spheres where Persian was intimately absorbed, appropriated and transmitted.

In the frame of the presentation, first, I will discuss the historical factors mapping out the situation of Persian learning in the Ottoman Empire in the examined period and, analyzing an important group of primary sources, will attempt to answer the questions like: What are the main aims of the authors to compile the dictionaries? Who are the main providers, the protégé and the main recipients of the farhangs, which were widely used, appropriated and spread?

Irene Schneider (*University of Göttingen*): “Honor” and “Honor-Killing” in the 2013 Iranian Penal Code (Panel 2.4.1)

Since 2013 Iran has a new Penal Code that supplemented and partly replaced the Penal Code of 1997. In an article (JPS 2012) I discussed “honor killings” as well as the concept of honor, especially sexual honor with reference to the Penal Code of 1997. In a follow up I will examine if there are changes with respect to the punishment of offences motivated by honor

including honor killings in the new Penal Code of 2013. Article 630 of 1997 which allowed the husband to kill his wife and her lover if they are caught red handed is still in force. In the new Penal Code Article 302 restricts the killing of another person without a court judgment. However, the case of “honor killing” seems to be accepted. In my talk I will analyze related articles of the new Penal Code to find out, whether, and if so, how the approach of the law to sexual honor changed and attempt to explain why this happened. My analysis will rely on consideration of legal commentaries as well as examination of the backdrop of Islamic legal concepts such as “zena”.

Mona Shakerian (*Institute for the History of Science, University of Tehran*) & **Amir Mohammad Gamini** (*Institute for the History of Science, University of Tehran*): The First Scientific Newspapers in Iran (Panel 3.1.1)

Iran's defeat in the Russo-Persian Wars (1826–1828 AD) resulted in the emergence of the Iran's backwardness idea in various parts of military and industrial fields. Therefore, to overcome this backwardness, acquiring European sciences and techniques became necessary. So the Iranian government sent students to Europe and invited European teachers to Iran and also established new schools in the country for academic exchange. Some of the achievements of the new students were the printing press, translations and newspaper industry. The first modern Persian language newspaper in Iran was published in 1837 AD by Mirza Saleh Shirazi, and the second Persian newspaper called *Ruznameh Waqa'i Al-Tephagiye* was published in 1851 AD by Mirzā Ṭāqī Khan Amīr-e Kabīr. Then in 1864 AD. The first professional scientific newspaper was published in Iran 27 years after the publication of the first newspaper. In this article, three scientific newspapers in the pre-constitutional Qajar era have been examined; *Ruznameh 'Elmiye Dolat Elie Iran* newspaper, *Ruznameh 'ELMĪ* newspaper and *DĀNEŠ* newspapers. These three newspapers are briefly introduced in the article. After that, the way of presenting the contents and the attitude of the editors of the newspaper have been discussed. By studying the newspapers, it is clear that the most important knowledge in that era was astronomy, followed by medicine and physics, as well as the industrial progress and inventions of other countries. A summary of some content in physics and astronomy is also given. At the end, the main sources and references of the manuscripts, some equivalent scientific terms, and finally the common weights and values of the Qajar era have been collected.

Aziza Shanazarova (*Columbia University, New York*): The Book of Women's Rituals: The Central Asian Adaptation of the '*Aqā'īd al-Nisā'* (Panel 2.1.2)

The present paper explores the Central Asian adaptation of the '*Aqā'īd al-nisā'* that has survived as a single copy within a manuscript codex located at the Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent (Uzbekistan). Not only does the Central Asian adaptation of the '*Aqā'īd al-nisā'* lift “the iron curtain” from the little-known world of rituals and customs practiced by women in early modern Central Asian societies, but it also serves as an important

source that balances the androcentric view of gendered history of the early modern Persianate world, while challenging the preconceived notions of women's agency and authority in pre-modern Muslim societies.

Mehmonsho Sharifov (*University of Central Asia, Dushanbe*): *Nomus and 'the Politics': The Genealogy of 'the Politics' in Central Asia* (Panel 4.1.3)

This paper focuses on the local concept of 'nomus' to analyze how the concept of 'the politics' was elaborated by Muslim (Central Asians, Tajiks) philosophers (Farabi, Avicenna, Tusi and others) in the time of the Samanid dynasty and after them. During this period, the legal reality and political system of the state, and politics as theoretical and practical affairs were shaped. The main pillar of that "nomos thinking" (Nomosdenken, Habermas) was Islamic law or sharia'. The concept of 'nomus' became central to the rule of law, the stability of the political order, and the legitimacy of property, and even it was an important structure for the growth of human subjectivity in the region. Through the following centuries, when the region was occupied by different Turkic and Mongol tribes, and later by the Russians, - Central Asians (Muslim, Tajiks) were not in the position of decision makers, the concept of 'nomus', which was a key concept for law, politics and sovereignty, and fundamental for the construction of subjectivity in this context almost stopped working in high structures of society and politics. The meaning of nomus remained in the context of the family relations, but in the old texts and dictionaries the meaning of 'nomus' was primarily related to the rule of law, leadership, and politics.

This paper also analyzes the local concept of nomus in the light of the works of Carl Schmitt, Leo Staruss, Cornelius Castoriadis, Carlo Galli and Jürgen Habermas on the concept of the 'nomos', which according to them is about the critique and genealogy of politics. On the one hand, 'nomus' is the unseen reality that exists and functions within the cultural domain of the Central Asians (Tajiks); on the other, the nomus itself is the value, which gives sign about the existence of the technique of the self – truth – power and space making. The last section of this article discusses the technique of benomusi (Persian, a state - of -being -out -of - nomus) in Tajikistan, where self, truth and power are disabled and are not in harmony.

I argue that the word, nomus, itself traces back to the Avestan times of Iranians, though Muslim Central Asians (Muslims, Tajiks) were introduced with the concept through religious (Christian, Islamic) as well as Greek texts (philosophy).

Sunil Sharma (*Boston University*): *Remembering Illustrious Women in the Age of Print* (Panel 3.2.2)

Interactions between Persianate literary cultures in the nineteenth century were renewed and reshaped by the advent of print culture. Combined with new interest in the literary production by women poets of the past and present, as well as social and educational reform movements, this gave rise to a number of anthologies, biographical dictionaries, and translations of

works in multiple genres. A case in point is the Ottoman Turkish work, *Meşahir ün-nisa* (1878-79) by Mehmet Zihni, which was a biographical dictionary of illustrious women in Islamic societies, including female poets with a selection of their verses. The work was rendered into Persian as *Khayrāt al-hesān* (1888) by Mohammad Hasan Khan E'temad al-Saltaneh, and then into Urdu as *Mashāhir-e nisvān* (1902) by Muhammad 'Abbas. The authors of the Persian and Urdu versions emphasized aspects of their own cultures, thus curating specific views of the female contribution to Islamic and Persianate history and literature. My paper will compare the three texts and also analyze how print culture gave a new impetus to the patterns of circulation of books and ideas in the Persianate world, taking into account the different local factors that motivated the production of these works.

Rushongul Shofakirova (*Khorog State University*): Pamiri Traditional Ornament “Swastika” (Panel 1.3.3)

This article is not scientific but informational and talks about the cultural heritage of the Aryans of the Pamirs that has come down to us more than thousands of years ago. The swastika is associated with the Aryan religion in the ancient Pamirs.

This religion has not been preached since the tenth century. The echo of this religion, in the form of cultural heritage, has been passed down from generation to generation. Still, this sign adorns the houses and clothes of the Pamiri dwellers.

Swastika in Pamirs is called (Negichak (local dialect) or Garduna (Tajik version) since time immemorial. The word Negichak or Garduna means moving. Also, this symbol is called Charkhe Gardun - Continuous Movement.

The Pamiri highlanders associate this sign with four primary elements: fire, air, water, and land. Joining together these elements creates a Cross. According to the Arian religion, the creation of the universe depends on the above-mentioned elements.

Of the four elements, fire (alowak) is most used in Pamiri traditional ornaments. Fire is a combination of elements such as the sun, heat, blood, and everything positive that contradicts the negative (dark, cold, etc.). That is typical of the Aryan religion of the eternal confrontation of good and evil. Fire is considered holy for mountaineers to this day. That's why artisans depict fire in their ornaments as a guardian talisman to something in the craft. Usually, the red color cross is embroidered on dark canvas or clothes. It meant the superiority of light over darkness.

There were two kinds of swastikas in Pamirs: clockwise and counterclockwise. Clockwise is associated with masculinity and counterclockwise is associated with the feminine. It points just to the difference between the sexes, but not contradictions of Good and Evil since there has never been inequality between men and women in the Pamirs.

Abha Singh (*Indira Gandhi National Open Museum, New Delhi*): Mughal Taqavi (Agricultural Loans): A Study of Some Rare Eighteenth Century Taqavi Documents in Persian Issued by the Ijaradars (Panel 3.4.1)

The present study brings to light a rare collection of taqavi (agricultural loans given to peasants) documents in Persian preserved at Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. The documents stand out for these are the first ever so far known presence of the original taqavi deeds (Likhtang).

Muhammad Tughluq was the first Delhi Sultan who had started the practice of issuing taqavi to the peasants for the expansion and betterment of agriculture. Since then, the issue of taqavi loans became a common practice throughout the Mughal period. In the Rajasthani documents often taqavi was known as tagai.

What is important here is though we get frequent references of grant of taqavi we have not yet found a single such Mughal or Rajasthani deeds (Likhtang) pertaining to a grant of such agricultural loans. Irfan Habib, S.P. Gupta and Dilbagh Singh have briefly discussed the issue on the basis of complaints received and actions taken by the state. However, no such known copy of the deeds of the 16-17th centuries is survived.

The present study thus throws valuable light on the actual procedure of granting agricultural loans (taqavi) prevalent under the Mughals. It also highlights on the nature of interests taken on such loans granted by the state.

Largely it was the state's responsibility for the extension of cultivation as well as to ensure that the cultivated land should not be left fallow. The state used to grant such taqavis to the peasants. Rajasthani documents also underline that as gradually the crisis struck during the eighteenth century, frequently it was not the state that was directly granting the taqavi, instead it was getting that paid through the local mahajan (moneylender), though stood herself as surety. The present documents are also unique for these documents show that here neither the state nor the moneylenders but the ijaradar were lending taqavis to the peasants.

Patryk Skupniewicz (*University of Natural Sciences and Humanities in Siedlce, Poland*): On Some Possible Trace of Mithraism in Sasanian Art (Panel 2.3.3)

Reconstruction of traces of Mithraic ethics, myth or societies in literature is an already defined, field of research, but could traces of Iranian Mithraism be found in visual sources? Any study of possible Mithraic evidence must rely heavily on the comparison with the forms preserved in the well-documented material evidence of Roman Mithraism.

The central motif for Roman Mithraism was a scene of tauroctony. While many have claimed tauroctony scenes to belong to Roman Mithraism solely, evidence for tauroctony are also found in the Sasanian cultural zone. Sasanian toreutics and plates from Fabricius Collection where a rider holds a bull and is about to kill it with his sword, are two examples of this. Western

tauroctony scenes never show Mithra on horseback, but as it was already pointed out by Lucinda Driven, Mithraic imageries further East included more horseback depictions. Thus, in the plate from Synya Family Collection, the rider rides the bull and apparently kills another bull below. Although in these the protagonists use lances which are a different weapon from the sword known in Roman Mithraic art, the religious symbolism of spears and lances in Iranian beliefs has long been attested. The spear also remained the sacrificial tool among the pre-Christian Slavs. Roman Mithraism attests depictions of Mithra riding a bull. As the plate from Synya Family Collection shows an important element here is the fact that the protagonist sits on the same type of animal which he kills. As the *Tarikh-e Tabaristan* informs us, however, the local dynast of Sasanian ancestry, Gī-e b. Gīlānshāh, who was called *gāvbarēh* (Cow Devotee), also rides a bull while conquering Gilan to Khurasan (West to East). [Pourshariati] There is then the famous example of "Shapur killing a deer," in a plate in British Museum. Here the layout of tauroctony has been preserved (hero sitting on the sacrificed animal while killing it), except that the bull was replaced by the deer. It must be noted however, that to this day male deer are commonly called bulls in Iran and, and going hunting in northern Iran, is to this day called cow-killing *gāv koshī* [Pourshariati]. The nouns *gāv* and *gavazn* are in fact exchangeable in several ancient Iranian languages. There is also a series of seals which include deer, and snakes or scorpions.

Raihon Sohbnazarbekova (*Russian-Tajik (Slavonic) University, Dushanbe*): Actualization of the Women's Issue in the Tajik Periodical Press of the First Half of the 20th Century (Panel 2.4.1)

Tajik periodicals of the first half of the 20th century, especially the 20s-30s, played a significant role in the emancipatory policy of the new Soviet government towards women. However, their educational and promotional role in this direction remains unexplored. In this regard, the proposed study for the first time examines the causes and main factors of the actualization of women's issue in the Tajik press of the first half of the 20th century.

The following main periods are distinguished in the development of the Tajik periodical press: the pre-October period, the Soviet period and the post-Soviet period. Proceeding from this, the author considers the studied issue according to the mentioned stages, but pays special attention to the pre-October period and the period up to the 1950s of the Soviet time.

The paper reveals that the first pre-October period is associated with the cultural-enlightenment, and socio-political movement – Jadidism, whose representatives were the first to address women's issues. The main reasons and spiritual background that influenced the evolution of the Jadid view of women's status are identified.

The second period begins with the publication of *The Flame of the Revolution* in 1919, where one can observe the publishers' interest in women's issues. According to the new government's political course, addressing women's

issue was an integral part of solving the general proletarian issue, and in this regard, women's issues became central in the Tajik periodicals of the Soviet period. Moreover, in the 1930s, a special women's magazine *On the Lenin Way* was created in Tajik.

The study also introduces for the first time the materials of many Tajik publications of the specified period, which have not been the subject of study by researchers until now.

Florence Somer (*École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris*): Ancient Iconographical Explanation on the Jāmāspian Tradition Texts (Panel 2.2.2)

Starting from Central Asia and moving westwards, the history of the astrological-apocalyptic tradition put under the dictation of Jāmāsp (*Aḥkām-ī Jāmāsp* or *Kitāb Ḥakīm Jāmāsp*) adapted culturally and socially to the rulers to whom it was supposed to bring the wise word and the emphasis of the king's fame beyond the perishable material world.

Based on the properly Sassanian concept of Saturn and Jupiter conjunctions, the historical astrology narrated by Jāmāsp describes the ineluctable march of the world from its diluvian origin to its apocalyptic demise as it emphasizes the reign of the dedicatee ruler called 'saḥib qeran'; (lord of the conjunction). The adaptation of this millenarian treatise focusing on Iranian history from the early centuries of Islam to the Sedjukid and then Mongol periods also owes its notoriety to an enigmatic planetary iconographic tradition associated with the effects of the planetarium position. This paper explores the iconography of the planets described in the treatises attributed to the Zoroastrian sage Jāmāsp. It induces a syncretic influence between Hinduism, Buddhism, Manichaeism and Zoroastrianism peculiar to Central Asia, particularly in the art of the populations residing around Turfan between the 6th and 10th centuries.

Leonardo Squilloni (*University of Florence*): Trade, Cultural Exchange, and Political Representation: The Caravanserai of Selim as a Product of Interregional Entanglements (Panel 4.1.1)

The caravanserai of Selim, traditionally dated to 1332, is located next to an isolated mountain pass, on the northern edge of the rural Vayots' Dzor region (Armenia). During the 13th and 14th centuries AD, the Orbelean dynasty was able to establish a powerful lordship on this territory, acting as de facto territorial lords, firstly linked to the Mongol Empire and then to the Persian Ilkhanate. Besides trade and commercial links, which data could be deduced on the material culture of Vayots' Dzor and on the political ideas and ways of representation of the Orbeleans? In this paper, I will present some results of the light archaeological analyses carried out on Selim caravanserai. First, masonry stratigraphy displays a multi-phase construction process and technical characteristics that are shared with other buildings in the region. A broader focus on architectural elements and landscape characteristics not only allows to interpret the caravanserai of Selim as a monumental demonstration of the political power of the Orbeleans, but it also emphasizes

the entanglements with the architectural decoration, technical knowledge, and ideology of the Seljuk Anatolian khans. Following these remarks, the caravanserai appears as a multifunctional building that fulfils economic and political functions, in addition to its basic use as shelter, thus reflecting the relation between the Orbeleans and the Ilkhanate of Persia. Furthermore, it exposes the economic policy of the Orbeleans that sought to link a rural area to medium and large-scale trades.

Margaret Squires (*The Courtauld Institute, University of London*): Fragmented Histories: A Deccani Carpet in the Chehel Sotun? (Panel 1.3.3)

Though it is certain that carpets were integral components of Safavid palaces, mosques, and shrines, few survive that can be securely linked to specific buildings. A notable exception is the seventeenth-century carpet believed to have lined the floor of the audience hall of the Chehel Sotun in Isfahan, well-known amongst carpet specialists but rarely mentioned in the broader discourse around the palace itself. The carpet remained in the Chehel Sotun until the late nineteenth century, at which point it was cut up into pieces and dispersed to at least twelve different collections. If the stories surrounding this carpet are true, it would be a remarkable survival; however, both the historical record and the fragments themselves present many contradictions. For one, its design and weave structure indicate that it was produced in the Deccan region of India rather than in Iran. Furthermore, the massive proportions of its borders, which correspond to the scale of the audience hall, suggest that the total size of this carpet that far exceeds previously assumed limitations of the looms of both Iran and the Deccan at this time. This paper will examine the evidence that this massive Deccani carpet indeed comprises part of the original seventeenth-century furnishings of the Chehel Sotun. It will consider both Iranian and Deccani carpet production in the second half of the seventeenth century and the possible scenarios under which this carpet could have made its way to Isfahan, including commission and diplomatic exchange, and the implications of each. It will also consider the evidence of the Chehel Sotun itself and what its spatial organization, function, and painted decoration tell us about the carpets that once lined its floors.

Hallie Swanson (*University of Pennsylvania*): Translating Love: The Indo-Persian Masnavi (Panel 4.1.2)

Persian masnavis (a poem with rhyme scheme AA BB etc.) were written in India from the thirteenth century, when Amir Khusro was the first to rework Nizami's *Khamsa*. From the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries, stories drawn from Sanskrit epics and local Indian legends joined the pantheon of Nizami's heroes and heroines. Persian poets associated with Sufi orders adapted Indic-language *premkhyans* (literally 'love stories' told in couplets) into *masnavi* form, using them as Sufi allegories; in their works, they cited the other pairs of lovers in lists, inserting each new story into the tradition. Traffic among Persian and various Indian languages was a staple of the *masnavi* in

India, with the same stories being re-told in multiple different languages to a multilingual public.

When the authors of these Indian masnavis brought their Indic-language source material into Persian, they changed an interpretive framework based on reader-listeners experiencing *rasa*, the Sanskrit term for particular aesthetic faculties, into one based on the audience experiencing *'ishq*. The author-translator identified themselves in their work through roles like painter or gardener, which they analogized in their introductions to relationships between God and creation. When these masnavis circulated in material form, accompanied by illustrations for group viewing or recited to groups, the text's arguments about *ishq* as manifestation of God were rendered into affective experience.

This paper will consider the multilingual Persianate masnavi tradition through three tellings of the story of Madhumalati and Manjhan. The Awadhi-language premkhayan, Manjhan's Madhumalati (1545) was translated into Persian as *Mihr o Mah* by Aqil Khan Razi (an official at the court of Mughal emperor Aurangzeb) in 1655, and into Dakhni Urdu as *Gulshan-i-Ishq* by Nusrati (court poet of Deccan sultan Ibrahim Ali Khan) in 1657-8. While existing work on Indo-Persian masnavis and Dakhni Urdu literature has tended to see them in a one-to-one relationship with their source material, either 'cosmopolitanizing' (Persian) or 'indigenizing' (Dakhni), by viewing the two together, I ask what the act of translation accomplishes in a multilingual public. While the authors draw attention to their choice of new language, the processes of circulation of multiple translations worked cumulatively to form a wide Persianate public across northern India, versed in certain Sufi ideas about God, and trained to respond emotionally to the stories in ways that embodied virtuous behavior.

Edith Szanto (*University of Alabama*): Leaving Islam in Iraqi Kurdistan (Panel 3.2.3)

Unlike in many other places, ethnicity and religious identity are not tied together inseparably in contemporary Iraqi Kurdistan. While most Iraqi Kurds are Sunni Muslims, there have been thousands in recent years who have decided to no longer remain part of the Islamic umma. The largest group of Kurds who have left Islam have become Zoroastrian. An albeit smaller number have converted to Christianity. This paper draws on ethnographic research to examine Kurdish conversion to religions other than Sunni Islam since 2014, that is, the rise of ISIS (the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, aka Da'esh). The opening of Zoroastrian centers in 2015 and the publicized spread of Zoroastrianism among Kurds has generally been explained as a "return to origins" (Folz 2016; Szanto 2018). The idea is that Kurds were so disgusted with Islam after Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi declared the Islamic caliphate in Mosul and the ensuing murder and rape of Yazidis, that Kurds turned away from Islam and sought solace in or identification with Zoroastrianism. Kurds often claim that they were originally Zoroastrian, therefore explaining why those who convert to Zoroastrianism often do not

think of themselves as converts, but as returning to their origins (Barber 2019). This works well for Zoroastrianism, but does this schema apply to converts to Christianity, Twelver Shi'ism, and general atheism or agnosticism? Sociologist Rodney Stark famously proposed that humans are rational actors regarding religious conversion (1996). Stark argued that there are several factors that may contribute to conversion such as the conservation of cultural capital, a crisis in authority, and unbearable strictness. Using interviews conducted with around a dozen Iraqi Kurdish converts from Islam, this paper seeks to not only apply but also speak back to and enrich Stark's theory of conversion.

Elahe Taghvaei (*Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University, Yerevan*): The Toponyms Formed from Color Names in the Province of Isfahan (Panel 3.1.4)

Color toponyms form a separate semantic field among the names of topographical areas. The naming of an area by a color is usually intermediated: that is certain area, mountain or rivers is linked to an object which is in its turn associated with a color and getting that name. In the toponymic system of Isfahan state the following color names are frequent: black (sia) white(sefid) red(sorx) pink(gulgun)....

The most common among these is the white color which symbolize purity.

Ali Mohammad Tarafdari (*National Library & Archives of Iran*): The "Ferdowsi Millennium" Ceremony (1934) and the Development of Shahnameh Studies in Iran and the World (Panel 1.2.2)

The celebration and congress of the "Ferdowsi Millennium" and the commemoration of the thousandth birthday of Hakim Ferdowsi, the poet of *Shahnameh*, in October 1934 during the reign of Pahlavi I, is one of the biggest and most prominent cultural events of this period, which was carried out in accordance with the nationalism of that era. However, holding this large ceremony was not limited to Tehran and other important cities of the country, and due to the importance and position of the Sage Abu-Qāsem Ferdowsi and the *Shahnameh* in the world, especially in the countries of Iranian culture and civilization, as well as countries with a background in Iranology and studies related to Persian language and literature, various ceremonies were also held with the participation of representatives of the Iranian government, consulates and embassies, and the presence of Iranologists and Shahnameh scholars of those countries. The purpose of the present study is to investigate the role of this Iranian national ceremony in the development of Shahnameh studies in Iran and the world, especially the world of Iranian and Persian culture and language, and also to identify the main approaches to holding this ceremony in the most important capitals and cities of the world based on documents and sources related to this period. The present article seeks to answer the research question with a historical method and based on the description and analysis of historical data and documents of the National Archives of Iran.

Haydar Tavakkalov (*Khorog University*): The Role of “Falak” in the Traditional Music Culture of the People of Badakhshan (Panel 2.1.4)

“Falak” is an ancient literary-musical custom still practiced today by the people of Tajik Badakhshan. In the Tajik Persian language, “Falak” means “heaven”, “height” and “the highest layers of the sky”. The poetic texts of Falak are mainly quatrains written by Tajik national poets. These texts usually describe destiny, fate and separation (e.g., “charkhifalak” and “falaki jomakabud”), although they can vary considerably in meaning and content. Falak also takes different forms across the region. For example, in the village Goron of Ishkashim district, the music of “Falak” is present in the women’s vocal genres “Bulbulik” (lit. “Song of the nightingale”) and “Dargilik” (lit. “Song of longing”), while in the Vanj district it is associated with musical “Nola” (moans) and “Navha” (groans).

Scholars trace the long and complex history of Falak to funeral ceremonies in Badakhshan. In Shuqnon districts, Falak is performed alongside the corpse during a two-day-long wake from sunrise to sunset. Falak performers sit by the traditional domestic hearth and perform Falak to console heart-sore members of the family and community. Across Badakhshan, women usually perform Falak at the ceremonies of deceased relatives, and if someone does not have the skills to perform Falak, special local women fulfill this task. In most parts of Badakhshan, singers perform Falak as they accompany the deceased to the cemetery.

In addition to funerals, Falak is also performed at traditional parties and national ceremonies. In this paper, I will present new findings about this genre of music as a living and contemporary tradition in which performers use traditional as well as modern musical instruments.

Afarin Tavakoli (*Yazd University*): Saving the Motherland: Women’s Health Care during the Reign of Reza Shah (1926-1941) (Panel 4.2.2)

Reza Shah, the founder of the Pahlavi regime, undertook a broad program of reform and modernization part of which directly related to the public health and health concerns of Iranian women. Two programs received particular attention, namely birth control and sexually transmittable diseases. The government took the initiative to reconstruct the red district in Tehran and to accommodate sex workers in a particular compound where they could be under close observation and medical care at all times.

Reza Shah advertised the need to support the overall physical, social and mental requirements of Iranian women who were responsible for nurturing the future generations and whose health and vitality was essential in molding a new Iran. The Pahlavi Regime sought to enhance its posture by improving public health of both men and women thereby promoting a new Iran, in contrast to the old and feeble image of the Qajars.

Thus the issue of health in general and the health of women in particular occupied part of the program endorsed by the government and affiliated groups

engaged in the health programs. The paper concentrates foremost on women's health care with a particular focus on the sex workers of Tehran and their newly structured living compound known as Shahr-e Now that aimed to bring under control sexually transmittable diseases... However, the research also seeks to answer some critical questions at the macro level. Foremost, how much of a concern was women's health and how well was this addressed during the Pahlavi regime, as the government further engaged in its modernization program? Secondly, what structural and practical programs were adopted towards implementing these goals?

Gianfilippo Terribili (*Sapienza University of Rome*): Grasping Hands: Soul Ascent Imagery between Iran and the Mediterranean Sea (Panel 1.3.2)

As a case study, the talk explores a specific motif within the cross-cultural narrative concerning the soul's Himmelfahrt or post-mortem destiny. The topic enjoyed extraordinary popularity in the religious agora of the long Late Antiquity, addressing demands and expectations of salvation that ignited different communities and their cultural productions. Through the analysis of literary sources and visual renderings from Iran, Western Asia, and Mediterranean regions, the talk discusses the motif of the human soul escorted by spiritual entities and the recourse to the hand/grabbing symbology. The descriptions of this event reveal the dissemination of patterns in apocalyptic and eschatological narratives, highlighting communities' connectivity despite confessional and/or linguistic borders. As a center of political power and interaction between different faiths (e.g. Zoroastrianism, Hebraism, Christianity, Manichaeism, and later Islam), the Iranian context provides meaningful evidence for understanding the manifold implications of literary and visual devices that broadly inspired the late antique and medieval imagery.

Annika Törne (*Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University, Yerevan*): Ziya Gökalp on the Zaza: The Challenge of Ethno-Linguistic Diversity in Nation-Building in Turkey (Panel 2.1.2)

Modern nation-states with only one national language create and perpetuate inequalities and minoritize other languages. This paper proposes a reflection on how Young Turkish discourse – as mainly shaped by its chief ideologist Ziya Gökalp - constituted knowledge about the limits of the imagined Turkish nation. Based on a close reading of Gökalp's texts on Kurds, I analyze his ideas on inclusion and exclusion of the ethno-linguistic group of Zazaki- or Dimli-speakers to evaluate the ensuing repercussions on their sociolinguistic situation in Dersim until today. Thereby the paper sheds light on continued struggles of Dimli-speakers with the ambiguity of competing nationalist claims and hegemonic discourses about them. Finally, I compare the contemporary sociolinguistic situations of the minoritized languages Dimli and Gilaki against the backdrop of their different conditions in Turkey and in Iran.

Genichi Tsuge (*Tokyo University of the Arts*): *Jāmī's Risāla-ye mūsīqī* Revisited (Panel 2.1.4)

'Abd al-Raḥmān Nur al-Dīn Jāmī (1414-1492) wrote a musical treatise entitled *Risāla-ye mūsīqī*. This treatise deals exclusively with musical theory. However, little attention has been paid to this minor work of a great poet of the Timurid period. In attempting to translate the *Risāla-ye mūsīqī* into Japanese, I examined several facsimile copies of old manuscripts including *Kulliyat-e Jāmī* (Nuruosmaniye 4171), *Kulliyāt-e Mawlānā* (Ayasofya 4207), *Kulliyāt-e Jāmī* (Suppl. persan 822) and Austrian National Library manuscript (N.F.35) as well as a typographical edition of the *Risāla-ye mūsīqī* (A'lākān Afshāzād et al, ed. *Bahārestān va rasā'el-e Jāmī*, Tehran, 2000). The question at hand is lack of a critical edition of the *Risāla-ye mūsīqī*. In this paper, I will present findings from my collation work and remarks about the extant manuscripts. I will argue that musicological interpretations are sometimes indispensable to fill in the missing parts and to interpret the Persian text accurately.

Matthias Weinreich (*Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University, Yerevan*): Zarathustra and St. Gregory: What Their Life Stories Have in Common, and Why (Panel 1.3.2)

Zarathustra, the prophet of the eponymous Iranian Religion, and St. Gregory the Illuminator, the Founder of the Christian Armenian Church, are both said to have succeeded in convincing initially hostile, powerful rulers, King Wishtasp and King Tridat respectively, to change their traditional religious views and to impose their newly acquired faith on their subjects. Considering that the life stories of Zarathustra and St. Gregory were composed in Late Antiquity, in a context of shared cultural traditions, it seems reasonable to assume that the aforesaid outstanding achievement, fairly unusual in religious history, is not the only feature these two narratives have in common. Based on Zoroastrian Middle Persian texts dealing with the life and deeds of Zarathustra and the Armenian "Agathangelos Cycle" the presentation shall highlight shared themes and motives, intending to explain their origins and/or possible interdependence.

Mohsen Zakeri (*Ruhr Universität - Bochum*): *Āyīn-nāmak* Revisited (Panel 3.2.1)

It is now more than half a century since Muḥammad Muḥammadī published his monumental work *al-Tarjuma wa-al-naql 'an al-Fārisiyya. I. Kutub al-Tāj wa-al-Āyīn*, Beirut 1964. Muḥammadī asserted correctly that *āyīn* is a generic term, so that the alleged Middle Persian book *Āyīn-nāmak*, the translation of which into Arabic is ascribed to Ibn al-Muqaffa', was not the title of one book rather many. He identified five 'distinct' books of that title respectively on the Art of War, Archery, Polo, Foretelling, and Training of the Soul. Ahmad Tafazzoli gave a short synopsis of Muḥammadī's findings and updated the older material in his short entry on the *Āyīn-nāmak* in the *Encyclopedia Iranica* [cf. *Āīn-nāma* 1984]. Since then, sporadic new references to the *Āyīn-*

nāmak and quotations from it in classical Arabic and Persian sources have been steadily growing such that the time is ripe to revisit the available data anew for reevaluation.

In this presentation I will briefly appraise the modern discussion on this case and then present a few heretofore unknown extracts from diverse Āyīn-nāmaks. In light of the newly surfaced references I hope to replenish the sketchy records and reinterpret the contents, structure and general purpose of these books. Above all, it appears that the lost Āyīn-nāmaks fit perfectly into the generic pattern of Mirrors for Princes, manuals for teaching the appropriate knowledge and proper socio-political conduct for kings, princes and sons of aristocratic nobility.

Zohreh Zarshenas (*Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies, Tehran*): “šyr” in Buddhist Sogdian Texts (Panel 3.4.4)

The word “šyr” meaning “good, well ,excellent” (Gharib 1995:9403) has occurred in all three groups of Sogdian texts ,i.e. Manichean , Christian and Buddhist Sogdian:

There are some forms and compounds of the word in Sogdian texts, or is used in some combinations, such as:

- 1) Buddhist Sogdian texts: šyr ‘k’ meaning “good, nice” (VJ.1343) .
- 2) Christian Sogdian texts: šyr’kty’ meaning “good deed, pious action” (C2,61R23).
- 3) Manichean Sogdian texts : šyr’nk’r’y meaning “ pious” (Hen.Tales. 476.4).

In some Buddhist Sogdian texts the translators have used the word to translate different Chinese words and especially Buddhist terms.

In this paper all the usages of the word and its Sanskrit or Chinese equivalents are studied and compared in order to find out the exact meaning and usage of the word šyr.

Amir Zeyghami (*Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University, Yerevan*): Some Plant Names in Persian Phytonymy (Panel 3.1.4)

The confusion of plant names in the phytonymic system of a language is a very common phenomenon due to their physical appearance and medical utility. Furthermore, various names of a plant in different geographical regions and dialects of the same language sometimes make it difficult to identify the original form from the distorted one in the texts. In this presentation, the author discusses some points regarding two plants, busak and āzād-diraxt, based on Persian and Armenian botanical and pharmacological sources.

PERSIAN ABSTRACTS

Sima Abbasi (Payam Noor University & Tashkent University of Oriental Studies): کهن الگوهای زن ایرانی در آثار رمان نویسندگان زن معاصر ایرانی (شهرنوش پاریسی پور، (Panel 3.4.3) غزاله عزیزاده، گلی ترقی و سیمین دانشور)

کهن‌الگوها یا آرکی‌تایپ‌ها طرح‌های رفتاری کلی انسان‌ها از دیربازند که از ناخودآگاه جمعی ریشه گرفته‌اند. این الگوهای مشترک در جوامع مختلف ابتدایی با توجه به کارکردهای جنسیتی (زنانه و مردانه) بازتاب ویژه‌ای در ادبیات، هنر و ... دارند. نقد کهن‌الگویی بر اساس دیدگاه‌های کارل گوستاو یونگ به بررسی نموده‌ها، کارکردها و دگرذیسی آن‌ها در آثار ادبی می‌پردازد. از جمله آثار قابل‌بررسی در این زمینه آثار رمان نویسندگان زن معاصر ایرانی است که به شخصیت‌سازی زن ایرانی در آثار خویش با نگاهی متفاوت از نویسندگان مرد ایرانی پرداخته‌اند. با بررسی توصیفی-تحلیلی این آثار به دست می‌آید که باوجود آشکار بودن کهن‌الگوهای عمده زن-مادر، زن-همسر و زن-معشوق و ... دگرذیسی‌هایی در این الگوهای مشترک صورت پذیرفته یا در حال رخداد است که با توجه به نگاه انتقادی زنان نویسنده در جامعه‌ی در حال گذار به مدرنیته کنونی باید شتاب بیشتری بگیرد. بر این اساس در این پژوهش به بررسی کهن‌الگوها و نقش‌های تعریف‌شده و گاه باز تعریف‌شده زنان در آثار برجسته رمان نویسندگان زن تأثیرگذار معاصر ایرانی، شهرنوش پاریسی پور، غزاله عزیزاده، گلی ترقی و سیمین دانشور، که نگاه متفاوت و گاه انتقادی نسبت به نقش‌های سنتی زن ایرانی در آثارشان دارند، پرداخته‌شده است و دگرذیسی‌ها، نقدهای بر خواسته از اقتضانات محیط، فرهنگ و هنجارهای اجتماعی برای لزوم این دگرذیسی‌ها و به‌طورکلی الگوهای اصلی رفتاری زنان در آثار برجسته نویسندگان نامبرده بیان شده است.

Sherzod Davrukov (Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan, Dushanbe): شعر (Panel 4.3.3) اجتماعی و انعکاس واقعیت در اشعار به زبان شغنائی

سرچشمه رشد زبان و تکامل آن از ادبیات آن وابستگی دارد. بدون ادبیات و ایجاد دهانی خلق زبان پایدار نمی‌ماند و برعکس. از تجربه‌هر یک ملت و خلقیت روشن است، که پایداری و رشد زبان را آثار اشعار شاعر و ادیب تحول داداند. در این زمینه مورد تحقیق قرار دادن اشعار شاعران شغنائی زبان بمورد است. زبان شغنائی، که جزء زبان هفتگانه گروه پامیری (بدخشان) گروه غرب ایرانی محسوب می‌گردد، برای مسئله مورد تحقیق زمینه می‌گردد.

موضوع مورد تحقیق ما اشعار دو شاعر شغنائی زبان، که یکی در زمان اول برقرار گردیدن حاکمیت شوروی در بدخشان تاجیکستان-نادر شنبه زاده و دیگری ورقه آخان نیاز می‌باشد، که در آخر حکومت شوروی و دوران استقلالیت تاجیکستان زندگی و ایجاد نموده‌اند.

Holkar Mirzakhmadava (Tashkent State University of Oriental Studies): اصطلاحسازی از کلمات فارسی در زبان ازبکی (Panel 3.1.4)

روابط باستانی ایران و توران تأثیر به سزایی در شکل‌گیری واژگان هر دو زبان فارسی و ترکی داشته است.

از سویی از دیرباز، زبان فارسی تاجیکی در کنار زبان‌های منطقه ماورالنهر به‌ویژه زبان ازبکی کاربرد داشته است. همچنین ترجمه ادبیات فارسی به ترکی تا حدود زیادی بر فرهنگ زبان ازبکی تأثیر گذاشته است. در نتیجه، بسیاری از کلمات زبان فارسی و نیز زبان عربی وارد فرهنگ لغت زبان ازبکی شد و به‌عنوان کلمات رایج در این زبان استفاده شدند. اما برخی از این کلمات رایج، کاربرد معنایی متفاوتی یافته‌اند؛ قابل‌ذکر است که اصطلاحات فارسی به‌کاررفته در هر دو زبان به لایه فعال تعلق دارد. علاوه بر این، روش‌های اصطلاح‌سازی در زبان‌های در حال ترکیب باید مطابق با استاندارد بین‌المللی باشد. در نتیجه با تحقیق در مبانی ریشه‌شناسی واژگان رایج در زبان فارسی و ازبکی، معنای ساخته‌های آن واژگان روشن می‌شود.

برای نمونه زبان ازبکی دارای تعدادی واژه فارسی مانند ارومگوه، دهقان، دستک، اوودون، خاننده، لشگرگوه است که معنی آن‌ها در زبان ازبکی متفاوت از معنای آن‌ها در زبان فارسی است. این واژه‌ها واژه‌های رایجی هستند که امروزه جذب زبان شده‌اند و ویژگی‌های اصطلاحی را نیز منعکس می‌کنند.

وام‌گیری در هر زبانی چیز جدیدی نیست؛ به‌ویژه وام‌واژه‌های فارسی که درصد قابل‌توجهی از فرهنگ لغت زبان ازبکی را به خود اختصاص داده‌اند که از دیرباز با زبان فارسی تاجیکی در ارتباط نزدیک بوده است. بر این اساس، امروزه وام‌واژه‌هایی نیز وجود دارد که از زبان فارسی به زبان ازبکی اقتباس شده‌اند که ه‌گاه از نظر معنایی متفاوت هستند. برخی از آن‌ها نیز فعالیت خود را در فرهنگ لغت عمومی از دست نداده‌اند؛ به‌ویژه اصطلاحات و واژه‌های فارسی مانند چهارراه، سومک، آداب و رسوم به‌طور فعال بدون هیچ مشکلی در گفتار، نمتنها متخصصان، بلکه عموم مردم استفاده می‌شود.

بر این اساس در این پژوهش با روش توصیفی و تحلیلی به بررسی برخی اصطلاحات و وام‌واژه‌های تغییر معنا و کاربرد یافته در زبان ازبکی پرداخته شده و نتیجه گرفته شده است که اگرچه زبان‌های عربی و فارسی-تاجیکی به‌سختی در فرآیند ایجاد اصطلاحات در زبان ازبکی دخالت دارند، بیشتر اصطلاحات در فرهنگ لغت ازبکی مانند زبان‌های ترکی مرتبط به این زبان‌های باستانی تعلق دارند. این اکتساب‌ها در خدمت بیان مفاهیم جدیدی است که معنای جدیدی یافته‌اند و تابع قوانین آوایی و دستوری زبان ازبکی هستند.

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