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(Kelly 2010, 77)

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(Mendelsohn 2010, 68)
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A Dream-Work: An Analysis of Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s Dream and Intellectual Transformation

Yahia Baiza*

Abstract
Believing in dreams and dream interpretation is part of the human psyche and human culture across all societies. Prophets, pious men and women are believed to have had the special gift of understanding and interpreting both the manifest and the latent contents of dreams and providing guidance and predictions. This paper presents an analysis of a dream that Nāṣer Ḵosrow experienced in the forty-second year of his life. It analyses the context and the content of this dream, which he describes in his Safar-nāmah (Travelogue), and how this dream turned into a dream-work that transformed Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s life and enabled him to leave behind a rich intellectual legacy.**

Keywords: Nāṣer Ḵosrow, Shiʿite Ismāʿili, Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s dream, intellectual transformation.

Introduction
Despite having a long and visible historical presence, the history of the Shiʿa Ismāʿili (hereafter, Ismāʿili) daʿwat (summons) and communities in Khorasan has largely remained unexplored. This is because history as a scholarly discipline is still dominated by conventional historiography, which mainly focuses on ‘big narratives’, and rarely pays attention to the history and events of minority groups. The lack of attention to the

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overall history of the Ismāʿili daʿwat in Khorasan also appears to have had an impact on the study of life, thought and intellectual legacy of Nāṣer Ḵosrow. Therefore, despite an increasing interest in the study of Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s thoughts and ideas in Persian and major European languages, the fields of Ismāʿili studies in general and Nāṣer Ḵosrow studies in particular are still explored and discussed in the margins of Islamic studies.

It may sound a strong statement to say that until the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, Nāṣer Ḵosrow was one of the most overlooked literary and religious personalities. Over the past nine centuries since his death in 469/1077 or 486/1093 until the beginning of the twentieth century only a handful of scholars are known to have written about Nāṣer Ḵosrow. Some critics may counter the argument that he has been overlooked by referring to a list of historical sources which refer to Nāṣer Ḵosrow. However, by saying that Nāṣer Ḵosrow was one of the most overlooked personalities until the late nineteenth century, this author does not necessarily mean that Nāṣer Ḵosrow remained unknown as a person. Rather, not only were his ideas, thoughts and legacies left unexplored, but when some small number of writers did pay attention to him we note that a series of fictional and fabricated narratives were developed and attributed to him on the one hand, and many negative views and comments were passed to him on the other. The sources analysed and discussed in this introduction are generally divided into pre-late nineteenth and post-late nineteenth century. The former category of sources often do not exceed a few lines of prose and poetry, with a passing mention to Nāṣer Ḵosrow while at the same time containing mixed polemical and unhistorical views. It is only in the post-nineteenth century literature that Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s books, thoughts and ideas have attracted scholars’ attention.

The earlier sources paint Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s life and thoughts in negative, and positive and neutral pictures. One such early source is a piece of short poetry (qiṭʿa), written by a late sixth-century poet from Samarqand, Dehqān ʿAlī Šaṭranjī, known by his sobriquet Jamāl al-ḥokamāʾ (The

1. I use a simplified version of the name Nāṣer-e Ḵosrow for the ease of reading.
Beauty of Scholars). The poem appears in Muḥammad ‘Awfī’s *Lobāh al-albāb (the Essence of Intellect)*, the first Persian biographical work. ‘Awfī (d. 639/1242) dedicates seven pages of his biographical work to Šaṭranjī, who describes Nāṣer Ḵosrow in pejorative terms. Firstly, Šaṭranjī wrongly states that Nāṣer Ḵosrow adopted the sobriquet of *Hamid al-Dīn* (Praiseworthy of Religion) and then muses on how Nāṣer Ḵosrow can deserve such a title, when the dung of the former, i.e., *Hamid al-Dīn*, is far better than the goodness (*maḥāsin*) of this, i.e., Nāṣer Ḵosrow (‘Awfī 1903 vol. 2, 202). Nāṣir Khuraw never adopted the sobriquet *Hamid al-Dīn* for himself. Rather it is part of his full name, Abū Moʿīn Ḥamid al-Dīn Nāṣer ibn Ḵosrow. Apparently, Šaṭranjī either mistakenly attributes Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s name as his sobriquet, or he purposely plays with words in order to pass a derogatory comment to him.

Another work of the same era belongs to Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyā’ b. Muḥammad Qazvīnī (d. 681/1283). In his geographical account, *Āṯār al-belād wa aḵbār al-ʿebād*, Qazvīnī gives a fictional image of Nāṣer Ḵosrow under the geographical account of Yumgān. After describing Yumgān as a valley minerals in Badaḵšān surrounded by mountains full of precious, he describes Nāṣer Ḳosrow as the king of Balḵ who escaped his kingdom and took refuge in Yumgān because of people’s rebellion. In Yumgān, Qazvīnī attributes to Nāṣer Ḳosrow the creation of certain statues and figures that used to move and speak non-human languages, and that people were forbidden to look at them so they could remain safe from potential harm. He also describes the construction of fictional gardens and buildings, mainly mysterious *ḥammāms* (hot baths), as the works of Nāṣer Ḳosrow (Qazvīnī 1969, 489-90, 1994, 567-68). This would seem to be a purely fictional and unhistorical account, because Nāṣer Ḳosrow was neither the king of Balk nor he was the builder of mysterious gardens or structures or figures. However, the reason why Qazvīnī includes fictional narratives and attributes them to Nāṣer

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2. The author spells it as Yumkān, instead of Yumgān, because the Arabic alphabet does not have the letter ‘gāf’.
Ḵosrow is that he himself was a fiction writer, and loved to give his fiction historical contexts. Qazvīnī is known for his love for fiction which led him to write ‘Ajāʾeb al-Maklūqāt wa ḡarāʾeb al-mawjūdāt (Marvels of Creatures and Strange Beings) in 678/1280. His passion for fiction is very likely to have been one of the main reasons why he interwove his account of Yumgān and Nāṣer Ḵosrow with fictional narratives.

A third source is that of the eighth-century historian, Ḥamd-Allāh Mostawfī. In his Tārīḵ-e gozīda, Mostawfī gives an account of creation from the beginning to his own time in 730/1330. All the entries in the book are of dubious historical accuracy. This is particularly evident on the history of Fatimid imams and caliphs, namely caliph al-Mostanṣer billāh (r. 427-487/1036-1094), who designated Nāṣer Ḵosrow as his chief dāʿī with the title of ḥujjat for Khorasan. Mostawfī’s entry on Nāṣer Ḵosrow contains four short sentences which also include erroneous information. For example, he states that Nāṣer Ḵosrow lived for nearly a hundred years and that he was born in 359/970 (Mostawfī 1960, 514-15, 753-54). A similar historical inaccuracy can be found in the Majmaʿ al-Foṣaḥā of Riżā-qolī Ḵān Hedāyat (1215-1289/1800-1872), who states that Nāṣer Ḵosrow lived in Yumgān for nearly 25 years and died at the age of 140 in 534[/1140] (2003, 2119). These mistakes very likely became introduced because writers did not rigorously research their subject matter. For instance, Mostawfī gives an erroneous year for Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s birth, even though Nāṣer Ḵosrow himself records this in his Dīwān as 394/1004. In addition, Mostawfī also mistakenly states that Nāṣer Ḵosrow lived for nearly one hundred years. By contrast, Hedāyat states the correct date of his birth, but erroneously claims that Nāṣer Ḵosrow lived for 140 years. This even contradicts his own account in which he states that Nāṣer Ḵosrow took refuge in Yumgān at the age of 44 and lived there for 25 years, giving an age at death of 69 and not 140.

In addition, Alice Hunsberger also provides a brief survey of several sources, starting from the earliest period and contemporaries of Nāṣer Ḵosrow to the nineteenth century (2000, 18-32). Hunsberger discusses
how most of these early accounts present uncritical and often repetitive, pseudo-biographies of Nāṣer Ḵosrow. For instance, Amīr Dowlat Šāh’s Taḏkerat al-šoʿarā (893/1487) extensively copies from Qāżī al-Bayżāwi’s Niẓām al-tawārīḵ (674/1275). The accounts of many others, such Moḥammad b. Niʿma ibn ʿObaydallāh b. ʿAlī, known as Abu’l-Maʿālī, are clearly influenced by anti-Ismāʿili polemics (Hunsberger 2000, 19-20). Abu’l-Maʿālī’s account of Nāṣer Ḵosrow itself belongs to this genre of anti-Ismāʿili literature. From the viewpoint of modern scholarship, such accounts are still valuable, because they inform modern readers about the authors’ political and religious perceptions on the one hand, and what kind of image of Nāṣer Ḵosrow these authors were offering their readers on the other hand.

What is important to note is that these major historical sources give only a passing mention to Nāṣer Ḵosrow in the first instance. Secondly, their accounts often contain fictional and polemical statements. Some of the factual errors, such as the years of birth and death, are understandable as these authors may not have had access to Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s books. However, they have to bear full responsibility for presenting polemic, judgemental, fictional and distorted accounts. Edward Granville Browne states that most of the historians, chronologists and biographers ignored Nāṣer Ḵosrow because of his Ismāʿili faith (Browne 1905, 325). Undoubtedly, there is an element of truth in this, but the fact that Nāṣer Ḵosrow wrote his prose and poetry in Persian-Dari may have been another reason why Arab, or generally non-Persian speaking, scholars could not write much about him. In addition, for a very long time and mainly for security reasons, the Ismāʿili communities strictly guarded the writings of their dāʿīs from outsiders. Therefore, until the rise of modern scholarship in Europe, Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s writings had largely remained unknown.

The field of Nāṣer Ḵosrow studies has been rapidly changing since the second half of the nineteenth century. The key factor that has facilitated this change in Nāṣer Ḵosrow studies is European exploration and translation of the oriental scientific and literary traditions into major European languages. Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s books also attracted the attention
of European scholars, who made the findings of their research available to the wider scholarly community through academic journals and/or editing and publishing Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s book. Prior to this period, Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s books existed in the form of hand-copied manuscripts, often preserved by the Ismāʿili communities of modern-day Afghanistan, Tajikistan and the northern parts of Pakistan. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries orientalists noticed the richness, depth, and beauty and eloquence of Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s thoughts, and started to translate them into European languages.

The orientalists’ interest in Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s works and their translations into French, German and English also attracted the attention of his native Persian speakers. The early European orientalists who paid attention to Nāṣer Ḵosrow and wrote about him include Abraham R. Füller (1872), Hermann Ethé (1879 and 1896-1904), Charles H. A. Schefer (1881), Franz Teufel (1882a, b), Guy le Strange (1888), V. Shukovski (1890), Edward G. Browne (1906) *inter alia*. They often worked with native Persian speakers to explore and understand handwritten manuscripts. Orientalists were particularly enthused by the *Safar-nāma*, because it contains some very detailed observations on geography, architecture, culture, traditions, markets, trade and people in various cities in Khorasan, modern-day Iran and the Middle East. Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s *Safar-nāma* and poetry, including parts of his *Dīwān*, rolled off the printing press in the late nineteenth century. These publications raised awareness and scholarly interest among Persian-speakers, who slowly but steadily began to explore, analyse and interpret Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s thoughts, a process which gained further momentum from the mid-twentieth century onwards.

**Dream: Its Meaning and Function**

There has always been a wide range of theories and views about dream, and its meaning and function. From the ancient to the modern time, there has always been a dual view of dream. As Siegmund Freud stated, the meaning and function of dream were subject to scientific theories as well as essential part of folk-belief. He further wrote that Aristotle even believed that the nature of dream is indeed daemonic, but not divine
On the contrary, popular folk-belief distinguishes between valuable and unimportant dreams. The former is believed to be the divine nature of dream, a gift of the gods for the purpose of directing the actions of men, whereas as the latter is dispensable (Freud 1999, 7). This dual approach to dream continues to engage scientists and the belief of laypeople in the modern era.

In the modern Western literature, the works of the German physician W. Robert followed by Freud are particularly noteworthy. Although neither Robert’s nor Freud’s works are part of mandatory reading list of psychology courses in modern universities, they are still important in the study of dream and psychology literature (Robertson 1999, xxix). In his Der Traum als Naturnothwendigkeit erklärt, Robert describes dream as an activity of the psyche and a physical process (Robert 1886, 17, 32), without any supra-natural intervention. He states that dream has a two-fold function: an unfinished impression that becomes erased and an in-depth impression that becomes absorbed in the ‘memory treasure’ (Gedächtnisschatz). The erasure takes place quickly whereas the absorption takes a longer period of time. Following this observation, Robert gave importance to the depth of the impression and the interest the dreamer has in the content of the dream (1886, 20-21). Freud followed Robert’s approach and further developed it. He accepted that dream is a psychological process of thought and a physical action, that it is a recollection of memory from everyday life (Freud 1999, 65-66). Pursuing this theory, Freud worked hard to provide a scientific proof that through developing psychological method and technique one can interpret dreams. As Robertson states, Freud’s approach argues that dream is principally an expression of a person’s unacknowledged feelings like envy, and guilt and desire that appear in dream in a state of suspended laws of logic. While acknowledging some degree of validity of this theory, Robertson doubts its applicability for all dreams (Robertson 1999, xii-xiii).

The Qur’anic view of dream and the Muslim literature differ from that of scientists. They take a different approach to dream, its meaning and function. They differentiate between dream and vision. Every person dreams, but not every dream is a vision. Dream is a generic
term that refers to what a person sees during his/her sleep, whereas a vision is understood to be a dream of a higher status that a person may experience it when asleep or awake, or in an in-between state. The Qur’ān presents prophets both as recipients of visions and as excellent interpreters of dreams. For instance, the Qur’ān narrates that God gave Joseph a special gift of interpreting dreams. Joseph was both a dreamer of true visions and an excellent dream interpreter. In sūra Yūsof, the Qur’ān narrates Joseph’s dream of seeing eleven stars, the sun and the moon prostrating before him (Qur’ān 12, 4), God’s decision to teach Joseph the interpretation of events (taʾwīl al-ahādīṯ) (Qur’ān 12, 21), and how Joseph uses this divine gift in interpreting two co-prisoners’ dreams and then the dream of the king of Egypt (Qur’ān 12, 36-49). Muslim literature also refers to the Prophet Muḥammad as an interpreter of dreams. The Prophet’s night journey to heaven (meʿrāj), which occurred around the year 621, is also recorded in the Qur’ān. The sūra Isrā’ narrates that:

Glory be to Him who took his servant (Muḥammad) by night from the sacred mosque (Kaʿba) to the farthest mosque (Masjid al-aqṣā), whose precincts we blessed, during which we showed him some of Our signs, indeed He is the one who is the all-Hearing and the all-Seeing.

(Qur’ān 17, 1)

Although, prior to this journey, the Prophet had been experiencing prophetic visions by way of receiving revelations through the Angel Gabriel, the meʿrāj was perhaps one of the finest and subtlest prophetic visions the Prophet experienced. Muslims, however, differ in their interpretation of the above quoted verse. While many Muslims believe that the Prophet had made the physical journey to heaven, Nāṣer Ḵosrow adopts a more rationalist and Ismāʿili-specific taʾwil approach to the above verse and argues that the Prophet’s journey to heaven was spiritual (1969, 120-21). In the modern Muslim context, too, people continue to regard visions and dreams of subtle qualities as a sign of divine intervention, particularly when the Qurʾān, angels, and the Prophet Moḥammad or someone from his household appear in a person’s dream. The same was true for Nāṣer Ḵosrow and the people of his time. However, before analysing Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s dream and his intellectual
transformation, it is worth analysing the intellectual circumstances of Nāṣer Ḵosrow, which is not without a relevance to the content of this dream.

Nāṣer Ḵosrow and His Intellectual Circumstances

The Safar-nāma and Dīwān are our main sources of knowledge about Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s life and intellectual circumstances prior to his dream. Nāṣer Ḵosrow describes himself in his Safar-nāma and Dīwān as a learned man, with a professional position in the local Saljūq administration in Balkh, an important city in Khorasan (now the northern part of Afghanistan), where he lived a comfortable life. A close reading of Safar-nāma, particularly Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s narration of events prior to his dream, suggests that he was undergoing a personal intellectual crisis. This crisis appears to be the result of his search for a more in-depth source of knowledge. In the words of Nāṣer Ḵosrow himself, he was in search of tawāngarī ḥaqīqī, literally true power (Nāṣer Ḵosrow 1956, 1). Apparently, it was this search for true power and his inability to attain it that brought about a temporary intellectual crisis. As he describes it, his life and everything around him, including his position as a finance officer, his material wealth and his social status did not satisfy his thirst for true power, which I term here true knowledge. Undoubtedly, he was not after more material power or wealth. True power for him meant true knowledge.

The next question is about what kind of knowledge Nāṣer Ḵosrow was pursuing. Apparently, he must have had questions in mind for which he was seeking answers in reliable source of knowledge. One way to look into his intellectual concerns is to read closely the works he produced years after he saw the dream. His writings demonstrate that questions such as why people are born in this world, where they come from, and where they depart to once they leave this mortal coil, what is religion, why God sent prophets and books, why people are divided into different religions and schools of thoughts and the importance of intellect in religion, must all have engaged him prior to seeing the life-changing dream. We know from his philosophical works as well as his Dīwān (2001, 258-59) that these questions concerned him most. In his
Dīwān, he states that it was in the forty-second year of his life that he actively sought answers to these questions (Nāṣer Ṭosrow 2001, 258). He further adds that he had exhausted all possible sources of knowledge, including three Sunni schools of jurisprudence, the Ḥanafī, Mālekī, and Šāfeʿī in Khorasan (Nāṣer Ṭosrow 2001, 258-9). It appears that none of the sources of knowledge available to him in Khorasan were convincing and he continued his search further.

He was aware of how the Saljūq sultans and their local administrators and governors were devoid of intellectual thought. He was surrounded by good friends, bureaucrats, and poets, but none appears to have been of any significant intellectual and philosophical level. At the same time, he was apparently suffering from an intellectual void created by the death of the beacons of knowledge of his time, from Avicenna (d. 428/1037) to Ferdowsī (d. 410/1020) and Bīrūnī (d. 439/1048). He had probably met some of these master intellects and had some interaction with them. We know this at least from one of his qaṣīda in his Dīwān, in which calls upon himself: “wake up from your sweet dream, O you asleep for forty years. Look around! None of your close friends is left alive” (Nāṣer Ṭosrow 2001, 258). The qaṣīda also suggests that the intellectual emptiness he was experiencing, after the death of his close friends, could have been one of the key factors contributing to his intellectual sorrow and pain. He tried to ameliorate his situation through quick solution of imbibing wine. He confesses that in Jūzjānān he became a regular wine drinker for at least a month (Nāṣer Ṭosrow 1956, 1). It was within this intellectual and personal context that in the forty-second year of his life he asked God to grant him tawāngarī ḥaqīqī, i.e., the true knowledge, which shows that Nāṣer Ṭosrow gradually refined his search for solution and became convinced that wine drinking was not necessarily the correct long-term solution.

A Dream-work: An Insight into Nāṣer Ṭosrow’s Dream and Intellectual Transformation

Retrospectively, the search for tawāngarī ḥaqīqī (true knowledge) meant a change in the framework of life and thought. Wine drinking
could only provide the comfort of temporary oblivion. Similarly, writing poetry, or spending time in the company of learned men, which undoubtedly had always been a popular culture in Khorasan, could only provide fleeting satisfaction, while at the same time prolonging the problem of his crisis. Eventually, he appears to have developed a better understanding of his situation and managed to identify true knowledge as the appropriate intellectual tool to enable him to change, or more precisely to break out of, his existing stasis and to endeavour to create a new framework, which I would term an intellectual framework. His real challenge, which still remained unresolved, was how and where to attain this intellectual framework.

The change of framework might, in other words, be described as a revolution, an intellectual revolution. This was precisely what Nāṣir Ḵosrow meant by asking God to give him true power or true knowledge. It is at this juncture of his life that he saw a life-changing dream which he described in the following words:

One night in a dream I saw someone saying to me, “How long will you continue to drink of this wine, which destroys man’s intellect? If you were to stay sober, it would be better for you.”

In reply I said, “The wise have not been able to come up with anything other than this to lessen the sorrow of this world”.

“To be without one’s senses is no repose”, he answered me. “He cannot be called wise who leads men to senselessness. Rather, one should seek out that which increases reason and wisdom”.

“Where can I find such a thing?” I asked.

“Seek and you shall find”, he said, and then he pointed toward the qebla and said nothing more.

(Nāṣer Ḵosrow 1986, 1)

It is this dream that stands at the heart of Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s intellectual transformation. The dream, as Nāṣer Ḵosrow himself confesses, left a deep impact on him. He states that:
When I woke up, I remembered everything from the dream, which had truly worked on me. “You have woken up from last night’s sleep, now you must wake up from a forty-year dream”, I said to myself. “Unless I alter all my deeds and attitudes, I shall not find liberation”, I said to myself.

(Nāṣer Ḵosrow 1956, 2)

A key point in the above quotation, which supports the main thesis of this paper, is that the dream stands at the centre of Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s life and intellectual transformation. The dream becomes a mechanism that translates his search for, and the dream of finding, true knowledge into a reality. Nāṣer Ḵosrow highlights the power and impact of his dream in very clear words: [ḵāb] bar man kār kard, meaning, [the dream] had truly worked, or made a deep impression, on me. There are several pieces of evidence that indicate the influence of the dream in his real life. Firstly, he confesses the psychological impression he had from his dream, as he acknowledges that the dream had truly worked and made a deep impression on him. Secondly, it leads him to make a solemn promise to himself that now was the right time to wake up from a forty-year dream. Thirdly, he also commits himself to changing his way of life and all his past habits, among which wine-drinking was a major issue. Fourthly, he cleanses himself from head to foot, goes to the mosque to pray, and asks God for help and commits himself fulfilling his duties and avoiding whatever is forbidden (Nāṣer Ḵosrow 1956, 2). These points demonstrate that Nāṣer Ḵosrow took his dream seriously, and apparently believed that it was not an ordinary, but a divinely-inspired dream.

The dream becomes a transformative power and a dream-work in Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s life. The logic, the latent meaning and the message of the dream create an extraordinary burst of energy in Nāṣer Ḵosrow. This leads him to undertake a long exploratory and often exciting journey towards the qebla and then to Cairo. He leaves behind his past attitudes and way of life, including his position in the Saljūq administration. The dream leads him to an initiation into a new life and a new world. Although the dream itself gradually fades into the background of Nāṣer
Ḵosrow’s journey in search of reason and intellect, it remains the *Wende punkt* in his life. The dream retains its power over him until it completely changes his way of life, intellectual career, and brings his quest for true power and knowledge to fruition.

Nāṣer Ḵosrow experienced the main stage of his transformational journey during his stay in Cairo. Here, he met the Fatimid Ismāʿili chief *dāʿī*, al-Moʿayyad fiʾl-Dīn Šīrāzī (b. 396/1006), who became his personal master and mentor in Ismāʿili esoteric doctrine. His meeting with Moʿayyad, that culminated in his meeting the Fatimid imam-caliph Mostanṣer (427-487/1036-1095) marks the apogee of his life and consequently in the life of Ismāʿilis of Khorasan. Nāṣer Ḵosrow credits Moʿayyad for preparing him to give his *beyʿat* (oath of allegiance) to Mostanṣer (Nāṣer ᴾosrow 1928, 2001, 261), who appointed Nāṣer ᴾosrow as the *ḥujjat* (proof) for the *jazīra* (island, pl. *jazāʾīr*), or region, of Khorasan, a commission to which he dedicated the rest of his life. The Fatimid Ismāʿili imams, as Faquir Hunzai states, divided the world into twelve ‘islands’, and appointed a *ḥujjat* for each one to oversee the *daʿwat* mission and activities (Hunzai 2011, 1). Nāṣer ᴾosrow was one of the twelve *ḥujjats* and responsible for Khorasan. Since a *ḥujjat* had full authority over the designated daʿwat territory, Nāṣer ᴾosrow was also known as *ṣāḥeb-e jazīra-ye Khorasan* (the lord of the region of Khorasan).

Upon his return to Khorasan in 444/1052, Nāṣer ᴾosrow’s new task was to disseminate and share the *tawāngarī ḥaqīqī* (true knowledge) he acquired in Cairo with the world, specifically with the people of Khorasan. He immersed himself in the *daʿwat* activities, summoning people to the Ismāʿili esoteric doctrine and fostering allegiance to the Ismāʿili Fatimid imam-caliph. As expected, Nāṣer ᴾosrow’s new mission soon antagonised the local Sunni clerics, who accused him of being a *molḥed* (heretic). In order to punish him and put an end to his preaching, they incited people’s religious sentiment against him by accusing him of being irreligious (Persian, *bad-dīn*), a *molḥed*, a Qermaṭī and a

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3. For further discussion on the term *ḥujjat* and its usage in the Shīʿa tradition, see Daftary 2007, 117-18.
Rāfeżī (rejecter of truth). They also demolished his house, plundered his property, and threatened to assassinate him (Daftary 2007, 206). Consequently, Nāṣer Ḵosrow sought refuge in the valley of Yumgān, a very remote valley in Badaḵšān of Afghanistan. At this time, Yumgān was one of the territories of an autonomous local ruler Amīr Abu’l-Ma‘āli ʿAlī b. Asad (Nāṣer Ḵosrow 1953), who was either an Ismāʿili or a sympathiser of the Ismāʿīli daʿwat. Apparently, the presence of this Amīr and probably the Ismāʿīli communities in Badaḵšān were the key reasons why Nāṣer Ḵosrow decided to settle in Yumgān.

In Yumgān, he engaged in intellectual activities. He trained local dāʿīs, supervised their work in different parts of Khorasan, and wrote books. His qaṣīdas reveal that he monitored daʿwat activities in Khorasan and he sent daʿwat treatises every year for the instruction of local dāʿīs (Nāṣer Ḵosrow 1928, qaṣida No. 167). Today, the Pashayie, Hazāra, Tājik and Badaḵšānī Ismāʿīli communities in Afghanistan, the Badaḵšānī or Pāmīrī Ismāʿīlis in Gorno-Badaḵšān Autonomous Oblast of Tajikistan, the Tājik Ismāʿīlis in the westernmost part of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in the People’s Republic of China, and the Ismāʿīlis of Gilgit-Baltistan (formerly known as the Northern Areas and Chitral of Pakistan), show great honour and respect to Nāṣer Ḵosrow. They read and regard his poetry and prose as fundamental Ismāʿīli texts.

It was also in Yumgān that he wrote numerous books and treatises on various issues, from religion and philosophy to the esoteric interpretation of the šarīʿa and reconciliation between religious and rational truths. Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s books clearly demonstrate the fruit of his search for true knowledge, and the new intellectual framework which he acquired during his seven-year long journey. His intellectual legacy has become an everlasting source of intellectual guidance, inspiration and support for the Ismāʿīli communities in regions of Khorasan as well as other Ismāʿīli communities in other parts of the world.

The intellectual and daʿwat mission earned Nāṣer Ḵosrow a special position in the history of the Ismāʿīli daʿwat in general and in Khorasan in particular. Under his leadership, the Ismāʿīli daʿwat and communities entered a new phase of history. He transformed the Khorasani daʿwat school into an organised system, the legacy of which has lasted until
now. He further developed and articulated Fatimid Ismāʿili religious beliefs, practices, and interpretations through a set of finely elaborated poetical and theo-philosophical literature, and made them accessible to the people of Khorasan for the first time in the Persian-Dari language, the lingua franca of the region. In doing so, he also entered into the list of the pioneers of the renaissance of the Persian-Dari language.

The fruition of Nāṣer Ḵosrow’s dream and the dream-work are even today visible in the intellectual legacy he left behind. This legacy can be classified into several genres of literature, namely travelogue (Safar-nāma), collection of poems (Dīwān-e Ašʿār), ethics (Rowšanāʾī-nāma), theological philosophy (Ḵwān al-eḵwān), philosophy (Zād al-mosāfīrīn), and philosophical theology (Gushāyesh wa Rehāyesh), a collector of philosophical and religious thoughts (Jāmeʿ al-Ḥekmatayn), and the science of esoteric interpretation (Wajh-e Dīn). Nāṣer ᴴosrow wrote all these works in Persian-Dari thereby making them accessible to the people of Khurāsān. This is also one of the key reasons why his books have remained the core of Ismāʿili religious education and popular religious literature for the Central Asian Ismāʿili communities over the centuries.

Nāṣer ᴴosrow was the last Fatimid dāʿī of Khorasan. According to two most quoted dates, he died either at the age of 73 (469/1077) or 89 (486/1093). This would mean that he did not experience the split of the Fatimid caliphate and Ismāʿili daʿwat into the Mostaʿlī and Nezārī branches that occurred after the death of imam-caliph Mostanṣer in 487/1094. As in his writings, including his Dīwān, there is no indication of the Mostaʿlī-Nezārī split, it can safely be claimed that Nāṣer ᴴosrow died before the year 487/1094.

**Conclusion**

This paper has analysed Nāṣer ᴴosrow’s dream and his intellectual transformation. It argued that Nāṣer ᴴosrow’s dream played a central role and fully revolutionised and transformed his intellectual life beyond imagination. The dream he saw turned his ambition of gaining true knowledge into a dream-work, an everlasting reality. It not only
transformed his life and career, but also influenced the lives of hundred thousand people from modern-day Iran and Afghanistan to Central and South Asia until today.

The intellectual transformation Nāṣer Ḵosrow achieved was the result of a continuous, complex, eventful and tireless struggle. He was a learned man with an inquisitive mind and was constantly pushing the boundaries of his thought and knowledge beyond what was locally available to him. His endless pursuit of deeper knowledge, and his questioning of things, such as the purpose of life, religion, world, the political authorities, and the growing intellectual decay in Khorasan, created in him an ardent desire to find a true master who could guide him and answer his questions. This pursuit and thirst for knowledge on the one hand, and the absence of local resources on the other, led him to experience an intellectual crisis. He must have lived with this crisis for some time, during which he tried certain piece-meal solutions, including wine-drinking.

It was in the forty-second year of his life that he eventually found the answer to his situation. He expressed it in two simple words: true power. He began to believe that only true power or true knowledge as I have termed it in this paper, as a thorough intellectual transformation and an intellectual revolution could bring him out of the crisis and open a new horizon of knowledge for him. It is at this moment of his life that he experienced a dream that became a dream-work and a life-changing experience. Eventually, it was this dream-work that transformed his life, nourished an intellectual revolution in him, and enabled him to leave behind a rich intellectual legacy until the current date.

**Bibliography**


Iranian Linguistic Attitudes and Persian Language Planning: A Case Study in Tehran

Negar Davari Ardakani*
Hossein Moghani**

Abstract
This paper aims to evaluate the linguistic attitudes of Persian speakers to provide an information base for language policy-making regarding Persian planning in Iran. To this end, the paper proposes the following questions:
- What are the main components of Tehrani Persian speakers’ attitudes?
- What is the least important component among the other components?
- Regarding the above mentioned attitude components, how could we schematize the dominant overt and covert language planning policies?

To fulfill this aim, a questionnaire consisting of several questions on different aspects of linguistic attitudes has been distributed among four groups of Tehrani residents. The questionnaire has been organized so as to evaluate the awareness, affection and behavior towards Persian corpus, status and language in education. The size of the sample population (a total of 820) has been determined based on a formula developed by Krejcie and Morgan (Krejcie and Morgan, 1970). After collecting the questionnaires, the data were then encoded and entered into the SPSS statistical software. The independent variables of this analysis are social identity and age. The instruments used in this study are intersecting or ANOVA tables as well as other methods such as $X^2$, Somer’s, Kramers, and Kendal. The paper concludes that the most important component of linguistic attitudes of the studied groups is affection towards Persian status. The least important components, on the other hand, are Iranian

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linguistic consciousness, attitude towards English, awareness of Persian status, hopefulness towards Persian improvement and affection towards present Persian planning. Furthermore, it turned out that covert and overt Persian language policies differ in some key aspects.

**Keywords**: attitude, linguistic attitude, language planning, linguistic corpus, linguistic status, linguistic behavior.

**Introduction**

Linguistic attitude is a term primarily used in the interdisciplinary field of socio-psychology, as well as in sociolinguistics and, especially, in the discipline of language planning. Linguistic attitudes are most commonly considered to be made up of three cognitive, affective and behavioral components, namely, knowledge about language, affections towards language and behavior towards language. Assessment of linguistic attitudes is one of the basic processes in the evaluative phase of language planning. As for this, language planners assess social groups’ attitudes in order to accommodate language covert policy with its overt one. According to Schiffman (1996), it is the covert linguistic policy that determines the future of a language. Following this, this study assesses the linguistic attitudes of Persian speakers (resident in Tehran) so as to provide an information base for language policy-making regarding Persian planning in Iran.

The three components of attitude are, hence, assessed according to different relevant linguistic aspects, namely, corpus, status and language in education, in both spoken and written codes. In order to achieve this goal, a questionnaire has been devised. Different corpus issues (including phonetic and spelling, lexical, morphological, syntactic and discoursal language planning processes such as codification, standardization, renovation, etc.), status issues (language as an instrument vs. language as an affectional entity) and acquisition challenges are some of the main items touched in the questionnaire. The study aims at answering the following questions: What is/are the most important constructional component(s) of Tehrani Persian speakers’ linguistic attitudes? Which
of the mentioned linguistic issues has the least effect on the construction of Tehrani Persian speakers’ attitudes? And finally, how do the answers to the two mentioned questions contribute to the formation of covert and overt policies? Linguistic attitudes of four groups of Tehrani Persian speakers (high school students, university students, university lecturers and Persian Academy (PA) members) are assessed so as to answer the last question. The linguistic attitudes of the first three groups are considered as covert linguistic policy in contrast to the linguistic attitudes of the last group, namely, Persian Academy members, as indicators of overt policy.

Review of Literature and Theoretical Foundations

Rubin (1977c), who considers language policy as a part of national policy, is one of the researchers who focuses on the importance of target populations and the distribution of language products in language planning. The most accessible populations which he mentions are high school teachers and students, university lecturers, municipality personnel and industry managers and personnel.

MacNamara (1971, 69, quoted in Rubin and Jernudd 1971) investigates the relevant factors leading to the failure of Irish maintenance efforts in spite of the implementation of the overt policies based on Irish maintenance. He refers the failure of Irish maintenance efforts to the fact that Irish speakers preferred to use English instead of Irish. In addition, he recommends that language planners recognize the opposite opinions towards language policies.

Perry (1985) in his comparison between language planning in Iran (1st Pahlavi) and Turkey (Ataturk) declares that Režā Shah's language planning was not successful because the Shah did not engage people in this process. In other words, Perry considers Persian language planning in that era as an elite affair, whereas Ataturk engaged every literate Turk in the process.

Cooper (1989) represents a comprehensive picture of the process of language planning and all the influential factors affecting it. A
A comprehensive schema of Cooper's and his predecessors is designed below:

Chart 1. Different types of language planning and all the influential factors affecting it, inspired by Cooper (1989).
Probing into Cooper’s ideas, we are inevitably led to the point that the most common issue in the field of sociolinguistics is the social organization of language behaviors. In other words, sociolinguistics is not limited to the language use per se; on the contrary, it covers a wider
range of topics including diverse issues such as linguistic attitudes and overt and covert linguistic behaviors. For Cooper, language planning is the most typical example of “overt linguistic behavior” that affects “language use”, yet itself is affected by “language attitudes”. Evidently, the study of linguistic motivations and attitudes of the potential receivers of language planning decisions has been highly recommended by Cooper.

Baker (1992) theorized the concept of linguistic attitudes, including cognitive, affective and behavioral elements. Baker’s theory of linguistic attitudes together with Cooper’s components of language planning comprises the foundation of this research.

Schiffman (1996) considers covert linguistic policy as a reflection of speaker’s linguistic attitudes, which is a part of their culture. Schiffman recognizes inconsistency between these two language policies as a major cause of language planning failure.

Oakes (2001) in his comparative study of the contribution of national language in the formation of national identity (in local, national, European and global scopes) in France and Sweden finds a wider gap between covert and overt language policy in France as compared to Sweden. He, therefore, interprets the gap as a sign of attitude shift.


Jahani (2004) has investigated the linguistic attitudes of Iranian immigrants in Sweden, studying the effect of ethnicity on linguistic attitudes. Her study shows that Baluchi immigrants have the most positive attitude towards Swedish compared to the other three immigrant groups (Armenians, Fars and Turkish). Armenians, Jahani’s study showed, have the most positive attitudes towards maintaining Armenian. Fars and Turkish people are in between the two other mentioned ethnic groups.

1. A relatively large Balouchi-speaking ethnic group residing in Sistān and Balouchestān province in the south-eastern part of Iran.
Regarding the above mentioned literature, the present research has integrated the main concepts of language planning and linguistic attitudes in order to schematize a network of relationships among the elements. The following schemas are some theoretical findings of the present research. The questionnaire is devised on the basis of these findings. Attempts have been made so as to touch every detail element relating to language.

**Methodology and Discussion**

Based on the systematic classification devised in charts 1 and 2, a questionnaire consisting of several questions on different aspects and componants of linguistic attitudes was designed and distributed among four groups of Tehrani residents (high school students, university students, university lecturers and members and researchers of the Persian Academy). The questionnaire was organized so as to evaluate the following items: awareness (of), affection and behavior towards Persian corpus, status and language in education (see charts 1 and 2 for more details). Regarding Persian status, it aims at evaluating the informants’ attitudes towards “Persian in danger”, “Persian as a language of science”, “Persian as a national identity symbol”, “Persian as a connection to Iran’s ancient history” and attitudes towards foreign languages (see Table 1 for more details).

Attitudes towards Persian’s corpus are assessed in regard to borrowing words and syntactic structures from foreign languages. Attitudes towards language in education planning are also assessed. Furthermore, the sum of the above-mentioned attitudes, which is called linguistic consciousness, has also been evaluated. Some other aspects of attitudes towards Persian, namely, suggestions for improving Persian, definition of Persian and Persian planning authorities are also evaluated. All the assessed linguistic attitude components are schematized in the following table (Table 1).

The questionnaires were distributed among 820 high school students, university students, university lecturers and Academy professors. The size of the sample population was determined as per a formula
Table 1. The assessed linguistic attitude components.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ATTITUDE COMPONENT</th>
<th>LINGUISTIC ATTITUDES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Awareness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corpus</td>
<td>Foreign Languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lexical Borrowing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>Planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Persian in Danger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Persian as the Language of Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Persian as a Symbol of Identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Persian as a Link to History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language in Education</td>
<td>Foreign Languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguistic Consciousness</td>
<td>Planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggestions for Improving Persian</td>
<td>Planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definition of Persian</td>
<td>Planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Planning Authorities</td>
<td>Planning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
developed by Krejcie and Morgan (Krejcie and Morgan 1970). Out of a total Iranian student population of 16,543,440, about 1,106,617 of them are in the third year of middle school, 128,405 of them being in Tehran (59,581 of them, boys and 68,824 of them, girls). Consulting Krejcie and Morgan’s table, we conclude that a study of Tehran’s middle school students would need a sample population of 384 people in order to limit the margin of error as much as possible. There are (at the time of doing the research) 175,965 university students in Tehran province (120,308 of whom are graduate students). So, for this population, too, a sample population of 384 is needed. The university teaching body in Tehran consists of 17,664 people (requiring a sample population of 376). From the Academy of Language — which has 300 professors and researchers, some of whom belonging to the teaching body as well2— a sample population of 60 was selected. Together, this leaves us with a sample population of 1,140. One thousand of the questionnaires were returned, 200 of which were illegible or incomplete. We were forced then to settle for a sample population of 820. The distribution of population in each group is shown in the following table (Table 2).

Table 2. The distribution of population in each target group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Group</th>
<th>Number of Population</th>
<th>Percentage of Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 High School Students</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>42.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 University Students</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>37.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 University Lecturers</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Persian Academy Members and Researchers</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sum</strong></td>
<td><strong>820</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. It is for this reason that we do not consider this group as separate from the former.
After collecting the questionnaires, the data were encoded and entered into the SPSS statistical software. The independent variables of this analysis were social identity and, accordingly, age. Special attention was given to these two variables, while others bearing only secondary importance. The data for age, education level, social class, and other independent variables were analyzed using intersecting or ANOVA tables. Other methods – such as $X^2$, Somer’s, Kramers, and Kendal – were used when comparing two aggregate data totals and their interdependence. In both intersecting and ANOVA tables, it was observed that the relatively high number of readings mandates that the level of significance be set very low (0.05 percent, to be exact). The ANOVA method was used when dealing with nominal variables, and the intersecting method when dealing with ordinal variables. The results are shown in the following table (Table 3).

**Conclusion**

1. What is/are the main component(s) of Tehrani Persian speakers' linguistic attitude?

According to the attitude assessing test described above, affection towards Persian status seems to be the main component of Tehrani Persian speakers’ linguistic attitude. Additionally, the following decreasing order of influence has been observed:

   - affection towards Persian corpus,
   - affection towards Persian as a language-in-education,
   - awareness of Persian corpus, behavior towards Persian planning,
   - awareness of Persian status,
   - awareness of Persian as a language-in-education.

2. What is/are the least important component(s) among the other components?

With a significant difference, attitude towards English is considered to be the least important component of Persian speakers’ linguistic attitude. To summarize, it should be noted that the most important component of linguistic attitudes of the studied groups in Tehran is the affection
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude Component</th>
<th>Total Attitude of the Four Groups</th>
<th>Total Positive Attitude towards Persian</th>
<th>Total Positive Attitude towards LP</th>
<th>β Coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Persian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>LP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>LC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awareness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpus</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0/303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>83.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0/065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language in Education</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0/051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Planning</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpus</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>0/361</td>
<td>0/059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td>0/114</td>
<td>0/54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language in Education</td>
<td>49.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0/068</td>
<td>0/062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Planning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpus Planning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0/017</td>
<td>0/196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status Planning</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>0/249</td>
<td>0/096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Planning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0/19</td>
<td>0/083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavior</td>
<td>Language Planning</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>0/334</td>
<td>0/187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High) Linguistic) Consciousness</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. The results.
towards Persian status. The least important component, on the other hand, is the attitude towards English.

3. Regarding the above mentioned attitude components, how could we schematize the dominant overt and covert language planning policies?

In the case of the third question of the study, it was revealed that covert and overt Persian language policies, though quite similar and even equal in nature, differ in some key aspects. Because such a difference between overt and covert policies could potentially lead to the failure of official language plannings, it is recommended that these differential points be taken into account and analyzed in detail, for this, in turn, would improve the overt language policies and, as a result, lead to the reinforcement of the status of Persian language. Following, the observed differential points of attitudinal components between members and researches of the Persian Academy and the other three groups (high school students, university students and university lecturers) representing lay people will be briefly presented, illustrating, therefore, the status of the overt versus covert Persian language policy and, as a consequence, paving the way for determining the dominance of one of these policies over the other.

The linguistic attitudes of the first three groups considered as the covert linguistic policy contrasts to the linguistic attitudes of the last group (i.e., Persian Academy members) considered the overt policy, differing in the following aspects:

- The attitude of the Academy members towards Persian language and Persian language planning is more positive than the other groups, benefiting, therefore, from a higher level of linguistic consciousness;
- The percentage of the affection towards Persian-in-danger and the inefficiency of Persian language is less positive in the attitudes of Academy members, although their affection towards the probability of Persian language shift being less positive as compared to the other groups; furthermore, they have a more positive attitude towards Persian as a language of science;
Table 4. Answer to the third question of the study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Linguistic Attitude Component</th>
<th>High School Students</th>
<th>University Students</th>
<th>University Lecturers</th>
<th>Members and Researchers of Persian Academy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Awareness of Past Planning Activities</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Awareness of Present Planning Activities</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>72.9</td>
<td>87.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Awareness of Necessity of Word Coinage</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>67.3</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>89.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Awareness of Persian Academy Word Coinages</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>68.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Affection towards Persian in Danger</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>57.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Affection towards Probability of Language Shift</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Affection towards Necessity of Persian Maintenance</td>
<td>81.5</td>
<td>94.8</td>
<td>92.6</td>
<td>97.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Hopefulness towards Persian Improvement</td>
<td>61.3</td>
<td>75.2</td>
<td>92.6</td>
<td>93.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Persian as a Link to Iran’s History</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>87.3</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>91.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Persian as a Cultural Heritage</td>
<td>82.5</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>96.4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Persian as a Language of Science</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>English as the Language of Science (in Iran)</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Positive Attitudes towards English</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>General Avoidance of Syntactic Borrowing</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>73.1</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>85.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>General avoidance of lexical borrowing</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Usefulness of Knowing Arabic in Persian Knowledge</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>61.4</td>
<td>81.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Necessity of Purifying Persian from Arabic</td>
<td>71.9</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Affection towards Past Language Planning Activities</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Affection towards Present Language Planning Activities</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>50.4</td>
<td>61.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Old Versions of Persian</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>59.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Persian as a Symbol of Identity</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td>79.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>General Avoidance of Excessive Borrowing</td>
<td>69.1</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>86.4</td>
<td>93.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The Academy members have a higher anti-western attitude as compared to the other groups;
- The Academy members have a lower anti-Arabic attitude as contrast to the other groups;
- The Academy members, as compared to the other three groups, have a higher tendency towards the past language planning activities and think positive of these activities;

- The Academy members have a more level of awareness of present Persian planning activities and are more adjustable to them;

- The Academy members are more aware of Persian Academy word coinage activities and insist more on the necessity of Persian word coinage. They also feel more pressure and need for coining words for scientific concepts;

- The Academy members have a considerably higher tendency towards the use of old versions of Persian (Old Persian, Middle Persian and Pahlavi);

- Persian is considered as the first and most important symbol of identity among all the four groups, with the Academy members attributing the highest symbolic functions (%79.5) to Persian, as compared to the other three groups and high school students the least symbolic functions (%17.8). Between them lie the university students and university lecturers scoring %49.8 and %60.2 percent respectively. The second immediate attribute functioning as the Persian speakers’ symbols of identity are variable as amongst the four groups, ranging from good behavioral characters and flag to religion and history. This is while all the four groups under study have in the same way attributed ‘history’ as the third component of the Persian speakers’ symbol of identity. The sum of the first three components of the speakers’ identity symbol is presented in the table below (Table 5).

- According to the variable “social identity”, the most significant difference is observed between the Academy members and researchers and the high school students.

The consistencies among the attitudes of the overt policy representatives and the covert policy representatives are observed in the following items: awareness of necessity of word coinage, general avoidance of
excessive borrowing. After that, the gap decreases in the following order: usefulness of Arabic, awareness of past Persian plannings, necessity of word coinage, attitude towards PA word coinages, general avoidance of syntactic borrowing, attitudes towards old versions of Persian, hopefulness towards Persian improvement, probability of Persian shift and etc. The discrepancies are usually between high school students and members and researchers of Persian Academy. However, in the case of affection towards present language planning activity, university students have the minimum positive attitude.

It is also observed, as according to the results, that the percentage of Persian speakers with positive affectional attitude towards Persian and its planning is more comparing to the ones with positive awareness attitude. Among the affectional components of attitude, the most percentage is seen for positive affectional attitude towards status and language in education. Totally, only 17.8 % of the informants are considered to have high language consciousness and 32.4 % of them had positive attitude towards Persian. It was also seen that the increase of awareness and affection leads to the increase of readiness for acting towards language.

### Table 5. The first three components of the speakers’ symbols of identity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbols of Identity</th>
<th>High School Students</th>
<th>University Students</th>
<th>University Lecturers</th>
<th>Members and Researchers of Persian Academy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Symbolic Function</td>
<td>Persian (%17.8)</td>
<td>Persian (%49.8)</td>
<td>Persian (%60.2)</td>
<td>Persian (%79.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Symbolic Function</td>
<td>Good Behavioral Characters</td>
<td>Flag</td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Symbolic Function</td>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>Culture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6. Suggestions for Improving Persian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Samples of the Most Important Suggestions for Improving Persian</th>
<th>High School Students</th>
<th>University Students</th>
<th>University Lecturers</th>
<th>Members and Researchers of Persian Academy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Propagation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Word coinage</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Purification of Persian from Arabic and English</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Improvement of Persian Teaching</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Stopping Formal Word Coinage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Research</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Improvement of the Persian Academy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is shown in the table below (Table 6), the improvement of Persian through ‘propagation’ has been determined as the most important factor among the four groups. The results of the study also revealed that %18.2 of the high school students chose the purification of Persian from Arabic and English, %23 of the university lecturers opted for the improvement of the Persian Academy, and % 23 of the members and researchers of the Persian academy considered doing researches on the Persian language as the ways to improve Persian. At the same time, the majority of university students proposed word coinage activities as the most important solution for the improvement of Persian.
Therefore, it is shown that, with an increase in age and education, more holistic attitudes towards language will be formed. For example, university lecturers are benefiting from more holistic attitudes towards language than university students and the latter group, in turn, shows a higher level of holistic attitude towards language as compared to high school students. The university lecturers have indirectly called for the existence of a formal institution for language planning activities. This suggestion is considered as a supportive point for the Academy and needs to be taken into consideration with thorough scientific policy-making. The proposal of the Academy regarding the need for the accomplishment of scientific researches on Persian, on the other hand, illustrates the lack of fundamental researches as the theoretical foundations for the administrative activities of the Persian Academy.

Moreover, it seems, as according to the following table (Table 7), that Persian benefits from a high level of status in the Persian speakers’ point of view and as regarding the acceptance of different roles in the society, although the high percentage of the results representing the formal role for Persian is illustrative of the common belief in the multilingualism phenomenon in Iran. There is, of course, a difference between the attitudes of the high school students on the one hand, and the other three groups on the other hand towards Persian; i.e., the degree of formality of Persian in the attitudes of the former group is lower as compared to the latter group.

A possible justification of this observation could be that high school students have not yet accepted any formal roles through the socialization process in the society. Furthermore, the great majority of the students have been resident in Tehran and have grown up in a monolingual situation, being, therefore, unable to distinguish between the general and specific roles of Persian use; this is where a majority of other three groups have come from other provinces of Iran, speaking, more or less, dialects and languages different from Persian.

In respect of the positive attitudes towards different authorities for Persian Language Planning, on the other hand, is has been revealed that
Table 7. Definition of Persian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definition Components</th>
<th>High School Students</th>
<th>University Students</th>
<th>University Lecturers</th>
<th>Members and Researchers of Persian Academy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persian is the language of radio and television.</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian is the language of classrooms.</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian is the language of governmental officials.</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>55.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian is the language of myself.</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian includes all the above propositions.</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian includes none of the above propositions</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the ‘elites’ group has the lowest degree of the agreement (%26.4) as regarding the acceptance of the authoritative role in Persian planning, followed by ‘Every Iranian’ or ‘people’ (%30 approximately) and the ‘academicians’ (%40). ‘Translators and writers’ attained the highest level of agreement among the four groups of ‘elites, people, academicians, and translators and writers’. A possible explanation for this fact could be that they (translators and writers) have to deal with Persian language
Table 8. Positive attitudes towards different authorities for Persian Language Planning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LP Authorities</th>
<th>Elites</th>
<th>Academicians' Word Coinage</th>
<th>Radio and TV</th>
<th>Translators and Writers</th>
<th>Every Iranian</th>
<th>People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>85.5</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LP Authorities</th>
<th>High School Students’ Word Coinage</th>
<th>University students’ Word Coinage</th>
<th>Good Persian Users</th>
<th>LP Institutions</th>
<th>Readiness for Cooperation with this Institution</th>
<th>Positive Attitude towards the Establishment of this Institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>87.2</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td>81.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

problems more than any other group. The effect of ‘the media’ (the Radio and TV) is more intense as compared to the ‘translators and writers’, and more still is the effect of the good Persian users (Table 8).

The relatively high percentage of the high school students’ ability for word coinage (%53.3) is a sign of their dynamism in the field of language planning. This is true of university students too (%61.1) and as for this, is will be of use to incorporate the high school and university students in Persian word coinage activities.
Furthermore, mention should be made of the fact that, the awareness of only 28.6% of people of the existence of the Persian Academy is suggestive of the lack of attempt to establish the Academy’s language planning activities in the society.

As a conclusion, it seems that Persian language planners could concentrate on the improvement of affective component of Persian speakers’ attitude. However, it is clear that affective attitudes gain their stability from awareness; i.e., awareness could build stable and consistent affections. Attempts to minimize the gaps between social groups are also recommended according to this research. Furthermore, mention should be made of the fact that the existence of long-time differences between overt and covert Persian language policies could possibly lead to some undesirable causes, causes which will gradually affect the status of Persian language and make it wear down. Persian language planners, therefore, are highly recommended to take into account such matters as the affective attitude of Persian speakers – especially the affectional attitude towards status and language in education – and help it positively progress, improving in this way the amount of language consciousness as well as increasing the readiness for acting towards language.

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Manichaean Remarks in ʿAwfī’s Jawāmeʿ al-ḥekāyāt wa lawāmeʿ al-rewāyāt

Abolghasem Esmailpour Motlagh*

Abstract

Jawāmeʿ al-ḥekāyāt wa lawāmeʿ al-rewāyāt (Comprehensive Anecdotes and Luminous Narratives) was written in the first decades of the 13th century AD (c. 1247-1252) by Sadīd b. Moḥammad ʿAwfī, and contains interesting information on Manichaean themes that shall be examined in this paper. The book, for instance, introduces Mānī the inventor of the Zandīqs as the last prophet. His religion had still followers among Iranians at the time of the composition of the book (13th century AD). A new point in ʿAwfī’s narrative is that he called Manichaeans as Bāṭenī (Esoterics) that shows a kind of assimilation of the Manichaeans with the sect of Bāṭenīya or Ismaʿīlis. According to ʿAwfī, Mānī had traveled to India, Keshmir and Tibet, and that the people of Turkistan followed him. Mānī’s journey to the western borders of India (although not to Kashmir and Tibet) and the influence of Mānīchaeism in Xin Jiang of China have been confirmed through the original Manichaean texts. Mānī told his followers that he’ll go up to heaven. So, he hid himself in a cave and painted a paper scroll called Arṯang (Ardahang) as a sacred book from the Lord. According to ʿAwfī, secret life was a tradition established by Mānī, and the Manichaeans rejected the strangers, a habit inherited in China through Manichaeans.

Keywords: Mānī, Mānīchaeism, the Zandīqs, Bāṭenīya, Aržang

Introduction

Jawāmeʿ al-ḥekāyāt wa lawāmeʿ al-rewāyāt, (Comprehensive Anecdotes and Luminous Narratives) was written by Sadīd-al-dīn

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Moḥammad b. Moḥammad ʿAwfī Boḵārī Hanafī (d. after 630/1252), in the beginning of the 13th century AD, between 625/1247 and 630/1252. The book consists of 2113 anecdotes and narratives arranged in four chapters (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 505).

While the author has provided noticeable information through the narratives and reports related to Mānī and Manichaeanism based on classical Persian and Arabic sources, his exact birth date is not known, leaving us with an assumption that he was living in the latter half of the 12th to the middle of the 13th century AD. He has commented on some of the narratives in his own specific way. There are two manuscripts of the book in Nationale Biblioteque in Paris: manuscript A has been signed as the number of 2043 while manuscript B shows 2044. The first manuscript has been written in 717/1339 and the latter doesn’t bear any date. This paper shall examine the sections related to Mānī and Manichaeanism based on these two manuscripts with respect to new Manichaean studies.

**Analysis of the Texts**

1.” Maqdesī writes in his *History* that Mānī was the founder of the Zandīqs and the people were fascinated by him. He invited the people to heresy and today that false claim (or religion) has survived among the people. And each impious one who touched it has called him a name; both the ignorant and the wise ones who were interested in it in different ways took hold to it and now that community who believes in that false religion is called the Bāṭenīs.” (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 505-506)

1. The writer means *Creation and History*, Arabic version compiled by Abū ʿAbdollāh Moḥammad b. Aḥmad al- Maqdesī in 10th century AD.

2. The emphasis on the phrases is by the writer of paper.

According to ‘Awfī’s claim, Mānī was the founder of the Zandīq sect and he was the leader of the Zandīqs. Although there is doubt that all the Zandīqs were Manichaeans it seems that at least up to the beginning of the 13th century AD, Mānī was regarded as the head of the Zandīqs by medieval Iranian and Arab writers. Regardless, the noticeable fact in this narrative is that “today that false claim (or religion) has survived among the people” (Ibid. 506). It means that Manichaeism had still followers in the 13th century in Iran. They were hidden under the sectarian umbrella term of Bāṭenīya. Since the 8th century AD, the Bāṭenīs became active as a mixed community consisting of some Gnostic, exaggerative and extremist sects that mainly originated from the Shi’ite part and some had also pre-Islamic Iranian or Syrian Gnostic roots (Levis 1984, 1).

‘This work shows that Manichaeans in Iran and Syria continued their religious and ideological life under the umbrella term of Bāṭenīya that is one of the more general names of the Ismaʿīlites such as Ahl-e Bāṭen, Ahl-e Taʾwil, Ahl-e Taʿīd etc (Frye 1985, 448). The treatise known as ‘Ummʾl-Ketāb belong to Ǧolāt of Kūfī at the end of 8th century AD explains an apocalypse with Gnostic motifs. (Petro Culianu 1987, 575) Abuʾl-Ḵaṭṭāb is the first one who thought about the Bāṭenī’s movement and organized it. His followers are considered as the Shiʿite Gnostics. The mentioned ‘Ummʾl-Ketāb which reflexes Abuʾl-Ḵaṭṭāb’s doctrine and his followers’ notions, should be regarded as a “reminder of the books of Edris (Ḵenoḵ or Enoch) and Valentinian gnosis”. (Frye 1985, 575) Moreover, “the first Ḵaṭṭābīya (followers of Abuʾl-Ḵaṭṭāb) claimed of the divinity of the Imams and thought that it is based on the Divine Light that each Imam inherited it naturally. Also the credit of the emphasis on the Bāṭenī hermeneutics or the symbolic and allegorical exegesis of Qurʾān and the Holy Books goes back to them. The Ismaʿīlites took this kind of hermeneutics. They expanded and completed it” (Daftary 1998, 107).

‘Awfī’s word of Bāṭenīya, however, can be seen as a remark to Nezāriān (the sect of Nezārīya) of 12th century AD who had esoteric comments on all the juridical principles, laws and traditions. (Ibid. 444) So, ‘Awfī and other historians and narrators from 9th to 13th century AD attributed
the Bāṭenī beliefs to Manichaeism and knew Mānī as the founder of Zandaqe and Bāṭenīya. The Ġolāt, a sect among Mawālī who established the main body of the extremist Shi’ites, were impressive. Non-Arab Mavālī, especially Iranian Mavālī who became Moslem purposefully, brought many old ideas – including Manichean beliefs to Shi’ite Islam. They probably took the ideas related to the fate of soul after death and the quality of “pādāš and pādefrāh” (compensation and punishment) from Manichaeism. (Ibid. 71, 82)

2. “In the book called Aḡrāż al-sīyāsa it is studied that Mānī appeared at the time of Bahrām Hormoz; and he was a perfect painter and a wise geometician; and he deceived the people and founded a false religion among the peoples; and the outline of his word was that he said that the soul which is bridged in human body is from that world and here is imprisoned and defeated in body, such as a bird in a cage and it always hits itself on the cage in order to be released; it also is ready and waiting for opening of the (shutters) of the cage so that it goes to its flight and destination; and now man should try to make his pure spirit free from the agony of the oppressor Self; and he (Mānī) deceived people through this deceit and trickery and said (that) dying is better than living and temporary life has not origin.” (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 507)

In this paragraph, ‘Awfī cites the outline of Mānī’s doctrine in the way

4. In the manuscript B, we read “A`rāż al-Rīyāsa fī A`rāż al-Sīyāsa.”

5. In the manuscript B, we read: “and always it hits on the shutters of the cage.”

6. Dar ketābī ke ān rā Aḡrāż al-sīyāsa kānand ʿonīn moṭāle`e oftāde ast ke Mānī dar ‘ahd-e Bahrām Hormoz dar ānad va naqqāšī kāmel va mohandesī dānā būd va be tazvīr kHzāl qār befarīft va kHzī bad dar miyān-e kHzālayeq padīd āvard va kološeye soḵān-e ʿū ān būd ke goftī ke rūḥ ke dar badan-e ādamīzād majsūr ast vey az ān ʿalām ast va ʾinjā dar badan mahbūs ast va maḡhur ʿonān-ke morg dar qafas oftād va peyvaste qod rā har qafas mīzandād tā ke kHzāl yābad ʿū nīz peyvaste moteraṣṣed va montazer ast tā ke bāsād ke ān qafas bogāšayad tā be maṭār va maqṣad-e qod ravad va aknūn jahd dar ān bāyād kard tā ādamī qod rā ʿonānāzād ke har čand zūdta rūḥ-e ṣāfī-e ʿū az kodūrat-e nafs-e jāfī kHzāl yābad va bedīn tamvīh va tazvīr kHzāl ra befarīft va goftī mordan beh az zīstan va ḥayāt-e ʿāriyāti ašlı nadārad. (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 507)
that the bird of Soul is imprisoned in the cage of body and the material life is not original. The motif of the most Manichaean Parthian hymn-cycles is also the salvation and deliverance of the imprisoned Light or Soul that is exactly in line with ʿAwfī’s narrative. In Manichaean hymns we see that the Soul is always seeking redemption. The Soul is disappointed and cries “who will save me?” a lonely, frightened and crying Soul who is seeking the Light and freedom. Then the Saviour comes forth and says a kind and lovely word. The devils flee and good news of salvation is given to the Soul. The Soul puts on the cloth of Light and becomes free from the dark prison of body and flies to heaven as a released bird. (Esmailpour Motlagh, 2007: 192)

This Gnostic-Manichaean motif is also explained in the mystic poems of Ḥāfeẓ, the great Iranian poet:

Such a cage is not worthy of me as bearing sweet tones,
I shall go to the Garden of Paradise, that I am a bird of that green yard.\(^7\)
(Ḥāfeẓ 2000, 333)
Or:

I am a bird of the sacred Garden, how I express the sense of departure
That how I fell at this trap of adventure.\(^8\) (Ibid. 308)

It is obvious that this Gnostic theme originates in Manichaean gnosis, as we see the agony of the soul in one of Manichaean hymn:

Who will take me up to that happy realm?
So that joy shall be mine in union with all (its) in habitations?
(Boyce 1954, 93)
Or:

I am mixed with (this material word) and agonized
Take me out from the bosom of Death
(Boyce 1975, 102)

\(^7\) چنین قفس نه سزای چو من خوش الحانی است / روم به گلشن رضوان که مرغ آن چشم.

\(^8\) طایر قدسم چه دهم شرح فراق / که در این دامگه حاده چون افتادم.
3. “And one of the other false men who claimed prophecy was Mānī of China; and he had many followers, and his birth-place was Babylon, and his claim was mostly in the science of painting; and one of his perfect deeds of his science was that he painted on a warp of silk of which length was twenty *gaz* (meters); then, he took a pen and drew a circle and put a compasses on it and examined it, there was not any difference” (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 509).

In the coming pages, we shall discuss Mānī’s claim of prophecy. However, the other points of this text are Mānī’s birth-place and his perfect skill in the art of painting that tallies with the Manichaean authentic sources. In manuscript B of *Jawāmeʿ al-ḥekāyāt* we see that Mānī’s birth-place is Babylon and “from a village called Mardīnū from the city of Lūyā.” (Ibid.). According to Bīrūnī’s writing in *Chronology*, directly cited from Mānī’s writings, “Mānī was born in a village called Mardīnū; this village is located near the river Kūṭā Aʿlā” (Bīrūnī 1985: 309). So, ʿAwfī mentioning of the village of Mardīnū means Mardīnū, and Lūgā is an orthographical mistake of Kūṭā as W.B. Henning also confirmed this point (Henning 1977, 87-88).

As mentioned earlier, ʿAwfī’s narrative on Mānī’s claim of skill in the art of painting resonates with Abū’l-Maʿālī’s narrative in *Bayān al-adyān*: “and this man was master in the art of painting; and he appeared at the time of Šāpūr b. Ardašīr. He claimed among the magi and his claim was the art of pen and painting. It is said (that) he drew a line on a piece of white silk; when they took out that warp of the silk, that line disappeared. And he made (created) a book painted with kinds

9. Manuscript B: “from a village that is called Mardīū (Mardīnū) from the city of Luyā.” (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 509).

10. Manuscript B: “and he had a perfect skill in that science.”

of pictures called Aržang (Ardahang) of Mānī; and it is (survived) at Ğaznein treasurers” (Abu’l-Maʿālī 1934, 17).

Ferdowsī, too, confirmed Mānī’s art of painting:
“There came an eloquent speaker from China
That the earth will not see a painter like him
(Ferdowsī 1968, Vol. 7, 250)

4. “And he (Mānī) was Qārūn the sage’s student who knew well the laws of Christians and the magi12; then he appeared at the time of Šāpūr Ardašīr and claimed prophecy and said: In any era, the creator of the great splendid world gave the expression of science, philosophy and prophecy to one of his angels13 and at the time of Goštāsp14, Zarathushtra was sent to the earth and in another era, Jesus was sent to the land of the Arabs; and at this time, I was sent to you as a messenger. And he (Mānī) said (that) Light and Darkness are primeval and killing the animals is unlawful15, and Dervīšī (poverty) is better than wealth16; and he also said that saving [things] is unlawful and one should not take food more than one day and take cloth more than a year and marriage more than once, and one must give one tenth of his properties to the poor and fast [during] one-seventh of his life and travel permanently for invitation [the people to the religion] not for business, and help the friends17; and he (Mānī) composed some books such as Jelīyya18 with Abjad letters19 and the book of Šābūrqān and Kanz al-akbār (=Kanz al-

12. Manuscript B: “the magi and the dualists.” (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 509)
13. Manuscript B: “the prophets” (Ibid.)
14. Manuscript B: “Goštāsp” (Ibid.)
15. Manuscript B: “and injuring the Dervishes and the animals is unlawful.” (Ibid. 510).
16. Manuscript B: “and killing the greed and lust and leaving the world and piety are also good.” (Ibid.).
17. Manuscript B: “and helping the friends and taking more friends.” (Ibid.)
18. Manuscript B: “Ḩile” (Ibid.).
19. Manuscript B: “put on twenty two letters.” (Ibid.).
Aḥyā’) and Sefr al-asrār; and he claimed that I am a person whom Jesus has promised: I am the last prophet and what Jesus said I am commentator of that” (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 509-510).

There are many points in this paragraph that are noticeable. First, Mānī was introduced as a student of Qārūn the sage. In the narratives of Masʿūdī’s Morūj al-ẓahab and Gardīzī’s Zayn al-ākḥār it is stated as “Qārdūn” (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 486), and also in Bīrūnī’s narrative in Chronology it is stated as “Fāderūn”, and finally “Qārdūn” in Ebn al-Balkī’s Fārs-nāma that is presumably one of Alḵasīh’s epithets, who was the leader of the sect of Moğtasele (Esmailpour Motlagh 2004, 123-124).

Mānī’s claim of prophecy is obvious. It was narrated in many of the sources. The unlawfulness of killing of the animals and other subjects related to the popular followers of Mānī (Niyōšāgān) correspond to Manichaeans Middle Persian and Parthian original texts. In a Middle Persian text, (text w) the prohibition of killing of animals and the injuries of meat-eating are openly described (Boyce 1975, 57-58). This text is apparently addressed to Manichaean class of Wīzīdagān (the Elects), for Niyōšāgān ordinary class of Manichaeans were allowed to


eat meat to some extent, as it is stated in fragment V (Ibid. 58; also see Bahar and Esmailpour Motlagh forthcoming, 267-270). ‘Awfī’s narrative, nevertheless, advocate the persecution of the animals as an unlawful act.

With respect to the obligation of ṣadaqa (almsgiving) for Manichaeans in the above mentioned text is the same “ruwānagān” which was specific for niyōšāgān. Three books of Jalia / Ḥila, Kanz al-aḵbār and Sefr al-asrār are the same Jebele, Kanz al-ahyāʾ (The Treasure of the Livings, and Rāzān. Jebele is the same Book of Kawān or Giants (Henning 1977, 115); Kanz al-ahyāʾ is the same Niyân ī Zindagān; and Sefr al-asrār is the same famous Middle persian Book of Rāzān (The Mystries). Important fragments of the Book of Giants have survived. Also some fragments of Kanz al-ahyāʾ were cited by Augustine and Bīrūnī; and the contents of chapters of the Book of Rāzān were mentioned by Ebn al-Nadīm and some fragments were translated by Bīrūnī. (Bahar and Esmailpour Motlagh, forthcoming, 32-33)

5. “When Šāpūr became aware of his situation, he dismissed him from his realm; and he went to the land of India, to Kashmir and Tibet and the people of Tibet and Turkestan accepted him and he made idols, and misled them with pictures and deceits; and he walked up the mountains there many times and did not stay in one place; and during this journey, when he arrived at the opening of a mountain that at the body of it, there was current water and a pleasant place; and [when he sees that] its entrance is narrow, then he chose the place and took his food there for a year so as no one became aware of him; so,

23. Manuscript B: “and he said [that] when you come forth to my country, I will kill you.” (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 511)
24. Manuscript B: “and in India.” (Ibid.).
25. Manuscript B: “and at the way of China and” (Ibid.).
26. Manuscript B: “and he showed” (Ibid.).
27. Manuscript B : “in ligh or tif” (Ibid.).
28. Manuscript B: “his food and clothes” (Ibid.).
one day he told his followers: I will go to the heaven and I will stay there. When a year passed you should gather at a day at the foot of a mount, and bring a horse so that I come forth and announce you. Then suddenly he came in to the cave and stayed there; and provided a great epistle in paper scroll form that was similar to an egg in tenderness and whiteness. Then he painted wonderful pictures on that epistle; and he worked on it during one year and at the time promised, he took the epistle in his hand and came out and said: I was at the service of God of the Heaven; I was ordered to conceal his laws and this is the Book of God. When the people saw it and all were disabled of its example, they believed and accepted it and called it the Artang of Mānī, and it is still survived among the treasures of the king of China, and when he finished his mission in those lands and got at his aim, the wish of his main land and the enthusiasm of home and place moved him to his home; he could reach [at Turkestan]; another place becomes so.”

29. Manuscript B: “and God the Great and splendid has called me forth.” (Ibid.).

30. Manuscript B: “at the gate of that cave” (Ibid.).

31. Manuscript B: “and the picture of any cruelty and punishment of that cruelty was painted.” (Afshar-Shirazi 1975, 510)

32. Manuscript B: “it is still survived among the treasures of the kings of China and the most Chinese and some of Indians accepted his religion.” (Ibid.).

33. čon Šāpūr az ḥāl-e ū āghā šod ū rā az mamlekat-e ū šomā be ḥāl-e āmān ḵāham raft va ahl-e ḵod be Kašmīr va Tabbat va Turkestan ū rā qabīl kardand va botān sākt va be taṣvīr va tazvīr īsān rā az rāh bord va dar kūh-hā-e ānjā besīyār begašt va be yek jāy qarār nemīgeref va dar ašnāye īn seyr vaqtī be šekāf-e kūhi resīd ke dar taneye ān kūh āb-hā-e rāvān va fażā-e faṣīh būd va madḵal-e ān tangnā‘ī darad, pas ān mowže’ rā eḵtīyār kard va yeḵ sāle ʿa ḵākhād rā be āmān-e ḵod dar ānjā bord čonān-ke ājez kas az ʿū ḵabar nabūd; pas yek rūz ašhāb-e ū ū goft man be āsemnā kāham raft va yeḵ sāl ānjā kāham būd; čon sar-e sāl šod be feleḵ bīyārīd ke šomā dar pāy-e feleḵ kūh jam’ šavīd va asbī bīyārīd tā man bīyāyam va az marāsem-e dīn va mahāsen-e šarī`at-e ū ʿa ḵalqā kāh bāyad, pas nāgāh bedān ʿa dar ū ṭamān dar moḡām sākt va darjī bozorg be šekl-e kāgāzī tūmārī moḥayyā karde būd ke dar tangī va šafā-e bayāz be pūst-e beyže-ye morḡ mānande būd; pas dar ān [darj] sūrath-e aṣḥāb-e ū ʿa naqṣ šod be dar moddat-e ū yek sāl šomā eḵtīyār kard va be hamān vaqt-e mi’ād ān darj-e moṣavvar dar dast gereft va borūn āmād va goft man be ū ḵedmat va dargāh-e ū ʿa ājez būdand, marā fardma ū ḵalqā-ē ū ʿa ū qāyem konam va ʿa in ketāb-e šodāyast; čon šomā ān rā be dīdand va hamegān az meṭl-e ān ū ḵalqā būdand, ū bāvar dāstān va taṣdīq kardand va ān
The exile of Mānī to Kašmir, Tibet and Turkestān by Šāpūr has been also reported by Mīrḵwānd (d. 1525 AD) in Rowżat al-ṣafā (Mīrḵwānd 1892, 223). Mānī’s journey to the north eastern part of Iran and to India is mentioned in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian texts to some extent. At the time of Mānī’s visit in India, some parts such as Tūrān, Makrān, Pardān, some regions of India and Kūšānšahr to Paškīpūr were parts of Erānšahr according to great inscription of Šāpūr (Lieu 1992, 71). During most Parthian dynasty, these regions belonged to Kūšānian kingdom which joined in Erānšahr during Ardašīr reign. This said, Mānī’s journey to China emerges as only a legend (Esmailpour Motlagh 2005, 31).

According to original Manichaean narratives, Mānī’s dismissal and exile is clouded with uncertainty as he was favored by Šāpūr, and thus the king let him propagandize his religion within and outwith the Sassanian empire. Mīrḵwānd’s report narrativizes the situation of the end part of Šāpūr’s reign and Hormoz’s period as a prince. According to a unique report of Ebn al-Balkī’s Fārs-nāma, “Hormoz killed the Zandīqs and Mānī’s followers” (Ebn al-Balkī 1921, 20). This is also confirmed by a newly discovered Uigur text reported by Professor Geng Shimin (Esmailpour Motlagh 2005, 124).

The legend of the cave and creation of Mānī’s Ardhahang tallies with Abū’l Maʿālī’s report in Bayān al-adyān (Abū’l Maʿālī 1934, 52).

Similar to this legend is also reported in Mīrḵwānd’s Rowżat al-ṣafā (Mīrḵwānd 1892, 223). ‘Awfī’s report according to manuscript B shows that Mānī’s Ardhahang “survived up to that time (13th century AD) among the treasures of Chinese emperors” (‘Awfī 1985, 245; Esmailpour Motlagh 2005, 86-87).

6. And one of Chinese people’s customs is that they do not let the strangers to come to their cities; and if a stranger goes there for an important mission or for business or for embassy, when he succeeds,

rā Arthang-e Mānī kāndand va ān dar miyān-e ḵazāyen-e pādešāh-e Čīn hanūz bāqī ast va čon dar ān belād kār-e ū [sāḵte šod] va maqsūd-e ū be ḥoṣūl peywast, ārezūye vatan-e āsli va estiṣaqq-e kāne [va jāygān] ū rā dar ḡarkat āvard; rūy be velāyat-e ḵod āvard [tā rūy be Torkestān] moyassar šod jāye dīgar hamān bešavād. (Ibid.)
they excuse him to leave there and this is a tradition founded by Mānī; for he made them (Manichaeans) believe in the religion of Mystery (Dualism) that not a wise man arrives there and tell the corruption and falsehood of that religion; he founded that tradition so that no stranger should come to their province.  

A new bulk of research shows that Manichaeism in Turfan and Kansu is going to be declined as a result of Moslem’s attack during ʿAwfī’s time (13th century AD) and even a century before him at the time of Ebn al-Balḵī’s (12th century AD). At this time, the region of Tai became the center of Manichaeism. Manichaeans in the north part of China began their underground activities, and little by little moved to the south east parts of the land and stayed there up to 11th/17th century (Lieu 1992, 271-274).

Therefore, rejection of the strangers that was regarded one of “Chinese traditions” (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 514), is a sign of Manichaeans’ survival in Chinese Turkestan or the Province of Xing Jiang, namely, people who had not any confidence in strangers to conserve their minority; thus, they did not let them join their secret meetings.

7. And all of Chinese men are followers of Mānī’s religion, but the people of Qatāi (Ḵatāi) and Yighur (Uigur) are some sun-worshippers and the others are Christians. (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 515)

This part of ‘Awfī’s report shows that Manichaeans were living in China at his time (13th century AD) and the people of Ḵatāi and Uighur were part sun-worshippers (Zoroastrians), and part Christians. This

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34. Va yekī az ʿādāt-e ahl-e Čīn ān ast ke īšān ġarībān rā dar šahr-e ḵod nagḏārand va agar be moḥemmē ġarībī ānjā ravad yā be tejārat yā be sefārat, čon ġaraz-e ‘ū be ṣožīl bepeyvandad, ‘ū rā ʿoḏr ḵāhand tā beravad; va īn sonnatīst ke Mānī nehāde ast. če čonān dar del-hāye īšān eʿteqād-e maḏḥab-e serrīyye (thanaṿīyye) rā rāseḵ gardānd ke nābāyad ke ʿālemī ānjā rasad va fašād va boṭlān-e ān maḏḥab bā īšān taqīr konad; ān sonnat benhād ke hīč bigāne rā bāyad ke dar velāyat-e ḵod rāḥ nadahīd. (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 514)


36. Va jomlegī-e ahl-e Čīn bar kīš-e Mānī-and be ḵelāf-e fanā (Ḵatāi) va Yaʾrūk (Yīghūr).
point seems partially to be correct, for at that time there were still many Manichaean, Zoroastrian and Christian businessmen in central Asia and western regions of China doing business (Lieu 1992, 272). This Chinese habit in which [the people] had not any confidence in strangers goes back to Manichaean behavior.

**Conclusion**

Surveying seven fragments of ‘Awfī’s *Jawāmeʿ al-ḥekāyāt* we can conclude that Manichaeans continued their religious life in Iran as sects such as Zandaqe, especially Bāṭenīya until the 13th century AD. According to this report, it was revealed that Manichaeans were living in China contemporaneously with the writer. Mānī’s birth place and his claim of prophecy mentioned in the text correspond to Manichaean original texts. According to ‘Awfī, Mānī was a disciple of Qārdūn/Fāderūn who was presumably one of al-Ḵasīh’s epithets, the first morshed (leader) of the sect of Moḡtasele. The narration of Mānī’s banishment and dismissal to the eastern part [of Iran] and India by Šāpūr, is probably a sign of the restrictions against Mānī at the end period of Šāpūr and during Hormoz’s reign, which historically tallies with Ebn al-Balkī in *Fārs-nāma* and with a new discovered Uighur text.

**Bibliography**


Field Report on the 2015 Current Archaeological Works of the Joint Iran-French Project on Pasargadae and its Territory

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Abstract

The Iranian-French project resumed its archaeological work on the site of Pasargadae in the latter half of 2015, the capital founded by Cyrus the Great in the center of the ancient province of Persia. It is the first step of a program that will span over several years and during which we will gradually enrich the Pasargadae archaeological map on a large scale. In the continuity of the previous 1999-2009 programs, we tried to have a better understanding of the layout of the Achaemenid city that was developed following a new pattern where the garden, the park, plays a prominent role. We also would like to further study the territorial changes just before the Achaemenid Empire as well as after its fall until the Islamic period. To approach these topics we gather a pluridisciplinary team that carried out complementary survey works (geophysics, topography, fieldwalking, surface ceramic collection, geoarchaeology) to build a comprehensive reconstruction of the Pasargadae cityscape from the early Achaemenid to Islamic periods. The works were performed inside the protected area of the site as well as in its nearby surroundings. This article presents our methodology as well as our preliminary results. The important 2015 achievements were to demonstrate that the south Tol-e Taḵt hillslope is built, to firmly show

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that the Achaemenid/post-Achaemenid occupation extended southeast of the Royal Garden and to shed light on the ancient settlement system some kilometers north of the city core part. In the same time an important topography work has been started to accurately document the whole visible archaeological features over the site. The main fallout of these surveys is to bring to light parts of the Cyrus project for Pasargadae as well as the complex and evolving landscape of the site and its territory before and after the Achaemenid period.

**Keywords:** Fars, Pasargadae, archaeology, survey, mapping, geophysics, topography, fieldwalking, Achaemenid, post-Achaemenid, Islamic, cityscape, territorial management.

**Introduction**

The Iranian-French project “Shiraz” resumed fieldwork in the latter half of 2015 on the World Heritage Site of Pasargadae, the Achaemenid city founded by Cyrus the Great around 550 BCE. Our 2015 campaign continued and expanded upon an earlier archaeological fieldwork, which was begun in 1999 by Rémy Boucharlat in collaboration with the Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research (ICAR) and the Parsa-Pasargadae Research Foundation (PPRF) headed at that time by Dr. Mohammad Hassan Talebian. Considering the promising results obtained between 1999 and 2008, we decided to restart archaeological fieldwork with the goal to reconstruct the contents and boundaries of the Achaemenid landscape of Pasargadae and its nearby territory by means of complementary survey methods. Past work on the site has served to define new research topics and areas to explore the core, the buffer and the environment of the protected site. It led us to widen our approach with methods and new multidisciplinary approaches previously unexplored in research at Pasargadae.

The renewed five-year Iranian-French project is managed by Dr. Kourosh Mohammadkhani (Shahid Beheshti University) and Dr. Sébastien Gondet (UMR 5133 Archéorient – Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée, CNRS/Lyon 2 University). It is implemented under
the agreement of the Iranian Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts & Tourism Organization (ICHTO) and in collaboration with the Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research (ICAR), headed by Dr. Hamideh Choubak, branch of the Research Institute for Cultural Heritage and Tourism (RICHT). The field research program has been built with the Parsa-Pasargadae Research Foundation (PPRF) and Hamid Fadaei, head of the Pasargadae office. The Pasargadae office also gives critical support to the work by providing access to infrastructure and by the active involvement of two additional archaeologists on the team. The project takes place within the framework of a Memorandum of Understanding for academic and research collaborations signed by the RICHT and the University Lyon 2 in 2015. Funding is provided by the French Foreign Ministry office for international archaeological collaborations. The project is supported by the French Research Institute in Iran (IFRI) and by the Lyon 2 University/National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) Archéorient team, a lab part of the Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée Research Centre. The 2015 archaeological work of the Iranian-French mission to Pasargadae\(^1\) and its environment was conducted between the 12\(^{th}\) of November and the 6\(^{th}\) of December.\(^2\)

### Revealing Pasargadae and its Territory: Recent Contributions (1999-2009)

Past archaeological fieldwork at Pasargadae led by Ernst Herzfeld (Herzfeld 1929-30), Ali Sami (Sami 1956) and David Stronach (Stronach 1978) provided accurate mapping and reconstruction.

1. Our team consisted of 13 members. Aside from the authors of the present article, the team included 2 geophysicists and 4 undergraduate and graduate students in archaeology: Eng. Colas Finck (Pierre and Marie Curie University, Paris), Ebrahim Roustaei Farsi (Azad University, Tehran), Eng. Sare Ebrahimi Nia (Azad University of Abhar); Maryam Hoseini (Shiraz University); Fahimeh Shahvand (Isfahan University of Art); Tayebeh Rahimi (Tehran University).

2. We would like to thank warmly Rémy Boucharlat for his relevant scientific remarks and generally speaking for his support to the project. This restarting program has been built together with him in the continuation of the mission he has established in the early 1990s. Many thanks also to Alexander Nagel and Alfred Booth for having kindly corrected the English text of this article.
of a number of monuments on the plain, of the layout of the Royal Garden encompassing several of these buildings, and of the citadel built on the Tol-e Taḵt. Taking into account only the maps published by Stronach, Pasargadae appeared as a rather empty city where monumental buildings were loosely distributed over a large area. It became evident that these constructions must be considered today the only visible parts remaining from Cyrus’ project at Pasargadae as a capital for ruling the province of Persia as well as his residence and final resting place. After his reign, his successors continued to develop the site that probably remained a local administrative unit and where regular celebrations were performed (Henkelmann 2008, 433-441). That is to say that the site certainly sheltered a permanent population during the Achaemenid period and long after, as has been revealed by the excavation of Stronach. At the same time, however, it became evident that Pasargadae served as a central place for the surrounding Dasht-e Morghab plain. Its environment must have been managed to supply Pasargadae with various farming products, raw materials and water. An absence of sufficient data on these aspects prevented us from drawing more conclusions about the past. Thus, the image of an empty site placed in an empty region resembling the idea of a nomad camp (Herzfeld 1935, 28) has been transmitted for a while.

Until recently, archaeological fieldwork at Pasargadae and its territory has shown an important breakdown in the research strategies. The most recent contributions from Iranian teams as well as international research collaborations were firmly oriented towards a better understanding of the archaeological landscape of the city and its hinterland. Between 1999 and 2009, an Iranian-French project began mapping the site by means of innovative methodological approaches: geophysical surveys complemented by archaeological, topographical and aerial kite photography surveys.

The comprehensive study of the site enabled researchers to reveal parts of the city’s layout (Boucharlat and Benech 2002, Mohammadkhani 2006, Boucharlat, Benech and Gondet 2012). The surveys have firmly demonstrated that Pasargadae extended far beyond the central Royal
Garden, the Tol-e Taḵt and the Cyrus tomb (Fig. 1). Based on the results of geophysical inspection, researchers were able to document other previously unknown built areas on the site. Within the polygonal wall to the north of the Tol-e Taḵt, a complex of buildings was partly mapped...
within the fortified area. It has been demonstrated that the southeastern limit of the Royal Garden corresponds to a large elongated trapezoidal basin crossed by the bridge next to the Palace S. Also along the southeastern limits of this basin, some features indicate parts of a larger settled area extending further east on the plain. A series of ditches and/or a canal system was identified encompassing the so-called Zendan-i Soleiman tower and a related monumental building nearby (Boucharlat 2003, Benech, Boucharlat and Gondet 2012, 20-23). These ditches followed the same orientation as the stone canal networks known further south. This evidence draws a common layout encompassing all monuments and built sectors on the plain and brings to light the existence of a large park, i.e. the “paradise” of Pasargadae, extending beyond the Royal Garden (Boucharlat 2009, Boucharlat 2011). Taken together, these interrelated buildings and sectors, distributed over at least 300 ha, reveal the original settlement pattern, considered by Cyrus, as an open and diffuse cityscape without a densely built core defining the center of the city.

However, questions remained regarding the chronology of the built environment and the development which could have been different for each of the separate sectors documented. Generally speaking, the chronology of the sectors remains a subject of debate, since the publication of the excavations on the Tol-e Taḵt by Stronach. Then in 2006 and 2007, an Iranian-Italian team implemented several soundings in the west part of the Tol-e Taḵt. This work allowed them to better define the chronology of the Achaemenid/post-Achaemenid phases thanks to new radiocarbon dating (Askari Chaverdi and Callieri 2010) and to suggest, for example, that the Citadel might have seen changes at the end of the 5th century (Callieri and Askari Chaverdi 2013, 705-706).

During the 2000’s, the hinterland of Pasargadae was also the object of important archaeological fieldwork. Data were retrieved from an international rescue archaeological excavation program carried in the Tang-e Bulaghi valley during the years 2005-2007 during the building of a recent dam across the Sivand River further to the south. These rescue excavations brought to light a vivid picture of what could be the settlement system
during the Achaemenid period in an area located next to Pasargadae and most probably placed under its administrative scope: several small rural settlements were excavated, including farmsteads (Askari Chaverdi and Callieri 2009), stock houses (Asadi and Kaim 2009, Helwing and Seyyedin 2009) and a pavilion (Atai and Boucharlat 2009, Boucharlat 2014a). It appears that long canals running along both sides of the valley supplied these structures with water (Atai and Boucharlat 2009: 23-32).

Achaemenid territorial development and expansion were based on water control and a network of interrelated small farming settlements. This pattern seems to have been established further on the Dasht-e Morghab plain, at least north of Pasargadae, as has been tentatively shown through the results of the large scale surveys from an Iranian-Japanese project (Yamauchi and Nishiyama 2008). The Iranian-Japanese team pointed out several new Achaemenid settlements associated with remains of ancient canals. At the same time, results from the Iranian-French comprehensive studies on the remains of dams and canals on two connected dams, located near the Shahidabad village thirty kilometers north of Pasargadae, provided evidence that the water was regionally controlled by the Achaemenids (Asadi et al. 2010, De Schacht et al. 2012). This water control was conceived at the scale of the Sivand upper catchment basin to supply Pasargadae and its territory with water and to protect it from floods. Geomorphological studies allowed us to assess the past variations of the Sivand River flow (Rigot 2010). Taken together, the hydraulic remains are proof that the foundation of Pasargadae required a monumental and complex reshaping of its nearby territory, which had probably been deserted before the Achaemenid period.

**Aims and Methods of the Current Iranian-French Project**

During these recent fieldwork projects, new questions concerning the study of the Pasargadae city and its territory were developed as most of the issues raised above needed further investigations (Boucharlat, Benech and Gondet 2012, 28-35, Boucharlat 2014b). These new
questions formed the basis of our new research project which has now been calibrated by considering the necessity of the conservation of the site and the preservation of the heritage in its surrounding protection area (Talebian 2014, Nagel 2016). Our program can be divided into the six main following topics:

1- *Defining the urbanization processes and the town-planning layout*: after several years of geophysical surveys on Pasargadae, several blank areas still remain. They have to be filled in order to have a more comprehensive reconstruction of the Pasargadae cityscape. We need to complete the map of the city southwest towards the tomb of Cyrus in order to assess if it was placed within the “paradise” as asserted by the Greek authors. We also wish to extend the survey from the Royal Garden area towards the eastern slope of the Tol-e Taḵt and further beyond towards the fortified area that we intend to cover entirely. Finally, the presence of a built area east of the large trapezoidal basin needs to be better characterized. The geophysical surveys, using the routine magnetic method as well as innovative electromagnetic ones, will be carried out at the same time for more accurate topographic works. We intend to work on the base map of the site recently made by the Pasargadae office by surveying and drawing the entire remains visible on the surface.

2- *Limits of the Pasargadae urban area and settlement pattern of its nearby territory*: the cityscape of Pasargadae was very open, including parks, gardens, fields and/or orchards as well as built sectors within the same layout. This pattern questions our ability to delineate the city of Pasargadae. It is highly possible that the urban and rural spheres were fully integrated within a same, shared landscape. We should be able to reveal the extent of the urbanized area only by systematic archaeological surveys in the Pasargadae buffer zone and by accurately defining the dating, the plan and the function of all the settled places identified so far. At the same time, we will compare the farming management near Pasargadae with information revealed from the preventive excavations in the Tang-e Bulaghi. Finally, our other objective is to tackle the still enigmatic question of the burial customs during the occupation
phases of PasargadAEA by visiting and recording all the funerary remains. Completing such an archaeological map is also closely linked to the objectives of the PasargadAEA office in charge of the long term preservation of the heritage around the site.

3- Chronological dynamics: during the first phases of our extensive work, we approached only slightly the chronological aspects of the development of PasargadAEA and its territory. Indeed, we needed first to get a better overview of the layout before carrying out more careful studies on the dating of the several settled areas revealed. However, our suggested reconstruction of the cityscape divided into separated sectors raises the question of their dating as they could have been developed in several stages and have been occupied before or reoccupied after the Achaemenid period. We will approach the question of the development dynamics of the PasargadAEA urban space by systematic mapping and collecting the surface ceramic sherds on the site. At the same time the archaeological surveys in the PasargadAEA buffer zone will allow us to insert the PasargadAEA foundation into the long-term settlement dynamics of the Dasht-e Morghab plain.

4- Water control in the Sivand catchment basin: previous studies have revealed a lot of data concerning the Achaemenid regional water control customs. If we can rely upon a good general reconstruction of this system, more accurate data are needed particularly concerning the function and the dating of some of the dams and canals that formed the still visible framework of the wider Achaemenid territorial management of the PasargadAEA region. As an example, we know a several-kilometers long canal network, known as Gur-e Dokhtar, running across the eastern part of the Dasht-e Morghab plain. It has been said that it must be dated back only to the Islamic era, but recent studies implemented by the PasargadAEA office at a large Achaemenid site called Miyan Jade have demonstrated that it is probably linked to this canal. Further south this canal system seems to be linked to a long dam built at the southeastern end of the plain. Our works will include the accurate mapping of the hydraulic infrastructures and the dating by means of radiocarbon and/or
OSL methods. Thus the focus on the water control is also an entry point to consider the regional settlement pattern.

5- Environmental characteristics and changes: until now little is known concerning the past environmental background of the Pasargadae region. First, this question needs to be approached by a better defining the present day environmental settings: climate, hydrology, geology, soils, geomorphology, and vegetation. Data are already available but we lack a comprehensive study and model of the present environment. Based on this core work, we intend to gradually reconstruct the environmental background of past times by means of comprehensive and interdisciplinary geo-archaeological approaches. Following closely the former phases of the Iranian-French project, we have already studied the fluvial deposits and suggested a general reconstruction of the past river changes that still needs to be better defined. This question is critical because it concerns the water availability that will also be approached by studying the numerous springs of the Morghab plain. Another highly relevant topic, closely linked to the water availability and climate changes, is the region’s history of vegetation that will be studied through palynology. It concerns the determination of the natural and the cultivated vegetation at the regional scale as well as, at the Pasargadae site scale, the study of the species growing in the Royal Garden.

Preliminary Results of the Fall 2015 Campaign

The work implemented during the fall 2015 has mainly concerned points 1 to 3 of the program presented above. That is to say that we focused our works on the archaeology of the Pasargadae site and its surrounding territories. The wider survey of the Achaemenid water control system as well as the palaeo-environmental studies were the subject of a second mission carried out during the second half of June 2016 that brought together a team made up of a hydrologist, a geomorphologist and a palynologist. Writing the report concerning this second mission is still ongoing and several soil samples collected in the Royal Garden
as well as on several hydraulic constructions in the plain are still under examination in various laboratories.

In fall 2015 we implemented various complementary survey methods: field-walking surveys, systematic mapping and collecting surface ceramics, topography, geophysics and aerial photography by kite. We focused on two areas (Fig. 2): (1) the Pasargadæ protected site, and (2) its vicinity including the Abulvardi area, 3 km north of the Palace P, including the Tol-e Gholam hill range that surrounds a small plain located north of the Abulvardi village and west of the Dehno village. Within the general framework of our project, the main goals for the 2015 season were the following:

- To continue the mapping of Pasargadæ by means of geophysical methods and at the same time to start the topographical survey of the remains visible on the surface of the site.

- To gain a better occupation chronology of some of the previously revealed settled sectors of the city by means of the mapping, the systematic collection and the study of the surface ceramics sherds.

- To start, in the Abulvardi area, the systematic archaeological survey of the Pasargadæ’s vicinity.

**Mapping the Pasargadæ City**

**Magnetic surveys**

Encouraged by the promising results of the 1999-2008 geophysical survey campaigns (Benech, Boucharlat and Gondet 2012), we have decided to continue investigating the site using the same instrumentation, i.e. a cesium gradiometer providing magnetic maps of the subsoil. The 2015 surveys were carried out in three sectors (Fig. 3). The first corresponds to the fortified sector located to the northeast of the site, beyond the Tol-e Taḵt. The second is located southeast of the Tol-e Taḵt hill where we surveyed an area extending on the hillslope to the
plain and encompassing a small hill located some hundred meters to the south of the Tol-e Taḵt hill. Finally, several areas chosen southwest of the Palace S, towards the tomb of Cyrus, were investigated.

The maps obtained within the fortified area have shown an extension of the architectural elements as revealed after our previous surveys.
Fig. 3: Magnetic surveys carried out at Pasargadae since 1999 (Benech, Boucharlat and Gondet 2011 for the surveys prior to 2015; the new areas surveyed in 2015 are outlined in purple. Magnetic map dynamics -2/+2 nT from white to black. 2015 surveys carried out by C. Fink, S. Gondet, K. Mohammadkhani and E. Roustaei Farsi).
The neighboring buildings were made of lines of rooms, not larger than 100 m², generally built parallel to the slope. The 2015 results attest that the hillslopes beyond the Tol-e Taḵt were densely built. Southwest of the Palace S the surveys were implemented to test several areas in the direction of the tomb of Cyrus. The results are promising because elements of a grid system (ditches or pathways) and a small part of a possible built area have been revealed. The surveys in that direction need to be extended during future campaigns to compile a more comprehensive map of this sector. Finally the most interesting results have been obtained southeast of the Tol-e Taḵt where almost 9 ha were mapped. We focused on this area since the team of the Pasargadae office discovered there, in 2012, several scattered Achaemenid architectural stone blocks (a threshold and a column fragment).

Fig. 4: Magnetic map of the sector surveyed southwest of the Tol-e Takht hill overlaid by an interpretative scheme. Red area = built slope, red plain lines = large features around the small hill, red dashed lines = long structures running towards the plain.
The map obtained southwest of the Tol-e Taḵt is very informative (Fig. 4). First, it demonstrates that the southern hillslope was densely built and parts of several quadrangle buildings are visible, particularly at the foothill. Another interesting result concerns the limit between the built slope and the plain that seems to be outlined by a long, linear and continuous feature. It might be a wall or a rampart that would be an extension of the fortification line running on the hilltops beyond the Tol-e Taḵt. This hypothesis needs to be confirmed with new surveys of that sector in a future season. If confirmed, previous reconstructions of the northeastern part of Pasargadae would need to be corrected: during a period that needs to be precisely dated and compared to the occupation phases brought to light on the Takht (from early Achaemenid to post-Achaemenid-Seleucid and later Islamic), the buildings standing on the platform of the Tol-e Taḵt would have overlooked a densely built and walled sector extending not only towards north but also onto the hillslopes. Towards the southwest, on the plain, we can observe several parallel lines in the similar orientation that some of the features revealed on the slope. They could correspond to pathways or drains running from the hill towards the plain. Finally, south of the hill, our map indicates long linear features, probably large walls that once encircled a small hill. Because of the recent agricultural activities in this area it is hard to determine if these features are connected to the possible above-mentioned wall, running along the hillslope. Nevertheless, a continuation of the built and walled area towards the south and the small hill is a hypothesis to take into account. In this place, the complementary topographical works will give us some answers as several wall basements are visible on the surface; they will be complemented by surveys of the surface ceramic which are needed to better date the occupation on this strategic area.

Topographic Surveys

A part of the topographic plan of visible surface remains of the Pasargadae protected site was established in 2015 with a total station on an area of about 50 ha, ranging from north to south between the
**Fig. 5:** Extract of the 2015 topographic map. Archaeological features are drawn on the topographic base map recently produced by the Pasargadae office (Topographic surveys: D. Laisney).
Tol-e-Takht foothill and the Palace S and from west to east between the asphalted road and the fence protecting the site. Traces of agricultural activities, like heaps of stones as well as canals (Fig. 5), have been drawn. Concerning the canals, we can distinguish that some have been abandoned more recently than others. In the future we need to assess which could have been in use during the Achaemenid period and were linked with the park. Built features have also been detected that echo the result of the geophysical surveys. Lines of limestone blocks north of the bridge correspond to the banks of the large basin southeast of the Royal Garden. Behind the tower of Zendan-e Soleiman, on a slight hill, several walls were identified and recorded with denser level points in order to draw an accurate topographic map of this zone with level lines. On this hill we found a large building linked to the tower, as mapped by geophysics, and lying southeast of it. Finally, new settled sectors were revealed. Several areas with ceramic sherds have been delineated. The ruins of walls were found and two housing areas with archaeological material (ceramic sherds, limestone blocks, grindstone, ...) have been identified, generally located on the foothills. They will need to be better dated during our future campaigns.

**Systematic Collection of Surface Ceramic Sherds**

According to our previous results coming from the geophysical surveys, several questions have been raised concerning the exact nature and dating of several of the settled sectors revealed. One of the solutions to approach these questions is to accurately map and to collect the surface ceramics at strategic places. Two areas were surveyed in 2015: southeast of the large trapezoidal basin revealed by previous geophysical surveys; northwest of the fortified area beyond the Tol-e Taḵt. The sherds have been picked up at each meter along transects and within a 20x20 m grid. Afterwards the sherds have been sorted to select the diagnostic ones that have then been described and drawn. All sherds have been stocked in the storeroom of the Pasargadae office. We will focus on the results coming from the surveyed areas located to the southeast of the basin (Fig. 6). It ranges to the northeast from a hill named Tol-e Sangin towards the bridge spanning the basin and placed in the axis of the Gate
The area has been chosen because the magnetic maps have shown that a settled sector would have spread along the southeastern bank of the basin. Then our goals were to firmly demonstrate the presence of a built sector by mapping the ceramics and eventually to date it.

The first information comes from the density map where it can be observed that the ceramic concentration increases from the southwest to the northeast. This increase is not steady and we can observe a sharp change 200 m northeast of the bridge. From almost no sherds as far as this point, the ceramics concentration reaches 2.5 sherds/m² and remains quite constant as far as the southern slope of the Tol-e Sangin hill. It means that a settled area stood there, a result that fits with the geophysical results that revealed a built area over the same place, the demonstration confirmed by overlaying the sherd density map and the magnetic map. We are now certain that a built sector of

Fig. 6: Magnetic map (1999-2008 results) of the area located in between the bridge and the Tol-e Takht hill overlaid by the ceramic density map (from dark green 0.01 sherd/m² to red 2.5 sherds/m²). The location of the settled area revealed by geophysical surveys is outlined in red (Ceramic surveys: all team members).
the city, probably of residential nature, stood there. The other important information comes from the type of ceramic we have collected. From the bridge as far as the three last squares, the types are comparable to those of the period 2 and 3 from the Tol-e Taḵt Citadel excavation, as described by Stronach. It means that the ceramics, as well as the settled sector, date back to the Achaemenid/post-Achaemenid period. On the three last squares, i.e. on the southern slope of the Tol-e Sangin hill, the ceramic assemblage changes. We can find some sherds dating back from the Sassanid period to the early Islamic that are probably linked to a housing area revealed during the topographic surveys (Fig. 5). They demonstrate that the hill was probably occupied long after the Achaemenid/post-Achaemenid period.

Survey of the Abulvardi Area

Within the framework of our task to map the archaeological remains of the territory surrounding the Pasargadae protected site, we decided to focus our surveys (field-walking and topographic surveys as well as aerial kite photographs) on an area of approximately 10 km² located around a small plain northeast of the Abulvardi village. We chose this area because surveys in 2005 and 2007 from an Iranian-Japanese team (Yamauchi and Nishiyama 2008) demonstrated rich archaeological evidence of various natures: ancient canals, long walls, settlements including two dated back to the Achaemenid period, numerous burial cairn remains. If some of the archaeological evidence was known then, it has not been accurately studied and mapped until now and the area was not systematically surveyed during the former Iranian-Japanese campaigns, based mainly on satellite image interpretation. Two groups of our team were involved in the study of the Abulvardi area: one focusing on the settlements and infrastructure remains; the second surveying the burial remains.

Hydraulic Remains and Settlement Pattern

One objective of the surveys in this area was to define the type and length of the canal located on the east side of Tol-e Gholam hills
complex, partly drawn on the maps published by the Iranian-Japanese team. The canal is about 4.5 km long (Fig. 7), its width is between 1.40 m and 1.70 m and its depth is probably between 0.60-0.80 m. Connected to this main canal a number of smaller ones have been identified running towards the plain to irrigate it. Topographic measures have established that the canal has a relatively regular slope between 0.06 and 0.07 % form northeast to southwest. We have not been able to locate the origin nor the end of this canal. The hypothesis that could be advanced, after examining satellite imagery and reconnaissance on the ground, is that the canal is supplied by a spring located to the north of the Dehno village; but this needs to be studied during the next missions. The Iranian-Japanese team proposed that two other canals run parallel to the one mentioned above. After our reexaminations, we suggest that there is only one canal channel. What looked like other canals is in fact a terracing system used as a substructure for the canal and to contain possible landslides.

Fig. 7: Location map of the sites surveyed in between in the Abulvardi area (red dots) and of the ancient canal course (blue line) (Surveys: N. Ibnoerida, F. Zare Kroshouli).
Linked to this canal we have surveyed several settlements. One would be Achaemenid in date (BV15007 on Fig. 7) and was identified by the Iranian-Japanese mission as a “watch tower” because the site is placed on the top of a hill. But we have observed that the hill where the so-called “watch tower” was placed is lower than the other surrounding hills which dismisses a control function for this site. The survey on this 2.5 ha site has brought light some interesting data: it would seem the type of soil located at the top is different from that below. It is produced from the erosion of clayish material and could come from a platform or structure that stood there. This upper part of the site has been subject to illegal excavations and in one trench some fragments of human bones have been identified. This might suggest that the building placed on the top of the hill was reused as a funerary place. Along the southeast side of the site, we have identified an area with potsherds dating back to the Achaemenid/Post-Achaemenid period as well as several wall or terrace sections spread over the entire lower part of the hillslope. A second Achaemenid “watch tower” (BV15008) was identified by the Iranian-Japanese team but it corresponds to an Islamic building located on a small hill. Finally, a multi-period site has been found southwest of Dehno (BV15009). The pottery on the surface testifies to various occupation periods from the protohistoric to Islamic periods. A small amount of Achaemenid/post-Achaemenid pottery was located on the east side of hill. The other settlements found in the area are often difficult to date, although one is certainly early Islamic (BV15002).

Burial Remains

The Iranian-Japanese survey conducted on the Tol-e Gholam hills was resumed in 2015, focusing on the cairns and funerary landscape of the Abulvardi area with three main objectives:

- To complete the map of the burials
- To clarify the chronological and cultural contexts of cairns
- To study the nature of burial practice on the Morghab Plain during historical periods.
Despite the fact that many of the cairns were completely ruined due to illegal excavations, our surveys allowed us to draw some interesting remarks and have highlighted the importance of funerary remains of Tol-e Gholam for further archaeological studies. Cairns at Tol-e Gholam (Fig. 8) were built with local stone blocks on a rocky surface. With no exception, all contained one or several rectangular burial chambers locked and sealed by several stone slabs and then covered by piles of stones. Preliminary observations indicate that burial chambers were not filled by soil after inhumation. Based on extent and dimensions, we were able to identify three groups of cairns:

1. Large cairns were only located on the highest parts of the hills with equal distances from each other. These cairns are between ca. 10.00 to 15.00 m in diameter. They consist of one, two or several rectangular burial chambers. The dimensions of the burial chambers within differ between ca. 1.50 m by 3.00 m and ca. 0.70 m by 1.00 m.
2. Medium-sized cairns were situated slightly below the large-sized cairns, mostly on the eastern slopes of the hills. Like the large-sized group, cairns of this group contain one or several burial chambers. These cairns are ca. 5.00 to 9.00 m in diameter. The size of the burial chambers varies between 1.00 m by 2.00 m and 0.50 m by 1.00 m.

3. The smallest cairns were mainly located on the foot of the slopes near the plain. Based on our preliminary observations, small cairns only contained one burial chamber that measured between ca. 2.50 and 4.50 m in diameter.

The positioning and distribution of the cairns may imply information about the social position of the tomb owners. The large-sized cairns with several burial chambers would suggest that the tomb owners were of a high-ranking social class while small-sized cairns on the foot slopes of the hills could have belonged to the middle class. However, other explanations must be considered, such as gender or age dictated distinctions. Further analysis and fieldwork will certainly enable us to answer these questions. The type of burial, the accurate orientations of the chamber (most often destroyed) and body treatments remains enigmatic, but the measurements of burial chambers in large and medium-sized cairns may suggest that body positioning was the same in all cairns. These hypotheses need to be further examined, taking into account the former studies on other cairn sites in Iran.

Material remains found during the surveys included potsherds scattered in the tomb chambers and around the cairns. While it proved difficult to determine precise chronologies, since most of the materials were not diagnostic, the evidence included types of pottery known as “festoon ware”. Parallel examples of “festoon ware” were reported from Nahavand in western Iran where they have been dated to the post-Achaemenid and Seleucid periods (Haerinck 1983, 98–100; Rahbar et al. 2014, 301-329). However, this single evidence can hardly offer a firm date to the funerary landscape of Abulvardi area and Tol-e Gholam. We also recorded and sampled bone fragments. Due to the poor preservation of the cairns, the bone materials had been severely
damaged and disturbed previously. Hence, we could only recover some partial bones and numerous teeth that possibly belonged to both human and domestic animals. These bones were sent to the laboratory of Tehran University for further studies. We are looking forward to the results of the laboratory analysis which might offer us insights into both the chronology and context of some of the cairns.

**Conclusive Remarks**

In the Pasargadae protected site and thanks to the geophysical surveys, we have revealed a new settled area: the southern slope of the Tol-e Taḵt was certainly densely built and maybe fortified. Beyond the hill we have continued to demonstrate that the fortified sector northeast of the site was settled. Altogether, these results demonstrate that a single fortified settlement might have stood around the Tol-e Taḵt hill during a period that still needs to be better studied. The geophysical surveys to the southwest of Palace S enabled us to identify features which need to be better characterized by future works. Important results came from the systematic mapping and collection of surface potsherds. The presence of settled sectors beyond the Tol-e Taḵt as well as east of the Royal Garden has been confirmed. A more in-depth study of the ceramics from these sectors is planned in future seasons to add answers to the chronological question. Finally, the topographic work allows us to correct and enhance existing maps of the site, in order to gain a better understanding of the dynamics of its development.

The data gathered in the Abulvardi area are of particular interest. There is new evidence for irrigation works in this part of the Morghab plain which supplied water to several settlements and agricultural activities in the fields. The fact that a quite large Achaemenid settlement has been proven in the Abulvardi area shows that Achaemenid/post-Achaemenid occupation was not restricted to the supposed limits of Pasargadae’s “Sacred Precinct”. It is necessary to continue archaeological mapping of the Pasargadae vicinity in order to reveal the Achaemenid landscape on a larger scale. At the same time, a systematic survey of the funerary landscape is crucial, as evidence from the numerous burial remains in
the region would produce data to improve our knowledge about the funerary customs in the Central Fars for the 1st millennium B.C.E. The 2015 season has already demonstrated a spatial system of the cairns distribution and has allowed us to collect materials for further analyses.

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Establishment of Odontometric Sexual Dimorphism in Archaeological Populations: A Case Study of Ḥasanlu

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Abstract

The accurate sex estimation in skeletal remains is considered to be an important step in the reconstruction of the biological profile of unknown individual in an archaeological context. Teeth are among the most frequently recovered human tissues that remain after death as they are hard, long lasting, and resistance to post-mortem insults. In general, males have larger teeth than females and this characteristic could be used in sex estimation. Present study aimed to investigate the degree of sexual dimorphism in the permanent teeth of Ḥasanlu, the Iron Age population in the Solduz Valley (West Azerbaijan Province of Iran). The Ḥasanlu site was excavated between 1956 and 1974 by a joined expedition of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Archaeological Service of Iran. The skeletal remains of Ḥasanlu are housed at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. In total, the collection consists of 263 individuals including 184 adults and 79 subadults. Analysis of the Ḥasanlu skeletal material was conducted from April to March 2014 and a total of 51 male and 33 female adult individuals belong to Iron Age levels (V, IV, and IVB) were used for sex estimation. The cervical mesiodistal and buccolingual measurements were collected from 299 upper and lower 3rd and 4th premolar teeth using Hillson-Fitzgerald dental calliper. Discriminant function analysis was used to evaluate the accuracy of each

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diameter in estimating sex. The mean cervical dimensions in all teeth of males exceeded that of females. The classification accuracy ranged from 74.6% to 85% with lower 4th premolar providing the highest accuracy rate (85%) and the upper 3rd premolar providing the lowest accuracy rate (74.6%). The results indicated that cervical measurements of the premolar is a reliable method for sex estimation and is useful to predict sex in Iranian archaeological populations.

Keywords: Sex estimation, cervical tooth measurements, premolars, Hasanlu

Introduction

Most studies on dental sexual dimorphism are based on the traditional mesiodistal and buccolingual crown diameters of teeth (Ditch and Rose 1972, Harris and Bailit 1987, De Vito and Saunders 1990, Acharya and Mainali 2007, Angadi et al. 2013, Khamis et al. 2014) (Fig. 1). In spite of the usefulness of these measurements, there are a number of limitations that impact their efficacy. The first limitation is the alteration of crown diameters due to the varying levels of expression of non-metric traits (Garn et al. 1968). When lower molars have extra cusps (e.g. cusp 6, cusp 7, protostylid), for example, the size of the overall tooth at the maximum dimensions of the crown increases. The second limitation, according to Hillson et al. (2005), concerns the difficulty that is normally met during measuring the mesiodistal crown diameters when the teeth are tightly fixed in the jaw. This is because when teeth are firmly wedged against the adjoining tooth, there is not enough space for the calliper points to be placed on the maximum convexity of the mesial and distal crown sides. Researchers, therefore, prefer to work with needlepoint callipers. In some cases, however, it is possible to slightly move the teeth in the jaw so that there is little access for measurements, but it is still nearly impossible to push the points far enough in. Also, there is a high risk of a delicate specimen being damaged very easily (Hillson et al. 2005). The third limitation, again as suggested by Hillson et al. (2005), is related to dental wear when recording the maximum measurement of contact points. Dental wear is the term used to describe a reduction in the size
of the tooth crown, which proceeds continuously during life (Wallace 1974, Hillson 2002, Koch and Poulsen 2009). As a result of dental wear, the crown diameters are altered and the recording of dental morphology is obscured. A moderate wear of the occlusal surface of the crown can lead to a significant decrease in the mesiodistal measurement. As with the buccolingual diameter, however, only excessive dental wear can affect it (Hillson 2002). In case of extreme dental wear, all the evidence of enamel is erased and the possibilities of making measurements or morphological identifications are eliminated. This is a common problem among archaeological skeletal samples. According to a study by Van Reenen (1982) when the crown is too worn away that the dentin is exposed, the percentage of the reduction in mesiodistal length could be as much as 10%. In case of secondary dentine exposure, this percentage could reach as much as 20% (van Reenen, 1982, Fitzgerald and Hillson, 2005). To solve these issues, alternative measurements of the cervical tooth diameters were proposed by Hillson et al. (2005). The authors defined the mesiodistal cervical measurement and the buccolingual cervical measurement as “the distance between the most occlusal points of the cement-enamel junction curve on the mesial and distal sides” and “The maximum measurement at the cement-enamel junction from labial/buccal to lingual/palatal” respectively (Fig. 1). Examining a total of 2559 unworn and isolated teeth, the authors reported that the cervical tooth diameters could provide similar results to those of crown diameters. According to their study, the impact of dental wear on these measurements is relatively small which first leads to a great increase in the sample size and makes it possible to compare heavily-worn teeth of adults against less-worn teeth of juveniles. The alternative dental measurements that Hillson et al. (2005) have proposed are specifically useful to take measurements where there is only a relatively small amount of enamel crown height available. This eventually allows access to mesiodistal diameters at the cervical-enamel junction, where the surrounding teeth can no longer obscure them when are still in the jaw. Moreover, given the location of the CEJ with respect to common non-metric traits of the crown, it seems likely that they would be less affected by non-metric trait expression. According to studies, these
variables and those of tooth crown are highly correlated. Therefore, it can be concluded that they represent the same genetic expression of dental metric variation that tradition crown diameters do (Hillson et al. 2005, Stojanowski 2007).

Many studies have shown that canine is the most sexually dimorphic tooth in humans (Garn et al. 1977, Nair et al. 1999, Kaushal et al. 2003, Vodanovic et al. 2007, Hassett 2011, Viciano 2015). According to Garn et al. (1966, 1967) the teeth located adjacent to the canines (lateral incisors and third premolars) are more dimorphic than the others. Some studies on crown and cervical tooth measurements have also shown significant sexual dimorphism in permanent premolar teeth (Işcan and Kedici 2003, Zorba et al. 2011, Viciano et al. 2013, Sharma et al. 2014, Tuttösi and Cardoso 2015). Zorba et al (2011) conducted a study on 133
Greek individuals (70 males and 63 females) to measure the mesiodistal and buccolingual diameters of 839 permanent teeth. According to the results of this study, the most dimorphic teeth were the third premolar, maxillary forth premolar, and mandibular second molar following canine.

The purpose of current study was to analyse the cervical tooth measurements and examine the degree of sexual dimorphism in permanent premolars of an Iranian archaeological population.

**Materials and Methods**

This study was conducted on skeletal remains of 84 adults from Hasanlu site (West Azerbaijan, Iran) (Fig. 2) dating from 1450 to 800 B.C. Hasanlu skeletons are stored in the University of Pennsylvania’s Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (UPM), United States. In total 299 upper and lower permanent 3rd and 4th premolar teeth of 84 skeletons (51 males, 33 females) were studied. The sex of the skeletons was estimated using Phenice (1969) and Walker (2008) methods based on the morphological features of the pelvis and skull.

Tooth measurements in this study were taken as the mesiodistal and buccolingual premolar cervical diameters proposed by Hillson et al (2005) using Hillson-Fitzgerald dental calliper. Cervical measurements were taken from right upper and lower 3rd and 4th premolars. In the case of a missing value from the right side, the left antimere was substituted. A one way ANOVA was used to determine if there was any statistical significant differences between the mean values of males and females. Two paired t-test were performed to assess the interobserver error of the measurements and also to check if there was any statistical differences between right and left side premolars. A discriminant function classification was then carried out to determine the relationship between osteologically estimated sex and premolar size measurements using software package SPSS version 23. A Leave-one-out classification procedure was also used to demonstrate the accuracy rate of the original sample and the one created by cross-validation.
Results

To assess the intra-observer error, mesiodistal and buccolingual cervical measurements were collected from 80 randomly selected teeth from the original sample at a different time by the same observer. The paired t-test showed that the interobserver error associated with the measurements was relatively low (P < 0.05) (Table 1).

Fig 2. Tepe Hasanlu is located in northwest Iran (in the province of West Azerbaijan, south of Lake Urmia).
One-way ANOVA showed that males have statistically larger teeth than females for upper and lower 3rd and 4th premolars and both measurements (Table 2). The paired t-test also showed that there was no statistically significant differences between right and left side teeth.

Table 1. Paired t-test evaluating intraobserver error in tooth measurements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measurements</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean difference between measurements</th>
<th>Standard error of measurements</th>
<th>t-value$^a$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd Premolars</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MD</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Premolars</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MD</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^a$ None of the t-values are significant at the p<0.05 level.

Discriminant analysis was conducted for each tooth and measurement separately. In total 12 discriminant functions were carried out. Classification accuracy of all functions is presented in table 3. It was seen that the accuracy ranged from 66.7% to 88.2% in males and 60.7% to 82.4% in females. The total classification accuracy for upper and lower 3rd premolars was 74.6% and 82.1% and for upper and lower 4th premolars was 75% and 85% respectively. Separate discriminant analysis was also performed for mesiodistal and buccolingual measurements. The results showed that the classification rates from mesiodistal dimensions were much better than that from buccolingual dimensions. The highest accuracy was obtained from mesiodistal diameter of lower 3rd premolar with a correct classification rate of 84.3% in males (Table 3).

In all functions the accuracy in males was greater than females. The only exception was function 10 – buccolingual diameter of upper 4th premolar-
Table 2. Descriptive statistics for 3rd and 4th premolar cervical measurements and the mean differences between the sexes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diameters</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper 3rd premolar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MD</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>4.74</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>8.18</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower 3rd premolar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MD</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>4.91</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>6.86</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper 4th premolar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MD</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4.85</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>8.48</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower 4th premolar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MD</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>5.15</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>7.30</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N: number of teeth, SD: standard deviation

which showed slightly higher accuracy on females (73.1%) than males (71.1%) (Table 3). The highest accuracy for sex classification (85%) was obtained for cervical diameters of lower 4th premolar (function 4). Discriminant analysis for mesiodistal diameter of lower 4th premolar (function 11) gave the next best classification accuracy followed by cervical diameters of lower 3rd premolar (functions 2 and 7). The lowest accuracy rate of assessing sex was obtained from buccolingual diameter of upper 3rd premolar with a correct classification rate of 60.7% in females (function 6).
Table 3. Accuracy of classification results of the original and cross-validated sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total average%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F1: UP3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>76.7%</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
<td>74.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-validated</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>76.7%</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
<td>74.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F2: LP3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>84.3%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>78.8%</td>
<td>82.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-validated</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>82.4%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>78.8%</td>
<td>81.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F3: UP4</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>76.3%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>73.1%</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-validated</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>76.3%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>73.1%</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F4: LP4</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>88.2%</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>79.3%</td>
<td>85.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-validated</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>86.3%</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>75.9%</td>
<td>82.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F5: UP3 (MD)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>76.7%</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
<td>74.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-validated</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>76.7%</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
<td>74.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F6: UP3 (BL)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>69.8%</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>60.7%</td>
<td>66.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-validated</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>67.4%</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>60.7%</td>
<td>64.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F7: LP3 (MD)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>84.3%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>78.8%</td>
<td>82.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-validated</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>84.3%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>72.7%</td>
<td>79.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F8: LP3 (BL)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>70.6%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>69.7%</td>
<td>70.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-validated</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>70.6%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>69.7%</td>
<td>70.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F9: UP4 (MD)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>73.7%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>73.1%</td>
<td>73.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-validated</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>73.7%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>73.1%</td>
<td>73.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F10: UP4 (BL)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>71.1%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>73.1%</td>
<td>71.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-validated</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>71.1%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>73.1%</td>
<td>71.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The cross validation test did not significantly change the original accuracy (Table 3).

**Discussion**

Dental sexual dimorphism has been long acknowledged (Garn et al. 1966, Ditch and Rose 1972, Hattab et al. 1997, Hillson et al. 2005, Hassett 2011, Zorba et al. 2011, Viciano et al. 2015, Tuttösí and Cardoso 2015), demonstrating that dental dimensions can be used successfully in sex diagnosis on both living individuals and skeletal remains.

In the present study, we used the cervical mesiodistal and buccolingual measurements of the upper and lower 3rd and 4th premolars for sex estimation. Studies on sexual dimorphism in tooth cervical diameters have shown that there are differences in tooth size between the two sexes and males usually have larger teeth than females (Vodanovic 2007, Viciano et al. 2011, 2013, 2015, Hassett 2011, Mujib 2014). This study also showed that upper and lower 3rd and 4th premolars were larger in males in both cervical mesiodistal and buccolingual dimensions.

Discriminant function analysis gave high classification accuracy for sex estimation (Table 3). The highest rate of accuracy was observed in cervical diameters of the lower 4th premolar (85%). This observation is in agreement with the studies conducted by Viciano et al. (2013) and Tuttösí and Cardoso (2015) which reported significant sexual dimorphism on lower 4th premolar. However, some studies on crown and cervical diameters have observed higher sexual dimorphism in
upper 3\textsuperscript{rd} (Zorba \textit{et al.} 2011, Sharma \textit{et al.} 2014) and lower 3\textsuperscript{rd} premolars (Işcan and Kedici 2003). The overall accuracy for sex estimation ranged from 82.4\% in females to 88.2\% in males (Table 3). Our study also suggested that mesiodistal dimension was more sexually dimorphic than buccolingual dimension based on univariate analysis.

A comparison between the two sexes showed that the classification accuracy of all functions was higher for males. This result is in concordance with other studies on cervical tooth measurements (Vodanovic \textit{et al.} 2008, Hassett \textit{et al.} 2011, Viciano \textit{et al.} 2011, 2013, 2015, Zorba \textit{et al.} 2011, 2013, Mujib \textit{et al.} 2014, Peckmann \textit{et al.} 2015). This means that females have a greatest disparity of teeth sizes and can more often be misclassified as male or that this observation is simply a result of the sample used in this study.

In conclusion sex estimation using dental cervical measurements in an Iranian population has proven to be accurate for both original and cross-validated data. This constitutes this method of significant value for application in unknown skeletal remains from Iran around the same period (Iron age); especially taking under consideration that they are most likely to survive harsh taphonomic conditions than any other skeletal element (Anderson \textit{et al.} 1995, Vodanovic \textit{et al.} 2007, Fereira \textit{et al.} 2008). Cervical mesiodistal and buccolingual diameters of the teeth will allow an increase in sample sizes as they can be obtained from worn teeth or teeth still in the jaw.

\textbf{Bibliography}


Mujib, Ahmed B.R., Tarigoppula, Ranta V.N, Kulkarni, Paven G. and


An Implementation of Task-based Approach in Teaching Official Persian Language to Local Speakers of the Lārī Language

Mahinnaz Mirdehghan *
Behzad Moridi **
Muhammed Ourang ***

Abstract

This study is aimed to design tasks for teaching official Persian language to speakers of the Lārī language, a language spoken in the southernmost of Iran and other states of the Persian Gulf with around a million speakers. The study, in this respect, is founded on the basis of the importance of tasks in language teaching. In order to teach Persian grammar to Lārī speakers, the tasks are designed according to the similarities and differences between Persian and Lārī in Verbal and Nominal phrases. The study further examines the impact of the syllabus on its applicants. The research has been conducted on the base of a quasi-experimental method. The sample included 60 students selected via purposive selection who were divided into two groups of experimental and control. The experimental group received the research-designed task-based syllabus in learning Persian and control group received their regular syllabus in schools. Having implemented the pretest, the treatment (for 24 sessions, each of which for an hour) and post-test, the data were analyzed through descriptive and inferential statistics (through SPSS). Findings revealed that experimental group outperformed in the post-test. In addition, the results showed that the treatment was effective in enhancing the Persian grammar literacy of...
Lārī speakers. Consequently, the researcher-made model of influential factors proved that tasks made grammar forms salient to the learner via its communicative activities.

**Keywords**: Task-based syllabus, Persian language, Lārī, grammar.

**Introduction**

There is a growing awareness that languages not only play a vital role in the development and intercultural dialogues but also in strengthening co-operation and attaining quality general education. Moreover, the effect of language is notable in building inclusive knowledge societies, preserving cultural heritage and mobilizing political will that benefit the application and transformation of science and technology to sustainable developments.

On the other hand, languages are increasingly under threat due to globalization and their fading will lead to the demise of world’s rich tapestry of cultural diversity. More than 50 per cent of the approximately 7000 language spoken in the world are likely to die out within a few generations and 96% of these languages are spoken by a mere 4 per cent of the world’s population (Moseley 2010).

As UNESCO website (January 2013) has proposed, cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue, promotion of education and development of knowledge societies are central but they are not possible without broad and international commitment to promoting multilingualism and linguistic diversity including the prevention of endangered languages.

International mother language day was proclaimed by UNESCO General Conference in November 1999 which is celebrated yearly on the 21st of February. It should be noted that UNESCO’s attention to language and multilingualism takes many forms, one of which is ‘education’ along with promoting inclusion and quality learning by supporting bi- and multilingual education, especially the use of mother tongue, at all levels and formal and informal settings with special attention to teacher training, literacy provision and health education (Ibid.).
Divided as a ‘definitely endangered language’ by the ‘UNESCO Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger’, Lārī is of the 14 Iranian Endangered Languages1 which are to be preserved through research and analysis, raising awareness, supporting projects and most importantly disseminating information such as books and articles. ‘Education through mother tongue’, furthermore, is one of the UNESCO’s five programs in addressing particular aspects of language. Consequently, it is of high significance to provide the teachers with descriptive materials of endangered languages (e.g., Lārī) to develop an appropriate educational syllabus design. Therefore, this research aims at examining the effect of task-based curriculum on Lārī speakers’ knowledge of Persian grammar.

Review of Literature

Lārestan Geography and Lārī Language

Lārestan (520° 32’ E, 270° 40’ N) is located at the Southeastern part of Fars province in Iran. It’s bound to Fars province from the north, to Hormozgan province from the south, to Kerman province from the east, and to Bushehr province from the west (Ahmadinya 2010). In this township there are nine districts (including Avaz, Khonj, Gerash, Fishvar, Ahel, etc.), the common language of which is Lārī (Moridi 2010). Form an etymological view, ‘Lār’ is derived from ‘Lad’ meaning ‘the origin and the basis of everything’. Lārī is of the SW branch of Middle Iranian languages, and consists of nine dialects, the most difference of which is in pronunciation (Geravand 2010).

Lārī has so many similarities with Iranian languages. For example, we can take note of the ergative structure of Lārī, namely, the difference between the conjugation of transitive and intransitive verbs. The speech community of this language includes Fars province, Hormozgan Province and some of Arabic-speaking countries like United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, and Oman (Khonji 2010, 15).

1. See www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/
Researches on Lārī

A few authors have written books on this language, the most notable ones being Oskarman (1909), Ramaskowitch (1945), Veladimir Minorski (1980) and Malčanova (1982). One of the most important researchers of this area is Koji Kamioka, Japanese Professor who wrote ‘Comparative Basic Vocabulary of Khonji and Lārī’ in the Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa in 1997. Furthermore, some Iranian researches like Vosughui (2005) and Eghtedari (1990) have done an invaluable number research about Lārī in various areas; yet, the most important research has been carried out by Lotfali Khonji (2009) who wrote ‘Comprehensive study of Lārestani language and Khonji dialect’, which is a book on the linguistic features of Lārī.

Task-based Language Approach

Why Task Method?

The development of task as a newly introduced cornerstone in language classrooms is rooted in changes against the Audiolingual method and its decline in 1960s, and also in the emphasis put on meaningful communication by researchers and curriculum designers.

Numerous factors such as an ever-increasing need to communicate and students’ failure in putting their acquired knowledge into use in real life situations culminated in the establishment of CLT approach in which the major trend was towards communication. In this regard, focus on task can be viewed as a logical development of CLT or according to some commentators within CLT because task as a unit of presentation and practice gives learners a stimulation opportunity to learn and practice in real contexts. This has been considered as one of the most promising reasons of task’s undeniable importance (Nunan 2006).

In the meantime, the issue of integrating skills has come under the spotlight of many researchers involved in the field of second language learning. In traditional approaches to language teaching, however, a single skill along with its different aspects has been the center of
attention. In other words, language skills have been considered as
discrete items in such a way that some researchers preferred to use the
term synthetic or process syllabus in classroom (Wilkins 1976, Bruton
2002).

Conversely, task-based approaches and their different contexts of
uses as pre-tasks and post-tasks (Skehan 2007) have the capability to
integrate different language skills based on an analytic procedure as
opposed to the synthetic one, and in this way they immerse students in
real life communication. In actual facts, in an analytic procedure we are
working through language not on language.

On the other hand, task can be of invaluable importance to those
researchers interested in the cognitive processes the learners go through
and the strategies they employ. The reason is that, compared with the
traditional approaches which are mostly form-focused, task can better
boost learning processes. Further, the significance of task can be
psychologically perused. Proceeding through the effects of motivation
on performing an activity, however, is beyond the scope of the present
study. It suffices to mention that the motivation of completing a task and
reaching the desired outcome undoubtedly plays a crucial role in getting
students involved in classroom activities and also in the effectiveness of
the task per se (Nunan 2006).

**Task Components**

The points discussed above are seen as main task characteristics here,
while others are left open for future studies, including matters as arousing
motivation, intensive verbal interaction, encouraging collaboration,
etc. The task components discussed within the present research are as
follows: condition, procedure, product, process (Willis 2001).

Various components of task have been regarded differently by many
commentators. Wright in attributes two main elements to task, namely,
input data and instructional questions; “...instructional questions which
ask demand or even invite learners (or teachers) to perform operations
in input data. The data itself may be provided by teaching material or
teachers or learners. I shall term this limited set of tasks instructional
tasks” (1987, 48). Nunan (1989) distinguishes task components as
input, activities and goals. Particular attention has also been given to
what Ellis (2003) believes to be the actual components of task which
are goal, input, condition, procedure and predicted outcome (process
and product). Having covered the previous assertions about task
components, Ellis presents several other aspects in his analysis worth
mentioning here. Goal, in Ellis’s terms, serves the purpose of the
designer when the learner performs a task. It can be considered that goal
hereby is different from outcome in that achieving the outcome does not
guarantee the fulfillment of the task designer’s goal. For instance, in a
"spot-the-difference" task in which learners are supposed to verbally
express the differences between two relatively similar pictures, they
may complete the task yet by a nonverbal means such as coloring. Input
is defined as the information or instruction required to perform a task,
and can be taken into account from different viewpoints, for example in
terms of genre (TV show, diary, newspaper, etc.) or modality (spoken,
written, graphs, etc.).

Ellis (2003) states “condition” as the general state of task, for example its
authenticity, difficulty and so on. Task conditions have been examined
by Robinson (2001, 2007) and Rahimpour and Hazar (2008) with
respect to their effects on the amount of learner production, interaction
and feedback. These kinds of tasks are referred as “participation
variables” such as open and closed tasks, one-way and two-way tasks,
and convergent and divergent tasks.

Procedure refers to the way a task is implemented, for example via pair-
or group-work activities. This, however, must be distinguished from the
concept of procedure introduced by Richards and Rodgers (2001) as
the way of managing a task-based class. In task-based classes, task is
considered as “syllabus specifier” i.e. language is analyzed in terms of
tasks assuming behavioral objectives.

Two issues are dealt with in examining the predicted outcome, namely,
process and product. Process refers to the cognitive processes which
the students go through. Product, on the other hand, refers to what discussed earlier as the outcome by which task is evaluated. Generally speaking, there seems to be no clear demarcation between the terms goal and process in the analysis of task components carried out by Ellis.

Research Methodology

Contrastive Analysis and Descriptive Grammar

We are going to use a combination of descriptive and contrastive as well as a syllabus of task-based approach in grammar writing. Then the applied linguistic approach of task-based language teaching will be followed. Task-based language teaching was described earlier, namely, by contrastive approach in grammar writing as Gleason (1961, 207-8) states that this method focuses mainly on the construction patterns of language in comparison. It is useful in developing and designing materials of second language learning. The difficulties of statements of a language (target language) will be revealed in such grammar and the teacher can select the best strategy to meet and eliminate these problems.

Descriptive method of writing grammar on which the contrastive grammar is based is bringing adequate descriptions of the two languages contrasted. These descriptions must each be in terms proper to the languages being described. It is a system of some kind, in fact, recording the structural patterns discernible with corpus on which it is based and therefore assumed to have some features of the language as following:

- It doesn’t evaluate patterns in terms of any non-linguistic factors.
- Not all patterns or continuations of patterns used have the same social significance.

Design of the Study

The study was implemented on the basis of quasi-experimental. 60 students were selected among which two intact groups were selected
as the control and experimental groups, both from Lārī speakers who wanted to learn Persian. The task curriculum patterns were specified to group two (G2) and group one (G1) received no treatment.

The population of research consisted of 120 students who were homogenized by the use of average score. Finally, 60 students among them were selected as the sample. 30 students as the control group and 30 as the experimental one. It should be mentioned that all groups were mixed by the male and female equally and that’s why the gender was of great importance and acted as a moderator variable in the current research. By using two groups, we wanted to analyze the effect of treatment of the syllabus of task-based and contrastive analysis on the experimental group.

Actually, to eliminate the preexisting differences in two groups and homogenize them, a pretest was employed at the beginning of the study to minimize threat to internal and external validity of the research. Three variables were presented in this research: an independent variable which was “using task syllabus”, a dependent variable which was “the Lārī learners’ knowledge of Persian structure” and finally gender as a modulating variable.²

A pretest was given then to both groups of experimental and controls to know their current level of language knowledge. It was given to the control and experimental groups at the same time and all principles of test administration were observed to ensure the reliability and the validity of the test. It means that all the conditions which were of great value in administering a test like the materials and equipment (e.g. printing test, key sheet, etc.), invigilators (who were prepared with detail instruction of administration), candidates (who were given instruction of the time, material to bring to the exam), rooms (which were well-established in equipment like table, chairs and so on), and administration (for example the time candidates were to be arrived, test

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² If the subjects of this research had been chosen among more diverse age groups and also among other levels of proficiency in Persian, the results could have been different.
distribution, etc.). Moreover, the validity of the test was confirmed by experts in university and its reliability was also reported as 0.85 through Cronbach’s alpha.

The scores, eventually, were obtained and analyzed. Furthermore, the items were analyzed and the ones with distracting features or irrelevancy were omitted or modified; namely the items which were of no distinctive features between the weak and strong students were omitted, modified or changed to another item. The same was done for the items with very low level of difficulty which was answered by all of the students.

In the next step, the treatment was done over the experimental group. They were taught the syllabus on the basis of task curriculum grammatical patterns for 10 weeks (24 sessions). It’s worth mentioning that 10 task syllabuses were designed based on the similarities and differences in Lārī and Persian with regard to nominal and verbal phrases. After the treatment and organizing different above stages, researcher administered a post-test of a grammatical test for all groups; it means that experimental and control group took the post-test of grammar based on what have been taught. (It should be noted that there was a two-week interval). The features of the post-test items were given at the part about the materials and would be reported by the results and the items individually at the end of this section.

Participants

As mentioned earlier, the total number of students participating in the study was 120, who were selected through purposive and random sampling method. After the group got homogeneous by the pretest, the result was 60 students participating in the population, 30 students of whom were male and the rest 30 were female. Each group of male and female was divided into two groups of experimental and control. The age of these students, who studied Persian in the second grade of primary school, ranged variously between 8 to 11 years old, a mean of 9 years. Based on what we obtained from the pretest results, they were all in the advanced level of commanding in Persian grammar due to the
fact that they were students in the second grade of elementary school in and have exposed to Persian in daily life; furthermore, the pretest showed the results of scores as being at the similar level.

About the sample selection, it is to be added that sixty applicants were selected on the basis of one standard deviation (SD) lower than the mean. The mean and the SD were calculated (M≈17.00, and SD≈2.00), thus the scores with one SD lower than the mean (score=15) were considered as acceptable scores. Therefore, the sixty scores were included and the rest twenty ones were excluded consequently.

It should be mentioned that all groups were at the same level of Persian proficiency at the beginning of study after the results of pretest test showed. The participants were all Lārī learners, Lārī native speakers, homogeneous in respect of the proficiency in Persian after pretest was implemented.

All experimental groups received the same instruction based on the task-based language approach (which was designed from similarities and differences between nominal and verbal phrases in Lārī and Persian) for 20 hours in 24 sessions (a sample task as well as the components are presented in Appendix I, Tables A, B, C). The instruction was a syllabus which was developed on the basis of task syllabus pattern. The syllabus included some lessons of grammar along with some tasks in order to improve the student’s Persian grammar. The classes were held twice a week, as the procedure of the study took about two months and a half to accomplish.

**Materials**

The items of our pre-test were chosen from the contrastive analysis of nominal and verbal matters in Lārī and Persian on the subject of research. As the items of test provided here were as objective and to the point as possible, it was decided to have a thorough examination of the items and tests and regards all issues related to the subject like the issues related to the test specification of writing grammar test. They were as to specify the purpose of the test, writing specification,
sampling, and the ways to write the test such as multiple choices. Therefore, the reliability and validity of items were measured by the researcher using the statistical formulas. It means the Cronbach’s alpha was used to know the reliability and correlation coefficient to show the appropriateness of items. In fact, the correlation coefficient said that which item was of relationship with other items and which one is not. Usually, the degree upper then 0.6 in correlation coefficient showed that the items were of internal consistency. The reliability was reported as .85 which is considered acceptable.

There were 22 items for pre-test that were taken by the students of both control and experimental group. It should be noted that the pre-test was designed in the format of multiple-choice and all items had just one correct answer which were asked for by clear, to-the-point and short instruction in the question form. Clear instructions, in addition, were provided for each set of related questions to make the understanding of the questions easier.

Furthermore, the posttest has been developed for the sake of checking the effectiveness of our treatment. Therefore, the post-test features were the same and paralleled (comparable) as the pre-test. Thus, to implement the posttest, we went on doing the test similar to the pretest and the scores of this test, like the ones of pretest, were analyzed and the statistical data were extracted. Also, the data obtained from the scores of pre-test and post-test were compared and employed to ensure the process of treatment and the effect of our procedure during the study.

**Data Analysis**

To compare the scores of the two groups (including control and experimental groups) and interpret the results, the data were done through One-way ANOVA and two-way ANCOVA. Regarding the effects of task syllabus of grammatical patterns on the Lārī learners’ knowledge of Persian grammar, this study aimed to see whether or not these patterns had any effects on these sorts of students including male and female ones in this study. The analysis of pretest and posttest were
performed to determine the immediate effect of the treatment. That was the reason to know to what extent a treatment truly resulted in learning.

Furthermore, in order to tabulate the data gathered from the pretest, the post-test, and to perform statistical procedures, the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) (version 18.0) was used.

Discussion

The current study attempted to answer this main question that whether using task-based curriculum has any effect on Iranian male and female Lārī learners' Knowledge of Persian Grammatical Patterns.

Based on what were done through analyses, descriptive analysis for the pretest and the posttest of grammar in the male experimental group, the pretest and the posttest of grammar in the male control group showed increase in the means of the posttest rather than their pretest. The descriptive analysis for the pretest and the posttest of grammar in the female experimental group and the descriptive analysis for the pretest and the posttest of grammar in the female control group of the study represented the same results. In addition, the deviation of the scores from the mean of the pretest was reduced in the post test. These findings showed that the task-based curriculum affected the male linguistic knowledge (Tables 1 and 2).

Inferential analysis of the obtained data of the one-way ANOVA done using the SPSS revealed the ‘compare means’, ‘degree of significance’,

Table 1. One Way ANOVA descriptive Statistics for male experimental group of the study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variable: Task-based Curriculum based on contrastive Grammar in Persian and Lārī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Task-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>posttest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. one way ANCOVA for male control group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variable: Grammar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Task-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>posttest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. One Way ANOVA for all four groups of the study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task-based Curriculum</th>
<th>Sum of Squares</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>643.933</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>64.5</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>366.800</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>6.550</td>
<td>32.770</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1010.733</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Two Way ANCOVA tests of Between-Subjects Effects for male experimental group of the study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variable: Grammar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Task</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘degree of freedom’, and the ‘F value’ were obtained (Table 3). Also, the mean scores of within and between groups according to ANOVA analysis of the posttest (Table 3), the Mean, F, Sig. and the Degree of Freedom according to ANCOVA analysis of pretest-posttest of male experimental group (Table 4), and the Mean, F, Sig. and the Degree of Freedom according to ANCOVA analysis of pretest-posttest of
Table 5. Two Way ANCOVA tests of Between-Subjects Effects for female experimental group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Type III Sum of Squares</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>Partial Eta Squared</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Task</td>
<td>136.533</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>136.533</td>
<td>24.360</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.465</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

female experimental group (Table 5) showed that the higher scores of ‘F’ in the experimental groups were observable. This together with the experimental lower scores of the Sig. (0.00) meant that the Persian grammatical knowledge of the experimental groups both male and female increased more than the control groups. Therefore, the treatment was influential. The schematic interactions of all factors involved are presented below:

![Fig. 1: The researcher-made model for interaction of factors in teaching Persian to Lari-speakers.](image)

**Conclusion**

The current investigation provided support for the value of a syllabus based on a combination of task-based approach in language teaching
and contrastive analysis in enhancing grammatical knowledge of Lārī speakers. Use of grammatical task-based syllabus patterns as evidenced by the significant differences found between Lārī and Persian verbal and nominal phrases for the learners in the control and experimental groups. The debate over the use of grammar has been always a challenging area of discussion over the years, at least from the advent of communicative language teaching. The research found through the data analysis that using the syllabus were influential in enhancing grammatical knowledge of Lārī speakers.

With regard to table 1, the results of ANOVA showed that the mean score of male learners of experimental group in post-test (16.93) was significantly higher than that in pre-test (11.80), whereas there was no significant difference between mean score of pre- and post-test in control group; thus, it can be inferred that the syllabus was effective in enhancing male Lārī learners of Persian. In addition, results proved that the mean score for female control group was not significant in pre- and post-test (10.40 for pre-test and 11.06 for post-test); also, the ANOVA results showed that there was a significant difference between pre- and post-test in female experimental group (p=0.05); therefore, the treatment was influential in female experimental group. Thus, the implementation of task based syllables on the basis of the similarities and differences within the two languages under investigation has been effective in improving the grammatical knowledge of Persian in Lārī speaking learners.

**Bibliography**


Appendix I: Sample Task

Table A: The past tense of intransitive verb of /onda/ [to come] in Lārī.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example in Lārī</th>
<th>Equivalent in Persian</th>
<th>Equivalent in English</th>
<th>Example in Lārī</th>
<th>Equivalent in Persian</th>
<th>Equivalent in English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ondom</td>
<td>amadam</td>
<td>I came</td>
<td>ondem</td>
<td>amadim</td>
<td>We came</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ondesh</td>
<td>amadi</td>
<td>You came</td>
<td>ondi</td>
<td>amadid</td>
<td>You came</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oma</td>
<td>amad</td>
<td>He/she came</td>
<td>ondet</td>
<td>amadand</td>
<td>They came</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table B: The past tense of transitive verb of /deda/ [to see] in Lārī.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example in Lārī</th>
<th>Equivalent in Persian</th>
<th>Equivalent in English</th>
<th>Example in Lārī</th>
<th>Equivalent in Persian</th>
<th>Equivalent in English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>omdí</td>
<td>didam</td>
<td>I saw</td>
<td>modí</td>
<td>didim</td>
<td>We saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otdí</td>
<td>didi</td>
<td>You saw</td>
<td>todi</td>
<td>didid</td>
<td>You saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oshdí</td>
<td>did</td>
<td>He/she saw</td>
<td>shodi</td>
<td>didand</td>
<td>They saw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table C: The task-based syllabus of similarities and differences in Lārī and Persian.

Please tell a story about one of the topics here (write a 50 words at least):
1. What did you do in last Friday?
2. How did you spend your summer?
3. What was the best event happened in your life?
4. What was the worst event happened in your life?
New Light on the Coptic Manichaean Synaxeis
A Codicological and Textological Survey
(With Two Appendices)

Mohammad Shokri-Foumeshi *

Abstract

The Coptic cunaxic (σύναξις, Synaxeis), wherein come the twenty-two chapter titles of each logoc (logos, chapter) of the peuaggelion etan=h (the Living Gospel,) found in Egypt (Fayyūm), contains only page-headers and is only partly legible. It helps us to reconstruct parts of the contents of Mānīʾs Living Gospel. Although the remaining text of the Middle Persian version of the Living Gospel contains only a part of the first chapter, the Synaxeis containing 22 logia lets us know that at least the ‘second Meeting’ (synaxis) of its sixth Discourse (logos, i.e. chapter) dealt with the Great Builder (Syr. bn rbʾ; MP rʾz ʿy wzrg) and that the content of the ninth chapter was about ‘the coming of Jesus the Christ’. The new editions of the codex are of enormous value, giving us new, previously unimaginable information.

Keywords: Coptic Synaxeis, Manichaean Codex, Mānīʾs Gospel, reconstruction.

Introduction

To reconstraste of the Turfan Iranian fragments of Mānīʾs Living Gospel, i.e. M17, M172/I/, m644 and m5439, and understand its contents,

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Here I would like to thank Prof. Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst (Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, BBAW) for his kind suggestions, constructive advice and comments.
we need to deal with the well-known Manichaean σύναξεις (σύναξείς, Synaxeis)\(^1\) or Commentary (Cf. Böhlig 1968, 222 ff, esp. 225) on the Living Gospel (Lieu 1994, 108-109), one of seven Coptic Manichaean codices found in Fayyūm, a town of Medinet Madi (Egypt), in 1929 and dated to circa 400 AD (Mirecki 1994, 199). Although the Synaxeis do not correspond to the Middle Persian texts of the Gospel, they aid in our understanding of both the structure and the context of the Middle Persian version. The main part of the page-headers of the Synaxeis was translated in 1988 by P. A. Mirecki and a part of the – badly damaged – texts was translated by W.-P. Funk in 2009, although tentatively. Work on the translation and the commentary on the codexes is still ongoing.

**Chapter-Titles**

The Synaxeis codex contains 15 chapter titles and 22 page-headers which have so far been identified and transcribed (Ibid. 206). Only four of the chapter titles reflect the themes of the respective chapters. Unfortunately, two of them are illegible. Thus, the remaining two, which have an added comment, must be considered of importance.\(^2\) Therefore, now we know what these chapters of the Living Gospel are about.

\(^1\) Sg. σύναξις, Synaxis.

\(^2\) It is clear that we cannot exclude the other chapter titles which have no comment. As most of the chapter titles including two (or more) synaxeis contained the various themes, in comparison to those that have been formed from one synaxis, I would like here to skim through the remaining synaxeis, which have no comment. These are only the synaxeis and chapter titles that have been identified and transcribed by Mirecki. They are summarized in the following table (according to Mirecki 1988, 137-145; the Coptic text in ibid.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signatures</th>
<th>Sinaxeis and Chapter Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Leaf 1957.23</td>
<td>The Second Synaxis of the First Logos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Leaf 1957.21</td>
<td>The Third Synaxis of the First Logos of the Living Gospel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Leaf 1957.17</td>
<td>The Fourth Synaxis of the First Logos of the Gospel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Leaf 1957.12</td>
<td>The Synaxis of the Second Logos of the Living Gospel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Leaf 18 Verso (Berlin)</td>
<td>The Second Synaxis of the Third Logos of the Gospel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first text as follows is an improved re-edition (Mirecki 1994, 207) of the primary publication (Ibid. 142 § 9). \[=mpe\text{-}uaggelion \text{ etan}=h\] \[=mpe\text{-}uaggelion \text{ etan}=h\] in the second line is added by me. Here, \(\text{etan}=h\) ‘living’ can easily be overlooked.\(^3\) The second text is presented in Mirecki 1994, 207.

Text I: Leaf 1957.5 /Left-hand page/ Chapter title/ horiz. fibers
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tmah}=c=n\text{te} & =n\text{cunaxic} =\text{mpmahcau} =\text{nlogoc} \\
\text{er}=e & =-\text{nrec} \quad \text{etan}=h \quad \text{en} \quad \text{t}=\text{o}=\text{l}=\text{y} \text{ at}=\text{p} \text{ pna} \\
\text{etan}=h & \text{t}=\text{o}=\text{l}=\text{y} \text{ at}=\text{p} \text{ pna} \\
\text{etan}=h & \text{t}=\text{o}=\text{l}=\text{y} \text{ at}=\text{p} \text{ pna}
\end{align*}
\]

The Second Synaxis of the Sixth Logos [of the \{Living\} Gospel:] Commandment for the Great | Architect ............ ............ in the New Age (Ibid. 206).

Text II: Leaf 1957.2 / Right-hand page/ Chapter title/ horiz. fibers
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tcunazic} & =\text{mp}=\text{mahv}[i]=c =\text{nlogoc} =\text{mp}=\text{u}=\text{a}=\text{g}=\text{g}=\text{e}=\text{l} \\
\text{etan}=h & \text{t}=\text{o}=\text{l}=\text{y} \text{ at}=\text{p} \text{ pna} \\
\text{etan}=h & \text{t}=\text{o}=\text{l}=\text{y} \text{ at}=\text{p} \text{ pna}
\end{align*}
\]

The Synaxis of the Ninth Logos of the Living Gospel. Concerning the Coming of Jesus the Christ (Ibid. 207).

In the Festschrift für Kurt Rudolph (1994), Mirecki has offered a model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leaf</th>
<th>Verso</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Leaf 16</td>
<td>The Third Synaxis of the Third Logos of the Living Gospel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Leaf 14</td>
<td>The Third Synaxis of the Eighth Logos of the Living Gospel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Leaf 155.12</td>
<td>The Synaxis of the Fourteenth Logos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Leaf 154.10</td>
<td>The Synaxis of the Sixteenth Logos of the Living Gospel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Leaf 154.6</td>
<td>The Synaxis of the Eighteenth Logos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Leaf 151/2.6</td>
<td>The Synaxis of the Nineteenth Logos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Leaf 151/2.2</td>
<td>The Synaxis of the Twenty-First Logos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This little enables us to comment on a few points. See footnote 12.

3. Cf. the text II (in the main text) as well as the fragments 1957.21; 1957.17; 1957.12; 1957.10; etc. (in the footnote 899), as attested in Mirecki 1988, 138 ff.

4. Mine
for the codicological reconstruction of the codex. In his new study on the Synaxeis, he believed that the Synaxeis text is the last of two texts in the codex and the first Synaxeis text is an unknown text possibly related to the Synaxeis text. He points out that there was no evidence to suggest whether this unknown Manichaean text is the lost Living Gospel or not (Mirecki 1994, 202). He continues:

The contents of the codex are closely related to the contents of the now lost Living Gospel. It may be a lengthly introduction to the Synaxeis text... Thirty-seven extant chapter titles and page headers, many of which contain the ordinal numbering system for an unknown number of Synaxeis and for the twenty-two logos, have been identified and transcribed (See Ibid. 202 no. 14). Most of these texts make explicit reference to the Living Gospel in a manner which suggests that the 22 chapters in the Synaxeis text were deliberately coordinated with the structure and contents of the Living Gospel. This indicates that an

5. After a critical discussion, and according to his model, Mirecki suggests a new method for the identification of the ordinal numbering system reflected in this codex via a chart in four columns (Ibid. 204-205). His codicological research informs us that “the first 8 chapters of the Living Gospel have an attested minimum of 15 synaxeis in the Synaxeis text. This relatively large number of synaxeis per chapter suggests that the Manichaean author of the Synaxeis text focussed his exegetical interest on the contents of the first 8 chapters of the Living Gospel” (ibid. 205), by contrast the contents of the last 14 chapters may have been of less importance to him. In other words, the first 8 chapters could receive a minimum of 17 synaxeis from the Synaxeis author (if the silent 4th and 7th chapters had no more than one synaxis each, see column 4), while the remaining 14 chapters of the Living Gospel have only 8 synaxeis (column 2). Of course, it is quite possible, as Mirecki points out, that “the Synaxeis’ author focused on those first 8 chapters for his own reasons regardless of their importance in the Living Gospel itself” (Ibid.). Nevertheless, we can assume that entire Synaxeis text had ‘an estimated minimum of 31 synaxeis’. A few points can also be simply inferred from the chart: first, the Synaxeis text’s author was not able to complete his work, and, for one reason or another, its composition stopped. The author had perhaps intended to write a summary of the Living Gospel, but not a translation. The Living Gospel used by the Synaxeis text’s author might be in Syriac, and not in Greek or in Coptic. Secondly, in the text there is seemingly so much hastiness and imbalance that even the title of the Living Gospel comes sometimes with the full name as the Living Gospel, and occasionally as the Gospel only, while it is also sometimes omitted. Thirdly, as Mirecki emphasized, there has been a special interest in the contents of the logos A (first chapter) of the Living Gospel, as its five synaxeis show (Ibid. 206).
informed understanding of the structure and contents of the Synaxeis text ... will also give us more information about the structure and contents of the lost Living Gospel (See Ibid. 202 no. 14).

The above two chapter titles inform us that at least ‘a Meeting of’ the sixth Discourse/chapter (logos) of the Living Gospel concerned itself with a ‘commandment’ for pna[ n-e-k-w-t ‘the Great Architect/Builder’ (Syr. bn rb’; MP r’z ‘y wzrg or r’z ‘y rwšn) (Sundermann 1979, 109) and the whole ninth logos of the Gospel dealt with t[-inei =n=iy=c p=ej=r=c ‘the coming of Jesus the Christ’. Therefore, by finding parallels for these materials we must cautiously consider the Turfan fragments dealing with these divinities. In the synaxis ‘commandment for the Great Architect ... in the New Age’, the myth might be related to the function of the Great Builder (who holds up a part of the universe) during the eschatological events, namely in the ‘Great War’, and not to his function in the Creation. We can assume that Mānī in his Gospel described the myth of Jesus Christ after the description of the myth of the Great Architect including both of these mythical themes which have been reasonably presented in the first half of the Living Gospel.

Plain Text

First Discourse (Logos)

Some parts of the Synaxeis codex, which are plain text and recently edited and tentatively8 translated by W.-P. Funk (2009) enable us to gain more information from the Living Gospel. All the following passages of the Synaxeis would be intended to show the content of the Gospel, as far as possible. In the ‘First Meeting’ (1st synaxis) of the ‘First Discourse’ (1st logos),9 i.e. Chapter Aleph, we read as follows:10

6. This is only one of at least two synaxeis for the sixth chapter.
7. For the Coptic attestations, see van Lindt 1992, 78-80.
8. Due to the very damaged papyri
10. Funk (Ibid. 116) clearly emphasizes that he reads this text “likewise as text of the
Text I: (I have set apart, or sim.) ... [the living] offspring [... from] what is dead, the children of the light from (3) [the] offspring [of] darkness.

I have separated the children of the height from the offspring of the abyss, the children of God (5) from the children of the enemy.

I have distinguished the light-gods from the archons ..., etc (Funk 2009, 116).

This testimony in the first person singular can hardly be far away from the following piece of the Greek version of the Gospel, where Mānī says: “I have proclaimed hope and revealed this revelation,” etc. (CMC 67,11 ff.) (Apud Ibid). According to Funk (Ibid. 117), the above-mentioned text is followed by a paragraph of exhortation of the Apostle of Light as follows (246: 4-7 = Series VI, folio 24 vert.):

Text II: Be luminous, be living, be strong, [be] listeners to knowledge! Raise your ears so that your hearing organs may be filled with knowledge through the messenger of the Father of Greatness,” etc (Ibid).

Then, we hear Mānī’s praise of his own literary work speaking about the great secrets instructed by the twenty-two logoi of the primeval alphabet of the new Gospel as follows (247: 2-10 = Series VI, folio 23 hor.):

Text III: This is the new Gospel, the holy [... ]12 of truth, the great revelation of the things of the quality of Greatness, which makes public(5) the great secrets concerning all that happened and concerning all that will happen, from the beginning to [the end] — the one that reveals and instructs about the interpretation [of the] twenty-two logoi

Living Gospel”. He criticizes (Ibid. 116 no. 3) the suggestions of both Böhlig 1968, 227, and King 1992, 286-288, who believed that “these Synaxeis most probably contain excerpts from (and not commentaries on) chapters of Mānī’s Living Gospel”.

11. “In terms of the inventory of the manuscript PCBM 5”, Funk (ibid. 116, no. 4) says that “this page is identifiable as the horizontal fibre side of the leaf labelled ‘Series VI, folio 24’. In the forthcoming edition this will robably be called page 245.”

12. Book?
of the primeval alphabet, from which the worlds borrowed and through which (10) they were sown out (Ibid. 117 no. 6).

This part of the preamble “followed by the litany of the twenty-two ‘Firsts’ or ‘Primeval Voice’ hymns13 and concluded by another litany, which assures the readers/listeners of finding in this work what they are looking for” (Funk 2009, 117). In a part of it we read as follows (248 = Series VI, folio 23 hor.):

Text IV: The children of long-suffering will find long-suffering in it, the gentle children will taste gentleness through it, the children of hope will see hope in it, etc (Ibid. 117 no. 8).

Unfortunately, of these passages belonging to the first part, that is, to the first ‘Meeting’ (synaxis) of the chapter Aleph, we find no parallel in the Middle Persian version of the surviving fragments of the Gospel. Their textological situation in the MP version must be technically placed almost immediately after the last passage of M5439/Ⅴ/ⅱ/5-6/, i.e., the last surviving words of the MP Gospel. About the remaining unpublished synaxeis of the first chapter we can say nothing at the moment, except that editor of the codex, Funk, points out that “the Second to Fifth Meetings of the First Discourse have for their topic the description of the Father of Greatness, the realm of light, and the beauty of the light Aeons.” (Ibid. 117-118).

Other Discourses

Mythical Drama

Our information about the rest of the chapters which still are not completely edited is actually very limited. According to Funk’s report

13. According to Funk (ibid., 117 no. 7), “this place, towards the end of the preamble of Mānī’s Gospel and shortly after proclaiming the mysterious relationship of the work to the primeval alphabet, would appear to be the canonical anchoring of the ‘Primeval Voice’ hymn with its twenty-two items. . . . In the Synaxeis codex, this hymn is only very fragmentarily preserved and needs a great deal of restoration, which of course helped by knowledge of the Iranian parallels.” Cf. above §2.5, section ‘Primeval Voice’ and Durkin-Meisterernst/ Morano 2010, 10-13.
(Ibid. 118), we know only that the second discourse demonstrated the realm of the darkness and the third chapter dealt with the evil schemes and preparations for battle. It is however natural to assume that this mythical drama was also continued in the fourth chapter (for the content of Chapters VI and IX, see above); otherwise, unfortunately, we do not know what were the contents of Chapters V, VII, VIII, X up to XIV, except that all these chapters had ‘mythological contents’ (Ibid).

**Mānī among the Children of the Nomos**

The very badly damaged pages of the *Synaxeis* codex containing the various Meetings of the *fifteenth Discourse* are only understandable with the help of the Greek CMC. Here we read as follows (383: 12-13 = Series 1955, folio 6 vert.):

Text V: ... (12) ... the dogma and ... (2 lines illegible) [...] ... (15) ... in the nomos ... (16) [...] ... among them ... (2 lines illegible) (18) [...] ... and the birth/generation of the body [...] ... they nourished my body alone (20) [...] ... in that dogma [...] ... and its presbyters [...] ... my body ... that I should do [...] ... thus I did not trust them when I was small ...(Ibid).

On the verso page of the same leaf, after another mention of nourishment (line 19, ‘... to me, with me feeding’) as well as a few other things, a dialogue with ‘my true and most honoured Twin’ is either initiated or continued, and in this context again, mention is made of ‘the dogmata that walk about in error’ (line 22) and ‘the children of the nomos’ (line 27) (Ibid. 119).

*Synaxeis*; 391: 10-26 = Series 1955, folio 2 hor.:

Text VI: *(The first ten lines are hardly legible; lines 3f. probably “they are the children of the nomos” and the term trophē, ‘food’ or ‘feeding’, in illegible context)*

(10) ... in a ... way, according to individual nomoi (or ‘nomos by nomos’). They did ... [...] ... They separated plant from plant, vegetable from vegetable, [herb] from herb (?). And so did I. I separated (?) ... [...] ... their outrage, according to their nomos, ... (15) ... (3 lines entirely
illigible) ... I took it from them, they being [...] consideration. In this way I chanced upon (?) [...] (20) ... they ... by his/its schēma, by his/its typos, thus [...] outside. I went into the monasteries [which (25) belonged (?)] to them. They (?) desired [...] outside and [inside (?) ...] ... in it. (A few other lines, but illegible) (Ibid. 120)\(^{14}\)

These accounts clearly pertain to Mānī’s early youth and his life among the Elchasaites and have parallels in the CMC.\(^{15}\) Here Mānī discusses the practice of the Baptists, which is contrary to his faith, their separation or distinction of some of plants and vegetables; in other words, accepting some while rejecting others.

**Voyage to India**

The Coptic Synaxeis confirm that the Gospel reflected Mānī’s experiences in India, strictly speaking, in the Hinduist milieus. “The page that carries this report belongs to the same series of leaves as that about the Baptists and may belong to just another ‘meeting’ (apparently preceding the one that deals with Twin and Elchasaites) but the same Discourse of the Living Gospel” (Ibid. 121), i.e., the fifteenth chapter; as follows (379: 4-34 = Series 1955, folio 8 vert.):

Text VII: (Remains of the first few lines illegible) ... little by little (5) [...] ... the error of their nomos. But ... [...] ... error ... They have already dissolved [and [...] them in/by the bond of the nomos, by way of the (pl.) ... [...]. They were ... away on account of its error. Thus [I ...] little by little and I drew many away from the error (10) [of the] nomos. I led them from death to life, for I [am ...] against them (?) ... according to their ... (12) for a time.

I ... their (?) ... in the countries of the land (?) of the east, of In[dia]. (14) In that place [I encountered (?)] many sects (dogma) and castes (15) [which (?) ...] ... except for [their] nomos, while the ... (16) [...] ... through one another, according to the ... (17) [...] that place, the ones

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14. The CMC itself was called ‘On the birth/generation of his body’.

that I distinguished – caste by caste, *dogma* by *dogma*. In that place I took a close look at (19) the caste of the Brahmans (and found out) that they were strong and settled in their (20) ... in the land of east. They are respected in their [caste (?) ...] ... other *dogma*(ta). Now, their *nomos* is the following. I took (22) a close look at their *nomos* and found that (?) the leaders and the teachers [...] ... in prophecy and ascesis, in special skills (*εὐμηχανία*) (24) ... the hair of their head. It is to their own teachers that they listen – ever since (?) [their] prophets, their fathers.

When I saw myself that they were (26) in such a manner opposed and incapable of listening to any other but their own ... and their *nomos*, that they are lined up (‘in rank and file’? στοιχεῖον) and are (28) [...] ... their caste and did not search outside of ... [...] ... their *nomos*. As soon as [I (?) ...] (30) ... [...] ... my head, I sought after ... [...] ... I travelled around in their countries ... (32) [...] ..., I ... the disposition which [...] ... their places which ... (34) [...] ... I (?) said (?), “Your *nomos*, which ... [...] ... which ...” (end of page) (Ibid. 120).

*The Hebrews, the Seed of Abraham and the Babylonians*

The following passage seems to be an excerpt from the *Living Gospel*, most likely from its Eighteenth or Nineteenth Discourse (Ibid. 122). The text concerns the Hebrew *people*, Mount Sinai, some speculation about the term *skhina* and finally an ambiguous mention of the Babylonians. The surviving passage – in an imperfect context – seems to describe and interpret the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt and the religious contribution of the Hebrews in Babylonia, where Mānī was born and grew up, as follows (422: 4-32 = Series 1951, folio 12 hor.):

Text VIII: (Nothing readable of the first five lines of that page, and next to nothing of the preceding one) ... (6) ... [he] chose the tribe, ... [the] entire [country] ... [He] ... their ... so that they ... (10) godhead. Later on, [he] ... in order to [...], that is (?), the *skhina* ..., in order to seize [...] (12) ... set free (?) her army. Finally, then, after having [...] (13) ... the seed of Abraham, she (?) ... them off. They ... and they ... (15) ... the slavery and the humiliation ... [...] ... (forced?) labor. So they departed from
Egypt [and passed (17) through (?)] the field of the mountain of *sina* (that is, Mount Sinai). There were great [quantities (18) of] thistles [growing (?)] in that [place (?)]. Now, the thistle is called *sina* in the language of that place ... (20) [...] ... (21) [That is why (?)] that mountain had been named ... [...] ... *skhina*, after the name of the thorn-tree with which [the whole place (?)] is filled. (23) [...] ... These Babylonians released (?) ... [...] ... and they ... in it. They seized [the land (?) of] ... (25) ... and became kings in it... . (2 lines illegible) ... (27) ... Euphrates ... (29) ... these Chal[daeans (?)] ... (30) [...] ... in (?) Hebrew ... [...] ... (32) [...] ... in Babylon ... [...] ... (next to end of page)

On the next page, some other phrases are also read by Funk as follows (423 = Series 1, 1951, folio 11 hor.):

... from the land of the Egyptians to the country of ... (line 11)
... [people who] worship in that temple ... (lines 20-21)
... those Babylonians who belong to the ancient *dogma* (Ibid. 124, no. 28) ... (lines 21f.)

For discussion, especially concerning the identification of ‘the seed of Abraham’ with the Mandaean community, see Funk 2009, 122-126.

*Jesus*

Only a few lines later, the text deals with some sort of Christological discussion, recognizable only with the following words: “Jesus” (line 26), “while they say about him that ...” (line 31), and, on the other side of the sheet, “the son of Mary” (line 20) (Ibid. 124, no. 29).

*Conclusion*

The Coptic *Synaxeis* codex gives us the most diverse passages of the different chapters of the *Living Gospel* as follows: separating the living offspring from the offspring of darkness, the children of the height from the offspring of the abyss; exhortation to the listeners and hearers of the

16. *dogma* in square brackets.
true words; the great secrets of the new Gospel which are written through twenty-two logoi of the primeval alphabet; description of the Father of Greatness, the Realm of Light and the beauty of the light Aeons. All these were the topics of the first chapter (Aleph) of the Gospel.

Part of the second chapter dealt with the Realm of Darkness, and part of the third chapter with the mythical drama, i.e., the battle between Light and Darkness. Owing to the fact that the codex is fragmentary, we have almost no information about the contents of the fourth up to fourteenth chapters, but it seems that some of them must have had rather mythical subjects. The fifteenth chapter, although very short and fragmentary parts have survived, refers to Mānī’s early youth and his life among the Elchasaites, especially to his ‘nourishment’ as well as his experience among the sect. It is in this chapter that Mānī’s Twin warns him from the error of the nomos of this community. Here, the text explains Mānī’s hard discussion with the Baptist Elchasaites on the acceptance of some plants and vegetables and, by contrast, also his rejection of others. Another topic which was represented presumably in this chapter is Mānī’s voyage to India and his missionary efforts in this land. Here he proselytes and discusses with the religious leaders. But, as the incomplete context shows, the mission was not successful for the reason of the dogmatism of the Brahmans’ and general public. According to Funk’s report, it is most likely that it was in the eighteenth or nineteenth chapter that Mānī dealt with the story of the Hebrew exodus from Egypt. With an uncritical tone, Mānī mentions here from ‘the seed of Abraham’ and speaks about the Babylonian pagans in an almost ambiguous context. It seems that these Babylonians, who have Hebrew origin, live along the Euphrates River which is mentioned by name in the text. Funk suggests that this group is the same Mandaean community. Interestingly, the text which speaks about the Hebrew people, deals with the etymology of the two words sina (the Mount Sinai) and skhina. According to the two legible page-headers of the Synaxeis, a part of the sixth chapter of the Gospel dealt with the ‘Great Architect/Builder’ and the whole ninth chapter spoke about the ‘coming of Jesus the Christ’.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Twenty-two Logoi

From both Manichaean and non-Manichaean writings we know that Mānī’s Gospel was divided into twenty-two chapters (Syr. mēmrē, Gr. λόγοι) (Böhlig 1980, 45 and Anm. 134) corresponding to the twenty-two letters of the Syriac/Manichaean alphabet (Asmussen 1987, 31b). The Synaxeis author demonstrates numerological interest in the number of 22 chapters (Mirecki 1994, 206). According to the new study and to the edition of the new parts of these papyri, Synaxeis emphasized that this new Gospel revealed “the interpretation of the twenty-two logoi of the primeval alphabet” (Funk 2009, 117, n. 6).

Appendix II: Detailed Contents of the Living Gospel

These are all the various themes that, through the various sources, we know from the contents of the Living Gospel. Obviously, each of these materials, some of which are even anti-Manichaean, has its own special meaning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr.</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Cf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Praise of the divinities such as the Holy Ghost, Jesus the life-giver, the Maiden of Light</td>
<td>Exordium</td>
<td>MP Turfan fragments</td>
<td>38, 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Praise of the holy Church</td>
<td>Exordium</td>
<td>MP Turfan fragments</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Praise of the trinity, i.e., the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost</td>
<td>Exordium</td>
<td>MP Turfan fragments</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>MP Turfan fragments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Praise upon the children of well-being and on the speakers and the hearers of the true word</td>
<td>Exordium</td>
<td>MP Turfan fragments</td>
<td>8, 12, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mānī’s self-introduction</td>
<td>1st chapter</td>
<td>MP Turfan fragments</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mightiness and greatness of God</td>
<td>1st chapter</td>
<td>MP Turfan fragments</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Veneration of the Gospel</td>
<td>1st chapter</td>
<td>MP Turfan fragments</td>
<td></td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>1st chapter</td>
<td>MP Turfan fragments</td>
<td>4, 16, 17</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mānī’s revelation</td>
<td>1st chapter</td>
<td>MP Turfan fragments</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Great secrets in the Gospel</td>
<td>1st chapter</td>
<td>MP Turfan fragments</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mānī’s self-introduction</td>
<td>1st chapter</td>
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<td>Greek CMC</td>
<td>4, 8, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mānī’s syzygos (the Twin)</td>
<td>1st chapter</td>
<td>Greek CMC</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Mānī’s revelation</td>
<td>1st chapter</td>
<td>Greek CMC</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Baptists, i.e., the Elchasaites</td>
<td>1st chapter</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>1st chapter</td>
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<td>Description of the Father of Greatness, and his mightiness and greatness</td>
<td>1st chapter</td>
<td>Coptic Synaxeis</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>2nd chapter</td>
<td>Coptic Synaxeis</td>
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<td>Battle between Light and Darkness ?</td>
<td>3rd chapter</td>
<td>Coptic Synaxeis</td>
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<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Commandment for the Great Architect... in the New Age</td>
<td>4th-5th ch.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Concerning the Coming of Jesus the Christ</td>
<td>6th chapter</td>
<td>Coptic Synaxeis</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>7th-8th ch.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Mānī’s early youth</td>
<td>9th chapter</td>
<td>Coptic Synaxeis</td>
<td>47</td>
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<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>10th-14th ch.</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>Mānī’s life among the Elchasaites and his discussion with them</td>
<td>15th chapter</td>
<td>Coptic Synaxeis</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
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<td>15th chapter</td>
<td>Coptic Synaxeis</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Beliefs of the Baptists in acception some plants and vegetables and rejection of others</td>
<td>15th chapter</td>
<td>Coptic Synaxeis</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Mānī’s voyage to India and his missionary efforts among the Brahmans and general public</td>
<td>15th chapter</td>
<td>Coptic Synaxeis</td>
<td>15, 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Story of the Hebrew exodus from Egypt, ‘the seed of Abraham’, sina (the Mount Sinai) and skhina</td>
<td>15th chapter?</td>
<td>Coptic Synaxeis</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td>18th or 19th ch.?</td>
<td>Coptic Synaxeis</td>
<td>-</td>
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</table>
33. Babylonian pagans, Euphrates river
   Division of the *Gospel* into twenty-two chapters in seven parts
   18th or 19th ch.?
   Coptic *Synaxeis*
   -

34. Milky Way
   Greatnesses
   Milky Way
   Greatnesses
   ?
   Parthian M5510+M5511
   19, 48

35. Mānī as the paraclete (*pasāgrīw*)
   Divinities
   Community of the righteous
   Root and origins of the entire doctrines of Mānī
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