PERSIANATE SOCIETIES
AND THE SUBCONTINENT

ASPS
FOURTH BIENNIAL CONVENTION

Lahore, Pakistan
26 February – 2 March, 2009

Program
Opening Addresses
Abstracts

New York and Tehran
2009
Online Edition
Editor’s Note

This volume was initially published on paper and distributed among the Conventions participants.

The present volume contains the program, the welcoming and presidential addresses, and the abstracts of the Fourth Biennial Convention of ASPS. The program consists of the opening session, followed by nine sessions, each in two parallel panels. There are nearly eighty abstracts, which are arranged in alphabetical order of the name of authors. Those written in Persian appear at the end and are inserted in sequences and paginated from left to write, like the pages in English. A short biography of each author, when available, is given in the footnote. The transliteration of Persian words adopted for this volume is that of the Journal of Persianate Societies (JPS); some exceptions were allowed for the terms specific to South Asia.

Habib Borjian
Secretary-Treasurer, ASPS
Associate Editor, JPS

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Convention’s Cosponsors

Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS)
University of the Punjab, Lahore
American Institute of Iranian Studies

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In Collaboration with the
Research Center for the Written Heritage (Miras-i Maktub), Tehran
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Fourth Biennial Conference  
Association for the Study of Persianate Societies  
Lahore, 26 Feb. – 2 Mar., 2009

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Maryam SALOUR (Tehran)

### Book Exhibit
Cambridge University Press  
University of the Punjab  
Research Center for the Written Heritage (*Miras-i Maktub*)

² University of the Punjab, Lahore.
Thursday, 26 Feb., 16:00-18:00

1. Opening Session

Mujahid KAMRAN (Vice-Chancellor, University of the Punjab), Presider

Rasul Bakhsh RAIS (School of Humanities and Social Sciences, LUMS)

Habib BORJIAN (ASPS, New York)
Persianate Societies and the Subcontinent

Erica EHRENBERG (American Institute of Iranian Studies and Academic Exchange)

Sāïd Amir ARJOMAND (ASPS President)
Presidential Address: Evolution of the Persianate Polity and its Transmission to India

Friday, 27 Feb., 8:30-10:30

2A. Ancient History

Zaheer Ahmad SIDDIQI (Government College, Lahore), Presider

Erica EHRENBERG (American Institute of Iranian Studies)
Early Persian Royal Symbolism: Ahuramazda, kh’arnah, the Rod and the Ring

*Sándor FÖLDVÁRI (Debrecen University, Hungary)
Media Atropatene: Remarks on the Hellenistic Persian Culture

*Marek Jan OLBRYCHT (University of Rzeszow, Poland)
Tillya-tepe, Khalchayan, and the Parthian presence in ancient Bactria

*Helen GIUNASHVILI (EPHE, Sorbonne, Paris)
Studies on Sasanian Onomastics in Old Georgian

3 Asticrts denote cancelled presentations.
2B. Modern Culture and Society

Rasul Bakhsh RAIS (LUMS, Lahore), Presider

*Shams-al-Haqq ĀRIĀNFAR (Cultural Attaché of Afghanistan in Dushanbe)
Historical songs: Freedom manifesto in Persian-speaking societies

*Mohammad TAVAKOLI-TARGHI (University of Toronto, Canada)
Mirza Abu Taleb Esfahani’s Anthropology of Early Modern Europe

Shirin SAEIDI (University of Cambridge, UK)
Wives and Daughters of Martyrs and Contemporary Citizenry Practices in Iran

Rahnaward ZARYĀB (Cultural Advisor, Ministry of Culture, Afghanistan)
Rebirth of an Eastern *Hekayat* in Latin America

Navid ZAFAR (Iqbal Institute of Dialogue and Research at the International Islamic University, Islamabad)
Sufi References in Iqbal’s Persian Poetry

Friday, 27 Feb., 11:00-13:00

3A. Art and Architecture

Dariush BORBOR (Independent scholar, Tehran, Iran), Presider

Mehrnoush SOROUSH and A. KHAZRĀ’I-AFZALI (Faculty of Architecture, Univ. of Tehran, Iran)
Bāgh-e Shālimār: Āmīzesh-e mirās-e bāghsāzi-yē Safavi o Gurkānī

Faiqa WAQAAR (Lahore College of Women University)
Royal Bathhouses of Lahore

Nadhra Naim KHAN (Lahore College for Women University)
Persian Characteristics of Nineteenth-Century Sikh Monuments

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3B. Politics and Culture in Central Asia

Navid ZAFAR (University of the Punjab), Presider

*Keith HITCHINS (University of Illinois, USA)
The Central Asia Jadids from Enlightenment to Revolution: The Case of Sadriddin Ayni, 1890s-1930s

Vladimir BOYKO (Barnaul State Pedagogical University, Russia)
Muslim clergy in Afghanistan between religion and politics (1940s-60s): personalities, institutes, and ideas

Rasul Bakhsh RAIS (LUMS, Lahore, Pakistan)
Afghanistan: A weak state in the path of power rivalries

Friday, 27 Feb., 14:00-16:00

4A. Pre-Modern Persianate History

Charles MELVILLE (University of Cambridge), Presider

Beatrice MANZ (Tufts University, USA)
Regional Politics in Khorasan under the Mongol Onslaught

Alexey KHISMATULIN (Institute of Oriental Manuscript, St. Petersburg)
The Forms of Islamic Scholarly Literature: jam‘, ta’lif and tasnif in the Medieval Ages (the 10th-15th centuries)

Rebecca GOULD (Columbia University, New York, USA)
The Afterlife of Pre-Islamic Persian Political Theory in Medieval ‘Ajam Culture

Vahe S. BOYAJIAN (Yerevan State University, Armenia)
An Attestation of the Baloches in an 18th-Century Armenian Chronicler

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4B. Science and Medicine in the Persianate World

Mohammad-Hoseyn SĀKET (The Supreme Court, Tehran), Presider

Sayyed-Hoseyn RAZAVI BORQA’I (Independent scholar, Qom, Iran)
Hendkuchi-ye pezeshkān-e Irānī

Kelly PEMBERTON (George Washington University, USA)
The Influence of Persia upon the Development of Yunani Medicine:
Healing Systems, Epistemologies, and the Mirror of the Past

Edward THOMAS (Independent Scholar, USA)
Interchange of Astronomical Tables in the Persianate Area

Sajjad HAIDER (Institute of Medieval and Post-Medieval Studies, Texas)
Nasir-al-Din Tusi’s Discovery of the Planetary System

Yunos KARAMATI (Institute of Humanities and Cultural Studies, Tehran, Iran)
A bibliographical approach to Al-abnia, the oldest Persian pharmaceutical work

Saturday, 28 Feb., 8:30-10:30

5A. Indo-Persian Cultural and Political Nexus: I

Sayyid Muhammad AKRAM SHAH (University of the Punjab), Presider

Wolfgang HOLZWARTH (University of Halle, Germany)
The Persian fairy prince defeats the cannibal king of Gilgit: Different ways to conceive the expansion of ‘persophonia’ into Pakistan’s Northern Areas

Hidayat-ur-REHMAN (Independent Scholar, Chitral, Pakistan)
Contribution of Chitral towards Persian literature

Irina NATCHKEBIA (G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies, Tbilisi, Georgia)
Jean-Francois Xavier Rousseau’s Project of the Indian Expedition (1804-07)

*Madhabi Rupa ROY (Independent Scholar, Calcutta, India)
Sarkar-e-Khodadad: Persian in the Court of Tipu Sultan of Mysore, 1782-99

Mohammad HAKIMĀZAR (Associate Professor, Islamic Azad University, Shahrekord, Iran)
Marākez-e taqviat-e zabān-e fārsi dar Shebheqārra

5B. Badakhshan

Muhammad Iqbal SAQIB (Government College University, Lahore), Presider

*Umed MAMEDSHERZODSHOEV (Khorog State University, Tajikistan)
The Diffusion of Persian Manuscripts in the Territory of Badakhshan

Jo-Ann GROSS (The College of New Jersey, USA)
Orality, Cultural Geography, and Sacred History: Isma’ili Shrines and Foundational Figures in Badakhshan

Jens FERCHLAND (Berlin, Germany)
The religion in Western Pamir during the repressions of the 1930s

Qudrat ELCHIBEKOV (Institute of Written Heritage and Oriental Studies, Dushanbe, Tajikistan)
Written sources in Badakhshan: A unique source on the political and ethnical history of Central Asia from the late 19th and early 20th centuries

Saturday, 28 Feb., 11:00-13:00

6A. Indo-Persian Cultural and Political Nexus: II

Aftab ASGHAR (University of the Punjab), Presider

*Afzal HUSAIN (Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh, India)
Formative Factors Behind Akbar’s Religious Policy

Sholeh QUINN (University of California, Merced, USA)
Religion and Politics under the Safavids and Mughals: the Chronicles of Akbar and ‘Abbas I

Snyyed-Ali ĀL-E DĀVUD (Independent Scholar, Tehran, Iran)
Āsef Khan Qazvini

Nadereh JALĀLI (Anjoman-e āthār o mafākher, Tehran)
Sahrif Amoli: Noqtavi poet in diaspora at the Mughal court

Karen RUFFLE (University of Miami, USA)
Umm Abiha: The Pre-Eternal, Eschatological Roles of Fatimah as the Mother of Prophecy and Imamate in Indo-Persian Shi‘ism

6B. Sociolinguistics of Persian

Muhammad Saleem MAZHAR (University of the Punjab), Presider

Zohreh ESLAMI (Texas A&M University, Qatar branch) and Abbass ESLAMI-RASEKH (University of Isfahan, Iran)
Politeness in Persian: The East and West Divide

Manoochehr TAVANGAR (Department of Linguistics, University of Isfahan, Iran)
The Socio-cultural Aspects of Idiomaticity in Persian

Mohammad AMOUZADEH (Department of Linguistics, University of Isfahan, Iran)
Socio-cultural Aspects of Persian Print Advertisements in Iran and in the United States

Saturday, 28 Feb., 14:00-16:00

7A. Persianate Linguistics

Mahr Noor MUHAMMAD (National University of the Modern Languages, Islamabad), Presider
M. MEHDI (Kabul University; editor of *Amu*)
Chegunagi-ye tashakkol-e zabān-e fārsi-ye dari

B. MAHMOODI BAKHTIĀRI (University of Tehran, Iran)
Tarkibāt-े 'atfī dar zabān-e fārsī

*Jemshid GIUNASHVILI (Academy of Sciences, Georgia)*
On the Significance of Historical-Geographical Data for Persian Lexicological Sciences

Sorush SHAHBĀZI (University of Tehran, Iran)
A Gurāni dialect

Dariush BORBOR (Independent scholar, Tehran, Iran)
The Diachrony, Etymology and gloss of the New Persian *bur*

7B. Persian Epics and Philosophy in India

Houchang Esfandiar CHEHABI (Boston University, USA), Presider

Charles MELVILLE (University of Cambridge, UK)
The *Taʿrikh-e Delgoshā-ye Shamshirkhānī* by Tavakkol Beg and the Reception of the *Shahnama* in Hindustan

Saʿīd SHAFIʿIYUN (University of Isfahan, Iran)
Serāj-al-Dīn Ἀlī Khān Ārzu o *Sharḥ-e Eskandarnāma*

*Setayesh NOORANI NEJAD (Research Center for the Written Heritage, Tehran, Iran)*
Abd-al-Sattār of Lahore and the manuscript *Samar al-Falāsēfa*

Saturday, 28 Feb., 16:30-18:00

8A. Physical Exercises in the Persianate World

Muhammad Zakria ZAKAR (University of the Punjab), Presider

Philippe ROCHARD (French Research Institute in Iran (IFRI), Tehran)
The *Ganjina-ye koshti* of Ali Akbar b. Mahdi al-Kashani
8B. Regional Interests and their Expression from Khorasan to Delhi

Charles MELVILLE (University of Cambridge), Presider
Ahmed MANAN (Univ. of Chicago, USA)
The Long Thirteenth Century of the Chachnama

Christine NÖLLE (Universität Bamberg, Germany)
The Multan Connection: The Abdali Afghans between Mughal and Safavid Interests

Sunil SHARMA (Harvard University, Cambridge, USA)
Mughal Imperialism and the Writing of Regional Histories

Sunday, 1 Mar., 8:30-10:30

9A. Sufi Studies: Master-Disciple Relationship in Medieval Persianate Sufism

Alexey KHISMATULIN (Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, St. Petersburg, Russia), Presider
Amina STEINFELS (Mount Holyoke College, USA)
How to do Things with Hats: Ritual Language and Ritual Objects in Sufi Initiation

Sajida ALVI (McGill University, Canada)
Transmission of Knowledge in a Chishti Khānqāh in Rural Punjab during the Eighteenth Century: Modes of Learning

Jamal ELIAS (University of Pennsylvania, USA)
The Guidance of Citizens, Sufis and Kings in Religious Manuals of the Kubraviya Selsela

Shahzad BASHIR (Stanford University, USA)
Eyes on Disciples’ Hearts: Masterful Vision as Rhetorical Tool in a Naqshbandi Hagiography

9B. Literature and Society

Saleem AKHTAR (Iran Council, Islamabad), Presider

Mohammad-Näser RAHYĀB (Herat University, Afghanistan)
Fekri Saljuqi: Influencial man of letters in contemporary Afghanistan

Mohammad-Hoseyn SĀKET (The Supreme Court, Tehran)
*Var yā dāvari-ye izadi dar adabiyāt-e hoquqi

*Ahmadrezā KHĀJAFARD (Independent scholar, Iran)
Donyā-ye fārsizabān dar taffakor-e Sa’di (Sa’di’s Persianate Cosmopolitanism)

*Mehdi HOSEYNI TAQIĀBĀD (Independent scholar, Iran)
An Approach to Reconstruct the Safavid Popular History in the South of Khorasan

Askar BAHRĀMI (Independent scholar, Iran)
*Nemuna-yi az tanz-e ejtemā’ī-ye matbu’āt dar āstāna-ye Mashrutiyat: Resāla-yi Talqīn-e mellat-e Irān

Moeen NEZAMI, Majāles-e Jahāngiri: An introduction

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10A. Tajikistan

Zahoor-ud-Din AHMAD (University of the Punjab), Presider

*Manuel SARKISYANZ (Heidelberg University, Germany)
The Concept of Tajikistan

Khojamakhmad UMAROV (Institute of Economic Studies, Ministry of Economic Development, Tajikistan)
On possibilities to build united knowledge economy of Tajikistan,
Afghanistan and Iran

*Lola DODKHUDOEVA (Institute of Written Heritage and Oriental Studies, Dushanbe, Tajikistan)
Islamic media coverage of gender factors in modern Tajikistan

Malika ABDULVASIEVA (UNFA and Institute of Written Heritage and Oriental Studies, Dushanbe)
The state of vocational education in modern Tajikistan: Gender approach

Jahfar RANJBAR (Director of the Khalilullah Khalili Library, Tajikistan)
Ustad Khalili and his contribution to Afghanistan’s cultural connection with the neighboring countries

10B. Modern Pakistani Painting: Is there a Persian Heritage?

Erica EHRENBERG (American Institute of Iranian Studies), Presider

Rukhsana DAVID (Department of Fine Arts, Kinnaird College, Lahore)
Contemporary Miniature Painting at Lahore

Anjum NOON (Lahore College of Women University)
Ijaz ul Hassan: a Painter in a Political Context

Sadia ARSHAD (Lahore College for Women University)
Themes and sources of the current generation of Pakistani Artists

Barbara SCHMITZ (Lahore College for Women University)
Naseem Hafeez Qazi: Traditional Forms, International Outlook

M. Athar TAHIR
The Word and the Image: Calligraphy and Calligraph-art in Pakistan
Welcoming Address

PERSIANTE SOCIETIES AND THE SUBCONTINENT

Habib Borjian

Khavātin ur hazarât, āp ko es chahuti ASPS kāferens min khosh āmdid!

Ladies and gentlemen, dear guests and colleagues,

Welcome to the Fourth Biennial Convention of the Association for the Study of Persianate Societies. On behalf of the Society’s Board of Directors and the Convention’s Organizing Committee, chaired by Dr. Shahzad Bashir of Stanford University, I would like to thank you all for participating. I would like to extend my gratitude particularly to our hosts who have helped organize this event, especially Dr. Rasul Bakhsh Rais of LUMS and Dr. Saleem Mazhar of the Oriental College. Dr. Jo-Ann Gross, Director of our CERF Program, has also made significant contributions in making this event possible. This convention is partly funded by the American Institute of Iranian Studies and Academic Exchange, and we are grateful to have its president, Dr. Erica Ehrenberg, in this convention.

In the next three days, dozens of scholars from Asia, Europe, and North America will read their reports on various fields pertinent to the study of the Persianate world, which embraces a good part of West Asia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and most particularly South Asia, which probably has the lion’s share in the medieval and early modern Persianate history.

Lahore is one of the most relevant places that could host an ASPS convention. In our time, Lahore is a prominent center for the study of Persian language and literature. Scores of scholars and
educators are engaged in various fields of Persianate teaching and research, in such prominent higher institutions as the Government College, the Oriental College, the Allama Iqbal Academy, and LUMS, among others. Historically speaking, too, Lahore is a compelling venue for this event. This graceful and stunning megacity has long had an eminent position within the Persianate ecumene. The famous saying about the Safavid capital, “Isfahan is half of the world,” was countered by another saying, about Lahore: “The Persian cities of Isfahan and Shiraz together are not equal to half of Lahore!” Lahore is indeed a Persianate city par excellence; few cities in the Islamic world, if any, can lay claim to an equal history. This civilizational background compelled us to extend the ASPS activities into Pakistan by means of holding its Fourth Convention as well as opening a Branch Office in Lahore.

But what is Persianate? This term was coined by Marshall Hodgeson half a century ago and was revitalized by Saïd Amir Arjomand when he founded ASPS in 1996. Even if the word has since found its way into English dictionaries, its exact meaning is still open to interpretation, and here I will try to offer my own.

There is a subtle difference between the adjectives Iranian or Persian on the one hand and Persianate on the other. The so-called Greater Iran or Iranian World pertains to the geographical domain where the speakers of the Iranian family of languages have lived for some three millennia. Persianate, on the other hand, should refer first and foremost to the realm of the Persian language as the lingua franca. It thus carries a civilizational notion rather than a purely ethno-linguistic one. In this civilizational sphere, various ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups coexisted for many centuries, peacefully for the most part. The Persianate civilization is thus a fusion of many otherwise diverse cultures, somewhat different from the comparatively homogeneous Iranshahr under the Sasanians.

Persianate societies constitute the eastern and northern parts of the Islamic world. In these lands, the Classical Persian literature was introduced in the tenth century and then was emulated and extended up into the nineteenth century. The Persianate lands can
be delimited within Islandom as the domain where the nasta’liq calligraphy was practiced, and where manuscripts were illuminated with a distinct style of miniature painting. Many other elements in art and architecture were transmitted freely among the Persianate societies, culminating in such magnificent edifices as Taj Mahal, Badshahi mosque, and Jahangir’s tomb. The famous landscaping known as char-bagh finds its best paradigm in Shalimar Garden, but without a single extant example in Persia, where it originated. Persianate countries were bound together by the trade routes along which novel ideas traveled together with the caravans carrying precious goods and commodities. The notion of Persianate statecraft and polity which was formed in Transoxiana in the earlier Islamic centuries was diffused quite rapidly throughout the expanding Persianate domain, as Dr. Arjomand will shortly explain in his presidential address. In early modern times thousands of Persian bureaucrats, craftsmen, and artists migrated to India to serve under the Mughal administration, while the Safavid Isfahan hosted no fewer than eleven thousand Indian bankers, mostly from Multan. In their long histories, West and South Asia had never been as broadly engaged as they were under the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals.

Central to the idea of Persianate societies is of course the Persian language and literature. It is a remarkable fact that Persian was not carried over into Anatolia and India by the Persophones themselves but rather by the expanding Turkic tribes who had come from Inner Asia. It may sound somewhat paradoxical to the generations brought up in the era of nation states that the rulers of a country would seek to employ a language foreign to themselves as well as to their subjects. Nevertheless, if the empire builders in both Asia Minor and the Subcontinent sought a literary language to unify the religiously diversified subjects of their vast territories, it would be no other than the language that embodied the lofty classical Persian literature of the tenth to fifteenth centuries. The tolerance advocated by the religion-blind classical Persian literature was probably the main reason why the great Mughal king
Akbar chose Persian as the means of propagation of his uniting *Din-e elahi*.

This remarkable historical experience has a continued appeal down into our times. The term *Persianate* in our society’s name underlines the fact that ASPS aims to advance an understanding of Persian culture in the broadest sense of the word, going well beyond the current boundaries of Iran. It does so by promoting research in the social sciences and humanities, by creating and developing cultural and educational exchange, both in terms of an ongoing dialog between scholars from the West and their colleagues from the region and of sustained contacts among scholars from the various countries in the region, and by publicizing and disseminating the results of all these activities to the widest possible audience.

The foundation of the ASPS was based on the recognition that the production of knowledge about the Persianate world should not simply be a recasting of preexisting facts but must be creative and imaginative as well as engaged in a broader methodological framework that promotes a lively interchange of ideas. The formation and presentation of knowledge about the various societies that comprise the Persianate world is a critical matter. The shared Persianate historical and civilizational memory is more in peril now than ever before due to narrow-minded, divisive nationalist and religious ideologies, best exemplified by the present situation in the Subcontinent. This ASPS Convention, as the previous ones, is held to promote understanding of the largely forgotten Persianate history. I hope you all enjoy participating in this historical event.

Thank you for your attention. *Shukria.*
The emergence of Persianate monarchy with the rise of local dynasties on the eastern periphery of the ‘Abbasid Caliphal body politic in the late ninth and early tenth century should be viewed as the evolution of a distinct type of political organization in a dialogue of civilizations, a Persianate one based on the Persian language that survived the Arab conquest to serve as the basis of polity formation under the Samanids, and the dominant Islamicate civilization of the ‘Abbasid Caliphate, itself the result of the synthesis between Islam as a new world religion and the ancient Middle Eastern idea of universal monarchy, with the king as the shepherd of the people, the lord of the four quarters and the guardian of the circle of justice. I shall examine the new type of polity that emerged in Khorasan and Transoxiana (Māwarā‘ al-nahr) under the Samanids and was replicated by the Ghaznavids in their empire in general and Lahore in particular, and became the model for the polity established in the Delhi Sultanate in the thirteenth/seventh century. The Persianate polity as an ideal type will be constructed with regard to its principle of legitimacy and its administrative, military and judiciary. It will then be briefly contrasted with other types of medieval Islamicate polity, namely the Turko-Mongolian Il-Khanid and Timurid empires, and the Mamluk Sultanate in Egypt and Syria.

* The Samanid state was built by Esmā‘īl b. Ahmad from 893/280, when he defeated the Turks and captured 15,000 men among whom he recruited his distinctive slave army (Mas‘udi, 5: 150), to his death in 907/295. The three-decade reign of his grandson, Nasr
II b. Ahmad (914-43/301-31) was also critical for the formation of the Persianate monarchy, and especially for the formulation of its principles of legitimacy. Nasr’s father, Ahmad, had endeavored to change the language of the royal decrees and documents of the chancery back to Arabic, but this attempt was abandoned, indicating that the evolution of the Persianate polity was irreversible. *Nasihat al-moluk*, a work on political ethic and statecraft from the reign of Nasr b. Ahmad but wrongly attributed to al-Māwardi (Marlow 2007: 184), though still written in Arabic, is very important for describing the normative foundations of Persianate monarchy. The basic idea of Persianate monarchy was, however, much more eloquently expressed in what the great poet, Rudaki, said of the contemporary ruler of Sistan, with whom his patron Nasr was on friendly terms:

He [the king] is the proof of the one God, and His shadow;
Obedience to him has been made incumbent by the verse of the Koran (*fqrân*)

*Nasihat al-moluk* (1968: 62-63, 108) states that “God has put kings as his deputies in his cities and as trustees of his servants and executors of his commandments among his creatures.” This assertion is backed by the key Koranic justification of kingship alongside prophethood: “Say God, possessor of kingship, you give kingship to whomever you will, and take away kingship from whomever you will” (Q. 3.26), the Verse also used to justify the advent of the Buyid dynastic state (*dawla*), and further supplemented by a number of other Verses in which God appoints the prophets of Israel both as kings and prophets. The core idea of the Persian theory of kingship, “the Sultan is the Shadow of God on Earth,” is reported as a maxim. (Later, it was, needless to say, attributed to the Prophet as a *hadith.* ) It is supported by other maxims attributed to Ardashir, founder of the Sasanian empire: “Religion and king-

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Tārikh-e Sīstān: 319
ship are twins; there is no consolidation for the one except through its companion, as religion is the foundation of kingship, and kingship becomes its guardian. Kingship needs its foundation, and religion needs its guardians.”

A generation later, Abu ‘Ali Bal‘ami (d. 974/363), son of Nasr II’s vizier Abu’l-Fazl and himself the vizier of Nasr’s successors who, remarkably, held the vizirate until his death, freely translated the earlier parts of Tabari’s *Ta’rikh al-rosol wa’l-moluk* (History of the Prophets and the Kings), especially those on the Persian kings, thereby historicizing the fundamental idea of the prophets, who guided mankind to salvation, and the kings, who maintained order to make the attainment of salvation possible, the two divinely sanctioned powers that constituted the world. The historical grounding of Persianate monarchy was solidified by Bal‘ami’s contemporary, Abu Mansur b. ‘Abdal-razzāq (d. 962), the politically ambitious governor of Tus who commissioned the translation of the Sasanian *Khwadāynāmag*. Although this prose translation is no longer extant, it forms the basis of the monumental *Shahnama* of his compatriot, Ferdawsi, two generations later.

Although the Samanid claimed descent from the Sasanians whose empire they sought to revive, most of their domain in Transoxiana was never integrated into the Sasanian empire. In fact, the Samanid polity was closer to the decentralized, or to use Widen-gren’s (1969) typification, feudal Parthian empire with its dozens of local kings under the suzerainty of a *shāhanshāh*. There are several local rulers whom the author of *Nasihat al-moluk* refers to as *moluk al-ātrāf* (kings of the periphery), quite probably including his own patron (Marlow 2007: 182). On the coinage, the early Samanid title of *amir* (prince) was upgraded to *malek* (king) under Nasr II’s son, Nuh (r. 943-54), who is called *malek al-mo‘ayyad min al-samā‘* on a 946/335 coin. In rivalry with the rising Buyids, who assumed the title a few years earlier, Abu ‘Ali Bal‘ami’s first royal patron, Mansur b. Nuh (r. 961-76) struck a silver medallion bearing the title of *shāhanshāh* (king of kings) with the Pahlavi inscription *khwarra afzōd* (may his divine charisma augment) in
969/358, presumably for ceremonial distribution to the nobility and the kings of the periphery (Treadwell 2003: 324-29).

Max Weber applied to medieval Muslim kingdoms his well-known ideal type of patrimonialism as a form of political organization in which authority is personal and the administration of the kingdom is an extension of the management of the household of the ruler, who uses a variety of military forces that depend on him personally, including military slaves: “we shall speak of a patrimonial state when the prince organizes his political power over extrapatrimonial areas and political subjects… just like the exercise of his patriarchal power.” However, “in the course of financial rationalization patrimonialism moves imperceptibly toward a rational bureaucratic administration” (Weber 1978, 2:1013-14). Among the types of patrimonial armies he classified, Weber noted the type of military force “made up of slaves who are completely separated from agricultural production.” This type of military force was the mamluk army, as developed by the ‘Abbasid caliphs and by other Muslim patrimonial rulers, and consisted of Turkish military slaves. Such armies could be the source of chronic political instability. “The classical locale of patrimonial armies, the Near East,” he noted, “was also the classic location of ‘sultanism’.” (idem:1015-16, 1020) Weber’s type fits the system of delegated authority that developed with the appearance of independent Islamicate monarchies in Iran and Egypt in the latter part of the ninth century, even though, as we shall see, a variety of political regimes in that category can be subsumed under it and is therefore in need of further specification.

The Persianate state, as it evolved under the Samanids, does fit Weber’s typification. The state was divided into the dargāh, household of the ruler or the court, and the bureaucracy, the divān, consisting of several branches. The court was managed by the ruler’s representative or deputy (wakil), and an observer (moshref), whose duty as described in the Siar al-moluk was “to be aware of all that went on in the dargāh and report on it when he deemed necessary.” The most important group among “the men of the dargāh” was the corps of military slaves, one of whom was
appointed the chief chamberlain (hājeb-e bozorg) and controlled access to the king. The same corps of mamluks supplied the security force under a police chief or captain of the watch (sāheb or amīr-e haras), either a slave general or a noble freeman, for maintaining law and order in the cities. Just as in Weber’s ideal type, the policing of the cities was considered an extension of the duties of the bodyguard to serve at the court and protect the person of the king (Barthold 1977: 227-28, 230). The early Samanids are highly praised for holding the court of mazālem (wrongdoings) for hearing the grievances of their subjects (Marlow 2007: 184, 186), but being in Arabic and not Persian, does not give the title of the official in charge of that court. A very early tract on public law in Persian, which should be dated from the late Samanid period, “Rules of Kingship and Vizierate” (Ādāb-e saltanat o vezārat), after adducing two fundamental hadith on the political ethic, “You are all shepherds, each responsible for his flock,” and “One hour of justice by a ruler is worth more than seventy years of worship,” describes the functions of the highest officials of the patrimonial monarchy and ranks them in this order: (1) the vizier, (2) the amīr-e dād (lord of justice) in charge of the ruler’s court and the administration of justice as the cornerstone of monarchy, (3) the wakil-e dar (deputy at the gate), (4) amīr-e hājeb (lord chamberlain), (5) the ‘ārez (army inspector), and (6) the sāheb-e barid (post master) in charge of the intelligence service (Schefer 1883, 1: 11-13, 19-20). Two of these, the deputy and the chamberlain, belong to the court (dargāh), as we have seen, and the other four to the bureaucracy (dīvān), each being in charge of a bureau, but the author does not make this distinction and the offices are mixed in his ranking. Narshakhi’s Tārikh-e Bokhārā lists six additional departments of government: the chancery (dīvān-e rasā‘el), the treasury (dīvān-e mostawfi) and those of the moshref, the police captain, the market police (mohtaseb) and the endowments (Barthold 1977: 231).

The development of the Persianate idea of monarchy was continued under the Ghaznavids in the eleventh century. Ferdowsi (d. 1025) epitomized the idea of the two powers in a famous verse:
“kingship and prophecy are two jewels on the same ring,” beside many other statecraft maxims. The maxim that the king is the shadow of God to the Sasanian vizier, Bozorgmehr, in another old aphorism on Persian statecraft and political ethics which further affirms that “kingship (pādshāhi)... is the deputyship (khelāfat) of God Most High on Earth. If the kings do not contradict divine command and the Prophetic prescriptions, and if justice and equity are exercised in kingship... its degree will be equal to the rank of prophecy” (Tohfat al-moluk: 62, 82). The Ghaznavid secretary and historian, Abu’l-Fazl Bayhaqi (1997, 1: 154), after a preparatory discussion of Ardashir as the greatest king and Mohammad as the greatest prophet, offers a concise statement on what he calls the two powers: “Know that God Most High has given one power (qowwat) to the prophets and another power to the kings; and He

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5 The epic of kings, however, had further implications that would tend to dispense with the legitimacy of the Caliphate altogether, and made royal charisma (farr-e izadi), confirmed by the justice of the ruler, the independent basis of political authority. Meanwhile, the Greek political science had been introduced to the Muslim work with the translations of works of Greek science and philosophy, and made central to the philosophical movement by Abu Nasr Fārābī (d. 950). Among the Iranian philosophers who sought to synthesize Greek political science and Persian statecraft in this period, Abu’l-Hasan ‘Āmeri Nishāburi (d. 991) is of particular interest. He modified the master’s teachings to allow for a more harmonious reconciliation of Islam and philosophy by considering prophecy and kingship the two institutions fundamental for the preservation of the world. Almost two centuries after ‘Āmeri, Shehāb-al-Din Sohravardi (d. 1191) extended ‘Āmeri’s theory of the two powers along Neoplatonic, emanationist lines. The salvational function of the prophets is shared by the Persian kings (and he extends the same compliment to the Greek Sages and those of other ancient religions). Calling the light of wisdom emanating from the Great Luminous Being the kayān khwarra, he saw the ancient kings as possessors of royal authority, saving wisdom and auspicious fortune. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, we can read that the kings should be obeyed like the prophets because of the “divine effulgence (farr-e izadi)... which emanates from their chest to their countenance and is called in Persian the khwarra-ye kayān.” The idea influenced the construction of the Mughal imperial ideology under Akbar. For references and further details, see my address to the 3rd ASPS biennial convention in Tbilisi, Arjomand 2008.
has made it incumbent on the people of the earth to follow these two powers and thus to know God’s straight path.”

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As this biennial convention is held in this great historic city of Lahore, it seems appropriate to highlight its great significance in the twelfth and early thirteenth century in the transmission of the type of Persianate political regime evolved in Transoxiana and its adoption by the Delhi Sultanate. The Ghaznavid Sultan Mas’ud had established his son Majdud (d. 1041/432) with a well-equipped army and a bureaucracy, with a chancery (divān-e resālat) and a fiscal division under Sa’d-e Salmān who settled in the Punjab as the mostawfi and where his famous son, Mas’ud-e Sa’d was born. The Ghaznavid military organization and system of administration was thus introduced to the Indian part of the empire, with Lahore flourishing under Ghaznavid governors as its capital in the second half of the twelfth century. Lahore thus became the second capital of the Ghaznavid empire, and one of its governor in the last quarter of the eleventh century, the Ghaznavid prince Mahmud b. Ebrahim was typically addressed as the ruler of India (shāh-e Hend) by Mas’ud-e Sa’d, who served in his bureaucracy and adorned his splendid court. The last two Ghaznavid monarchs themselves moved their court to Lahore, in anticipation of the imminent loss of Ghazna, and it was most probably in this city that Abu’l-Ma’ali Nasrallah Monshi, scion of a distinguished family officials and the most celebrated translator of Kalila o Demna briefly served as the head of the Ghaznavid chancery before he was put to death in the Sultan’s prison. When he stayed in Lahore during his emigration from Khorasan to the Delhi

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6 Perhaps the clearest statement of this theory was given in the opening paragraph of the second part of a much more famous Nasihat al-moluk, which was already attributed to the great Ghazālī in the twelfth century, translated into Arabic and accepted on his authority: Know and understand that God Most High chose two categories of mankind, placing them above others: the prophets and the kings (moluk). He sent the prophets to His creatures to lead them to Him. As for the kings (pādshāhān), He chose them to protect men from one another and made the prosperity of human life dependent on them. As you hear in the traditions, “the ruler is the shadow of God on earth.”
Sultanate shortly after 1218/615, Sadid-al-Din ‘Awfi, himself a member of the bureaucratic class and later author of a famous biographical dictionary of poets, Labāh al-albāb, and of an important collections of stories in political ethic and statecraft, Jawāme’ al-hekāyat, could still meet the surviving poets of the brilliant court of the last Ghaznavid monarch, Khosrow Malek (r. 1160-1186; Bosworth 1977: 30, 76-77, 127).

Kalila o Demna, to which Nasrallah Monshi added a preface amounting to a systematic political theory, was the most important work on statecraft brought from India to the Sasanian empire in the sixth century and translated into Arabic in the mid-eighth century, ‘Abdallāh b. al-Moqaffā’ alongside with other aphorisms in political ethics. The absorption of Perso-Indian political ideas is evident in the opening chapter on government (soltān) in ‘Oyun al-akhbār by the traditionalist Kadi, Ebn Qotayba (d. 276/889-90), who transmitted many of the political aphorisms taken from Ebn-al-Moqaffā‘, and quotes very extensively from the Persian and Indian books on statecraft and ethics. One of the key aphorisms was attributed to Ardashir, the founder of the Sasanian empire and later called ‘the circle of justice’: “There is no sovereignty without men, and no men without wealth, and no wealth without cultivation, and no cultivation except through justice and good policy (siāsa).” It is interesting to note that, when adducing Ardashir maxim cited by Ebn Qotayba, Nasrallah Monshi omitted the word ‘good’ in order to read siāsat, like his other contemporaries writing in Persian, as ‘punishment.’ He explained that wealth is the means for conquering the world, and justice and punishment are the elixir of wealth. Peace and security of roads and the preservation of the realm depend on punishment. He further asserted that the book, the scale and steel are brought into unity through the function of kingship because “The explanation of the laws (sharāye’) are through the book, the passing of the gates of justice and equity through the scale, and the inspection and enforcement of the above through the sword.” Hence, the priority of justice and punishment in the ethic of the kings. Siāsat thus came to mean both statecraft and punishment (corresponding to danda in Indian
statecraft), thus conjoining the two functions of government and administration of penal law, and as such traveled eastward to the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal empire, where it had originated long before its importation to the Sasanian empire! (Arjomand 2001).

We will never know if Nasrallah changed his mind about punishment as the essence of good government and enforcement of the justice of the scale and equity by the sword in the last minutes of his life, when he was being put to the sword, probably in a Lahore prison, by the order of his royal last patron, Khosrow Shah. But we can only note that in the subsequent Persian literature on statecraft, Siāsat came to mean both statecraft and punishment, thus conjoining the two functions of government and administration of penal law, and as such it traveled not only eastward to the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal empire, but also westward to Mamluk Egypt and finally the Ottoman empire, where the term came to used almost exclusively with reference to penal codes.

Meanwhile, another type of patrimonial regime was developing with the formation of nomadic Turkic states in the eleventh century, namely the Qarakhanid kingdom in Central Asia and the Saljuq empire in Iran, Iraq, Syria and Anatolia. According to this conception, the kingdom was the patrimonial property of the whole family of the Khan and was divided into appanages upon his death. The Turkic conception of kingship as a divine gift to the founder of the state also linked it to the establishment of the law (törü), but as the Saljuqs adopted the Persian conception of kingship and championed the Sunni restoration under the Caliphate, the impact of the Turkic conception of the law had to wait for the Mongol invasion two centuries later. The problem of succession, however, resulted in the disintegration of the Saljuq nomadic empire, as it did with the Timurid empire in the fifteenth century.

In considering the political regime of Turkic nomadic empires, note should be taken of Marshall Hodgson’s rejection of Weber’s ideal types of patrimonialism and sultanism (which was mentioned too incidentally to capture illegitimate domination of the Turkish
guards of the Caliphs). In their place, Hodgson offers two ideal types of his own: ‘the a’yân-amir system’ in the Saljuq period, and ‘the military patronage state’ of the post-Mongol era. The first describes the regime that emerged with the development of the eqtâ’ system of land tenure and in which social power of the notables (a’yân) in towns and villages was subordinated to the domination of the military elite (amîrs) commanding the garrisons and using enormous landholding for the maintenance of their tribal contingents. The Muslim society it ruled was characterized by a considerable degree of social and geographical, “cosmopolitan” mobility assured by the shari’a. According to Hodgson, the system represented a stalemate between agrarian and mercantile power. With the weakening of bureaucracy and decentralization of land assignments that resulted from the increase in the size of the eqtâ’ and amalgamation of fiscal revenue-collection and prebendal grants for military and administrative service, the system developed in a military direction (Hodgson 1972, 2: 64-74, 93-94). In fact, in interaction with the above-mentioned absence of primogeniture and indivisibility in nomadic kingdoms, the power of women in Turkic royal families created a novel political regime. The appanage of a young Saljuq prince was in practice governed by his tutor (atabeg/atâbak) whom his widowed mother tended to marry. The regime of the atabegs of Fars survived the collapse of the Saljuq empire and the Mongol invasion, but most atabeg domains disintegrated toward the end of the twelfth century, with some cases of seizure of power by Saljuq mamluks. The a’yân-amir system thus changed into an extremely decentralized system in the latter part of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

Hodgson’s typology leaves out the question of legitimacy of monarchy, as does Weber’s model of patrimonialism. Monarchy developed under the ‘Abbasid caliphate but the relation between the two institutions was never free from tension. When the Caliphate and the Sultanate co-existed in Baghdad under the Buyids and the Saljuqs, the Islamic jurists such as al-Mâwardi and Ghazâlî developed a mode of reconciliation of monarchy and the ethicolegal order based on the shari’a, as the two normative orders of the
late-'Abbasid era (Arjomand forthcoming). This reconciliation of monarchy and the Islamic ethico-legal order, survived the overthrow of the Caliphate in 1258/556 with only a minor modification. Even that modification was prefigured in the Saljuq period. The fundamental distinction between the political order and the *shar'i* order did not disappear but was accommodated within the framework of the post-Caliphal Sultanism; and it was so accommodated in a distinctive type of regime that could be called ‘Islamic royalism.’

According to this Islamic royalism, the ruler (*soltān*) maintained both the political and the *shar'i* order, and was therefore the shadow of God on earth and the “king of Islam”. The allocutions *‘pādshāh-e eslām’*, *‘malek-e eslām’* and *‘soltān-e eslām’* must have been current in the Saljuq era, and Ghazālī used them in his didactic works and letters addressed to Sultan Sanjar. Writing in support of the Khwārazmshāh’s serious challenge to the suzerainty of the ‘Abbasid caliph in the 1180s, the Shā‘fī jurist and philosopher, Fakhr-al-Dīn Rāzi, used the philosophical division of practical philosophy into ethics, economics and civic politics to offer a synthesis of Perso-Indian statecraft and Greek political science, but only to proceed to establish the total independence of his royal patron from the Caliph. The Khwārazmshāh, “the king of Islam,” who led the “army of Islam” as an instrument of its expansion among the infidels in Central Asia, was God’s immediate deputy. Rāzi maintained that the order of the world is impossible without the existence of “the king (*pādshāh*) who is God's caliph.”

“The king,” he further affirmed, “is the shadow of God and the deputy of the Prophet”7 (Rāzi 1905: 62, 204-06). The ‘Abbasid Caliphate was thus made redundant even before its overthrow. After its extinction, the kings’ claim to being God’s deputy gained

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7 Meanwhile, the spread of Sufism was also giving a new meaning to the representation of God by the ruler without the mediation of divine law. Thus in 618/1221, Najm-al-Dīn Rāzi would declare: “monarchy (*saltanat*) is the Caliphate and lieutenancy (*niābat*) of God; the Prophet said ‘the ruler is the shadow of God’, which signifies the Caliphate.” He further takes the monarch’s being the shadow and deputy of God to entitle him to spiritual as well as temporal sovereignty (Fouchécour 1986: 430; apud Mersād al-'ebād).
universal acceptance, and the kings added Caliph as well as Sultan to their titles. Monarchy was henceforth derived independently from God. The ruler maintained order in the world; he was therefore God’s caliph or representative on earth. The one exception to this new Islamic royalism, as we shall see, was the Mamluk kingdom in Egypt and Syria, where the ‘Abbasid Caliphate did have an afterlife.

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The slave general who completed the conquest of northern India for the Ghurid Sultan, Mo‘ezz-al-Din Mohammad, was Qotb-al-Din Aybeg, who had been purchased by him from a merchant and later rewarded the title of malek and the royal parasol (chatr) (Menhāj-e Serāj, I: 416-17). In 1206/602, after the assassination of his royal patron, Qotb-al-Din Aybeg traveled from Delhi to Lahore to ascend the throne (Hardy 1978: 199-200). Fakhr-al-Din Mohammad b. Mansur Mobārakshāh, known as Fakhr-e Modabber, the scion of a family of Kadis of Ghazni who had moved to Lahore under the last Ghaznavid Sultan, Khosrow Malek (r. 1160-86), was among the “judges, prayer leaders, sayyeds, Sufis, office-holders, the military and traders” who welcomed Aybeg to Lahore, and describes it as “the center of Indian Islam (markaz-e eslām-e Hend) and replica of Ghazni” (Mobārakshāh 1927: 30-31). Fakhr-e Modabber’s account of this event is the most remarkable record of the transfer of Persianate kingship to India in the city of Lahore.

In a short preface on monarchy, the ruler is called the shadow of God (soltān sāya-ye khodāy ast) and considered essential for the maintenance of order in the world, as proven by the hadith, “Without the ruler, men would eat each other,” thus making punishment crucial to justice as the main function of kingship and grounds of its legitimacy. This emphasis in reflect in Fakhr-e Modabber’s version of the ‘circle of justice’: “the kingdom is not consolidated except by men, nor men except by money, nor money except by subjects, and no subjects except by justice, nor justice except by punishment”; and he adduces another hadith to underline “Justice is the scale (mizān) of God upon the earth” (idem:
Fakhr-e Modabber then sets out to establish the transfer of sovereignty from the Ghurid Sultan Mo‘ezz-al-Din, who is repetitiously referred to as the King of Islam (*malek, pâdshâh* and *soltân-e eslam*), and as “the martyred king” (*soltân-e shahid* and *pâdshâh-e shahid*) (idem: 24-25, 32), Qotb-al-Din Aybeg as his faithful servant and “successor-designate by divine inspiration (*wali-‘ahd ba elhâm-e izadi*)” (idem: 31). The new Sultan began his reign with the affirmation of justice “in the tradition (*sonnat*) of the martyred king” by issuing a decree that abolished all non-*shar‘i* taxes, levying instead the tithe, or one half it where appropriate, “as commanded by the *shari‘at*,” and sending copies of the decree to all regions, districts and villages to gladden the Muslims so that they would pray for “the continuity of the state and the stability of the kingdom” (idem: 33-34).

Fakhr-e Modabber thus transferred the legitimate sovereignty to the first Sultan of Delhi, Qotb-al-Din Aybeg, by him calling him the king of Islam in the terminology of Islamic royalism. Most of the chapters describing the offices of the state in his later treatise begin with the praise of the ‘king (*pâdshâh*) of Islam’ (Mobârak-shâh 1975). Aybeg’s fellow slave-general and the founder of the first royal dynasty, Sultan Iltotmesh (d. 1235-36/633), was similarly hailed as Islam’s king of kings (*shâhshâh-e Eslâm*) by a certain Amir Ruhâni, a poet who had migrated from Bukhara to Delhi (Hendushâh: 66), and the preferred title for the Delhi Sultan in the *Tabaqât-e nâseri* of Mâhj-e Serâj (e.g., II: 1, 3) was the ‘Sultan of Islam.’ Perso-Islamite political ethic and thought was disseminated by the Sultans of Delhi in India in the thirteenth century with ‘Awwi’s didactic stories and the Ādâb al-harb wa‘l-shajâ‘a by Fakhr-e Modabber, both of which were eventually dedicated to Sultan Iltotmesh of Delhi. In the following century,

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8 Fakhr-e Modabber’s preface contains half a dozen Koranic verses and as many traditions of the Prophet, including Q. 57.25 cited by Nasrallah Monshi on the book, the sword and the scale, in turn reinforced later by a *hadith* to re-emphasize the link between justice and punishment. It should also be noted that the most important chapters on political ethic also begin with a scriptural citation, preferably a revealed verse.
the Persianate theory of ‘Islamic royalism’ was expressed in the work of the official and historian of the Delhi Sultanate, Ziā-al-Din Barani. Kingship, according to Barani, is “the lieutenancy of the divinity and deputyship (caliphate) of God.” He saw the Caliphate as a mere phase in the history of kingship. The *sharī‘* order was to be maintained by kings who had military power or their successors (Arjomand 2008: 17-18).

Although Nasrallah Monshi’s first patron, the Ghaznavid Bahārām Shah, had put himself under the suzerainty of the great Saljuq Sultan, Sanjar (d. 1157), there is no evidence that Saljuq military organization had any influence on the later Ghaznavids. On the contrary, the model of polity transmitted the nascent Delhi Sultanate by Fakhr-e Modabber was exactly the one the Ghaznavids had inherited from the Samanid: the original Persianate polity. The six high officers of the state described in the tract on state organization, Ā’in-e keshvardārī (Mobārakshāh 1975), to which he adds a seventh—the treasurer (*mostawfi*), are exactly those we read about above in the Ādāb-e saltanat o vezārat. Noteworthy among these was the institution of amir-e dād, which was transplanted from the very beginning to the Delhi Sultanate. The *amir-e dād*, according to Mobārakshāh’s blueprint of offices, was in charge both of the ruler’s court of grievances (*mazālem*) and of regular courts of the Kadis, and was to keep a careful registry of cases as well as of the property of the subjects (Mobārakshāh 1975: 38-39). Other works also refer to this official as *dādbeg*, and consider it the most important office of the state after the vizierate (Menhāj-e Serāj, I: 444, II: 40-42; Jackson: 53, 84, 96). As de Fouchécour (1986: 376) remarks, however, there is no mark of the Saljuq administrative and especially military organization in this blueprint of the patrimonial state.

The Ghaznavid state had been established by the Turkish military slave general of the Samanids, Seboktekin, whose son, Sultan Mahmud conquered northern India. The Delhi Sultanate was similarly established by the slave generals of the Ghurids in early thirteenth century. To highlight the critical importance of non-tribal military organization in this type of Persianate polity, let
me quote a remarkable passage from the last Ghurid king. Mo‘ezz-al-Din Mohammad b. Sām embarked on the conquest of India around the turn of the century, shortly before he was murdered in 1206/602. When asked about not having a son to succeed him, Mo‘ezz-al-Din reportedly replied:

Other rulers have one son or two sons. I have several thousand sons—that is, the Turkish slaves, and my kingdom will be their inheritance.  

The Turkish slave corps, the Mo‘ezzi mamluks, did indeed inherit the newly conquered India from him, and established the Dehli Sultanate. They included the chief architects of the Delhi Sultanate, Qotb-al-Din Aybeg and Shams-al-Din Iltotmesh, who married one of his daughters and succeeded him after a short interval. Aybeg significantly called Iltotmesh his son (Menhāj-e Serāj, I: 418).

To look for the origins of the system of military slavery, and especially of the filial/paternal aspect of the relationship between the ruler and his military slaves, I would like to take you deep back into Central Asia and the eighth century. Already in Balāzorī’s account of the siege of Samarqand by Sa‘īd b. ʿOthmān in 676, we hear of the “sons of the Sogdian kings” (abnā’ moluk al-soghd; cited in de la Vaissière 2007: 87), and similar reference to the sons of princes can be found in other Muslim accounts of the conquest of Transoxiana. The Chinese sources make it clear that the above reference is to the armed retinue of some Sogdian prince, who formed a tight solitary group around him as his fictive, adopted sons. Each member of this military band, marked, just as under Parthian military feudalism, by a distinct belt and by commensalism and other ritual elements (Widengren 1969: ch. 1), was the considered the chākar of his noble patron and bound in absolute loyalty to him. According to the History of An Lushan (written in early ninth century), the Chinese general An Lushan, whose son was executed in 759, had built a city in Central Asia for his eight

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9 Menhāj-e Serāj, I: 418

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thousand adopted sons and special servants. From the Chinese sources on the chākarān, we also learn of the suicide of the Sogdian adopted sons of Li Qi, which parallels Muslim accounts of the suicide of the chākarān (shakeriya, in Arabic) of defeated Transoxianan princes (de la Vaissière 2007: 79, 85).

The belt was of particular significance as symbol of servitude, dependence and loyalty. The ‘belt of servitude’ (kamarband-e bandagi) is mentioned in Ebn Balkhi’s Fārsnāma (: 43), as the foremost mark of the military slave/vassals of the ancient Persian king, alongside the earring they wore in common to all slaves. The chākarān of Ghurek b. Ekhshid, the ruler of Samarqand in early eighth century, wore golden belts (idem: 70-71), as did the retinue of other Transoxiana princes, thus attesting to strong continuity with the ancient military feudal tradition. Vassalage and political dependence was expressed in the vocabulary of slavery and servitude since antiquity in eastern Iran and Sogdia, and the same was true for Turkestan and in Turkic (Golden 2001). It would not be unusual for the chākar to describe himself as the slave (banda) of the prince, nor for the latter to add captives and slaves to his chākar retinue. The above-mentioned Ghurek described himself as “the slave of the [Western-Turkic] Qaghan and one of his chākarās;” and somewhat later, the last Omayyad governor of Khorasan, Nasr b. Sayyar, is reported to have bought a thousand mamluks and given them arms and horses (Beckwith 1984: 37-38).

As de la Vaissière (2007) demonstrates convincingly, the military system set up in Samarra by the ’Abbasid Caliph al-’Mo’tasem (r. 833-42), whose mother was Sogdian, and is considered the first Mamluk system, in fact consisted predominantly of Transoxianan princes, such as Ashenās and Afshin, and their retinue. Furthermore, the Turkish Mamluk system developed under the ’Abbasid Caliphate in the latter part of ninth century was partly a reaction to the failure of the original Samarra system. It was thus left for the Samanids to blend the tradition of ancient Transoxianan military bands with military slavery at a time when the imbrications of the Sogdian and Turkic nobility had become very extensive. I dated the Samanid state-building to the year 893
partly on the assumption that Esmā’il b. Ahmad began to organize the corps of military slaves (*mamluks*), which played the key role in the murder and making of the Samanid kings in the subsequent half-century, out of the 15,000 Turkish captives of that year. The number we are given for the Turkish *mamluks*, who marched to Bukhara after murdering his son, Ahmad, in 914, is six thousand; and all of the named leaders were Esmā’il’s slaves (Treadwell 2000). Their number seems to have diminished during the reign of Nasr II b. Ahmad, judging by the same source (Treadwell 2005).

The *mamluk* corps soon regained its importance, however, and the Samanid rulers became reliant on slave soldiers. The flourishing slave trade in Transoxiana, as attested by Muslim geographers, made the purchase of military slaves by the Samanid treasury easy, and furthermore encouraged slave merchants to set up schools for training them. The testament of Seboktekin to his son, Mahmud, or his *pandnāma*, contains remarkable biographical information that shows he was bought by a merchant, a certain Hajji Nasr, from his kidnappers and sent to a school for training your military slaves in order to be sold to the famous Samanid slave general, Alptekin (*apud* de la Vaissonière 2007: 263-64). Equally precious is the information, supplied by the geographer Ebn Hawqal, that the Turkish slaves purchased by the treasury of the Samanid prince wore identical belts, and that “the best Transoxianan slaves are those educated in Samarqand” (*apud* de la Vaissonière 2007: 264-65).

It should be noted, however, that the Samanids also used the free nobility and their retinue in their armies, and sometimes put the *mamluks* under their command. Furthermore, the account of the disarming of the 6,000 strong *mamluk* army in 914 by the Bukharan militia, led by craftsmen and including naphta-throwing archers and youth bands (*fetyān*) (Treadwell 2000: 399-402), which confronted the *mamluks* on foot, demonstrates the military significance of the urban militia. The militia also still contained one important element which was to disappear in the following century: the *motatawwe’a*, a voluntary force that engaged in jihad against the infidel on the frontiers of Turkestan in order to fulfill
the duty of commanding the good and forbidding, evil with or without government support. We hear of the head (ra’is) of the motatawwe’a in Bukhara in the middle, and of a large body of motatawwe’a accompanying Sebuktegin to Ghazna, toward the end of the ninth century (Tor 2005: 569, 571). It is interesting to note that the troops of the Ghurids, a local dynasty of Iranian petty kings, Al-e Shansab, located in a mountainous region in present-day Afghanistan before expanding their power southward at the expense of the Ghaznavids, consisted mainly of mountaineers as foot soldiers. Moe’zz-al-Din and his older brother, Ghiyäth-al-Din, began purchasing military slaves to create a cavalry to realize their political ambitions, and with it imported the Transoxianan mamluk system that in turn created the Delhi Sultanate.

Overall, the Delhi Sultanate is perhaps best typified as an imperial regime based on military feudalism, where imperial unity was maintained by collective consensus among the Turkish slave-amirs on the election and deposition of sultans, often orchestrated by the non-Turkish viziers, the dādbeg and chief kadis. In a manner reminiscent of feudalism in the Parthian and Samanid empires, his chief justice refers to the Delhi Sultan in the mid-thirteenth century as “Sultan of the Sultans” and the ‘king of kings’ (shāhanshāh, pādshāh), while the Turkish amirs of the highest rank who held the most important eqtā’ grants assumed the title of malek (king). Menhāj-e Serāj counts twenty-five slave kings, most of whom are in fact called al-malek al-kabir (the great king), under his own royal patron as the king of kings and the Shamsid dynasty of Iltotmesh (Menhāj-e Serāj, I: 475-76; II: tabaqa 22). The government of the Delhi Sultanate was, however, more militarized than the Samanid prototype.

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10 Usually Tajik, but on occasion Hindu.

11 The civilian notables of Delhi, too, played a role in transitional periods. Their role is somewhat comparable to that of urban groups under local dynasties in 14th-century Iran (see Arjomand, 2004: 213-45). There is, however, no countervailing urban military force comparably to the motatawwe’a and citizen’s militia of foot soldiers we find in the Samanid polity.

12 Menhāj-e Serāj, I: 475, 497. I take soltān al-salātin as equivalent of shāhanshāh. Menhāj-e Serāj uses both terms.
This partly accounts for a remarkable feature of the Ādāb al-
harb wa’l-shajā’a, written by Mobārakshāh for Sultan Aybeg but
was later dedicated to Iltotmesh, namely its extensive coverage of
military organization and warfare, and there too, supportive traditions
abound, and traditional precedents are sought, wherever possible, in the practice of the early prophets, beginning with
Adam and the rightly-guided Caliphs. Other nations and practices
are also duly incorporated, however. This Islamic justification of
military organization can be understood in the light of the continu-
ued importance of and legitimatory function of jehād for the
Sultanate of Delhi where the Muslims were a small ruling minority
dominating a large Hindu population. The importation of a more
recently-developed office of the army judge (qāzi-ye lashkar, amir-e dād-e lashkar) by the Delhi Sultanate from the Ghurid state
is also consistent with its military character. Upon the conquest
of Lahore in 1188/582, the Ghurid Sultan Mo‘ezz-al-Din Mohammad
appointed Serāj-al-Din, the father Menhāj-e Serāj, the
due judge (qāzi) of the army of Hindustan (Menhāj-e Serāj, I: 398).
Menhāj-e Serāj himself was appointed to the same office for the
army of Bahrāmshāh, son of the slave-sultan of Multan, Nāser-al-
Din Qābācha, in 1227/624 (Menhāj-e Serāj, I: 420).

Upon his conversion to Islam in 1295, which was followed by
the conversion en masse of his army, the Mongol ruler of Iran,
Ghāzūn Khan called himself “the king of Islam,” thus adopting
Islamic royalism as the type of regime that was to prevail in the
eastern part of the Muslim world. It became polity for the Turko-
Mongolian empires from 1258 to 1500. The Mongol invasion,
however, had also brought in a new, a Turkish, notion of public
law, which was gradually absorbed within the framework of
Islamic monarchy. Chengiz Khan had established the great yāsā
alongside his universal empire. When the Mongol rulers of Iran
adopted Islam, the yāsā assimilated to the qānun and the shari’a
simultaneously. But it gradually ceded its religious character to the

13 The office Qadi Lashkar is also attested under the Khwārazmshāhs (‘Awfī, I: 149).
shari‘a, and became the law of the state with regard to the Turko-Mongolian ruling estate.

In elaborating his model of the ‘military-patronage state’ with reference to the Il-Khānids and Timurids, Hodgson (1974, II: 406-10) noted the character of yāsā as the law of the military estate, of which the civilian population took no cognizance, but also noted the increased importance of ‘dynastic law’ as the sum total of the royal decrees as long as the dynasty remained in power. The nomadic tribal confederations which established these empires transformed themselves into permanent ruling castes after conquest, and remained rigidly separate from the civilian population to which they cultivated the ties of patronage by holding courts and founding endowments. Holding enormous undifferentiated land grants (soyurghāl) which did not distinguish between fiscal and prebendal elements, they became the landlords of the peasant masses. The royal decrees (yarlıgh, farmān) created a written body of state law, while the yāsā as the law of the military estate, enforced by a special prosecutor, yārghuchī, introduced a new element of legal pluralism. Yārghu appears to have been extended to the viziers and high officials, and a special department (divān) dealing with cases of peculation, treason and disputes among local rulers under an amir-e yārgh is mentioned in the sources (Lambton 1988). The pattern of social stratification under the Turko-Mongolian empires differed significantly from that of the Persianate polity of the Samanids and the Ghaznavids. The bureaucratic class, secretaries of the chanceries who were the bearers of the culture of ethics and statecraft, also dealt with the civic society and institutions of the kingdoms and provided us with a picture of the social hierarchy and stratification in terms of status by arranging different modes of address appropriate for different ranks within the civilian population. This picture could be very detailed, but it basically followed the Sasanian division of society into the “men of the sword,” “men of the pen,” and “men of affairs,” with the cultivators appearing indirectly and often collectively as “the subjects” (reʿāyā; sing. raʿiyat). This conception of social hierarchy remained deeply rooted, but a rigid dichot-
omy of the military elite (askari) and the subjects (re’āyā), which corresponded to the division of society into a dominant Turko-Mongolian estate and the non-military Persian or Tajik estate comprising both the urban strata and the peasantry, was superimposed on it.

In Egypt and Syria, meanwhile, a different type of regime had already taken shape, the Mamluk Sultanate. The mamluk generals of the last Ayyubids who were in control of Egypt in 658/1260 defeated the Mongol army at ’Ayn Jālut in Syria, and one of them, Baybars, who had seized power by murdering the victor of ’Ayn Jālut, established an alleged survivor of the ’Abbasid family as Caliph in Cairo in 659/1261. The shadow ’Abbasid Caliphate persisted in Cairo until the Ottoman conquest in 1517, and made the Mamluk Sultanate distinct from other post-Mongol Muslim monarchies. In the brief period between the overthrow of the Caliphate in Baghdad and Baybars’s decision to install the refugee claiming to be an ’Abbasid survivor as Caliph, the ruler of Egypt had in fact adopted the title of ‘Sultan of Islam’ (Holt 1975: 244), and presumably the model of Islamic monarchy with it. The existence of a tract dedicated to him that made him Caliph and Imam and his hesitation for a full year after the death of the first Caliph to install a second refugee (Madelung 1988: 92-93) suggests that Baybars, too, seriously considered the model but in the end opted for the peculiar Mamluk model because of its foreign policy advantage of being invested by the Caliph as universal Sultan of all Muslims with the right to new conquests. Although judges were present in the dār al-’ādāl as advisors, it was the sultan or the official presiding on his behalf, usually the regent (nā’eb al-saltana), who heard the petitions and cases and passed summary judgment.

14 The function of conferring legitimacy on the Mamluk Sultan by the Caliph also meant the endorsement of the Mamluk Sultan’s claim to champion Islam in the jehād against the Mongols and the crusaders on behalf of the entire community of believers. This proved an asset in Mamluk foreign policy, as some post-Mongol regimes who wished to enhance their Islamic credentials, such as the Toghluq-shāhās in Delhi and the Muzaffarids in Fars in the fourteenth century, would on occasion strike coins in the name of the Cairo Caliph. (At one time, coins of the Delhi Sultanate bore his name even three years after his death!)
The Sultan-elect assumed the title of al-malek (idem: 238); a different kind of oath from bay’a was sometimes taken in case of usurpers: helf, which had a mutual character and specified the obligations of both the Sultan and the amirs (idem: 242). As the shadow Caliph failed to gain international recognition, however, even though he continued to be referred to as the Commander of the Faithful, his status was assimilated to that of the four chief justices with a curious twist in the institution of bay’a in the mid-fourteenth century, whereby he took the oath of allegiance to the Sultan! (Holt 1977: 45). With this practice being regularized under the Circassian or Borj Mamluks, the difference between the legitimacy of the Mamluk Sultans and other ‘kings of Islam’ became quite negligible.

Nevertheless, the distinction between the political order under Mamluk monarchy, and the institutions of the shar’i order was sharpened. Baybars was not foolish enough to give the Caliph exclusive purchase over the shar’i order. On the contrary, he promoted the more obvious identification of Islam with the estate of ‘olamā‘ as its official representatives, and enhanced the de jure legal pluralism under Islam by the institution of four chief justices for the four official schools of law in Cairo in 1265/663. The same system was established in Damascus in the same year. The four kadis also performed the function of conferring legitimacy on the Sultan by countersigning the Caliph’s decree of investiture as witnesses and taking part alongside him in the crowning ceremony, while the division of the clerical estate enhanced the Sultan’s control. Nevertheless, given the relatively small number of the Mamluk elite and the surprising barring of their offspring from the military career, the Mamluk Sultans and amirs were in fact more dependent on the good will of the ‘olamā‘, and contributed, through extensive endowments (awqāf), to the development of the civic and religious institutions under the control of the latter state on a much larger scale than the ruling elite of the Turko-Mongolian monarchies of the east. For this reason, we can follow Hodgson in labeling the Mamluk regime a ‘military-patronage state.’
The Mamluk regime was strikingly similar to the Delhi Sultanate as an Islamicate polity under a system of collective rule by military slave-Sultans. Young mamluks were military slaves purchased and trained by the Mamluk amirs who became their master (ostād), and upon emancipation, entered the military household of the amir as comrades (khoshdāshiya) at his service. The amirs elected the Sultan among themselves. Hereditary succession did occur after the charismatic warlords Baybars and Qalāwun, but was never officially justified. As compared with the Turko-Mongolian empires, the true unit of solidarity in which the Mamluk heritage passed was thus the Mamluk household, as compared to the royal clan of the nomadic empires. Its group solidarity, khoshdāshiya (comradeship) can be compared to the tribal solidarity (‘asabiya[t]) of the royal clan. As a consequence, the Mamluk kingdom was taken over as a whole by an elected Sultan and never divided among the princes of the royal house as appanages (Holt 1975).

The idea of Persianate kingship traveled further east to the Malay world, without the institution of military slavery. There, it was implanted upon predominantly mercantile polities to produce yet another distinctive type of Islamicate political regime in Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines: the Malay Sultanate. In Mughal India, Safavid Iran and the Ottoman empire, by contrast, Persianate monarchy developed into the type of regime I have described as ‘patrimonial-bureaucratic empire’ (Arjomand forthcoming). But these require separate treatment, and I have taxed your patience more than enough. Thank you.

References


MASTERY AND DISCIPLESHIP IN MEDIEVAL PERSIANATE SUFISM

Central to medieval Sufism was the person of the Sufi sheikh—initiator of novices, master of disciples, and guide to kings and commoners. This panel explores the authority of Sufi masters by an analysis of a range of hagiographic and pedagogical texts produced by Sufis in Iran, Central Asia, and South Asia between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. We argue that such authority was constructed, legitimated, and deployed through ritual practices, rhetorical strategies, and the production of instructive texts. Through such strategies Sufi sheikhs attempted to project their mastery over individual disciples and society at large in the context of specific socio-political conditions. Panelists: Amina M. Steinfels, Jamal J. Elias, Shahzad Bashir.

THE MAGIC OF RITUALS AND RITUALS OF MAGIC IN THE PERSIANATE WORLD

In his pioneering work on the transmission of knowledge in Ayyubid-Mamluk Damascus, Michael Chamberlain demonstrated that the very act of transmitting knowledge is often marked by magical activities, which serve to create a space of ritual purity. He describes such transactions as ritual performances that transmit a kind of socio-cultural capital in addition to any patent intellectual knowledge. In the spirit of Chamberlain, this panel seeks to understand the role that magical practice and ritualized activities play in the transmission of knowledge, authority, status, and transformative power in the Persianate context. Each paper will attempt to recover a culture saturated in magic that has remained
largely invisible. Panelists: Derek Mancini-Lander, Azfar Moin, Kathryn Babayan.

SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE IN IRAN

This panel focuses on sociolinguistics of Persian language in Iran. With increased mobility of peoples throughout the world and the breakdown of small, egalitarian face-to-face societies, communicative conventions are becoming more important in establishing understanding and acceptance. As claimed by Wierzbicka, language use studies suffer from an astonishing ethnocentricity. In order to broaden the scope of language studies to include a non-Western language, the present panel on different aspects of Persian language use is proposed. Two of the panelists (Eslami and Eslami-Rasekh) focus on politeness issues as realized by different speech acts in Persian language and illustrate the western-bias in treatments of politeness as represented in the previous literature and seminal work by Brown and Levinson (1989). Another panel member (Tavangar) focuses on the socio-cultural aspects of idiomaticity in Persian and covers the interpersonal implications that Persian idioms may carry; how these expressions are to be interpreted by the hearer and what their relevance to the overall discourse context is. The last panel member (Amouzadeh) focuses on socio-cultural aspects of Persian print advertisements in Iran and in the United States and provides insights on how analysis of advertising language can reveal certain ideological meanings deployed and maintained in the social world. Participants in this panel illustrate how the study of language cannot be divorced from the social and cultural context in which it is embedded. The topics covered have implications for intercultural communication and understanding and will promote awareness of cultural and social values of Persian speakers in Iran as they are reflected in their language use.
MODERN PAINTERS OF LAHORE: IS THERE A PERSO-MUGHAL HERITAGE?

This panel has five speakers all from The Department of Fine Arts, Lahore College for Women University, who will talk on different aspects of the post-1947 art of Pakistan. Some of the art is obvious derivative of traditional Perso-Mughal techniques and subject matter; in other cases the cultural originals are less prominent. We attempt to give a balanced view of the art scene in Lahore today.

Our first speaker, Rukhsana David will introduce the most popular and best-known group of Lahori artists, who make their own wasli paper, mix paints in muscle shells, and paint sitting cross-legged on the floor balancing their large drawing boards on their knees. At the beginning their subject matter was copied from Mughal miniatures but a group of firebrand students who all studied at the Lahore College of Art introduced new subjects of political and social content, and the rest is history.

Barbara Schmitz, HEC Foreign Faculty at LCWU, and her students procured a very well-received exhibition on the paintings and drawing of Naseem Hafeez Qazi, the founder of the LCWU art department and a member of the first generation of Pakistani artists after Partition. Her talk will center on the sad trajectories of a very talented artist who was trained in Spain, making copies of the great paintings of Titian and Rubens, and of her country which ultimately denied her the right to publicly pursue and exhibit studies of the nude figure.

Anjum Noon will deconstruct the art of Lahori painter Ijaz ul Hassan. In some of his paintings there is obvious political content usually based on tragic images from newspapers. He is also known for his paintings of lush jungly landscapes that are seemingly remote from his other interest, but are they really?

Saira Khanum will contrast the work of two major painters in their presentations of the human figure. Colin David, one of the pioneer artists of Pakistan, makes his female figure simple elements of design in well-balanced pictures. Iqbal Hussein, a self-taught artist of humble origins, emphasized the realism of his
female figures and often stresses the sad circumstance of lives as workers in Lahore’s red light district. His weak points in overall design and tight compositions are overshadowed by the power of his expressive statements.

Sadia Afshad is interested in the last generation of Lahore painters whose careers began during 1992-2002. She will examine the themes they use and contrast and compare them with those of earlier generations. She senses new librations from the schools of previous generations whose work followed one of three modes: Expressionism, Abstraction, or Realism.
Individual Abstracts
A GENDER APPROACH TO THE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING IN MODERN TAJIKISTAN

Malika Abdulvasieva¹⁵

This paper presents an overview of gender-sensitive issues resulting from a 2008 situational analysis project of the Vocational Education and Training (VET) system in Tajikistan, particularly the needs and expectations of girls and women and the ways in which vocational education empowers and disempowers them. The data was collected through a survey, interviews, and document survey in a number of VET institutions in Tajikistan. The findings show that the VET system in Tajikistan suffered greatly as a result of the Soviet collapse. Challenges include the lack of modern resources, teacher shortages, outdated curriculum, and cultural/traditional stereotypes that negatively affect girls in terms of education and their development at whole.

The findings argue that VET can enable young Tajik females to obtain the professional skills they need to improve their quality of life, social mobility, and contribution to family income and the economy. The study suggests, moreover, that the curriculum of VET schools must reflect gender equity and that its curriculum must be geared to the practical needs of today’s Tajik society, which is increasingly affected by the demands of the global

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economy. The VET teacher education program must prepare teachers for gender sensitivity and the application of active and engaging methods of teaching that promote better job opportunities for VET graduates.
CHISHTI KHĀNQĀH IN RURAL PUNJAB DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: MODES OF LEARNING

Sajida Sultana Alvi

The study of “knowledge in Islam,” its modes of transmission and the institutions for its acquisition, especially the madrasas, continue to attract scholars of Islamic studies since the 1979 Revolution in Iran. It received another impetus in the aftermath of 9/11 in 2001, and diverted the attention of scholars and general public from Iran to Afghanistan and Pakistan. This paper (an introduction to my book-length study) takes the reader back to the eighteenth-century Sufi complex (khānqāh) in rural Punjab of Nur Mohammad Mahārawi (1730-90; the foremost Sufi master of Cheshti tariqa in the eighteenth century), in search of the mode and content of knowledge transmitted in Mahārawi’s khānaqāh.

Our discussion on Sufism and rural Punjab is prompted by the reification of Sufism and the categorical opposition of rural and urban settings in the scholarly literature on Islam. Within the framework of phenomenological methodology, the perceptions, observations and learning experiences of Nur Mohammad Mahārawi’s four deputies (khalifas) are uncovered by undertaking an in-depth textual, topical and literary analysis of (i) Mahārawi’s discourses at congregational or individual meetings (malfuzat), and (ii) his khalifas’ narratives on their acquisition of ‘olum-e zāheri and bāteni under the supervision of their morshed against the backdrop of socio-political context.

Our objective is to determine the authority of Mahārawi as a teacher as described by his major khalifas: Nur Mohammad Nāro-wāla (1721-89), an ‘ālem and mohaddeth, Mohammad ‘Āqel Fāruqi, jurist and chief qādi (d. 1814), Hāfez Mohammad Jamāl Moltāni, an ‘ālem, a poet and teacher (d. 1811), and Mohammad Solaymān Tawnsavi, a jurist, educator, and agriculturalist—the youngest and most prominent designated successor (1770-1850).

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Nur Mohammad Mahārawi emerged as a major Sufi master, attracting a large following in the Punjab. Even at this early stage of the research, his command of philosophy, metaphysics, logic, jurisprudence, *shari‘a*, the Koran, *tafsir*, *hadith* and *tasawwuf*, history and literature, is clearly demonstrated in my explication of the issues raised by his *khalifas* and other disciples at congregational meetings.
THEMES AND SOURCES OF THE CURRENT GENERATION OF PAKISTANI ARTISTS

Sadia Arshad

At the inception of Pakistan, artists like Allah Bukhsh and Abdur Rehman Chughtai were struggling with the unpromising political and economic conditions of a newly-born country. These pioneer artists could not evolve any particular school of thought in the art of Pakistan. They were all masters of their own individual styles. The generation of artists of the 1960s, 70s and 80s were working on various themes of their own interests and received influences from all over the world, especially from the West. This period of Pakistani art is distinguished by several art groups. Because of Anna Molka Ahmed’s enormous contribution in founding fine arts in Pakistan, many artists adopted a “German Expressionistic” style of painting following the precepts of Edward Munch (1863-1944), which in turn derive from the Dutch post-impressionist painter Vincent van Gogh (1853-90). Another influential Pakistani artist, Shakir Ali synthesized a 20th-century cubist style with the elongated forms of Modigliani (1887-1920) and gave birth to a group of followers of abstract ideas of the West. In the presence of these two immense influences Khalid Iqbal and Colin David were successful in making a ground for an academic style of realism. So in the last decade of the century Pakistani artists were probing their identity among these three major influences: Expressionism, Abstraction and Realism.

Through art education and the establishment of new art institutions, more artists with new ideas came into existence. In the last few years, the activities of visual art have flourished in Pakistan in a noticeable manner. Many new creative endeavors have come into existence; they reflect the pure and true creative ideas of the young generation of artists in Pakistan. The young artists reflect many influences from their pioneers, their heritage and inspirations from many Western trends of modern art or from other cultures. All the

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progress in this field is because of the establishment of new art societies, art institutes, and art departments in colleges and universities throughout the country.
SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS OF PERSIAN PRINT ADVERTISEMENTS IN IRAN AND IN THE UNITED STATES

Mohammad Amouzadeh

The analysis of advertising language can reveal how certain ideological meanings are deployed and maintained in the social world. This paper aims to investigate, in a contrastive fashion, in what ways the language of the Persian print advertisements in Iran and in the United States represent similar or different aspects of their social lives. A cursory study of some data indicates that, despite the fact that there might be certain linguistic and non-linguistic similarities between the two sets of advertisements, there exist a number of striking dissimilarities between them, which require a serious investigation. For instance, whereas the language of Persian advertising in Iran displays a kind of modern, scientific, or international status for their products, the Persian advertisements as used in the United States are often focused on the patriotic and nostalgic connotations of their products. Paradoxically, such ideological meanings do not conform to the use of a rather mixed Persian language in the relevant advertisements. In short, the current paper will compare and contrast a number of Persian advertisements in Iran and in the United States to study how different socio-cultural contexts contribute to various linguistic and pragmatic strategies of the Persian advertisements.

Keywords: Persian advertisements, patriotic ideology, internationalization, code-mixing.

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PASSING INTO MANHOOD IN SAFAVI CRAFT CIRCLES

Kathryn Babayan

Early-modern Iranists have overlooked the rites that mark male adolescents’ passage from youth to adulthood. Since studying these rituals can yield insight about attitudes toward puberty, masculinity and gender-based divisions of labor in the sixteenth-century craft circles of Safavid Iran, I intend to historicize these rites and the social patterns they generate.

Appearing in manuals of chivalry (fotowwatnāma), the rituals initiating novices into confraternities (fotowwat) defined the roles of boys at the threshold of participation in adult work. The rituals, which related novices in surrogate kinships to communities of brothers and fathers, were instrumental in structuring communities of individual craft guilds. The Safavi order executed its messianic revolution through the support of political factions grounded in the urban marketplace economy and comprised of craft devotees. Safavid kings however, once established, attempted to control confraternities because they undermined the political and religious authority of the court and mosque. The fotowwatnāmas constitute attempts to control praxis among brotherhoods but, in intervening in the codes of chivalry, they unwittingly delineate changing attitudes.

Research in anthropology and ritual studies has shown that the three stages of withdrawal, isolation and return are common to the rites of passage that youth undergo in many cultural milieus. Drawing on such research, I will analyze symbols of initiation, examining their attendant verbal idiom, and investigate how rites of passage from puberty to manhood contributed to a new social order and masculine culture of Eros and politics in Safavid Iran. Situating this initiation practice will in turn provide insights into the dynamics of religion in both psychological and sociological terms.

19 University of Michigan.
This paper is concerned with ʿAlī b. Mahmud Kurānī’s Rawzāt alb-sālekin, a little-known hagiographical work from the fifteenth century dedicated to the Naqshbandi master ʿAlā-al-Dīn Mohammad b. Mohammad b. Moʾmen (d. 892/1487) who lived his life in the environs of Herat. The work is an exceptionally vivid example for the use of vision as an overarching metaphor for representing the master-disciple relationship in medieval Persianate Sufism. Most of the text consists of dramatic episodes underscoring the master’s awesome charismatic presence as exhibited through his penetrating vision to see beyond apparent reality into hidden processes. My paper concentrates on patterns in the depiction of interpersonal encounters to argue that, in the work, “vision” is an active and intrusive force deployed by a Sufi master to acquire and control disciples. The master’s always potent vision contrasts strikingly with disciples’ visionary dreams and trances that exhibit a sense of bewilderment and lack of control over one’s self and surroundings. The master-disciple relationship appears encased in a circle, the master’s eyes controlling the disciple’s heart, mind, and body, and the disciple’s vision unstable until it becomes entranced by the master’s beauty and might. The paper aims to contribute to the study of Sufism as well as our understanding of rhetorical strategies employed by medieval Persianate writers.

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THE DIACHRONY, ETYMOLOGY, AND GLOSS OF THE NEW PERSIAN BUR

Dariush Borbor

Apart from a few short pointers, a comprehensive study of the lexeme bur as a “toponym,” a “horse” and a “color” appear to have evaded the attention of the scholars. The lexeme bur may appear in four categories, and three different meanings: (1) as an ancient toponym; (2) a certain type of a “horse”; (3) a certain “color”; and (4) “ten thousand, large number of people, a crowd, myriad.”

This paper is a synopsis of the diachrony, etymology and gloss of bur as a certain type of a “horse”; bur as toponym has been briefly discussed, a detailed study by this writer will appear shortly; bur as a certain “color” is intended to be presented in a later paper, and as “ten thousand, etc.” has been already summarily presented in a previous paper. The findings of this presentation are based mainly on two near-completed projects by the same author.

Whereas the etymology of asp “horse” is well documented, the etymology of bur is not. This investigation demonstrates that the original connotation of the lexeme bur when applied to a horse was destined to a particular type of a horse and was not a simple synonym to the lexeme asp as taken for granted by lexicographers and etymologists. Also, our investigation of the lexeme bur “horse” has revealed a continuous mistake of applying the Turkish misnomer buz or the Arabic fur for the New Persian bur (ﺒﻮﺮ) by

21 Independent Scholar, Tehran.
23 Ibid.
24 D. Borbor, The Origin and the Age of the Būrbūr Tribe; idem A Computer Aided Comparative Dictionary of Reduplication in the Languages and Dialects of Iran, forthcoming.
25 At times as a cognate for “horse” and at times as a cognate for the colour “bur.”
generations of scholars and lexicographers who have reported the same error verbatim without delving into its origin. Amongst others, they include: Fazlallāh Hamdāni (12th century), Tabrizī (17th), Astārābādi (18th), Steingass (19th), Nicholson, Dehkhodā and Mo’in (20th).

As for the *bur* “ten thousand,” which has been eventually established and clarified by the *Shahnama*, the paper has turned to the same source to solve the lexical riddle between the lexemes *bur* and *asp*. Further confirmation is obtained by a thorough examination of several other ancient poets, *farasnāma* and copious positive evidence presented in medieval miniatures and porcelains.

Finally, the paper presents evidence and establishes the fact that *bur < bārag* was not originally applied as a synonym to *asp*, but to a particular type of “fast, agile, nimble horse,” and the origin of the lexeme *bur* in its various forms is West Iranian and Median. We conclude that the color *bur* is a mixture of light grey and light indigo, in fact, *blue roan*, and thus the original application of *bur* for horse was applied to a “fast, agile, nimble blue roan horse”—possibly even to the well-known Nisaeans of ancient Media, the most famous horses of the antiquity.
AN ATTESTATION OF THE BALOCH AT AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ARMENIAN CHRONICLE

Vahe S. Boyajian

Armenian historical sources have always been of great importance not only for the study of Armenian history and culture, but they have also provided useful and unique information about the neighboring countries and peoples. The Armenian travelers and chroniclers have touched the historical, cultural, religious and other issues of not only their neighbors but also those of remote countries they have been traveling through. The Iranian world with the variety of its manifestations occupies a considerable place in the Armenian sources.

Among the Iranian peoples there are numerous ethnic groups the history of which has many periods left without written attestations. The Baloch are one of them, who, despite the rich oral traditions (heroic legends, ballads, songs, love poetry), lack written historical literature. The appearance of the Baloch in the historical scene as a more or less unified people with national self-consciousness dates back to the Qajar period in the late 18th century. Before that, the ideas of national self-determination and independence were differently understood and interpreted by various groups identifying themselves by the common name “baloch.” The late medieval history of the Baloch is rich with facts and attestations regarding the mercenary nature of their occupation in the armies or courts of powerful rulers of the region.

This paper presents an early attestation (preserved in the Matenadaran library, Yerevan, manuscript no. 1786, 44b-49b) of historical events in Persia, where the author, an 18th-century Armenian chronicler and traveler Martiros di Arakel, mentions the Baloch as mercenaries in the campaigns against the late Safavids.

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The purpose of this paper is to examine the main dimensions of the Muslim clergy in Afghanistan in 1940s through 1960s—the strata which came over traditional social/professional boundaries to politics and played later a significant role in national governance and local leadership. The research is based on data drawn from state archives of Russian Federation and National archives of the United Kingdom. It is stimulated by much confusion in the literature on the subject; despite comprehensive contributions of scholars of different academic backgrounds (O. Roy, A. Olesen, R. Sikoev, etc.), there are still misinterpretations on the early stages of Muslim enlightenment and political Islamism, which flourished in the 1980s and 1990s in Afghanistan.

Dr. Boyko is the director of the Center for Regional Studies (Russia and the East) and associate professor of Asian Studies at Barnaul State Pedagogical University. The main focus of his research and teaching is the contemporary Afghanistan and Central Asian history and politics. As a visiting scholar he undertook research projects at London School of Economics and Political Science, Harvard University, Ruhr University (Germany), and Cambridge University. His writings amount to some 200 research works, including ten authored and edited books in Russian and English.
KOSHTI AND PAHLAVĀN AS MARKERS OF THE PERSIANATE WORLD

Houchang Esfandiar Chehabi\textsuperscript{28}

The Persian words Koshti and Pahlavān, adapted to local idioms, denote ‘wrestling’ and ‘wrestler’ all the way from the Balkans to Malaya. This presentation argues that common athletic practices constitute one of the dimensions of the cosmopolitan culture of the different lands of the Persianate world. After presenting the two words and their geographic diffusion, a number of common cultural references will be identified, chief among them Rostam and Ali. The material culture of the traditional gymnasiums in which athletes practiced (and in some countries still practice) their art is examined next, after which it will be shown that in the pre-modern age athletes moved around extensively within the Persianate world, seeking court patronage just as poets and artists did. The presentation will end with an analysis of the disintegration of this common athletic heritage in the age of nation-states. The presentation will be illustrated extensively with miniatures and photos.

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CONTEMPORARY MINIATURE PAINTING AT LAHORE

Rukhsana David

Before 1945 miniature painting was taught neither in Lahore nor elsewhere in Pakistan. A course in miniature painting was added to the curriculum of the Mayo School of Arts (now National College of Arts) with the appointment of ustad Haji Sharif, a court painter from the Punjab State of Patiala. The course was probably started as a policy to reclaim the lost traditional art. Few students opted for it and the course took a slow start.

The history of contemporary miniature painting actually starts in 1982 when Bashir Ahmed, a disciple of the ustad worked towards establishing miniature painting as a specialization in the Fine Arts Department. The department was still not very popular, had few students and was viewed as promoting a decadent art form.

A decade later, one of the two students who graduated from the miniature department was Shazia Sikander (1991), credited with the revival of miniature painting. She then went on to continue her art education in the United States and opted to live in New York. Using traditional imagery and blending both Eastern and Western art sensibilities she put the miniature as mainstream art. Her work, which encompasses small works on paper, installations, digital art and videos, transcends the exotic appeal of the miniature. Although she has never taught at the National College of Arts, her work and success have influenced many students and artists who have followed in her footsteps.

Since the mid-1990s there has been no looking back. Artists like Imran Qureshi, Nusra Latif and Aisha Khalid have worked with various elements of the miniature and transformed them into composite images that speak of social, political or personal concerns. Imran focuses on mass destruction, Nusra on the effects of colonization and Aisha on her childhood memories and womanhood.

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Since the new millennium, younger artists follow the new tradition put in place by Shazia Sikander, Imran Qureshi, Nusra Latif and Aisha Khalid. This new tradition continues to use icons from traditional miniature even as it addresses modern issues.
ISLAMIC MEDIA COVERAGE OF GENDER FACTORS IN CURRENT TAJIKISTAN

Lola Dodkhudoeva

Among the newly established Central Asian states, the Republic of Tajikistan is characterized by a unique attempt to incorporate a religious party into its secular political and social development, namely the Party of the Islamic Revival of Tajikistan, (PIRT) which functions legally and is represented in the Parliament (Majlis-i Oli and Majlis-i Namoyandagon). This came about as a result of the peace treaty which was signed in 1997 by the opposing sides in the Tajik Civil War of 1992-97. The PIRT’s ideas and plans have been issued in several publications over a period of almost ten years. The purpose of this presentation is to highlight the main gender issues that are contained in two main PIRT publications: the newspaper Najot (Salvation), the main organ of the Party which was organized in 1997 but issued regularly since 1999, and a review for women entitled, Nayson (Fertile spring rain), which has been issued since 2000.

It should be noted that both publications have developed greatly since their first appearance, both in terms of the design and content of the materials. For example, a volume of Najot today is sixteen-pages long in comparison with the four-page length of the first issues, and 45,000 copies are issued today in comparison with 200 copies issued in the first year. The most important changes,

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however, are connected with content. Analysis of the first issues reveals a predominance of materials devoted to a “literacy campaign” in Islamic sacral knowledge intended to overcome the gap in Islamic education among the population that was cut off from its spiritual traditions over the 70-year period of Soviet rule. These materials are largely presented through information reprinted from different foreign Islamic reviews, newspapers and internet sources and they highlight the basic aspects of *ibodat* (rules for correct prayer, fasting, making of the hajj, etc.). Over the course of time this emphasis shifted to information on current social, political and economic problems of the country. One of the reasons for such change was the market’s saturation with information data on Religion’s pillars from various sources of oral and written propaganda. But the major motivation for this transformation was dictated by the acute challenges of the current situation in Tajikistan and the attempts of PIRT’s leaders to find a response to them. Gender issues, which are so important for the social development of the region, occupy a lot of space in *Najot* and they create a basic focus for *Nayson*. The treatment of gender in each publication has its own character, which is the major focus of the paper.
EARLY PERSIAN ROYAL SYMBOLISM: AHURAMAZDA, KHAVARNAH AND THE ROD AND THE RING

Erica Ehrenberg

As inheritors of enduring and intertwined Mesopotamian and Iranian royal precepts, early Persian kings deemed themselves divinely appointed and proclaimed this extraordinary status in word and image. Cyrus, conqueror of Babylonia, stressed his Iranian Elamite heritage yet retained numerous Babylonian customs, while later kings beginning with Darius trumpeted a unique Persian, Aryan ethnicity. With this crystallization of Persian identity, a distinct imperial style that can be called Achaemenid emerged from widespread historical roots with Ahuramazda, likely promoted by Darius to the pinnacle of the pantheon, at its center. The Achaemenid visual program tightly links the earthly ruler with the supreme deity and offers clues about Persian conceptualizations of royal authority. Depictions of kings, from large-scale on architectural reliefs to small-scale on cylinder seals, provide insight into the notion of kh‘arnah (royal fortune), the meaning of the winged disk and the significance of sovereign insignia such as the rod-and-ring, all with ancient lineages in the Near East.

With a background in archaeology (Yale, BA; Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, PhD), Erica Ehrenberg studies the interface between ancient Persian and Babylonian civilization and has expanded her pursuit of cultural interconnections to those in the modern world, between the U.S. and Iran. While she continues to research in her academic field, she directs the work of the American Institute of Iranian Studies to promote academic exchange between America and Iran.
WRITTEN SOURCES OF BADAKHSHAN

Qudrat Elchibekov

During the Soviet period a systematic investigation of the written sources of Badakhshan was organized by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of USSR and the Institute of Oriental Studies and Written Heritage of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan. Several expeditions worked in the autonomous province of Gorno-Badakhshan during 1959-63 to collect manuscript sources. More than two-hundred rare manuscripts were collected and microfilmed on the history, philosophy and literature of Ismailism, including thirty unique manuscripts such as Omm al-khetāb, Goharriz, and Osul-e adab. On the basis of these materials, the eminent Soviet scholar A. E. Bertels published the most important of the Ismaili works in his Five Philosophical Treatises on the Theme of Afaq-i Anfus. The publication of this work enabled the Tajik scholar A. Abibov to study the development of Ismaili literature in his From the History of Tajik Literature in Badakhshan and The Treasury of Badakhshan.

The written sources of Badakhshan may be divided into several categories, including literature, ethnography, and historical works. Sources on the history of Ismailism in Badakhshan, which cover its development from the tenth century, include the Sufi literature such as the works of Mobārak Vakhāni. Ethnographic works include notes on magic invocations and rituals such as Nowruz and Charāgh-namā. Poetic works of Badakhshan include the divans of eight poets from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. Among the historical sources on Badakhshan are two

notable works of the same title, Ta’rikh-e Badakhshān: one by Sang Mohammad Badakhshi and Fazl Alibek Sorkh Afsar, and the other by Mahabbat Sa’id Foturshāh and Qorban Mohammad Ākhund Solaymān.
THE GUIDANCE OF CITIZENS, SUFIS AND KINGS IN RELIGIOUS MANUALS OF THE KOBRĀVIYA SELSÈLA

Jamal J. Elias

This paper explores patterns in structure and content of Sufi guidebooks (also called handbooks) in the 13th to 14th-century Iran and Central and South Asia. My paper will concentrate on books written as guidance for formal and informal disciples by major Sufi figures of the Kobrāviya (called the Selsela-ye Zahab in South Asia) with the goal of identifying important patterns of similarity and difference between them within the framework of their social and historical contexts. I will draw on specific examples from Tohfat al-barara fi ’l-masāʾel al-‘ashara of Majd-al-Din Baghdādi (d. 616/1219), Al-mesbāḥ fi ’l-tasawwof of Sa’d-al-Din Hamuya (d. 650/1252), Mersād-al-’ebād men al-mabda’ elāʾl-maʿād of Najm-al-Din Daya (d. 654/1256), Al-‘orwa le-ahl al-khalwa wa ’l-jalwa of ‘Alā’-al-Dawla Semnānī (d. 736/1336), and two separate works by Sayyed ʿAli Hamadānī (d. 786/1385). These works formally belong to members of a singular Sufi tradition and span a relatively short century and a half. However, they are markedly different in their style and content and appear to be addressed to distinct audiences. A comparative analysis of these important works will shed light on the role of Sufi masters and textual instruction in Sufism, as well as on the nature of kingship and the role played by Sufi sheikhs in influencing and legitimating statecraft and political ethics.
Cultural values are both reflected by and carried through language. With increased mobility of peoples throughout the world and the breakdown of small, egalitarian face-to-face societies, communicative conventions are becoming more important in establishing understanding and acceptance (Gumperz 1982; Kecskes 2004; Mey 2004). As claimed by Wierzbicka (1991), studies on speech acts suffer from an astonishing ethnocentricity. In order to broaden the scope of speech act studies to include a non-Western language, the present study on politeness norms in Persian was carried out. Through examples from Persian speech acts such as invitation, apology, and complimenting, the authors will show that Brown and Levinson’s (B&L’s) seminal treatment of politeness (1987) has a Western, or even Anglophone, bias, and therefore cannot claim to present a universal theory applicable to all languages and cultures.

We will present the Western bias in B&L model by showing that his definition of negative politeness in terms of negative and positive face reflects an Anglo-Western view of the supremacy of an individual’s desires and right to freedom. It will be argued that B&L focus on the individual, however appropriate to the West, is quite inappropriate to the group orientation of Eastern cultures, specifically those of Iran.

Using examples from Persian, we will illustrate that B&L’s explanation of politeness as a sedative to face-threatening acts (FTAs), for the performance of which B&L specify five strategies, ranging from “bald on-record” performance of the FTA through indirect strategies to its non-performance seem to reinforce the Western orientation of the model and thus its restriction to a particular cultural milieu.
In our theoretical stance, we reject the universalistic claim made by B&L and echo Wierzbicka’s (1991) position that interpersonal interaction is governed, to a large extent, by norms which are culture-specific and which reflect cultural values cherished by a particular society.
THE RELIGION IN WESTERN PAMIR DURING THE REPRESSIONS OF THE 1930s

Jens Ferchland

The predominant religion in the Western Pamir, a part of the autonomous oblast of Mountainous Badakhshan in Tajikistan, is the Ismaili Islam. In spite of the dominant Sunni sect in the region, the Ismaili traditions have lasted for centuries. They have been maintained thanks to a system which is based on several firm pillars: a religious tradition with pirs as the leaders, old written literature, and the veneration of local saints in the mazārs. By the end of the Soviet rule, however, the religious structure had been more or less destroyed, with most of the damage inflicted in the 1920-30s.

Following an initial period of tolerance, the antireligious policies were tightened in the late 1920s. The authorities were dedicated to abolishing all religions practiced in Soviet Union. In the Pamirs they began with the extermination of the religious elite. They drove out and even killed the pirs and confiscated their properties, and banned the religious schools and the payment of zakāt. Another successful plan aiming at devastation of Muslim traditions was the changing of the Arabic alphabet into Roman and then Cyrillic, in the literacy campaigns of the earlier Soviet period.

This paper concentrates on the situation of the Ismailis of the Western Pamir in the late 1920s and the early 1930s, and tries to explain the causes of the events and their consequences. How was it possible that such a great damage be inflicted in such a short time upon a religious group with centuries of tradition? The second part of the paper will be dedicated to the covert practice of Ismailism and secret preservation of its traditions and books in some places in the Pamirs.

MEDIA ATROPATENE: REMARKS ON THE HELLENIS-

35 Berlin, Germany.
While Bactria and Sogdiana gained much attention in the contemporary literature, some other kingdoms in the Hellenistic world gained less attention. The main aim in the paper is to evaluate the ancient sources and contribute some new viewpoints to the questions of intercultural communication and cultural interferences. The population of Media Atropatene, from the third century BCE, consisted of Iranians (the Medes) and Greeks, among others. The founder of this state was Atropates, a general of Alexander the Great. After Alexander’s quietus the most powerful leaders seized the opportunity of the demise: Seleucos in Syria and Ptolemy in Egypt and Atropates in Media. As a result, Greek veterans were settled here as they did in Bactria. Contrary to the historians of Armenia, modern researchers of the ancient Near East paid much less attention to Media Atropatene than Bactria. The former empire, however, has many traits yet to be studied as a crossroad of cultural traditions of the antiquity.

The most important Greek and Latin sources will be analyzed in this study (e.g. Arrian 4, 18, 3; Strabo 11, 523; Justin 13, 4; Pliny 6, 13, 16). The author will offer a few remarks on Media Atropatene, taking into the account the Old Iranian sources as well. He seeks to demonstrate that the Persians (and in the wider sense, the Near Eastern nations) played an active role in mixing peoples and cultures: while the ancient Near East was influenced by the Greeks, the latter were influenced by Persians. The author will elaborate on the question of duration of culture and language of the Medes.

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Iranian-Georgian historical contacts have the most ancient tradition. The Geographical position of both countries has supported practically uninterrupted interrelationships of these neighboring regions from the remotest past. The historical links which arose very early between pre-Islamic Persia and Ancient Georgia reached their summit during the Sasanians (224-651 CE).

The Sasanians’ relations with Georgia (Iberian kingdom, known later as state of Kartli) were complex and deep, covering all the spheres of political, social and cultural life of the country, affecting therefore different sides of Georgian civilization throughout the whole period of their dominance. Traces of these influences are still to be seen in spiritual and material culture of the Georgian people and particularly, in their language. Georgian is the only written member of the South Caucasian (Kartvelian) language family and has a literary history of a millennium and a half. The most ancient Georgian records are dated from the 7th century.

Born in Georgia, Helen Giunashvili received her doctorate in Iranian linguistics under the supervision of Prof. V. Livshits at the Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg. Her dissertation was “Personal Verbal Forms in Parthian and Early Middle Persian.” Her experience includes a scholarly assignment at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1994-95), where she conducted research with Profs. J. C. Greenfield and J. Naveh, and was awarded the Golda Meyer Fellowship Grant; assignments at the University of Tehran, the Academy of Persian Language and Literature, and the French Institute of Iranian Studies (1996-99); invited researcher at the University of Sorbonne, and National Center of Scientific Researches (CNRS), by Prof. Ph. Gignoux (1999-2001); post-doctoral research program at the Sorbonne, with Prof. P. Lecocq (2002-05); research project on Sassanian Iran and Georgia, Sassanian lexis in Georgian and Sassanian onomastics in Georgian sources (2005-08); and DAAD fellow at a joint project with Prof. Jost Gippert at the Institute of Comparative Linguistics, University of Frankfurt (2007-08).
Old Georgian sources reveal many Sasanian (Parthian and Middle Persian) words ranging over various semantic fields, being penetrated as a result of these multifarious contacts. Many Middle Iranian proper names were also widespread in Georgia. They could be found already in the most ancient epigraphic monuments—in the Georgian inscriptions from Palestine (cf. Bakur, Mirian, Burzen[-mihr], Gri-Ormizd). Sasanian names are mostly frequent in Old Georgian historical records (Kartlis Cxotreba “Life of Kartli”; Mokcevai Kartlisai “Conversion of Kartli,” and Cxotreba Kartvelta Mefeta “The Life of the Kartvelian Kings”). The Georgian chronicles attest many Iranian names of kings and prominent personages of ancient Georgia, testifying close (and probably) direct contacts between members of Iranian-speaking upper-class and autochthonous Kartvelians.

The paper presents distributive, structural-typological and semantic analysis of Sasanian proper names in Old Georgian historical sources, with an attempt of showing ways of their penetration.
ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HISTORICAL-GEOGRAPHICAL DATA FOR PERSIAN LEXICOLOGICAL STUDIES

Jemshid Giunashvili

The paper aims to show the importance of evidence of the historical geography of Iran for Classical Persian lexicography. The medieval dictionary *Borhān-e qāte‘* attests the geographical term *Shahrud*, the city built by the Sasanian king Khosrow II Parviz (the fifth century) on a bank of the river Shahrud (now Safidrud). The same interpretation is presented in I. Vullers’s *Lexicon Persico-Latinum Etymologicum* (1864). Prominent Iranian philologist and lexicographer M. Mo’in does not include purposely the *Borhān*’s material dealing with Shahrud in his edition of the dictionary; he gives only two other similar entries: “Shahr-e zur” and “Shahr-e sabz,” already mentioned in medieval texts. There are no references to the place name Shahrud in any of historical and geographical sources.

Considering Pers. *digar*—“other, another,” P. Horn quotes alongside with it an archaic form *dedigar/didīgar* (Grundriss der neupersische Etymomlogie, Strassburg 1893, p. 132), referring to the first edition of Fakhr-al-Din Gorgān’s *Vis o Rāmin* (Calcutta, 1865, p. 29), where expression *Shahrud-e digar* is found: *Ferestam zi to candān zarr o gowhar//Ke gar khāhī, koni Shahrud-e digar.* Horn questioned the reading *Shahrud-e digar* and, by

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changing the segmentation of the Arabic symbols of this sequence, identified the archaic form dedigar in the expression Shahru dedigar, being an inverse construction of the verse meter dedigar Shahru “second Shahru.”

The reading suggested by P. Horn reflects the historical-geographical background of the 11th-century Persia, where really existed an important point Shahru (later Suru/Sūrō) on the sea shore, known already from the 10th-century geographical sources and characterized by Ebn Hawqal as ‘azimaton. Gombru superseded the town Suru, while from the 17th century Bandar ‘Abbās came into use. The city name Shahrud used so frequently in classical masterpiece, Nezâmi of Ganja’s Khosraw o Shirin, was coined by the poet and that, through the influence of his poetical legacy, this geographical name became established in the Borhān-e gāte’.
EXAMINING THE AESTHETIC OF HIBRIDITY IN MUGHAL PAINTING: THE EXAMPLE OF JAHANGIR SEATED ON AN HOURGLASS BY BICHITR (C. 1625)

Valérie Gonzalez

The desire of the first Mughal Emperors to integrate culturally their diverse nation is reflected in the blending of a variety of foreign and native aesthetic elements that shaped the arts of Islamic India in the 16th and 17th centuries. The history of Mughal painting itself, as we know, rests upon Persian contributions and Western influences combined with the Indian legacy. This transcultural quality of Mughal miniature reached a peak of expression with the famous portrait of Jahangir (1605-27) by Bichitr ca. 1625. This talk will extend the existing interpretations of the painting through a thorough critical and visual study of the image.

This painting indeed reflects both the plurality of aesthetic sources available at courtly workshops and the wide range of Jahangir’s aesthetic sympathies but also it constitutes a special case from many points of view. More than a typical example of Mughal portraiture, it designs a complex syncretistic visual rhetoric dealing with the emperor’s personal worldview and conception of kingship at the end of his reign. As such, the painting is a true manifest of Jahangir’s political and philosophical visions. For this exceptional project, the patron and artist have deployed the most ambitious aesthetic strategies and techniques. The most striking of these is the literal copy of a Western portrait, a faithful image of King James I together with the representation of other chief authoritative figures from the Muslim world. The first aspect of the discussion will concern the formal and discursive logic of the work as a piece of visual rhetoric expressing Jahangir’s imperial globalizing fantasy at the end of his reign. The second aspect will deal with puzzling elements of the painting’s aesthetics, particularly the inclusion of a copy of King James

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of England in the group portrait of diverse Oriental figures. The articulation between the two different logic of portraiture, Oriental/Mughal and Western/Renaissance, and its implications in the reading and perception of the painting will allow reflect upon the aesthetics of hybridity in the Mughal painting of Jahangir’s school.
What were the political consequences of the Persification of the Islamic world, particularly in South Asia and the Caucasus from the twelfth century onwards? This paper examines the literary and political influence of pre-Islamic Persian models of kingship on Persian texts written far from the traditional centers of Islamic religious and political authority. Beginning with Nezāmi of Ganja (d. 1219), Persian poets distanced themselves from the orthodox Islamic ideology associated with Arabic textuality by crafting a new linguistic and conceptual space grounded in the languages and historical experiences of ‘ajam peoples. I trace here one strand of a larger process in the formation of ‘ajam culture: the transfer of pre-Islamic Persian models of kingship to the eastern Islamic world. The theorizations of kingship we find in the mathnavis of Nezāmi, ‘Semi, Amir Khosrow and ultimately even in early Urdu sources, played a major role in disseminating the culture of ‘ajam beyond the Islamic heartland. That a linguistic and cultural shift occurred in twelfth-century Persian texts is abundantly clear; the political implications of this shift are less easy to decipher.

On the one hand, the popularity of pre-Islamic Persian models of kingship in medieval Persian literature suggests a rise in class consciousness and a turn to Sasanian social hierarchies. It is true that gains in political sovereignty were accompanied by a decrease in early Islam’s radical egalitarianism. Persian writers such as Barani and Nezām-al-Molk Tusi played a substantial role in bringing about this ideological transformation. It is no less the case, however, that those dynasties which received the majority of popular support, such as the Safarids, the Ziarids, and the Buyids, drew upon Sasanian models of kingship no less than the elite dynasties such as the Samanids and Taherids and the Delhi

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Sultans. The resurgence of social inequality in 12th-14th-century Persianate Islam was paradoxically accompanied by a liberalization of Islam from the ethnic point of view, and by the formation of a secular culture autonomous from the *ulema*, to which the ideology of ‘*ajam* contributed substantially. Inspired by the theorizations of Sheldon Pollock and Said Arjomand on the political inflections of cosmopolitan literary cultures, I hope to add an empirical dimension to our understanding of Persian as a cosmopolitan language through a study of the politics of Sasanian kingship as reflected in 13th and 14th century Persian sources.
ORALITY, CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY, AND SACRED HISTORY: ISMA‘ILI SHRINES AND FOUNDATIONAL FIGURES IN BADAKHSHAN

Jo-Ann Gross

The purpose of this paper is to two-fold: first, to explore the geography of sacred knowledge in Badakhshan through Ismaili oral and written narratives and genealogies (nasab-nāmas) that map a sacred Islamic history that links local and distant cultural geographies; and, second, to discuss the ways in which local traditions and shrine networks intersect in ways that express Ismaili religious legitimacy and communal identity. Of particular concern is the relationship between conversion narratives, genealogical traditions, and the construction of sacred space, specifically the ways in which narrative traditions about religious progenitors in Badakhshan contribute to the genesis of Pamiri Ismaili identity, and how those traditions are linked with shrines where sacred power is localized. Foundational narratives trace the ancestry of the rulers, khālifas and pirs of the Shoghnān valley and the surrounding regions to several Islamizing figures who are believed to have arrived in the valley in the eleventh-twelfth centuries. Special attention will be paid to two such figures, Shah Khāmush

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41 Jo-Ann Gross is Professor of Middle Eastern and Central Eurasian History at The College of New Jersey. Her research focuses on the early modern eastern Islamic world, particularly Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asia, and the history of Sufism and shrines in Central Asia. She has published numerous articles and the following three books: Musul’manskaya Tsentral’naya Aziya: Religioznost’ i Obshchestvo: Izbrannye Stat’i (Islamic Central Asia: Religiosity and Society: Collected Works), Russian trans. and critical introduction by Lola Dodkhoudoeva (Dushanbe, 2004); Jo-Ann Gross and Asom Urunbaev, The Letters of Khwaja ’Ubayd Allah Ahrar and His Associates (Brill Publishers, 2002), and an edited book, Muslims in Central Asia: Expressions of Identity and Change (Duke University Press, 1992). Dr. Gross is currently working on a book entitled, Mapping the Sacred Landscape: Muslim Shrines in Tajikistan. She serves on the Board of Directors of ASPS and the American Institute for Afghan Studies (institutional representative) and on the editorial board of The Journal of Persianate Studies.
and Shah Malang, whose shrines are located on both sides of the Panj River in present-day Tajik and Afghan Badakhshan. Narrative accounts, based on archival and field research, chart a tradition that traces the transmission of Islam to Shoghnan and delineates a genealogical link between the family of the Prophet Mohammad and rulers and religious authorities in Badakhshan. Given the primacy of orality in the culture and history of Badakhshan, this study will illustrate the value of refocusing our perspective to include the local religious geography of shrine networks and oral history in the Persianate world that are often dismissed as expressions of folk tradition upon which an Islamic glaze is painted, despite their ubiquitous role as charters of Islamic identity as well as expressions of local Muslim piety.
SIGNIFICANCE AND RELEVANCE OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE IN MODERN TIMES

Mansura Haidar

Apparantly the topic may seem to be irrelevant for those associated with the Persian language and particularly for this august body---ASPS. Yet, few beyond this orbit are so well aware of the vast expanse of the subjects the Persian literature covers. Common knowledge is usually restricted to the few household names of certain Sufis (whose works formed the basis of philosophical studies or provided the spiritual elixir for thirsty souls) and famous poets (whose ghazals with themes of khomriya and 'eshq-e majazi and 'eshq-e haqiqi may have touched their finer emotions and appealed to their sober and pensive thinking) who gave fodder for thought. The literature of every language is generally a powerful medium of emotive expressions and innermost feelings and thoughts for communication in all directions, though Persian literature with all its antiquity and all pervasive extent certainly surpasses others. Attempt is being made in this paper to highlight the role and contribution of Persian language and literature in the socio-cultural arena of global civilization.

Persian language enjoyed the status of lingua franca for a long time. It was used as a medium of literary and official work even in many Turkish-dominated regions. The collection of Persian manuscripts illumined and illustrated by beautiful paintings had indirectly encouraged the development of fine arts and establishment of royal and other ateliers and different schools of paintings, e.g., those of Herat, Shiraz, Bukhara, etc. Calligraphy was certainly a byproduct of Persian literature. The art of eight belles lettres, arabesque inscriptions, Persian couplets on the walls, calligraphic specimen of kufic and other styles of writings decorated the architectural remains. The art of book was altogether another interesting feat. In several other spheres (like exact sciences,  

42 India.
philosophy, medicine, astronomy, astrology, logic, sorcery, magic, hunting, art of chancery and accounting) the contribution of Persian Language is no less significant. The historical studies owe their enrichment to the information provided mainly by malfuzāt literature and taṣkera as the life of common man is best reflected in this form of literature. It is interesting to note that socialist as well as revolutionary ideas permeating the Persian literature have gone a long way in transforming the outlook of people and often prepared the ground for revolutions and gave the ideas of universal brotherhood, long before modern voice echoed the principle of human rights. Iqbal’s shekwa and jawāb-e shekwa seems to be an echo of a tenth-century anonymous Persian poet. And so do some of the ghazals of Ghāleb and others. The principles of good living, art of governance, strategies, incantations, Sufi thoughts, social relationships, significance of mutual bonds, all seem to have given Persian literature extraordinary persuasive expression that even ‘hearts—like apple hard and sour’ melt within minutes by the effective tone of its magical emotive appeal. Nowhere love had found so many variants and manifold shades and shadows as in the mirror of Persian literature.
THE CENTRAL ASIAN JADIDS FROM REVOLUTION TO ENLIGHTENMENT: THE CASE OF SADRIDDIN AYNI, 1890s-1930s

Keith Hitchins

The paper I propose for the fourth convention of the ASPS in Lahore investigates aspects of the career of Sadriddin Ayni (1878-1954), a leading figure of Tajik intellectual and literary life, as illustrative of the evolution of Central Asian Jadidism from an Islamic to an ethnic sense of community. I wish to show how early in his career Ayni belonged to a cosmopolitan Islamic culture of Central Asia, especially that nourished in Bukhara by Persian- and Turkic-speaking intellectuals and how he accepted the general enlightenment principles of the Jadid reformers. His thought and activities were thus guided by the desire to promote reforms in Muslim schools and by the belief in the supreme value of education as the way to individual fulfillment and general social progress. Before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 he did not make significant ethnic distinctions between Muslim intellectuals, and he wrote in both Persian (later, Tajik) and Turkic (Chagatai or, later, Uzbek). He and his fellow Jadids indeed spoke often about millat “nation,” and sometimes they applied the term to the Muslims of Central Asia and sometimes, more narrowly, to the Muslims of Turkestan. Thus, at first, ethnic identities were encompassed by the broader, Muslim community. For example, the history taught in the Jadid new-method schools was of Islam, not of Turks and Turkestan, and the language was called Musulman tili “Muslim language.” Yet, an ethnic differentiation was present in the thought of some Jadids, as they identified the Muslims of

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Turkestan as Turks, thereby excluding the Tajiks. But these categories did not become explicit until after 1917.

The Bolshevik Revolution, the Civil War, and the early Soviet period were a period of crisis for Ayni personally and for the Jadids as a group. These events forced them to rethink their sense of identity. The disintegration of the Russian Governorate-General of Turkestan, the ending of the Emirate of Bukhara’s independence, and the nationality policy of the Bolsheviks caused Turkic- and Uzbek-speakers to think increasingly in ethnic terms. As the Turkic speakers organized themselves and promoted an agenda of their own, Ayni organized his fellow Tajik-speakers in similar fashion. Thus, Uzbek-Tajik bilingualism, one of the pillars of early Jadidism, was dissolving. It could not survive the growing national feeling and the burgeoning separate ethnic identities, all of which received added impetus from the Soviet state’s division of Central Asia into ethnically-based republics in 1924 and its subsequent support for indigenous languages and literatures.

Ayni’s writings during the 1920s amply demonstrate his commitment to Tajik cultural and even to a kind of national self-determination within the new Soviet order. He grouped Tajik intellectuals around the weekly Communist newspaper, Shū’lai inqilob, published in Samarkand from 1919 to 1921, promoted a distinct Tajik literature and an awareness of the Tajiks’ deep Iranian roots in Central Asia, and strove to make his prose more Tajik by using the vernacular and folk sayings and by avoiding the use of Uzbek words. He expressed his Tajik identity in editorials in Shū’lai inqilob and its successors, Ovozi tojik and Rahbari donish, in his short novel, Sarguzashti yak tojiki kambaghal yo ki Odina (published in Ovozi tojik in 1924 and 1925 and in book form in 1927) and his prose works of the early 1930s, which I analyze from the perspective of the Jadid enlightenment, revolutionary social change, and the demands of socialist realism, as well as in his anthology of Tajik literature, Namunai adabiyoti tojik (1926). Besides these writings, I shall also wish to consult his works of history: Ta’rikhi amironi manghiyai Bukhoro (1923) and Ta’rikhi inqilobi Bukhoro (written in 1920 and published in

In examining Ayni’s career, then, I aim to trace the emergence of a sense of ethnic identity among the intellectual elite of Central Asia, that is, the evolution of his (and their) thought from enlightenment to national consciousness and to explain its causes. But I am also concerned with his response to the political, social, and cultural changes the new Bolshevik/Soviet order brought to Central Asia. My belief is that he remained an enlightener throughout his career, a position that may help to explain his withdrawal into scholarship in his later years and perhaps even his survival in the Stalin years, when the majority of his Jadid associates perished. Ayni’s own ample writings will be my primary sources, and the abundant literature on Jadidism will provide a proper intellectual and social framework.
THE PERSIAN FAIRY PRINCE DEFEATS THE CANNIBAL KING OF GILGIT: DIFFERENT WAYS TO CONCEIVE THE EXPANSION OF ‘PERSOPHONIA’ INTO PAKISTAN'S NORTHERN AREAS

Wolfgang Holzwarth

The background of this paper is a research on history and historiography in the Eastern Hindu Kush and Karakorum Area. A prime aim was to unearth manuscript sources relevant for local history in the period between 1500 and 1800. A second aim was to correlate the historical data acquired from these early written sources with oral sources and accounts of modern history works with a view to understand local historical tradition as a process. Here, I would like to illustrate the second aspect by focusing on a narrative that was first recorded in 1866 in Gilgit and published under the title “Historical Legend on the Origins of Gilgit.”

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FORMATIVE FACTORS BEHIND AKBAR’S RELIGIOUS POLICY

Afzal Husain

1. The co-existence of Hinduism and Islam is a recognized fact in Indian polities since the time of the Arab regimes in Sindh, though mutual tolerance did not exclude sphere of discrimination and exclusiveness. Hindus were employed in high offices under the Sultans of Delhi. Just preceding Akbar, the Sur regime had officers like Hemu and possibly Todar Mal, and made extensive use of Nagari in official documents. This aspect of Indian tradition should be borne in mind while considering the atmosphere or context in which Akbar’s policy developed.

2. Akbar’s pursuit of religious tolerance long preceded the formation of his final ‘religious’ views, after 1580. This must partly be due to (a) his personal predilections in meeting and enjoying company of all kinds of people, especially common people. Early incidents described by Abu’l-Fazl and Rafi Shirazi. This explains Ram Das the Master Dayer; (b) the political advantage obtained by such a policy, illustrated by Akbar’s marriage with Bharmal’s daughter, is plausible, but that policy also required use of force as in the case of Chittor, and here Akbar might find it also useful to clothe his cause in religious garb. However, the matter perhaps not as clear-cut as suggested by Iqtedar Alam Khan.

3. The final formulation of Akbar’s religious drive principally from his increasing interest in the complexities of Islamic spiritual heritage. Excessive devotion to Ajmer Shrine a significant phase of 1570s. But it is not intellectually satisfying. His gradual acceptance of (a) Ebn-al-’Arabi’s theory of pantheism or semi-pantheism (wahdat al-wujud) and ensān al-kāmel; (b) Shehāb-al-Din Maqtul’s illuminationist (eshrāqi) theory of divinely illuminated

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45 Prof. Afzal Husain is at the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, India.
sovereignty; and (c) Mahmud Pasakhwani’s (the Noqtavi prophet) theory of transmigration and coalescence of spirits. [(c) was never expressly accepted.] These theories enabled Akbar to claim that religious differences like worldly ones were illusory, that Akbar was chosen One of God and as such, like God, tolerant of all: the concept of solh-e koll as defining sovereign’s policy.

4. The political implication of the last eminently suited the functions of a sovereign of Hindustan, the land of many religions, as explicitly stated by Abu’l-Fazl. It also helped, as the author of Dabestân-e mażâheb (1652) recognized, the construction of religiously composite nobility. But it may be unfair to regard Akbar’s policy of solh-e koll merely as part of a grand political strategy. He insisted on tolerating rationalism ('aql), which went against political populism. He felt free to criticize the laws, customs and beliefs of both Hinduism and Islam (see his ‘Happy Sayings’), and the social measures he favored went against both traditions. Akbar was a statesman, certainly, but he was also a man of reason and a proponent of social equities; and this should especially makes him attractive to the modern man.
COMPARATIVE FIGURES: COLIN DAVID AND IQBAL HUSSAIN

Saira Khanum

This paper is about the two major figure painters of Pakistan: Colin David (1937-2008) and Iqbal Hussain (b. 1950). It will highlight their relation as artists of a single medium and a single subject yet representing two different worlds altogether. The main idea is to explore the difference of handling the female form in different contexts. How Colin David has set his designs with the interweaving of the figures whereas Iqbal has made his figures talk to the viewer of their special lives.

Colin David, an acknowledged and prolific artist of Pakistan, was famous for his single-figure compositions adorned with the dramatic presence of a female in a design paradox. His nudes have paved new horizon in the Pakistan art scene. The rendering of delicate curves and tendril contours, composing them on the canvas with simplicity yet retaining complexity of the decorative design, and the freshness of color are his main expertise.

Iqbal Hussain, a well-known Lahori figure painter, shows canvases full of young and middle aged women with erotic and seductive feeling that narrating the fairytales of the red-light area of Lahore. His paintings reveal an insight to their private lives where women as a commodity are for sale. The roughness of attitude of the society towards them and the sadness on the faces of ladies has made Iqbal’s canvases narrative yet full of emotional appeal.

Both artists have realistically drawn female forms with great sensitivity. Through defining Colin David’s canvases as interlaced design patterns of female forms and Iqbal’s as paintings of sensitive social comment we are able to see the two poles of modern Pakistani figural painting.

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THE FORMS OF ISLAMIC SCHOLARLY LITERATURE: JAM', TA'LIF AND TASNIF IN THE MEDIEVAL AGES (10TH-15TH CENTURIES)

Alexey A. Khismatulin

As my preliminary research on the medieval Arabic and Persian works shows, three main forms can be identified in the production of majority of scholarly books in medieval times: jam’ “collection,” ta’lf “compilation,” and tasnif “classification.” It is reasonable to term them “forms” rather than “genres,” since they embrace nearly all genres of Islamic scholarly literature (hagiographical, bibliographical, historic, theological etc.). Notwithstanding the large number of the medieval texts published all over the Islamic world, no definitive comparative analysis of these distinctions has been published to this date. Moreover, the texts have not yet received the close scrutiny in medieval Islamic scholarship, neither Arabic nor Persian, as they certainly deserve. This is, perhaps, one of possible reasons why these terms are still considered synonyms by many modern scholars.

47 Dr. Alexey A. Khismatulin earned his PhD in 1997. He is Senior Researcher at the Department of Middle Eastern Studies of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (former Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg branch) of the Russian Academy of Sciences. He is specialized in Islamic studies, Central Asian Sufism, medieval Central Asian and Iranian historiography and source studies (esp. the Saljuqi period), Iranian studies in Islamic period. Dr. Khismatulin is the author of a number of monographs and numerous articles in these fields.
As one of the most important events of the past three decades in the Middle East, the Islamic Revolution not only has sustained itself, but the Islamic Republic which it spawned celebrated its 30th anniversary in February 2009. The regime sustainability despite its internal crises and foreign threats underlines the fact that Iran enjoys a relatively rational decision-making process. The central slogan of the Iranian Revolution was “Independence, Freedom, and Islamic Republic.” Today, Iran is an independent state, as it does not belong to the Eastern or Western blocks. Although the country has not realized its ambition of economic independence, the revolution has provided economic welfare. The rural development has improved people’s lives by providing villages with water, electricity, and infrastructure. The essence of independence also referred to the specific relations between the Iranian monarchy and the United States.

To predict the future of the country, one could look at new driving forces, rationales, plots and scenarios. It would be better to understand (1) Domestic political developments, (2) Energy sector developments (3) Foreign policy, and (4) US-Iran relations. There is a lively debate among Iranian intellectuals on these very issues. Emerging from this debate is the suggestion that the government of the Islamic Republic, which has survived without ties with a superpower and which has withstood various sanctions, would probably be more stable should it decide to pursue a rapprochement. As in the past, Iran's future will be determined by the complex interplay between key domestic political and economic factors on the one hand, and the country's relations with its neighbors and with the United States.

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48 Sharif University of Technology, Tehran.
THE LONG THIRTEENTH CENTURY OF THE CHACHNAMA

Ahmed Manan

Largely unheralded in the category of early Indo-Persian historiography is one the earliest Persian history to be written in Hind—‘Ali Kuﬁ’s multi-titled Ta’rikh-e Hend o fath-e Send or Fah-nāma-ye Send, famously known as the Chachnama—completed around 1216 in Uch Sharif and dedicated to the son of Sultan Qabacha’s chief minister. The translation of selections from Chachnama, along with the historiographical reading, rendered by the colonial historian Elliot & Dowson became the dominant framework for scholarly analysis of the Chachnama and its centrality to the history of Islam’s arrival in India. They made two central assumptions about the text: first, that its primary value was as a source for the eighth century accounts of Mohammad b. Qāsem’s conquest, since it was a self-avowed translation of an earlier, no longer extant Arabic history and second, that anything which could not be mined for historical fact was romantic gibberish clotting the text. These assumptions led them to treat the Chachnama as a carrier-text which had to be carefully stripped bare and re-assembled into a “historically accurate” narrative—without any attempt made to “read” the text as a whole or to contextualize it within its historical genres and its sites of production. These conclusions received little challenge from the nationalist or the post-colonial historians. I argue that Chachnama is an explicitly imagined—and constructed past—for the Muslim rulers and citizens of Sindh at a time of great political upheaval. Chachnama is not a translation—at least not in the ways it has been argued—of an earlier history, rather it is operating within the scales of texts of hekāyat, ta’rikh and adab genre. As such, I trace its emergence, and its transmission through Delhi Sultanate and Mughal history.

49 University of Chicago.
TEACHING HUMILITY, LEARNING AUTHORITY: KNOWLEDGE TRANSMISSION AND RITUAL PRACTICE IN THE SAFAVID WORLD

Derek Mancini-Lander

Early work on knowledge-transmission in pre-modern Islamicate societies emphasized the centrality of institutions of learning. More recently, historians have sought to approach learning from the perspective of cultural reproduction. They describe learning in pre-modern societies as a patchwork of overlapping spheres of transmission in which the various forms of learning—legal, mystical, artisanal—belonged to an overarching cultural-system of knowledge-transmission. Moreover, they insist that the practices associated with knowledge-transmission be explored in tandem with larger patterns of social practice in urban spaces, in which scholars, Sufis, craftsmen, and sultans encountered one another in complicated struggles for power and authority.

This paper aims to take this methodological approach a step further: I will draw on a large body of anthropological studies on “ritual” in order to provide a new theoretical model of knowledge transmission in the Early-Modern Islamo-Persianate world that considers incidents of knowledge transmission as ritualized practices. Concomitantly, I will examine a variety of Safavid-era sources, including scholarly ejāzas, biographical literature, local histories, fotowwatnāmas, and manuals of magical practice. I will use these texts to show how the transmission of knowledge, saintly charisma, and religious authority regularly occurred through a common family of ritual activities that were always performed in the public space. Beyond simply conveying technical knowledge, these rituals performed special operations that worked to reconstruct a hegemonic order, or alternatively, to fashion a subaltern one. This paper aims to explore the particular operations by which these activities accomplished such political ends and simultane-

50 University of Michigan.
ously, to map the history of the micro-political struggles for which these rituals of knowledge transmission served as a key medium.
REGIONAL POLITICS IN KHORASAN UNDER THE MONGOL ONSLAUGHT

Beatrice Forbes Manz

It is during times of disorder that we are best able to follow regional politics and to gauge their impact. The period of Mongol conquest and the first decades of Mongol rule in eastern Iran provide an exceptional opportunity to the historian, because its intense factional and regional rivalries were documented by several independent historians who originated in the region and wrote for a variety of rulers. When we take our eyes off the Mongols and begin to observe the actions of minor rulers in Khorasan, we can trace several local political conflicts which had a significant impact on Mongol actions. In this paper I will give a brief sketch of three interrelated areas: southeastern Mazandaran, northwestern Khorasan, and the district of Herat. With the flight of the Khwārezmshāh before the Mongols, rivals for local power looked for outside support; some embraced the Mongols as a way to gain power, while others remained loyal to the Khwārezmshāhs, believing that Jalāl-al-Din Mangobirni might withstand the Mongols. When Mongol rule became established, conflicts continued, now aided by rivalries among Mongol agents in Khorasan. The conflicts among local leaders are of more than incidental interest. I argue that fights within and between cities helped to increase confusion and bloodshed in Khorasan during the conquest, and sometimes contributed to the disorder and factionalism of early Mongol rule. Regional rivalries may ultimately have had one positive result; since Iranian powers and Mongol agents sought each other out as allies against their enemies, many became closely linked, and promoted the mutual acculturation of the two societies.

51 Tufts University.
Perhaps the most popular abridgement of the *Shahnama* of Ferdowsi was made in the Mughal empire in 1063 AH/1653 CE, by Tavakkol Beg, sent as news-writer to Kabul by Dara Shokuh, the son of Shah Jahan. There, he was commissioned by Shamshir Khan, governor of Ghazna, to reduce Ferdowsi’s epic to a manageable size, for the original was too long and tiresome for busy people with responsibility for affairs of state to read. The result was a prose summary interspersed with some of Ferdowsi’s verses. The reduction ends with the reign of Ardashir Babakan, followed by a simple king-list of the Sasanian rulers, and an account of how Ferdowsi came to compose the *Shahnama*. This paper will compare some episodes of the abridgement with the original text and note any significant differences. It will also

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52 Charles Melville read Arabic and Persian at Pembroke College, Cambridge (1969-72) and following graduation read for an MA in Islamic History at London SOAS (1972-3). He then worked as a research assistant at Imperial College, London, on a project investigating earthquakes in Iran (1974-82). This also became the subject of his PhD dissertation (Cambridge, 1978). He was appointed lecturer in Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies at Cambridge in 1984 and a Fellow of Pembroke College the following year. In 2001, he was appointed Reader in Persian History, and Professor in 2008. He is a Council member of the British Institute of Persian Studies and Chairman of the Research Sub-committee, and member of various other societies and editorial boards in Europe and the USA, most recently acting as President of The Islamic Manuscripts Association (TIMA). Publications include *A history of Persian earthquakes* (CUP, 1983), and *The Persian Book of Kings. Ibrahim Sultan’s Shahnama* (Oxford, 2008; with F. Abdullaeva), and edited works such as *History and Literature in Iran* (1990), *The Cambridge History of Iran* VII (1991), *Safavid Persia* (1996) and *Shahnama Studies* I (2006). He is the author of numerous articles and studies on Persian history, particularly in the Mongol and Safavid periods; current research interests include mediaeval Persian historiography and the illustration of Ferdowsi’s *Shahnama* and other historical chronicles.
explore the manuscript transmission of the work, which became almost as popular as the *Shahnama* itself. Finally, we will attempt to put the *Tārikh-e Delgoshā-ye Shamshir-khāni* in the context of the reception of the *Shahnama* in the subcontinent.
THE MAGIC OF MUGHAL PAINTINGS: JAHANGIRI ALLEGORICAL PAINTINGS RECONSIDERED

Azfar Moin

In a Mughal miniature painting, produced in the imperial atelier of the emperor Nur-al-Din Jahangir (r. 1605-24), the monarch is shown standing atop the world, shooting an arrow at the impaled head of the Deccani slave-general Malik Ambar, an enemy of the Mughals. The scene is certainly ahistorical, for Malik Ambar died a natural death, unharmed by Mughal might. The accepted interpretation of this painting holds that it reveals the magical, and somewhat wishful, thinking of the Mughal ruler, whose ancestors had also shown a foolish predilection for the supernatural. In this paper, I develop an explanation of this Mughal “foolishness.” Instead of dismissing it as merely the megalomania of a few besotted Indo-Persian kings, I argue that it belongs to a wider and integrated set of symbols and practices that patterned the political culture of the time—a culture which we may call millenarian. Significantly, Jahangir’s father and predecessor, Jalal-al-Din Akbar (r. 1556-1605) the “greatest” of the Great Mughals, is famous not only for consolidating a vast empire in South Asia but also for a religious controversy in which he allegedly attempted to replace Islam with a new Mughal dispensation. Few have paid attention to the fact that Akbar did so at the end of the first Islamic millennium. And fewer have seen the continuation of Akbar’s millenarianism in the reign of his successor Jahangir. The latter is said to have been largely disinterested in religion and a rationalist whose imperial diary reveals a proto-scientific interest in observing nature and classifying it. What jars this image of a rational successor to a millenarian dynast is a unique set of paintings produced in Jahangir’s atelier that take up themes of imperial magic and divine power. Generally thought to have been created under the influence of allegorical art introduced from Europe via the Portuguese Jesuits and the English, these paintings have often

53 University of Michigan.
been interpreted as they would have been in Europe, that is, allegorically. Breaking from this tradition, I experiment with a Persianate theory of interpretation for these themes—an interpretation that takes the significance of the millennium seriously as a form of knowledge which undergirded Mughal theories of history and politics.
Architectural technique and artistic motifs developed in Persia influence the aesthetic activities in surrounding areas, especially the subcontinent. The Mughal rule in India (1526-1857) brought about a synthesis of Persian aesthetics and local Hindu ideas with a deep understanding and appreciation for both. The Mughal rule dwindled at the turn of the nineteenth century, and the Punjab was taken over by the Sikhs in 1799. These techniques and motifs are best examined in the cities of Lahore, where the Sikh ruler Maharaja Ranjit Singh resided throughout his forty-year reign, and in the holy city of Amritsar. Among many significant monuments in Amritsar are the Golden Temple, the holiest Sikh shrine; Ram Bagh, the Maharaja’s summer palace, and the Govindgarh Fort. Significant Sikh edifices at Lahore include Naunehal Singh’s haveli, built for Ranjit Singh’s grandson; Vasti Ram’s samadhi, a funerary memorial for the Maharaja’s spiritual guide, and Maharaja Ranjit Singh’s samadhi built by his successors after his death in 1839.

Purely Persian architectural characteristics like ivans, arches, blind niches, squinches at the base of a dome, and molded and carved stucco are found in Sikh architecture too. More significant are Persian decorative motifs such as pairs of birds back-to-back or confronting, the peacock, the Tree of Life, and floral ornament including the acanthus, the palmette, lotus and pine cone, and vases with or without flowers in arched niches that form a major part of the embellishments of Sikh buildings. Manuals were developed by artisans that specify the dimensions and proportions of the architectural parts and motifs; they include titles that are local names or deformed versions of Persian words. One such manual was published in Amritsar in 1969 called the Vishvakarma Dar-

54 Design and Visual Arts Department, Lahore College for Women University, Lahore.
pan, a multi-lingual work in Gurumukhi, Hindi, and Urdu by a Sikh artisan. Using this modern manual an effort is made to identify the Persian motifs now incorporated in the Sikh building repertoire. We also compare the original Persian names of the motifs with the ones that have come down from Sikh sources that will clearly establish the Persian origin of a technique or motif. This comparison shall also present the modifications in the said techniques and motifs brought about due to local needs and tastes.
JEAN-FRANCOIS XAVIER ROUSSEAU’S PROJECT OF THE INDIAN EXPEDITION (1804-07)

Irène Natchkebia

After the fruitless Egyptian expedition (1798-99), Napoleon, together with the Russian Emperor Paul I, planned an expedition against India via Afghanistan. But Paul I was murdered in March 1801 and this project was not realized.

After two unsuccessful attempts, Napoleon decided to include Persia in the Indian campaign by taking into consideration the proximity of Persia and Afghanistan. In October 1803, he ordered to the France diplomats in Ottoman Empire to collect the needed information on Persia. From this viewpoint, the information provided by Jean-François Xavier Rousseau deserves special attention. He was the French Consul in Baghdad, and was born in Persia and had grown up there. In the letter of 22 October 1804, he informed Talleyrand about Fath-‘Ali Shah’s readiness to resume diplomatic relations with Napoleon, and proposed a detailed plan as how to drive away the British from India. He recommended a tripartite alliance between France, Persia, and Qandahar. Fath-‘Ali Shah would be the mediator between Qandahar and France. According to this plan, the French troops had to enter the Persian Gulf from Ille-de-France (the Islands in the east of Madagascar), move towards Gujarat and join the Coalition army near Tata. Further itinerary would then run through Tata, Deli, Agra, Lahore,

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55 Dr. Natchkebia is a senior researcher in the Department of Modern and Early Modern History of the Middle East, G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies, Tbilisi. From 1996 to present she has been collaborating with the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, department of Indo-Iranian (National Center of the Scientific Research) in Paris. She was Professor at the Institute of Africa and Asia and at the Faculty of the Oriental Studies of Tbilisi State University from 1991-2000. Her topic is the political interest of Europe in Persia, the Ottoman Empire, and the Caucasus at the late eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century. She has authored Studies in the History of Franco-Iranian Diplomatic Relations (First decade of the 19th century) (in Georgian, with French summary), Tbilisi, 2002, as well as several conference and journal papers.
the Ganges, to reach Benares and Patna. Rousseau expected that the local rulers would join the campaign.

It should be added that Rousseau was an experienced merchant; he had witnessed for a half century the benefits that the Persian Gulf trade brought to England. His ambitions to win new Asian markets for France would match those of the French emperor. Although Napoleon’s expedition to India was not realized, this idea that led to close relations between France and Persia in 1805-09.
Mainstream Iranian historiography generally portrays the Pashtun groups of the Qandahar region as a political non-entity and a strictly localized phenomenon. From this perspective, the rise of the Abdali/Durrani elite and their far-reaching territorial conquests in the eighteenth century seem sudden and even unwarranted. While Safavid sources largely remain silent on the Abdalis, a number of Persian sources from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries indicate that the leading Saduzai lineage interacted closely with the Mughal and Safavid polities in the late sixteenth century and expanded its sphere of influence to Herat. From the middle of the seventeenth century on, a number of Saduzai families migrated to Multan, which allowed them to enhance their role in the Mughal administration and to gain control over important economic assets in the region. Despite the lack of data on the scope of Saduzai commercial activities it is certain that all branches of this family maintained contact with each other and that there were frequent exchanges between the eastern and western strongholds. The Abdali elite thus formed a regional network linking the commercial hubs of Multan, Qandahar, and Herat. These places represented the most important coordinates within their political horizon and offered the greatest scope for advancement when the prevailing configurations of power began to shift in the early eighteenth century.

56 Universität Bamberg.
IJAZ UL HASSAN: A PAINTER IN A POLITICAL CONTEXT

Anjum Noon

Political and social issues are often anchors for Pakistani artists who believe that they define their legitimacy as artists in the society in this manner. For some artists, art critics and art historians, circumstantial situations such as bans, taboos and even violence and destruction of artworks give substance to the artist’s work. At the same time artworks are expected to be pretty or beautiful. Camouflaging political undertone and overtone, some artists also demonstrate their convictions using ordinary motifs.

The paintings of Lahore based artist Ijaz ul Hassan demonstrate both concerns. His body of work stretches nearly four decades and gravitates around two main poles. On one hand, using news clippings and photographic evidences Hassan has made representational paintings to portray political and social situations. And on the other hand, by adopting a metaphorical or poetic stance he has used landscapes to depict similar concerns.

The idea of his work has germinated around his great interest in politics and participation as a political activist. His paintings are visual displays of protest and strong statements. The representation of a person, place or thing is realistic in rendering. His research and probing into the issues are depicted in an ‘in-your-face’ manner and juxtaposed with situations of decadence. His style however is clean and pristine. He does not use violent hurried brush strokes or any sort of aggression in his execution. The juxtaposing of strong situations that stir emotions and the handling of agonizing subject matter is done in a very polite manner. He at once incorporates several levels of reading into his work—the ugly reality of human violence and the debauched angle of human desires.

It may appear that the artist’s landscapes have evolved in the context of constrains due to political and social norms, but a hard

57 Ph.D. candidate, Lahore College for Women University.
look at the artist and his work reveals his understanding of the fabric which makes up this society and its human discourse. Through the landscape he has been able to portray messages in an inconspicuous manner. The following paintings will be discussed: Mai Lai Massacre (1971), The View from a Glass Cage (1973), Green Revolution (1973), Rifle Butt (1974), Let a Hundred Plants Bloom (1988), Cling to the Tree and Hope for Spring (1998), View through a Window (2000), Executing the Dead (2001), and Cages (2002).
ABD-AL-SATTĀR OF LAHORE AND THE MANUSCRIPT SAMARA AL-FALĀSEFA

Setayesh Noorani Nejad58

Abd-al-Sattār Lahori was a historian and translator in Jahangir reign. He worked at the royal court. The Mughals of India, particularly Akbar and Jahangir intended to interact with non-Islamic religions and philosophical thoughts. Books on Hindu philosophy were translated from Sanskrit, and those of Greek from the Western languages. Among these, the books compiled and translated by Abd-al-Sattār focuses on the subjects of history, history of religions, Christianity, and debates. The manuscript Samara al-falāsefa is one of his works which recounts the events of Greece and Rome, and contains biographies and words of the philosophers in that region. Two copies of the manuscript held in the libraries of Iran are the basis of a textual editing by this writer. My presentation will introduce these manuscripts.

58 Ms. Noorani Nejad holds an M.A. degree in Western philosophy.
 Efforts on the part of literary critics to unfold the meaning of Bugam Dasi have started since the coinage of the term over seventy-two years ago in Sadeqh Hedayat’s *The Blind Owl* (*Buf-e kur*, Bombay, 1936) with seemingly no loss of interest in it for future. Not less has been the interest to come to an explanation for the central tableau of the story: the old man and ethereal girl offering him a flower on the brink of a stream that separates them eternally. There are three Persian writers who focused on the female character and tried to find an explanation for the term without much success in making their finding consistent with their commentary on the rest of the text. These are Sirus Shamisā, Mohammad-Taqi Ghiāsi and Rezā Barāhēni.

This paper aims at answering the questions of how Bugam Dasi came to be coined as such, and what implications this process has come to have for the text, the central tableau amongst them. To do this, the term, the central tableau and the characters’ traits are explained on the basis of a reading of Joseph Conrad’s *Lord Jim*. The findings are part of a larger study that explores the relations between Hedayat’s and Conrad’s works on the basis of both writers preoccupation with Schopenhauer’s philosophy.

59 MA, English Literature.
The Arsacid kingdom, founded by the nomadic Aparni in ca. 247 BCE, became an empire uniting the vast areas of Western Asia from Mesopotamia to Afghanistan and Pakistan as well as southern parts of Central Asia from the 2nd century BCE to the beginning of the 3rd century CE.

Research into the Parthian history is often limited to a purely Roman perspective, in many cases causing misunderstandings. Yet Parthia also faced other powerful neighbors, especially in the northeast, in what today constitutes Afghanistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. In that area, the Greco-Bactrian kingdom was replaced in ca. 140-120 BCE by strong nomadic tribes of Sacae and Tokharians (Yueh-chih). Those nomads created a rich civilization in Bactria, attested by the finds from the sites of Tillya-tepe and Khalchayan. However, their interpretation and dating remain highly debatable.

The Tillya-tepe cemetery (Afghanistan) remains an important source of archaeological information for the culture of Bactria in the 1st century BCE – beginning of the 1st century CE. The objects from the burials are of particular importance not only for their artistic styles but also for the reconstruction of the warfare. The whole complex requires a full detailed treatment for the finds are of varied origin. Parthian rule in western Bactria was not intrusive and local cultures preserved a wide diversity of styles. These could be hybrid, mixing Greek, Iranian, nomadic, Indian and Chinese artistic traits.

Between 1959 and 1963, archaeological investigations of a small Kushan palace took place in Khalchayan in Uzbekistan. The interior was covered with wall paintings and painted clay wall sculptures, most with heads in the round, torsos in high relief and legs in bas relief. The palace in Khalchayan belonged probably to University of Krakow, Poland.
a Yuen-chih clan. Armor and some costumes depicted on reliefs exhibit close similarity to Parthian objects.

The present paper tries to show the extent of Parthian political and cultural influence on the nomads in Bactria. Archaeological finds from Tillya-tepe and Khalchayan offer an invaluable insight into the complex phenomenon of cultural and political relations between Arsacid Iran and the nomadic peoples in Central Asia.
THE INFLUENCE OF PERSIA UPON THE DEVELOPMENT OF YUNANI MEDICINE: HEALING SYSTEMS, EPISTEMOLOGIES, AND THE MIRROR OF THE PAST

Kelly Pemberton

This paper investigates the influence of Persian medical systems and forms of knowledge upon the development of Yunani medicine in South Asia. Using a multi-layered methodology of inter-textual analysis that seeks to (1) identify some of the political, economic, and social processes that hindered, or promoted, the development of certain forms of medical knowledge and praxis, and (2) complicate prevailing opinions about the dichotomies among history, hagiography, and fictionalized narrative as reliable or unreliable sources of information about the past, I hope to challenge conventional views of Yunani tebb as a “system of medicine” predicated upon certain historical personages, texts, epistemologies, and practices. Instead, I contend that such a characterization does little to reveal the heterogeneous, dynamic, and complex processes by which knowledge was transmitted and adapted in the Abbasid-era Islamic world, and later in time. To do this I pinpoint a series of interrelated “snapshots” in time: the rise of the Bokhtishu’ family of physicians from the mid-8th century to the 11th century and the narratives linking the hospital at Jondishapur with the transmission of Greco-Roman, South Asian, and Persian medical epistemologies; the so-called “reform” of Yunani tebb in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which in part indexed the encounter with European colonialism; and briefly, the contemporary practice of Yunani tebb in Pakistan and its indexical relationship with the revival of Islamic medicine elsewhere in the Muslim world, particularly Iran. Consequently, this paper adopts the perspective that historical texts, when viewed not in their singularity, but as part of a broader series of inter-textual relationships, yield a complex portrait of the flows and exchanges of information that

61 George Washington University.
challenge both how we approach the study of the past, and how we see it reflected in the mirror of the present.
AFGHANISTAN: A WEAK STATE IN THE PATH OF REGIONAL RIVALRIES

Rasul Bakhsh Rais

Afghanistan is remarkably an old country, founded as a kingdom by the Pashtun tribal chiefs exactly two centuries before the birth of its immediate southern neighbor, Pakistan and independence of India. The Pashtun tribes had a strong martial tradition, and served in the armies of a stream of invaders and conquerors from Persia, Central Asia, and from within their own territories, marching on the plains of subcontinent. They played a big role in building the successive Muslim empires in the region. When the latest empires—Persia and Mughal—they had served, were on decline and dying, a gathering of Pashtun chiefs in the vicinity of Kandahar selected Ahmad Shah from Abdali tribe as the first king of the Afghans in 1747. But there was no Afghanistan at that time with definite boundaries, and could not be with a fluid situation of internal and external conquests on which the Afghans repeatedly embarked upon. It was roughly one and half century later when in different circumstances the boundaries of modern Afghanistan were established.

What really helped found the Afghan kingdom? Was it the valor or wisdom of the Pashtun tribal chiefs or some other factors that played a role? There is no doubt how shrewdly the Pashtun chiefs took advantage of disarray in Persia following the death of Nāder Shah and of chaotic conditions in Mughal India. Perhaps, the Afghans could not dream of a kingdom with their own king without propitious geographical condition; remoteness. Their lands had been on the margins, and not at the center of competing ancient empires. Equally important were the warrior tradition of the Pashtun tribes, their history of invasion southward and conquests, and a fierce spirit of independence; not accepting masters. The frontier character of the Afghan people and their lands was perhaps the most salient factor in the declaration of the kingdom.
With such an auspicious beginning more than quarter of millennium back, Afghanistan remains seventh on the index of sixty top failed states. It has ISAF, NATO and American forces fighting a war of its survival. Even after seven years of massive security and economic assistance in tens of billions of dollars, the international mission of rebuilding and stabilizing Afghanistan remains as distant a goal as it was when these force marched in to “free” Afghanistan from the scourge of Taliban.

The central question in this paper is why a country and the Afghan people so ancient and so independent minded failed to transform from a kingdom to a modern nation state? Why the Afghan state remained weak in the post-colonial era? What internal and external forces caused the failure and ultimately collapse of the Afghan state? What factors have interrupted Afghanistan’s struggle for a modern statehood? Our answer to these questions rests on the following assumptions:

• Afghanistan’s progress towards establishing a modern state started late with a meager institutional endowment with a convenient ‘rentier’ mindset.
• The ‘frontier’ character of the state placed limitations on what the Afghan nation builders aspired for and narrowed the scope of what realistically could be achieved in a highly constraining environment.
• Afghanistan has been on the path of power rivalries that destabilized the country, creating an odious nexus between internal power groups and external forces trying to change its regimes, ideological complexion and restructure it as normal, acceptable state.

The running threat in our analysis of the Afghan state is the question of thirty year cycle of endless war that wiped out accumulated institutional and political heritage of Afghanistan, disrupting its natural evolution as a historical entity. We also try to probe the motives and interests of the Afghan groups and foreign actors involved in the conflict and how they have attempted to
define and shape the future of Afghanistan according to their own respective power, security and strategic interests.
CONTRIBUTION OF CHITRAL TOWARDS PERSIAN LITERATURE

Hidayat-ur-Rehman

This paper inquires in to the contribution of Chitrals to Persian literature which was so far neglected and unexplored by any researcher. These in-depth study sorts out the writers of Persian literature and their works by collecting data from different sources which, though limited will be of great use for prospective researchers on this topic as well as for regional history of Hindu Kush. It will bring to the fore the manuscripts of Chitrals which if published will enrich Persian literature significantly.
THE **GANJINA-YE KOSHTI OF ALI AKBAR B. MAHDI AL-KASHANI**

Philippe Rochard\(^{62}\)

In 1875 Prince E’tezad-al-Saltana, Minister of Science, Commerce, and Music of Naser-al-Din Shah, commissioned the Dar al-Fonun school in Tehran to prepare a brief account of the situation and the rules of the Zurkhāna, accompanied by a manual of gymnastics and wrestling. His aim was to establish the basis for physical exercises that might help to improve the general health and hygiene of the Iranian population, which was increasingly being ravaged by epidemics. Thus began an astonishing episode in the history of Qajar reform attempts. An employee of the school, Ali Akbar b. Mahdi al-Kashani took up the ungrateful task of trying to make palatable to the general population a set of practices usually reserved for acrobats, entertainers, professional strongmen, and Bazaar toughs. The resulting manuscript constitutes an absolute novelty in Persian literature: an illustrated manual of traditional exercises and wrestling. This presentation first presents the work, then analyzes its social and historic context, and ends with an evaluation of the effort in light of Qajar reform attempts.

\(^{62}\) Director of the French Research Institute in Iran (IFRI).
Persian in India is generally linked with the Sultanate of Delhi and especially the great Mughals. The rise of regional states and local power centers during the course of the eighteenth century is thought to have reduced the importance of Persian in the subcontinent. With some possible exceptions such as kingdom of Awadh, Persian language and literature, symbolism and imagery, and even the influx of Iranians into India are supposed to have gone into a steady decline.

While the above assessment might be true in its broadest outlines, the actual scenario is far more complex. The Kingdom of Mysore is a case in point. A longstanding successor state to the Vijaynagara empire, Hyder Ali, a brilliant soldier in the Mysore army, virtually took over the state in 1761. In the next four decades (1761-99), Hyder Ali and his son and successor Tipu Sultan cobbled together a mighty and prosperous realm, and presented what was perhaps the strongest challenge to the British, who were then at the initial phase of building their Indian empire.

Hyder Ali and particularly Tipu Sultan reinvigorated the use of Persian in Mysore. Tipu Sultan introduced Persian as the court language, kept administrative records in Persian (in addition to Kanara and Marathi, two local Indian languages), commissioned religious works, histories, poetry and even calligraphic manuals in the language, written by both Indians and Persians, a large number of whom served in the kingdom. That he was able to do this in a symbiotic and indeed syncretistic manner, weaving together local and foreign, Hindu and Muslim, Persian and Indian languages,

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63 Dr. Madhabi Rupa Roy completed his dissertation “Politics, War and State Formation in Early Modern India” with Professor Theda Skocpol, Harvard University. Currently, he works as a consultant in the non-profit sector, mainly in South Asia. He also teaches in a summer program at Johns Hopkins University. He is an Indian national.
symbols and notions of statecraft, went a long way towards securing the legitimacy of the state and loyalty of his officers and the people.

This paper will explore the role and significance of Persian in Mysore. The emphasis will be on the use and efficacy of the language as a vital component in state building. Sources used are mostly court documents in Persian, hitherto rarely used by scholars or not at all. Examples are various Hokmnāmas for different state departments, Resāla-ye jehād dealing with the conduct of war, Zawābet-e soltānī detailing the flags, ensigns and other symbols used by the state, and Mo’ayyad al-mojāhedin, a collection of khotbas (in poetry).
Shi’i hagiographical and Sunni historical traditions devote considerable attention to the special father-daughter relationship between the Prophet Mohammad and his daughter Fatima (Fatimah), yet much less attention is dedicated to Fatema’s peculiar konya omm (umm) abihā “the mother of her father.” Fatema’s konya carries far greater significance. It can be interpreted to mean that she is the mother of prophecy itself. As such, it is but one expression of the unique eschatological role occupied by Fatema, a role that at times accords her an inverted position over her father.

Drawing upon ethnographic field research in Iran and Hyderabad, India, and textual materials both theological and hagiographical, this paper will explore three aspects of Fatema’s transcendent, eschatological role and how they relate to her unique relationship with her father. The first feature of Fatema’s transcendence is expressed through her konya, which demonstrates that she is the mother of prophecy (nobowwa) and the Imamate. The second feature of Fatema’s transcendence manifests in her radiance of the divine Mohammedan light (nur mohammadi). The latter is an indexical feature of the divinely perfect ensān al-kāmel, which Fatema Zahrā possesses in abundance—she is the perfect woman, judge, and Muslim. The third feature of Fatema’s spiritual power is manifested in her eschatological role as al-Mansura (one who is victorious through God). Amongst the Shi’a of Hyderabad, there is a deep belief that Fatema is always present in the majles mourning assemblies bearing witness. On the Day of Judgment, Fatema will help every person who has genuinely wept for her family, saving those who are loyal and punishing those who displease her.
As the mistress of Paradise, Fatema possesses the supreme powers of intercession and condemnation. Fatema Zahrā constitutes a human form of Divine will exhibited through her embodiment of walāya (transcendent sanctity) and she is made human and real through her enactment of welāya (socially sanctioned sanctity)—she is the Mistress of the Two Worlds and, thus, the mother of her father.
This paper examines the contemporary forms of citizenry practices of wives and daughters of martyrs from the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq war and argues for a notion of citizenship that moves beyond the legal-rights domain and posits a more comprehensive vantage point of local women’s capacities to become national state makers. In particular, I introduce a set of techniques unanimously deployed by women to implement individualized visions of the state. Drawing on more than 100 formal and 50 informal interviews conducted in rural and city regions in Iran between May and August 2008, as well as memoirs, art work and literature produced within the country, I answer the following questions: How do mothers and daughters practice their visions of the state as women without men in Iranian society? How do practices differ depending on geographical locations, memory, and personal backgrounds? Finally, what insight does a comparison of citizenry practices between mothers and daughters provide us regarding generational transformations, gender relations, and the larger context of social interaction in Iran today?

In the field of international relations, little research has been conducted on citizenry practices which mold and transform the state beyond and in spite of legal impediments, particularly within the family and in the context of a popular uprising and war. Research that has focused on the lives of Iranian women since the 1979 Revolution has traditionally understood women as a militant force either in support of or in opposition to the state instead of examining women’s practices under the larger paradigm of state construction. Further, studies tend to focus on elite women in formal positions of power and have yet to comprehensively

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scrutinize everyday practices which elucidate the ways non-elite women simultaneously uphold and challenge state structures from within and in harmony with their own imaginations.
CONCEPTS OF TAJIKISTAN IN THE SOVIET PERIOD

Manuel Sarkisyanz

Although from a British imperial view Tajiks are “Persian speakers in Afghanistan and the Soviet Union” and for “Turkestan” nationalism (of Mustafa Chokrai) a “bilingual minority,” it was out of existing sociological if not linguistic identities that the concept of Tajikistan has been developed in the Soviet period, with an East Iranian history alternative to the Pahlavis’ Iran.

Contrary to the latter’s glorifying the Achaemenid Empire, Tajik historiography idealized resistance against Cyrus and Darius I (Massagets and Sakas being counted among the ancestors of the Tajiks). Tajiks consider their ancestors as the Samanids, in whose “Tajik state” flourished Farabi, Avicena, Ferdawsi, etc. From Classic Persian the Tajik language (otherwise considered a Khorosani dialect) is thought to have emerged with fewer alternations than the “Southern Persian” spoken in Iran. Historically speaking, however, the concept of Tajikistan is rooted in an East Iranian past, prior to the Turkic conquests. Tajikistan proved an alternative both to the Islamic Revolution and to Uzbek dominance.

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NASEEM HAFEEZ QAZI: TRADITIONAL FORMS, INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK

Barbara Schmitz

Naseem Qazi (1928-94) was an important painter and teacher of Pakistan’s formative years. A student and close friend of the dynamic Anna Mulka Ahmet, she attended Lahore College in the 1940s while also attending art classes at Punjab University. Besides studio portraits and masterful still life studies she traveled with her fellow classmates to the old city of Lahore and neighboring villages to draw en plein air. Her early work is documented in exhibition catalogues edited by Anna Mulka and issued by Punjab University. Her art like that of three contemporary women painters of Lahore was heavily influenced by a realistic style practiced by Anna Mulka upon her arrival in Lahore after art studies in London.

Beginning in 1959 Naseem, the nom de guerre chosen by the artist, spent two years in Madrid studying figure drawing and copying old master paintings, the traditional conservative art training of this time in Europe. She returned to Lahore with a bundle of oil paintings, copies of works by Titian, Rubens, and other great masters of the past and a roll of studies of nude models, and also an enthusiasm for Degas and Goya and other European painters of the nineteenth century. However, many of the artist of Pakistan were following a different trajectory—the new abstract art of Europe—and Naseem’s “old-fashion” figural style had little impact on the Pakistani art scene of the day.

Naseem Qazi was a gifted teacher and gave classes to students, children and evening-art enthusiasts for many years. In 1965, after a seminal clash between colleagues of Anna Mulka Ahmet, Naseem left Punjab University to become head of the art department at Lahore College for Women where she spent the rest of her career. During the last thirty years of her life she painted daily using her associate teachers and children of the servants at LCWU.

67 Dr. Barbara Schmitz is HEC foreign faculty professor, Lahore College for Women University.
as her models. She sold very few painting and by 2008, when the exhibition “Rediscovering Naseem Hafeez Qazi” revealed to a new audience the many outstanding features of her art, she had become almost forgotten.

With a new religious wave sweeping over public life in Pakistan in the 1960s Naseem was forced to discontinue any public show of nude figure studies. She did continue most privately to hire models, but only one tattered but magnificent drawing is now known from the last half of her life. Her art potential was seriously curbed by a political system that had embraced censorship of what she considered the most fascinating pursuit in the field of art, the drawing and painting of the nude human body.
MUGHAL IMPERIALISM AND THE WRITING OF REGIONAL HISTORIES

Sunil Sharma

Indo-Persian historical texts, from the Sultanate period to the Mughals, maintained a Delhi-centered point of view until the 1590s when a new kind of history began to be written. Finished in 1592 the Tabaqāt-e akbari by Nezām-al-Din Ahmad departed from the traditional chronicles by including nine sections on the different provinces of the empire. In the same year the gazetteer-biographical dictionary, Haft eqlim, written by Ahmad Amin Rāzi at the Mughal court, dealt with different regions of India as part of a universal narrative of the spread of Islam and Persian literary culture. In the early sixteenth century in the Deccan Fereshta’s Golshan-e ibrāhimi focused on the Deccan and included the history of all the other provinces in attempting to give a more complete picture of the centers of Muslim polities in India. These texts were not written in isolation, rather there is a high degree of inter-textuality between them, and they are part of a larger movement of viewing the Islamicate/Persianate world. In studying the high point of this phenomenon, particularly in the Mughal context, I would like to answer questions such as: How influential were these texts in creating alternate ways of writing the history of India, both for the Islamic period and pre-Islamic? What was the relationship between larger universal histories to local and regional ones in Indo-Persian? What were the imperial underpinnings in the patronage and production of works like the Haft eqlim?

68 Aga Khan Program, Harvard University.
SHALIMAR GARDEN: THE BLEND OF TRADITIONAL PERSIAN AND MUGHAL GARDENS

Mehrnoush Soroush and Emad Khazraee

Ganjali Khan ruled over Kerman, Herat and Kandahar under Shah Abbas I. A great patron of development, his name survives on his famous complex in Kerman; his many other legacies are less remembered, however. Governing for thirty years, he highly endeavored to development of qanats and gardens. His son and successor Alimardan Khan, an engineer and garden developer, is highly respected in Pakistan while he has sunk into obscurity in his homeland Iran. The Shalimar Garden, enlisted as a world heritage of Lahore in 1982, was constructed by him.

This article describes how Ganjali Khan developed and renovated gardens in Kerman and Herat. It is followed by a brief history of Timurid gardens and their development by Babur in India, along with the circumstances which lead to the presence of Alimardan Khan in the Mughal court. The paper will end with a brief introduction of Shalimar garden of Lahore.

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Mehrnoush Soroush is affiliated with the University of Tehran. Emad Khazraee is the director of ICT Department of the Encyclopedia of Iranian Architectural History.
This paper examines Sufi investiture practices, the bestowal of robes and headgear on disciples, as described in a number of fourteenth-century South Asian texts: the *Malfuzāt* “oral teachings” of Nasir-al-Din Mahmud Cherāgh-e Dehlī (d. 757/1356) and Jalāl-al-Din Bokhārī Makhdum-e Jahānīān (d. 785/1384), the letters of Sharaf-al-Din Maneri (d. 782/1381), and *Latā’ef-e ashrafi* by Ashraf Jahāngir Semnānī (d. 808/1405). My paper analyzes the use of words, objects, and gestures in a ritual process aimed at transforming the spiritual condition of the disciple, as well as creating a node in the relational network of the Sufi orders. When accompanied by permission to invest others with the Sufi robe, the ritual also served as a marker of authorization and promotion of the disciple to the role of a master. The Sufi robe has a clear parallel in the robe of honor bestowed by a ruler on his vassals and both the Sufi and courtly investiture ceremonies share forms and symbols traced back to Prophetic example. Less obviously, Sufi robing was functionally equivalent and structurally similar to the practices used by the *‘olamā* to transmit Islamic texts and authorize students to teach those texts. For Sufis of an “orthodox” and scholarly bent, the transmission of texts and the bestowal of robes were deeply intertwined in the legitimation of their religious authority. The centrality of Arabic ritual phrases and Arabic religious texts in these practices created particular challenges in the linguistically complicated context of medieval South Asia, where Persian was the language of the Muslim elite and a wide variety of vernacular languages were in use by the population at large. Responses to this linguistic challenge reveal different understandings of how rituals function and different attitudes towards the potential inclusivity of the Sufi path.
THE WORD AND THE IMAGE: CALLIGRAPHY AND CALLIGRAPH-ART IN PAKISTAN

M. Athar Tahir

The paper is divided into three sections. (1) The emergence of penmanship with the rise of Islam. The religious and spiritual import and the bureaucratic imperative that led to the standardization of the various Arabic scripts. Spread of these scripts through the dissemination of the sacred texts to areas beyond Arab lands where they found wide currency and incorporated local variations and innovations. The coming of Arab traders to South Asia and the establishment of sultanates and empires by Persian-speaking Afghan and Central Asian rulers. The influence on Persian, Urdu and other Arabo-Persian languages. Introduction of Persian and Arabic in Pakistan. The influence of the Raj. Major centers and important Masters and practitioners. Rise of computer scripts and decline of calligraphy. Founding of the Pakistan Calligraph-artists Guild, its international links and the dynamics of revival. (2) The evolution of Calligraph-art, a distinct genre in contemporary art. Contributory socio-economic and creative challenges. Elements of the new genre, such as toghrā, qeta‘āt, mashq, Western art schools and curriculum, European aesthetics, etc. (3) Calligraph-art as a global phenomenon. Practitioners in the Muslim world and China. Major pioneering Calligraph-artists of Pakistan: Hanif Ramay, Shakir Ali, Sadequain, Sardar Mohammad, Gulgee. Current practitioners. Discussion of their work.

70 M. Athar Tahir was the Rhodes Scholar for Pakistan. He has written several books on the literature, culture, arts and crafts of Pakistan. His books have won seven prizes, including one international award. His work Calligraphy & Calligraph-art (UNESCO, 2005) was awarded two national prizes, one for the best book of the year and the other for the best designed and published work. He is an elected member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. He has been honored by the State of Pakistan with the Tamgha-i Imtiaz (Medal of Distinction) and, more recently, with the high Civil Award of the Sitara-i Imtiaz (The Star of Distinction), the latter for his services to Art and Culture.
MIRZA ABU TALIB ISFAHANI’S ANTHROPOLOGY OF EARLY MODERN EUROPE

Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi

Modern Europe was a topic of intense interest to Persianate travelers. They were all conscious that European ascendancy was a recent historical development and sought to uncover the mechanisms of societal change in Europe. To elucidate the anthropological and sociological insights embedded in Persian travelogues, this paper focuses on Mirza Abu Talib (Taleb) Isfahani’s evaluation of modern age characteristics of the English in a section of his travel report devoted to “Virtues and Vices of the English” (zekr-e faza’el o raza’el-e English), which was written after the 1802 conclusion of his European journey. This detailed review indicates that Persianate travelers like Mirza Abu Talib’s were endowed with a critical “double-consciousness.” They critiqued European social settings with their own ethical standards and censured their own society from a European inspired perspective. As anthropologists of modern Europe, they provide critical outsiders’ perspectives on the emerging modern social ethos. Their unexplored perspectives on Europe offer alternative sources for the study of European modernity. As critiques of their own societies, travelers like Mirza Abu Talib provided new perspectives on the dominant sociopolitical ethos. Fully aware of Europe as a significant new Other, travelers’ oral and written reports of self-experience served as self-refashioning scenarios of Indians and Iranians.
THE SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS OF IDIOMATICITY IN PERSIAN

Manoochehr Tavangar

There is now a widely-held belief that the study of language cannot be divorced from the social and cultural milieus in which it is typically deployed on a day-to-day basis. In this respect, the exploration of the role and function of idioms in text and discourses stands to advantage. For far from being restricted to the domain of the phrase and the sentence, idioms are capable of constructing interpersonal meanings, forming coherent texts and creating stylistic effects. The aim of the present paper is to focus on a randomly-selected set of Persian idiomatic expressions with a view to investigating their role in socio-culturally determined situations. For example, what discoursal aspect of meaning is involved when a native speaker of Persian uses the idiomatic expressions: morgh yak pā dārad “a pullet has one leg,” gol posht o ru nadārad “a flower has no front and back,” and haft Qor’ān ba-miān “seven Korans in between”? What interpersonal implications do such expressions carry? How are these expressions to be interpreted by the hearer? What is their relevance to the overall discourse context? All in all, this study sets out to bring out aspects of idiomaticity which have not received systematic treatment before. The key terms are: idiomaticity, socio-cultural milieu, interpersonal meaning, stylistic effects.

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INTERCHANGE OF ASTRONOMICAL TABLES IN THE PERSIANATE AREA

Edward Thomas

With the rapid spread of Islamic civilization after the Prophet Mohammad’s death came a particular need for the best astronomical information available. This came to be presented in a form called zij, which, in the words of the American scholar E. S. Kennedy, “consists essentially of the numerical tables and accompanying explanation sufficient to enable the practicing astronomer, or astrologer, to solve all the standard problems of his profession, i.e., to measure time and to compute planetary and stellar positions, appearance, and eclipses.” The word zij is Persian in origin. For quite practical reasons, Islamic rulers as well as religious leaders sought the most accurate information possible. As a result, there came into being, over many centuries, an evolution of improving zijes, building one upon another and circulating within the Muslim-ruled world. Often the zijes were based on data recorded at increasingly sophisticated observatories. With the birth and spread of New Persian, the Persianate area became a (perhaps even, the) major portion of the Islamic world, a large proportion of top-level astronomers were Persian speakers, and many zijes were written in Persian.

This paper will focus on the interchange of zijes between what we may call the Iranian and the Indian parts of the Persianate world. It will not include the mathematical and graphical information provided by those zijes. The basic catalog of zijes is still E. S. Kennedy’s “A Survey of Islamic Astronomical Tables” (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 46, 1956, pp. 123-77). Kennedy lists 109 full Islamic zijes for the pre-telescope period from the 8th through 15th centuries, as well as 20 that are incomplete or compiled outside that eight-century period. Compilers included al-Khwârezmi, the “father of algebra” (ca. 780-850); Omar Khayyam (ca. 1048-1131); Naser-al-Din Tusi (1201-75); and Ulugh Beg (1393-1449). Three zijes in Kennedy’s catalog
were compiled in India. After Europe, using the telescope, took the lead in astronomical progress, the zijes that continued to be compiled in the Islamic-ruled world drew from European models. An example is the Mohammad Shahi zij (honoring the Mughal emperor who ruled 1719-48 (William Hunter, Esquire, Some Account of the Astronomical Labours of Jayasinha, Rajah of Ambhere, or Jayanagar [the official who compiled the zij and whose preface to it, in Persian, is included, with Hunter’s English translation]). Other sources for this paper include: Mohammad-Taqi Modarres-Razavi, Ahwāl o āsār-e Khāja Nasir-al-Din-e Tusi (Tehran, 1992); S.M.R. Ansari, “Practical astronomy in Indo-Persian Sources,” in Applied Historical Astronomy, 24th meeting of the IAU, Joint Discussion 6, August 2000; and George Saliba, Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance, Cambridge, Mass., and London, 2007.
Building a Unified Knowledge of the Economy of Tajikistan, Afghanistan and Iran

Khojamakhmad Umarov

Scientific knowledge of society and economy is considered to be the major foundation for development in modern world scholarship. A knowledge-based economy is the most effective form of socio-economic development, especially for countries with large populations. Recently, three Persian-speaking countries with a common past, namely Afghanistan, Iran and Tajikistan, have united in agreements of cooperation in development. These agreements were designed with a special focus on the concept of “economic knowledge,” and various laws and actions have already been put into operation as a key social agenda in these countries. Each country possesses a great population, the bulk of which needs to receive new skills and a free approach to innovative knowledge and technology. Positive results in the achievement of these goals can test the capacities of political leadership in the reasonable management of their human capital. This paper will highlight various perspectives and potentials involved in the implementation of this program, and will focus particularly on possible results in poverty reduction.

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Hammâms or public bath establishments, were brought to India by
the Mughals. The first complete hammâms remaining were built in
Fatehpur Sikri, near Agra. All of the Great Mughal forts—at Agra,
Delhi, and Lahore—contain several bathhouses. At Lahore today
there are six: one in Shalimar Garden, three in Lahore Fort, one in
the Wazir Khan Complex, and one on the campus of Fatima Jinnah
College, Chona Mandi. Unlike modern day Turkey, Lahore has no
active bath establishments today.

By virtue of their plans they can be divided into linear and
centralized structures. Amongst the former, the hammâm at the
Shalimar Garden is the best preserved. It was restored during the
reign of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh (r. 1799-1839) and the murals
were restored or repainted, but the architectural layout and vault-
ing remains intact. The hammâm is built along the outer wall of
the highest, and therefore private section of the garden, as a string
of small and large rooms. It was first used by Shah Jahan (r. 1627-
58) and his family. Restoration work is about to start. Amongst the
centralize bathhouse plans, the hammâm in the Wazir Khan
Complex (ca. 1640) adjacent to the Delhi gate is the best example.
It was a large public bath welcoming men and women on separate
days, or time of day. Another good example of this type of struc-
ture is the bathhouse of Aliqoli Aqa at Isfahan, where the utiliz-
ation of a hammâm is demonstrated by wax life-size figures in a
beautifully restored public bath.

The institution of baths in the sub-continent can be traced back
to the third millennium BCE. The earliest examples have been
found at Mohenjo-Daro (2500 BCE) in Pakistan, Knossos (1700-
1400 BCE) in Crete, followed by ones in Greece and Rome.
Specimens of the oldest Roman baths have been found in Pompeii.
Other prominent Roman baths were built during the reigns of Titus
(81 CE), Caracalla (217), and Diocletian (302). The baths known

73 Lahore College for Women University, Lahore.
since the Middle Ages in India, like the Turkish bath, were called *ghusal-khana* (< *ghosl*) and *hammām* and were inspired by the Romans and came to India via the Middle East.

As social centers, in the Ottoman Empire, *hammāms* were quite abundant and were built in almost every town. Integrated in daily life, they were centers of social gatherings, populated on almost every occasion with traditional entertainment (e.g. dancing and food, especially in the women’s quarters) and ceremonies, such as before weddings, high-holidays, celebrating newborns, beauty trips etc. It is from study of the modern Turkish bath that we are able to understand the complex functions of the baths in Lahore.
SUFI REFERENCES IN IQBAL’S PERSIAN POETRY

Navid Zafar74

Rumi, in the thirteenth century acknowledges Sanā’i and ‘Attār as his forerunners in the tradition of Sufi thought through the medium of Persian poetry. Iqbal comes seven-hundred years later and immediately acknowledges Rumi and ‘Attār as his mentors, through his earliest poems in Asrār o romuz, and then he proceeds to Ghazna in 1933, where he visits the grave of Sanā’i and communicates with him in his mathnavi, Mosāfer. Iqbal’s Persian poetry revitalizes the thought of his illustrious predecessor. Yet it has not received the attention that it deserves. Even in his life, Iqbal was upset that the West took the lead within five years to print English rendering of his earliest Persian publication Asrār o romuz, yet his own people were far from absorbing its message. With the thinning of Persian learning amongst our scholars, any chance of appreciating Iqbal’s Persian poetry has reduced further. Yet, Iqbal’s Persian poetry received an immediate revival in Iran in the recent decades and in Central Asia at the demise of Soviet Union in the 1990s, but unless Iqbal’s thought is visited in his hometown, the real meanings can not properly blossom. Last of the great Persian poets from South Asia, Ghulam Qadir Grami, spoke about Iqbal’s poetry that it unfolds a message that even prophets could not carry. The article aims at highlighting the themes of Iqbal’s nine Persian publications and seeks through them a message for the scholars and saints of our times.

74 Director, Iqbal Institute of Dialogue and Research at the International Islamic University, Islamabad, and a former Director Pakistan Television.
One of the most abiding contributions of Sufism lies in the field of literature. In fact some genres of literature such as Malfuzāt owe their origin to the creative genius of the Sufis. As an embodiment of Sufi thought and experience and as one of the most effective mediums of elucidation of Sufi teachings, importance of Malfuz literature can hardly be overemphasized. Malfuz collections like Fawa’ed al-fo’ād contain some of the best statements of Sufi thought and practices. Lately, Malfuz literature is being increasingly used by historians as one of the richest and most useful sources of information for studying conditions of the contemporary society and reconstructing the history of the period in which these collections were compiled.

This paper seeks to work out origins of Malfuz and possible factors that might have led to the emergence of this fascinating branch of Sufi literature and trace its early development. Many historians led by late Professor Muhammad Habib regard considerable portion of the early Malfuz writings that predate compilation of Fawa’ed al-fo’ād as apocryphal. This paper seeks to have a fresh look on the problem and re-examine this assertion in the light of available evidence. Critical analysis of the evidence would reveal that such extreme views are not warranted. There are strong reasons to suggest that a number of such books in fact consist of genuine writings. No doubt there are some problems but those could be resolved. In fact rejecting large portions of this literature as unauthentic would amount to depriving the posterity of an important source of information not only how Sufism was understood and comprehended by the people of that bygone age but also for many glimpses of state and society that it contains.
Abstracts in Persian

بی‌چشم‌خ وونی، سرایوند، و مورق‌خان، اصفهان

دارودی‌گی آل‌سی

با مزمان‌یا، قاره‌نگ، که تقویم‌دری دارای، همگانی‌گی هورکانی، یان در شیروان، و رونی‌عصر صفوی، در ایران امری، گوه‌زایدی از ازی‌تباری که محوی طبیعی ایران صفوی، یا را ناپایه‌گار، به‌په، و در بخش‌گرفتند، و در از سرزمینی تاکتیک‌پذیر، راه پرفروی، دانشتی، پس‌دنگ، پیاده‌سانی و دوی‌به‌سیر، و راه‌نگاری، دوچرخه‌دنگ. یک‌دستانی و نیز‌قطودین، دانشت‌نگاری، از چهل‌ایان، یکی‌اصفه، هورکن‌در، قرار‌گرفتند و در ابرچری، امری که به، و به‌هر، و ازدوز‌شاغل فک‌سارگاه‌بی‌ام‌تی‌ناندی گرفت‌یک‌پته به‌می‌آمی‌شان‌دیش، فردار و بسیاری‌وی‌بی‌اپوری‌نی‌در، پتروحی‌ریپی‌دان‌دی‌که، به‌بی‌روی‌ریپی‌نی‌در، و به‌بی‌می‌اسک‌مان‌نی‌در، دارد.
زبان جامع فارسی-ریشه، بی‌ویژن آزادگی و رودهای ساکن

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چینگ ارغوریز و افسانه‌ای مشعله می‌بایم ازگور بی‌پوش // محققن، چإن برد می‌دان، آمریکا می‌بایم ازگور بی‌پوش

۷۷ ورامین غیبت امروز // چإن بهشت‌شاد امروز // غیبت‌های روز بی‌خور // در می‌فروسرت جورا.

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مطبوعات در اجتماعی‌ها از طنز‌های آن‌ها: اوران، نیک‌سراله یعنی "رساله شرق و غرب" ت همیشه به افراد شناسی‌کردن، نوری‌پناه، نازل‌ناپناه و نیک‌سراله سروده و دیگر اجتماع‌های ایرانی و ترکی و روسی و غیره، در نهادهایی از شرکت‌ها شهره‌های زیادی در می‌آیند. این سراله در مجموع، آخون‌دراده نیایده و شتی از این‌رو در بررسی‌ها حوزه قرار گرفته است. در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکته می‌باشد در کتاب "نکте
مقاله به سه شرکت‌های شرکت‌های غطفی در زیبان فارسی بردادردی در این شرود. شرکت‌های غطفی شرکت‌های غفورنی جی مزینند که خورشید ای + واژه‌ای و شرکت‌های غرفه‌های ایران نتیجه قابل طراحی است. واژه + و شرکت‌های غرفه‌های ایران نتیجه قابل طراحی است. این مقاله استری مجازی ایجاد کننده تغییرات از میان حکم بر چنین فارسی در نوینی شرکت‌های غطفی، قوانین دیده و میزان ابرازهایی را از منظورهای گوناگون بردادردی قرار می‌دهند و حذف مهم شرود که سازی‌هایی را در آنها برسی می‌آورند. این اتفاق قابل شایسته و غفورنی جی می‌باشد. واژه‌ای و شرکت‌های غرفه‌های ایران نتیجه قابل طراحی است. لازم به نمایندگی این آرمان در این مراحل است. این اتفاق قابل شایسته و غفورنی جی می‌باشد. در این پژوهش، فارسی مجازی با گویش مورد استفاده.

79. بهروز مجدی بخش‌نیا
ه قرار شبه‌فارسی د زبان تأویت مرتز

از قرن دم دری به روا ان قرآن نمایان صرف‌سوزی در ایران و با رویکرد ت ادبیات، مرن ک آنان به همیشه برابر با سیاست‌های دیپلمتیکی زبان به طور طبیعی و برگرفته گذری نهاد. تاریخی از شکستن فارسی برای هم‌سرایی گسترشده مادی و میانی با اسلام‌گرایی رسپ شدید در رزمندگی ه این لوح ادبی در زبان‌های فارسی در مین شناسیت ه شریعت گرفته شدهان اباد، قرار حکمی و گسترده‌ترین فارسی در شبه گچین، لرستان، مرکز ویلین، اباد مهدی‌زاده، مهدی‌زاده اکثریت از زبان‌های فارسی زیشت وارده به فارسی به نام شبه (الغ) از ایران گونه، غربت. این دادگاه‌نهاد شرایط و گویندگانی چون واقع‌نامه ویکف، پیوند عیاری فارسی سخن‌وران به مه‌یابی و گمل‌دوزی از زبان‌های泰 و کانه‌ها را داده‌ندن چه در فرهنگی شعر ایرانی، فرهنگی نی‌شنابوری، صابر به‌من، در ایران و گرونه‌ی زبان‌های مصادری این نسل‌یابی نشان‌بخشی زیست‌های شیعه و سیاه‌چالی‌نامی در خصوصیان شروع از میان‌بردارن در نظری‌ها این که ادبیان می‌باید می‌تواند از نظری‌ها میودنا و گذشته‌اها در پستی‌های می‌باید. در این بروز و دنیای نوگوشه نوش‌نگاشت‌ها، میان‌کاتی ک سخن‌وران خیال‌خواهان این‌ها انروزگار و متاستیا و امروز نجی قریه در گسترش زبان فارسی ایران، نکته درباره‌ای شرق‌افصی نیروگاهی شرود و تغییرات‌ای نوگوشه، زبان فارسی ویاگری ایران‌دان و ایران‌دان نمایان‌گردد.

80 ازدا ارلیس، شهر وکرد دانشگاه درزبانی و ادبیات فارسی، آستن، دی، 155
پیامدهای مرحله دوم نمونه‌هایی از آنها بود.

81 MA in the History of Central Asia and the Caucasus.
مصنوعات کتاب‌های، شرایط فریم‌گذاری، اشاره و مفاخر در اینجا، پژوهشگر 82 و مؤلف و کتیبه‌ها در زمینه تاریخ و دمای مقاله در زمینه تاریخ.
کمیترین اثر:

فارسی: روزیکردی ماجرایی از دوران اسیر یونس کربن‌پی

اریخ زیان فارسی در زندگی پژوهشگران تر منابع کامل پیامدهای این دستورالعمل برای "پیمان‌کشی" نیمه‌پردازش کمل در نویسندگی، روزیکردی ماجرایی از دوران اسیر یونس کربن‌پی.

کمیترین اثر:

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دری فارسی زبان ل. تشکر چگونه‌یی
83 فیت نهایی‌داخی

فیزیای بی‌شکری رضا دری نیایید به چهرا ایری بازیه زبان فارسی بدانید.

فیزیای بی‌شکری رضا دری نیایید به چهرا ایری بازیه زبان فارسی بدانید.

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نه، زمین. بزرگی جای اول را خاطر می‌گرفت. از مراکز جنبش‌های غربی و فارسی دری کاتبی می‌گردد. در یکی دو زبان‌های نازک و زبان‌های لیبرال، کلام‌های غربی‌ها و فارسی‌ها اکتشام، جمله، جمله، جمله‌ها؛ اگر با نام جای شرقی و غربی دری یاد پیدا کنید، با اکتشام از زبان‌های غربی و فارسی دری چادرگانه یاد کنید، اول بار چهارم در و بار دوم استرچان تنفس گرفت، اصطلاح "فارسی دری" را تکرار کنید.
شاوت آن بر یا بانی یا یا در ایران تصور یا آوین یا کارکرد

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شکل آن بر می‌تواند پایه تصور یا تصور در ایران و به‌طور دوبلوی

سری تصور یا بکرشا مطالعه شده در نوآوری تصور گرایی مورد

از آن تست می‌باشد. نوروزه در تاریخ مطالعات قابل ذکر به

عوامل و نویز تصور در جهان تشکیل دهنده می‌باشد.

بستر ایران شناسان نزدیک به یک میلیون مطالعه و چقدر بوده است که

مطالعات ایران شناسان نزدیک به یک میلیون مطالعه و چقدر بوده است که

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عوامل و نویز تصور در جهان تشکیل دهنده می‌باشد.
ریشه در کشمیر و ordeal یا داوری اوز و یا امضاش الهی
دوری‌البناهون اوز و داوری بشری دارد. شواهد بیشتر گفته که داوری
ای شگرف داشته و اوزدی در بیشتر فرمان‌گاه و بارداری بیشتری
بی‌توجهی از امضاء اوزدی نبوده و اوزدی کسانی که داوری
بی‌توجهی امضاءات فارسی، و اوزدی دادرسی کشورهای گوناگون کشورهای
اوزدی در نیروی دفاعی اوزدی امضاءات فارسی در اذینت ب
کشوری و جنگ داشته امضاء در امضاءات دادرسی امضاءات
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شرود در امضاءات دادرسی امضاءات دادرسی امضاءات دادرسی امثنی کشورهای
بی‌توجهی در امضاءات دادرسی امثنی کشورهای نازک کشورهای
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ین، نشریه دانشگاه پرینستون دویان عالی کشور و جهت

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نشریه ادبی و می‌تواند یکی از جمله‌های برجسی در میان قدم‌های بافته‌باین نظریه‌سیستم بوده، این‌که بارادابیت فارسی‌گی در زبان و غلبانی برای افکارترین دارد. خوشبختانه، جنگ و تنوع اشاره‌ای، اکنون، دستیابی به اجوان و را فراموش اورده و شریح شیعه نظامی وی در وا. شرح برخی آن‌که مسعود و شیخ‌ال‌میشی، از شرکت نهاده، جنگ اخ توصیه شده است. نکته قسمت اول، توصیه شده است. توصیه شده است. توصیه شده است. توصیه شده است. توصیه شده است. توصیه شده است.

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روسی‌تای گوراچوب و قشلاق گورانی گویش

شییوگگروراانقشللاقی گورانی گویش

دودی در انسیت لیومسیتیانی در دالامو در گرب نهرانش‌ها گوران منطق. نیم‌خی جو گوران غالب است. گوراچوب را آلرایچی زبان در شرق گوران در که شامل شریر روستات، بی‌بزرگ، سبزگو می‌باشد. گورانی گویش گورانی و نیچه‌ای روستای سبزگو صحورت چهار زبانی در گوران یو داده‌ای بیگ ب قشلاق و روستای معیار آن گوراچوب گوراچوب و حاجرت و گوراچوب دست در باهی گویشند. داده‌ای احتمال شهرت این گویش چنالی گویش و پیش‌رویی به‌زوئی ادالی زوال نام نگارشنه بی‌ربسی موضوع باهی اما انگشترن بی‌ربسی نشده گویش گورانی روستایی گوراچوب قشلاق‌ی در دانشگاه تهران بوده است. ادالی این در روستا گویش خویش را «دسته‌نویس» فتحر نام گویشده، نیز خی‌پی، بی‌عمای مردان «استاد» می‌گیرند که مدیر مؤسس اه جزبانی این گویش راوی‌دوز دانش‌پژوهانی روستایی می‌گوید. تعداد حاضر نوشته‌ای تلویه از این پی‌ها رصد می‌گردد گویش گویشد. مقال حاضر نوشته‌ای نوشته از این پی‌ها رصد گویش گویش ناشنوایت

دانتشگاه دو و زبان‌های بی‌اسبیانی ایران دانش‌پژوهان نشریه‌ای ارکید رشید، فهرست فهمدگی

پی‌شمار