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Iranian Studies in France

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*Bernard Hourcade*

## **Iranian Studies in France**

### *I. The State, University Traditions and Awareness of the "Iranian World" in France*

There is, in France, a pronounced awareness of an "Iranian world" that can be identified in terms of cultural, linguistic, ethnic (Aryan peoples) or geographic (highlands, cold winters) characteristics common to the civilizations of all Iranian-speaking peoples living in Afghanistan, Iran, Kurdistan or south central USSR, in particular, Tajikistan. This "world" stands in contrast to the Arab, Indian and Turkish ones. The notion of a Middle East extending from Casablanca to Kabul does not exist in French. Newspapers usually refer to the Moslem lands to the south and east of the Mediterranean as the "Arab world," as if Turkish- and Persian-speaking peoples were peripheral minorities therein.

Owing to its colonial and military heritage, France has long given special importance to the *Maghrib* (Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria), the Near East (Lebanon and Syria, in particular) and, as a result of the Napoleonic campaigns and Champollion's expeditions, Egypt. In contrast, France has never played a major, lasting political role in Iran or Afghanistan. As a consequence, Iranian Studies were for a long time classified under Arab Studies, which, by comparison, benefited from the favors of successive governments.

Not being in favor with political authorities did, however, make it all the easier to develop cultural relations between France and Persia during the past century. Whereas the English obtained the monopoly over petroleum, and the Belgians over customs, France received the monopoly of archeological excavations! Thus may be

*Iranian Studies, Volume XX, Numbers 2-4 (1987)*

## 2 Hourcade

understood the concentration of French scholarship upon the original identity of the Iranian--Aryan, or Indo-Iranian--peoples and the origins of their culture. Thus may, in turn, be explained the slight development of historical or social studies concerning the modern period. The priority thus given to pre-Islamic languages, literature, history and arts left but a secondary place for other, more contemporary aspects of Iranian culture, aspects that were of greater interest to scholars from countries with sustained economic, commercial, and political relations with the Persian kingdom.

In order to mark the identity of the Iranian civilization in contrast with the Semitic or Turkish ones, emphasis has often, in France, been placed upon the Aryan character of the Iranian peoples. It was not by chance that Montesquieu chose a Persian instead of a Turk or an Indian to symbolize the independent foreigner. Certain nineteenth century authors, for instance de Gobineau (1859) and Renan, ideologically used this character to support their belief in the superiority of Aryans over Semites. As Keddie (1972) has shown, Renan attributed the intellectual qualities of Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani to his being Aryan, and not Arab. Of course, scholars specializing in Aryan culture and Indo-Iranian civilizations pursued their inquiries at a very different level. In France, they form a venerable lineage that goes back to Anquetil-Duperron who, in the eighteenth century, "discovered" the *Avesta*, and comes up to Dumezil who, before his death in 1986, revealed to us the mythologies of the Indo-European peoples.

Another pillar of Iranian Studies in France, for reasons that the reader may now understand, is archeology. From 1894 to 1931, the French Ministry of Public Education had the monopoly on archeological excavations in Persia. In charge of uncovering the past, of unearthing the splendors of the pre-Islamic era, French archeologists thus helped embellish the image of a prestigious Iranian civilization distinct from the Muslim, and mostly Arab, Middle East. In 1921, France obtained a monopoly over archeological operations in Afghanistan, too, where research would follow behind that in Iran.

The French government provided decisive support by setting up permanent research centers in Afghanistan and Iran. The Ministry of Public Education was at the origin of de Morgan's scientific mission to Persia in the 1890s; the same holds true for the French archeological delegations in Iran and Afghanistan. After the Second World War, French cultural and scientific activities abroad were transferred to the Office of Cultural Relations under the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs, which, in 1947, founded the French-Iranian Institute in Tehran. These cultural initiatives were the only "political" response--and quite limited at that--to the intense military and commercial involvement of the British and Americans in Iran. Isolated and insufficiently backed up by commercial or political relations, these cultural centers led a precarious existence. Their activities often depended upon energetic and respected directors--Jacques de Morgan, Roman Ghirshman, Gustave Schlumberger, and Henry Corbin--who, from a scientific point of view, were quite independent. In fact, the stakes in Iranian Studies were not as high as in disciplines concentrating on the Arab Near East or North Africa, where the French government was much more involved.

Nowadays, however, Iranian Studies in France, centered in Paris, have never been as sound and diverse--despite the current political crises in Iran and Afghanistan. Approximately forty persons are employed full-time in seven teams at the National Center of Scientific Research (CNRS), at the National Institute of Oriental Languages, at the University of Paris III, at a research institute in Iran, and on three journals, *Studia Iranica*, *Abstracta Iranica* and *Les Cahiers de la DAFI*. How has such an initially dire situation become so full of promise? A chronological approach will be used to examine this development.

## *II. Before World War II: Diplomats, Travelers, Archeologists and the Founding Fathers*

Although eighteenth century French philosophers often commented upon Persia, their knowledge of this land was slight indeed (Francis Richard 1987). When Anquetil Duperron, after studying the Pahlavi language, published passages of the *Avesta*, Voltaire was, it is said, disappointed. La Fontaine did not draw the inspiration for what he wrote about Persia in the *Fables* from the first French printed translation of parts of Sa'di's *Golestān* by André du Ryer de Malezair in 1634, nor from Tavernier's (1676) or Chardin's (1686) travel tales.

Not many French embassies or travelers made the trip to Persia before the nineteenth century (Chaybani 1971). The first serious mission was undertaken by General Gardane, whom Napoleon sent to seek support against Russia and Great Britain (de Voogd, 1981). Although the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 ended French ambitions in Persia, Gardane's mission did open the Qajar kingdom to relations in certain fields, notably education. Besides the Capuchin Friars who had been operating there since the seventeenth century, the

Lazarist Order was permitted to open French-speaking schools, particularly in Kurdistan (Chevalier 1985) and among the Assyro-Chaldeans (de Maurois, 1978); and the French branch of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* was later authorized to do likewise in Jewish communities

Comprehensive knowledge about the Persian language initially advanced thanks to religious orders and diplomats. Augustinians from India in 1603, and Carmelites and Capuchins from France in 1628 travelled to Isfahan. They founded there several convents and learned and taught Persian. Raphaël du Mans was the Shah's translator, and Davud Said Esfahāni Louis XIII's. Jean-François Pétis de la Croix, teacher of Persian in the Royal College, translated many famous Persian texts, and remained famous for his translation of *One Thousand and One Nights*.

From that period onward French diplomats had to translate Persian documents coming from Persia or India, so in 1669 Colbert, minister under Louis XIV, set up the Youth Language School (*Ecole des Jeunes de Langues*) to initiate embassy secretaries in Oriental languages. In 1795, the Convention created out of this legacy the National School of Living Oriental Languages (*Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, in short "*Langues O*") the cornerstone of "Oriental" Studies in France. Arabic, Turkish and Persian were basic to the training of embassy secretaries and interpreters, many of whom would achieve renown as scholars. Among the members of the first permanent embassy, headed by Count de Sercey in 1839, was de Biberstein-Kazirmirski who drafted a French-Persian dictionary (1884). Desmaisons (1908) published what would long remain the authoritative Persian-French dictionary, and Nicolas did several translations. Barbier de Meynard (1861) translated Yaqut's geographical dictionary of Persia into French. De Gobineau, a diplomat who did not know Persian very well, was one of the first Frenchmen to be interested in contemporary Persian and to spread knowledge, though not always correct, about this land.

Thanks to the School of Oriental Languages and these embassies, a generation of numerous and brilliant scholars could study the Persia of their times as well as its language and literature. They helped carry out the projects undertaken by famous Orientalists, many of whom were teaching at the School of Oriental Languages or at the College of France. From his position at the College, Silvestre de Sacy would dominate French Oriental Studies for a long time. Jules Mohl (1838) did a masterly translation of

Firdousi's *Shahnameh*. Among the founding fathers of Iranian Studies should be mentioned Langles, the first teacher of Persian in "Langues O'," from 1796 to 1824; Quatremère (1844); Scheffer, who have edited several Persian manuscripts (1891); and especially Burnouf for his decisive contribution to deciphering Pahlavi and the *Avesta* (1829).

Whereas, throughout the nineteenth century, British officers in the army of India wrote for the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* and even brought out the well-known *Village Gazetteers* about Persia and Afghanistan, no comparable sources are available in French. Few Frenchmen, apart from Feuvrier (1900), d'Allemagne (1911), Aucher-Eloy (1843), and some army officers sojourned in this part of the world or wrote valuable reports for publication in, for instance, *La Revue du Monde Musulman* (1906-1926); important travel accounts in French were written by foreigners (Rabino, 1917).

Officially backed scientific research was, however, important, above all in archeology. At the behest of Napoleon III and of the Shah, two architects, Flandin and Coste, traveled in Persia between 1843 and 1854 and published (1851-52) the first scientific description of the principal archeological sites (Persepolis, Pasargadae and Takht-e Bostān). Another mission by Dieulafoy in 1884-1885 undertook the first excavations at Susa, which had been located and identified in 1851 by Lotfus, a Scot. Jane Dieulafoy's *Persia, Chaldea and Susiana* (1887) was one of the first general accounts of Persia and its past in French.

In 1890, the French government sent a scientific mission under de Morgan, a mining engineer, to investigate from every scientific standpoint--geological, botanical, anthropological and archeological--the western areas of the realm. One result was the discovery, for the first time in the Middle East, of a petroleum deposit at Kand-e Shirin. This mission's report, the first global scientific study of Iran, is a monument: nine volumes between 1895 and 1905. Owing to his achievements, de Morgan was appointed in 1897 the first General Delegate in charge of the interests of the French Ministry of Public Education in Persia. The government had obtained from Naser ad-Din Shah in 1894 the monopoly of archeological excavations in the kingdom. From the start, work concentrated on Susa. To provide both lodgings for his expedition and protection from thieves, de Morgan, who arrived at the Susa site on December 16, 1897, had built, in six months, a stronghold in a European

medieval style that would durably symbolize the preponderance and authority of French archeologists in Persia (Jequier, 1960).

Knowledge about Elam and the Achaemenian period progressed considerably because of the digging at Susa. Noteworthy discoveries were made. For example, the Code of Hammurabi was unearthed by Jequier in 1901 and deciphered by J. Scheil, a specialist in Elamite epigraphy. For more than thirty years, the French, under de Mecquenem, who headed the mission from 1912 to 1947, continued to devote nearly all their efforts to Susa and lower Mesopotamia, while the monopoly forbade scholars of other nationalities from undertaking excavations elsewhere. Findings were reported in the journal of the French Archeological Delegation in Iran (*Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran*, henceforth DAFI), at that time called *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française en Perse*.

In 1931, Reza Shah denounced the monopoly, and archeologists from other countries, especially the United States, started, at last, to explore systematically the Iranian plateau. Young Frenchmen, like Roman Ghirshman, began digging at new, exceptional sites such as Bishapur and, following Contenau, Tepe Sialk (1933-1939). At the latter site, a rigorous and precise stratigraphy was, for the first time, established. It still serves as a benchmark for periods going back to the fifth millennium. Archeological operations would, thenceforth, be carried out more scientifically and methodically, and be less turned toward the discovery of objects and treasures for the museums, as had previously been the case as one learns from reading Jequier (1960) or de Mecquenem (1980). French preeminence was preserved through the creation, in 1936, of the first journal of Iranian archeology published in French, *Athar-e Iran*, and through the foundation, in 1928, of the new Iranian Service of Archeology which would be headed, until 1960, by André Godard, founder of the Iran Bastan Museum in Tehran.

French research in Afghanistan followed a similar path, but with a time lag of fifty years. In 1922, a treaty granted France archeological research rights in that country. Foucher then founded the French Archeological Delegation in Afghanistan (*Délégation Archéologique Française d'Afghanistan*, henceforth DAFA). Attention was directed mainly toward eastern Hellenism and the "Silk Route." In 1924, the site of Balkh was identified and explored, and the first excavations were made in the Bamyān area. Findings were published in the collection *Mémoires de la DAFA*.



During the first half of the twentieth century, Iranian Studies also advanced into the universities, thanks, in particular, to the Practical School of Higher Education (*Ecole Pratiques des Hautes Etudes*, henceforth EPHE). This institution, founded under Napoleon III, had a flexible organization that could make room for disciplines not yet allowed into the learned Sorbonne. In the EPHE's Fourth Section (languages and linguistics), ancient Iranian languages--Avesta, Pahlavi, Old Persian, Ossetic and Sogdian--have been taught by eminent scholars, of whom Darmesteter, unquestionably one of the most brilliant, significantly contributed to the advancement of Iranian linguistics and knowledge of Pahlavi. In 1892 he published the first complete translation of the *Avesta*. His successors were, in order : Gauthiot, Meillet, Benveniste and Lazard.

Although before the Second World War archeologists and linguists interested in ancient Iran dominated Iranian Studies, scholars with other interests are worthy of mention. Massignon, who from 1932 on taught Islamic Studies in the EPHE's Fifth Section (religious sciences), initiated scholarly inquiry into Iranian Islam and Shiism. Henri Massé, who held the chair of Persian at the School of Oriental Languages from 1927 until 1958, published short ethnographies (1938) about the Iran of Reza Shah and translated several Persian literary works into French.

### *III. From 1945 to 1970: The Institutionalization of Iranian Studies*

After the Second World War, Iranian Studies entered the University of Paris at the Sorbonne, benefited from the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and developed within the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (henceforth CNRS). From 1945 to 1947 the major institutions that still back this discipline were founded or reorganized by outstanding scholars: Roman Ghirshman headed DAFI, and Daniel Schlumberger, DAFA; Henry Corbin set up the Iranology Department at the French-Iranian Institute; Louis Massignon created the Institute of Iranian Studies at the Sorbonne; and René Labat developed Elamite studies at the College of France (*Collège de France*), where Emile Benveniste held unquestioned sway over Iranian linguistics. In Belgium, too, noteworthy progress was being made in research on Iranian civilizations.

#### *The Archeological Delegations in Iran and Afghanistan: Ghirshman and Schlumberger*



R. Ghirshman replaced R. de Mecquenem in 1947 as director of DAFI, which had been incorporated in the CNRS in 1939 and was now placed under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He methodically investigated Susa and established, as had been done for Tepe Sialk, a rigorous stratigraphy extending from the second millennium to the thirteenth century AD. He finished a study of the Achaemenid palace, the acropolis, and the Royal Town and devoted much effort to excavating, from 1951 to 1962, the Elamite ziggurat at Choga Zambil and the Sasanian site of Eyvān Karkha. The wealth of findings from these excavations greatly advanced learning about ancient Iran. Ghirshman conveyed this new understanding in *Iran from Its Origins to Islam* (1951) and *Parthians and Sassanids* (1962). Personnel were recruited to DAFI's scientific staff, to which the epigraphist Steve belonged. However, few projects were undertaken outside Susiana, apart from the 1959-1960 rescue operation on Kharg Island. Under Ghirshman, French archeology would be identified with the single major site of Susa, dominated by its medieval stronghold.

Isolated individuals pursued the archeology of Islamic Iran, or worked at small scattered sites. Godard published his main work on the *Art of Ancient Iran* in 1962. Siroux, an architect, had been submitting articles to *Athār-e Iran* about fire altars and small Islamic monuments since the 1930s, but his major work (1949) had to do with Safavid caravansaries.

In Belgium, archeological research on Iran was especially active during this post-war period. Vanden Berghe, professor of Near Eastern history and archeology at Ghent University since 1957, has published most of his results in French. Under his direction, Belgian archeologists launched projects in Luristan and at Posht-e Kuh. Vanden Berghe was one of the first scholars to ponder the bronze producing civilization of Luristan. His *Archeology of Ancient Iran* (1959) has gone through several editions and been translated into many languages. In 1961, along with Ghirshman, he founded *Iranica Antiqua*, a journal devoted to the archeology of ancient Iran and running articles in French or English. Since 1965 he has headed the Belgian Archeological Delegation in Iran. Along with Haerinck, he edits the ongoing *Archeological Bibliography of Iran*.

In Afghanistan, in 1945, Schlumberger assumed the position held by a remarkable line of predecessors (Foucher, Ackin and Ghirshman), that of director of DAFA, a position he would hold for more than thirty years. During that period sites from various periods

were excavated, notably Lashkar-e Bazar, where pieces of Bactrian and Gandharan art were discovered. This led to the first major excavation having to do with the Islamic era--the Ghaznavid royal residence. Sukht Kotal, a Kushan site, was probed from 1953 to 1974.

*Henry Corbin and the Department of Iranology in Tehran.*

In 1947, a Department of Iranology was created in Tehran's new French-Iranian Institute, established after the model of the famous French Institute of Oriental Archeology in Cairo. Henry Corbin wanted this center to combine its efforts with those of the Institute of Iranian Studies, which had just been set up at the Sorbonne, for, as he later declared (1968), "We can no longer imagine training an Iranologist today without living contact with the things and beings of the Iranian world." Closely cooperating with Iranian colleagues (Seyyed J. Ashtyāni, Mohammad Mokri and especially Mohammad Mo'in), Corbin found and edited important religious and philosophical texts wherein Islam and the Iranian tradition existed symbiotically. The Department's *Bibliothèque Iranienne* series counted twenty-two volumes of Persian and Arabic texts with introductions and comments in French. Authors were uncovered who had been unknown, or nearly so, in Europe or even in Iran. With his assistants and colleagues, Corbin turned to theosophy and Iranian Islam as formulated by philosophers (Sohravardi, Avicenna and Molla Sadra Shirazi), Ismaili thinkers (Abu Ya'qub Sejestani and Naser-e Khosrow), and Sufis (Ruzbehan Baqli Shirazi and Semnani). Corbin and his followers believe in a specific school of Iranian Islam, permeated by mysticism, gnosticism, and a particular philosophical content, mainly Zoroastrian, which, in some ways, reflects both Iranian and Western beliefs in Iranian exceptionalism.

The Department of Iranology soon built up a substantial library in philosophy and Islamology with a noteworthy collection in Persian. It welcomed newcomers such as Gilbert Lazard, Marijan Molé, and Jean Aubin. After succeeding Massignon in the chair of Islamology at the EPHE in 1954, Corbin based his courses upon recently discovered texts. His analyses had been regularly published in *Eranos Jahrbuch* (Zurich) since 1949 and had appeared in several books: *Celestial Earth and the Resurrection Body*, *From Mazdaist Iran to Shiite Iran* (1961), *Man of Light in Iranian Sufism* (1971a), *History of Islamic Philosophy* (1974), and his masterpiece *In Iranian Islam* (1971b). The Department of Iranology remained strictly devoted to Shiite philosophy after 1953 and did not take in young researchers working on other subjects.

Corbin was well-known in Iran. He often met leading theologians (for instance, Allameh Tabatabai) and had many, and prestigious, students and disciples (among them: S. H. Nasr, K. Mojtahedi, D. Shayegan, Ch. Jambet and H. Landolt). In 1951, Mossadegh exempted the Department of Iranology from being closed down like the other foreign cultural centers. "It is doing what we should be doing," he said. Corbin's posthumous works--he died in 1978--were edited and published with the help of his wife Stella (1981), Dariush Shayegan, and the Paris branch of the Institute for Ismaili Studies. The works and life of Corbin were presented in a special issue of *Cahiers de l'Herne* (Paris, 1980) edited by Jambet .

*The Institute of Iranian Studies (IEI): Massignon, Benveniste and Lazard*

The creation in 1947 at the Sorbonne of the Institute of Iranian Studies (*Institut d'Etudes Iraniennes*, henceforth IEI) was intended to make up for what this discipline lacked, namely, a library and a center for offering courses and undertaking research. By comparison, Arab and Turkish studies were already solidly established. Apart from Persian language courses at the School of Oriental Languages, there was no possibility of specializing in Iranian culture. Courses at the EPHE were broader (Islam, linguistics) or narrower, depending upon the professor. With the agreement of Levy Provençal, who presided over Arab, Turkish and Iranian Studies in France, Massignon was appointed as the first director of the IEI. Nonetheless, this institute remained for the time being an administrative shell without any offices, employees or library. Back from Tehran in 1951, Gilbert Lazard started teaching courses leading to a "Certificate of Iranian Studies" at the bachelor's level; he was later joined by Molé and de Menasce. The latter, who taught the history of religions at the EPHE, would greatly help develop the IEI, in particular its library, by accepting the personal collections of Darmesteter, Massé, Molé and other Iranologists. In 1962 Benveniste succeeded Massignon as director of an institute that was still not much more than a shell. Thanks to the support of Pellat and Brunschvig, who were primarily interested in Arab civilizations, the University of Paris finally created the chair of Iranian Studies at the Sorbonne in 1966. Lazard, who in 1958 had succeeded Massé at the School of Oriental Languages, was the first person to fill it. The IEI now began growing.

The events of May 1968 hastened this process. After the University of Paris was broken up, Lazard, who had become, in addition to his other duties, director of the IEI in 1969, had this

Institute affiliated with the University of Paris III, the so-called New Sorbonne. The IEI thus obtained a recognized administrative status. Lazard later, in 1971, associated the IEI with the CNRS, thus increasing its material means and staff. The library now had a worthy collection. In 1977, the IEI was at last installed in definitive offices in the Latin Quarter. Courses were offered at the bachelor's, master's and doctoral levels.

*In Belgium*, ancient Iran was also under study. At Liège University, Duchesnes-Guillemin had been teaching Indo-Iranian courses since 1938, including linguistics, the *Avesta*, Pahlavi, and ancient Iranian religions. This university became a major European center for studies of the Sassanid epoch. Since Duchesnes-Guillemin's departure in 1983, budget restrictions have prevented any major research program in Iranology from being carried out at Liège. In the Brussels universities Iranian Studies are a matter of individual interest and is centered on the pre-Islamic era.

*In Eastern Europe*, several orientalists published their most important studies in French: The history of Persian literature by Machalski (1965) in Poland; numerous papers in the journal *Acta Orientalia* in Budapest (Hungary). The most famous scholar of Eastern European birth was the Russian-born Vladimir Minorsky whose works on the history of medieval Iran (1932), and historical geography of Iran (in *Journal Asiatique* and *La Revue du Monde Musulman*) are basic.

#### *IV. Since 1970: The Present Organization of Iranian Studies in France*

Iranian Studies entered a third phase of development after 1968. New persons were recruited to the discipline: Jean Perrot on Iranian archeology; Charles-Henri de Fouchécour, Philippe Gignoux and Jean Aubin on classical Iran; Paul Vieille and Jean-Pierre Digard in the social sciences. New organizations have been set up and new methods applied. Research is no longer the endeavor of outstanding, isolated scholars who lack the material means to expand their activities; it is now carried out in teams that bring together several generations of researchers from various specialities. Most of these teams are organized within or with the help of the CNRS, which has

decisively stimulated the study of Iranian--and, in fact, of all major--civilizations.

### *The Universities*

The *Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales* (INALCO)--the renamed School of Oriental Languages--is, above all, an educational institution. During a three-year program, students can study Persian, Kurdish, Pushtu or Urdu as well as Iranian civilization. From 1973 to 1984, de Fouchécour, Lazard's successor, headed the Department of Persian. The Institute's library is world-famous for its collection, which has been assembled over the centuries, in literature and linguistics.

The *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* (EPHE) in the Sorbonne's building is still a major center where Iranian Studies are taught. Its library has an important collection of books about classical and pre-Islamic Iran. In the Department of Religious Sciences, Gignoux, de Menasce's successor, teaches the religions of ancient Iran; Guy Monnot teaches Koranic commentaries; and Michel Tardieu teaches Manichaeism. In history, Jean Aubin has taught the history of Islamic Iran since 1964, mainly the Mongol period and the Portuguese influence in Iran and Indian ocean. In the Department of Linguistics, Gilbert Lazard succeeded Benveniste in 1971.

At the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales* (EHESS) here is no permanent teaching on the Iranian world, but several scholars hold regular graduate seminars on modern and contemporary Iran: Calmard on Qajar history; Roy on the political problems of Afghanistan; Digard on ethnology; and Hourcade on geography.

The *Institut d'Etudes Iraniennes* (IEI) at the University of Paris III - Sorbonne is the only center in France that offers a graduate education in "classical" Iranian culture. There are thirteen thousand volumes in its specialized library. The IEI publishes two series of books--*The Works of the Institute* (*Travaux de l'IEI*) and *Reference Works* (*Documents de Référence*)--both devoted mainly to Iranian literature, linguistics, and antiquity. The "Iranian Languages, Literature and Culture" research team associated with CNRS since 1971 is included in IEI. Charles-Henri de Fouchécour, who replaced Lazard in 1984 as professor of Persian studies in the University of Paris III, has been director of IEI since 1987. Nearly all scholars, researchers and graduate students specializing in Iranian

literature, linguistics, and history of the arts, sciences or pre-Islamic era belong to this team and Institute, which is the real centre for classical Iranian studies in France.

In Aix-en-Provence and in Strasbourg, Iranian studies have been taught temporarily by guest professors, but there is no permanent academic institution devoted to Iran in these cities. However, courses about Iran and Afghanistan are offered at various other French universities: de Planhol and Balland teach geography at the University of Paris IV (Doctorate in geography of the Middle East); Briant teaches Achaemenid history at Toulouse University; Bazin teaches geography at Reims University; and Bromberger teaches ethnology at Aix-en-Provence University.

*The National Center of Scientific Research (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS))*

As we have already seen, this institution has played a major role in developing research on Iranian civilizations. Created in 1939, the CNRS sought, at first, to hire young scholars before they entered the universities. In the 1960s this role was enlarged. The CNRS' National Committee, half of whose members are elected by and from among its personnel, defines and controls, along with the General Administration, the programs proposed by researchers, who are encouraged to form teams or laboratories. Besides the aforementioned team associated with the IEI, CNRS teams have been formed to work on the comparative history of the East (under Aubin and Calmard), on Indo-European cultures in the Caucasus (Georges Charachidze), and on the social sciences of contemporary Iran (Digard and Bromberger). The only CNRS team installed in this part of the world was the Permanent Mission in Afghanistan. Its goal was to study Afghanistan's geology and botany, but it also advanced our knowledge of the country's human geography. From its creation in 1974 till its closure in 1982, it was headed successively by de Lapparent, Carbonnel and Balland.

In archeology, field research is no longer possible in Iran or Afghanistan, but several CNRS teams, heirs of DAFA and DAFI, are still pursuing publication of the results of previous excavations (G.Dollfus and F.Vallat on Southern Iran), and doing research in the Iranian world throughout Central Asia, Pakistan (Jarrige on the prehistoric period in Baluchistan), India (P.Francfort on irrigation systems), and the USSR (P. Bernard on eastern Hellenic civilizations in Bactriana).

*The Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

The French Archeological Delegation in Iran (DAFI) was directed, after 1969, by Jean Perrot, who used modern research methods and considerably developed research in Susiana in cooperation with Iranians and the increasing number of French archeological teams, most of whose members were from the CNRS: Dollfus, Boucharlat, Kervran, de Miroschedji, Le Brun and Vallat. Several excavations around Susa were started at the same time. The last mission at Susa took place in 1980; thereafter, operations could not be continued because of the war, the Iraqi invasion, and the political situation in general. Findings have been published in the *Cahiers de la DAFI*.

Outside of Susiana, Deshayes and J.C.Gardin with Roland Besenval, Remy Boucharlat, and Serge Cleuziou, were conducting excavations, from 1961 on, mainly on remote periods at Tureng Tepe in the eastern Caspian plain.

In Tehran, the Department of Iranology was directed after 1974 by de Fouchécour, who made it into a full-fledged research institute. This change, which was supported by many scholars, notably Benveniste, had been in planning since 1965. In 1980 it was finally effected thanks to the perspicacity and energy of a top civil servant in the Office of Cultural Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In a few years, the social sciences would find a place alongside Islamic philosophy. Thus, after 25 years of waiting, young scholars--Richard, Hourcade, Balaÿ and During--were welcomed into what was called, after 1980, the *Institut Français d'Iranologie de Téhéran* (henceforth IFIT). A new building was erected; and a new journal, *Abstracta Iranica*, created for publishing a selective, critical bibliography of Indo-Iranian civilizations.

Replacing de Fouchécour as director in 1979, Hourcade has pursued the policy of developing Iranian Studies particularly in the social sciences. IFIT's *Bibliothèque Iranienne* series now accepts research of all kinds and no longer only studies ancient Iran or Shi'ite philosophy. What comes out in French is translated and brought out in Persian as well. In January 1983, DAFI and IFIT were combined into the French Institute of Research in Iran (*Institut Français de Recherche en Iran*, IFRI), which, however, Iranian authorities closed down in November of the same year. Managed from Paris by B.Hourcade, IFRI is still busy publishing



books in France and Iran and giving fellowships to scholars working on Iranian civilization in India or Turkey.

The dynamic pace of research on Iran since 1974 is partial solace for the difficulties that have arisen from the political situation. The unifying role of *Abstracta Iranica*, to which nearly all French scholars in Iranian Studies contribute, should be emphasized. This journal's annual general meeting is often the only occasion when all Iranologists, regardless of their specialities, meet.

#### *Studia Iranica and the Association for the Advancement of Iranian Studies*

Whereas Arab Studies are supported by numerous and influential associations and institutions with appreciable financial resources (for instance, the Institute of the Arab World newly created in Paris), Iranian Studies receive little backing apart from governmental institutions. Unlike other countries, France did not profit much from the subsidies that the Shah granted for publishing academic journals and funding teaching positions. Almost the only activity of the *Association pour l'Avancement des Etudes Iraniennes* is *Studia Iranica*, founded in 1972 by Gignoux, Aubin, Lazard and Ghirshman. Though mainly devoted to ancient Iran and linguistics, this academic journal--the only French one fully devoted to Iranian civilization--does run articles on history, literature and cultural anthropology. Since 1983, the Association has charged Gignoux with bringing out a series of books (*Les Cahiers de Studia Iranica*).

Iranian Studies in France have been marked by the predominance of archeological and linguistic research on pre-Islamic Iran. Research organizations concerned themselves very little--scientifically speaking--with the mass media attention paid to Iran and Afghanistan. Paradoxically, since the Islamic Revolution, Arab Studies have been expanding while the resources given over to Iranian Studies have been contracting. Significantly, for the first time since it was created in 1797, the professorship of Persian at the Institute of Oriental Languages was abolished for three years. This paradoxical situation shows how absurd it is, in the social sciences, to insist upon an ethnic and political cleavage between Arab, Turkish, and Persian civilizations in the Middle East, as French academic tradition has done.

#### *V. Since 1970: Research and Publications in French*

Having noted the milestones in Iranian Studies, let us now delineate the research undertaken since 1970. Summaries of the ensuing publications, whether in French or other languages, have come out yearly in *Abstracta Iranica* since 1978.

*Pre-Islamic Iran and Archeology.*

*French Archeology Abroad (L'Archéologie... 1986)* presents in brief but in detail the major findings of French excavations at sites of all periods and throughout the world with many maps and color plates. Gardin's chapter on the Iranian world is noteworthy.

Nearly all the results garnered from archeological operations around Susa have been published annually since 1971 in the *Cahiers de la DAFI*, edited by Perrot; and an overall account of Susiana is being prepared in the aftermath of two international conferences (Susa, 1977; Bellevaux, 1985), preliminary reports of which were made in *Paléorient* (1978, 1985). The Susa project covers a very long period, from the fifth millennium BC to the Seljuks. A systematic stratigraphy has provided a sound chronology. Owing to Dollfus' study (1983) of proto-Elamite villages around Tepe Ja' farabad, breakthroughs have been made in understanding how Susiana was settled seven thousand years ago. The Achaemenid palace was explored during the first years and later, by chance, a monumental full-length statue of Darius was discovered there in 1976. Excavations were also conducted in the city of craftsmen, the acropolis, and in the Islamic levels of Susa, especially in the mosque, the first built in Persia. Thanks to specialists in Elamite epigraphy, particularly M. J. Steve, who published mainly in the *Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran*, and Vallat (Le Brun and Vallat 1978), the history of the invention of writing at Susa has been carefully reconstructed, and hypotheses have been formulated locating Elam to the east of Susiana (Vallat, 1980). The compilation in honor of M. J. Steve (Meyer *et al.*, eds., 1986) provides an account of current research based upon the study of Elamite epigraphy. Françoise Grillot also used archeological sources from Susiana to study the Elamite language (1983a) and the history of the period (1983b)

The first results of the pre-Islamic excavations in Tureng Tepe were edited by Deshayes (1977); comprehensive reports on this important site inhabited from fifth millennium to Sassanian period will be edited by Serge Cleuziou. Among other important surveys of archeology in Iran and neighbouring lands are: Besenval (1984),

*Vault Technology in the Ancient Orient* and Boucharlat (ed., 1984), *Eastern Arabia, Mesopotamia and Southern Iran from the Iron Age to the Start of the Islamic Period*.

The history of the Achaemenid empire is mainly studied in France by Pierre Briant, who has used archeological findings as well as Greek and Elamite sources to write two valuable books, *Central Asia and Near Eastern Realms of the First Millennium BC* (1984) and *State and Herders in the Ancient Middle East* (1972); and by Clarisse Herrenschildt who has published on royal power (1979) and religion (1980) in this period.

The Sassanid epoch, Zoroastrianism, and the beginning of the Islamic era are fields where considerable progress has been made thanks to Molé and de Menasce, who have already been mentioned. The latter's principal publications are *Fire and Pious Foundations in Sassanid Law* (1964) and *The Third Book of Denkart* (1973). This period of the history of Iran has a place of great importance in French Iranian studies. Philippe Gignoux, along with Rika Gyselen and Cl. Herrenschildt, has completely reframed the history of this period by using primary sources and studying Sassanid coins, bullae and seals, which have been described and analyzed in *Studia Iranica* and in the first volumes of the series (*Cahiers*) of books published by this journal. Gignoux, who, like Lazard, is interested in Pahlavi and in Middle and Old Persian, has transcribed and translated *The Book of Arda Viraz* (1984).

In addition, at the University of Liège, Duchesne-Guillemain, assisted by Lecoq, a linguist and dialectologist, has been editing, since 1973, *Acta Iranica*, which publishes scholarly studies in English, French, or German. This sumptuous collection of scientific renown comprises, to date, twenty-nine volumes, mainly about Sassanid history, language, coins, and seals; Zoroastrianism; and pre-Islamic Iran in general.

From 1974 French archeological activities in Afghanistan were managed by Paul Bernard. After the discovery in 1963 of Ai Khanum, the easternmost Greek city, French research concentrated upon this exceptional site until DAFA's in-country activities were terminated in 1982. Findings were regularly brought out in *Mémoires de la DAFA*, a series now edited by Gardin, and in several separate publications, for instance, Grenet's (1984) and Pottier's books about funeral practices in Central Asia, and Gentelle's (1980) study--the first of its kind--of the historical geography and irrigation system of the Greek colony at Ai Khanum.

W. Ball (1982) published in French and English an *Archeological Gazetteer of Afghanistan*. The French translation and update by Bernard *et al.* (1986) of Staviskij's *Bactria under the Kushans* has made accessible the work done by Soviet and French historians on Central Asia.

### *The Languages, Dialects and Literature of Modern Iran*

Research on modern Iranian languages and literature has been undertaken at the IEI in Paris. Besides his well-known *Grammar of Contemporary Persian* (1957), which is still the best of its kind, Lazard has published on Iranian linguistics and the old literary Persian language (1963) and has made translations of Persian literary pieces (1964). He has compiled a contemporary Persian-French dictionary that should come out in 1988. For courses in Persian, de Fouchécour's new Persian grammar (1981) is widely used. The works of Djavad Moinfar (1970) are closely focused on statistical lexicography.

Dialectology is not well developed in Iran: Lecoq deals with the dialects of central Iran in a forthcoming book in *Acta Iranica*. Bazin (1980), while studying the Talesh and Gilan vernaculars, used dialectological measurements to differentiate ethnic groups.

More study has been made of the dialects of Afghanistan than of Iran. Fussman (1972) drew an atlas of the Dardic and Kafir vernaculars; and scholars in Switzerland, under the leadership of Redard at the University of Berne, are drafting a linguistic atlas of Afghanistan. Kieffer, who is participating in this project, has already written about the eastern Persian dialects of Ormuri and Paraci (1977, 1978) and published the linguistic map of Afghanistan (1984) in the TAVO series.

As for Persian literature, Boulvin and Chocourzadeh (1975) have dealt with the folklore of Khurasan. Following Lazard's study of the first Persian poets (1964), classical literature has been the subject of de Fouchécour's *Description of Nature in Eleventh Century Persian Lyrical Poetry* (1969) and *Moral Notions in Persian Literature from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Century* (1986), which is destined to become a reference work. Marina Gaillard's analysis of the story of *Samak-e Ayyār* (1987) strengthened understanding of the ideological framework of this famous text. In *Persian Encyclopedias*, Ziva Vesel (1985) has used Persian writings to ponder the history of the sciences under Islam.

Although little research has been carried out on contemporary Persian literature, this situation is rapidly changing owing to the modern analytical methods used in comparative literature. Seeking the origins of the Persian novel, Christophe Balay has been led to assess the influence of foreign literatures, whether in the original or in translation, upon contemporary literary circles. Along with Cuypers, he published *At the Origins of the Persian Short Story* (1983) about the writings of Jamalzadeh and Dehkhoda in particular.

Studies in Kurdish language and literature have advanced since 1970 following the appointment of Joyce Blau to the National Institute of Oriental Languages. Kurdish courses were introduced there in 1945 by Roger Lescot, who surveyed the Yezidis of Syria and Jabal Sinjar (1938). Lescot, along with Bedir Khan (who soon replaced him at the Institute) and Emir Djeladet, drew up a grammar of the Kurmanji Kurdish dialect (1970). Besides her handbook of Sorani Kurdish (1980) and her studies of the Amadiya dialect (1975), Blau has also compiled an anthology of oral and written Kurdish literature (1984).

Contemporary Kurdistan and the Kurdish national question have been the subject of numerous publications in France, notably: Rambout (1947), *Kurds and the Law*; Nikitine (1956), *The Kurds, A Historical and Sociological Study*; Kutschera (1979), *The Kurdish National Movement*; and Chaliand (ed., 1978), *The Kurds and Kurdistan* with a chapter by Ghassemlou about Iranian Kurdistan. Mohamad Mokri, a CNRS researcher, has studied traditional Kurdish culture, music and mysticism, and edited the major writings of the Ahl-e Haqq sect, in particular, *The Book of the Kings of Truth* (1966). In 1983, Nezan Kendal founded the Kurdish Institute of Paris (*Institut Kurde de Paris*); it publishes *Studia Kurdica* in several languages and *Hevi* in Kurdish.

#### *The History and Philosophy of the Islamic Period.*

After Corbin's death in 1978, studies about Iranian Islam began changing focus. Along with posthumous works of Corbin, several studies have been published in reference to Sufism and Corbin's ideas on "Iranian Islam". Pierre Lory (1980) from Bordeaux University published on esoterism; Herman Landolt (1980) from McGill University in Canada wrote on Esfarāyeni, and Guy Monnot (1974), a professor in EPHE, worked on tafsir and on Shi'ism. Manichaeism is studied in EPHE by Michel Tardieu (1981) along with mysticism and gnosis. Research on contemporary Islam,

particularly its social dimensions, has advanced through the efforts of social scientists, as we shall see farther on.

Little work has been done in French-speaking lands on the history of Iran since the introduction of Islam, and no one is doing research on Afghan history. The article "History of Afghanistan" in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* was written by a geographer, Daniel Balland (1983). Jean Aubin, after 1964, was the first historian charged with teaching the history of Islamic Iran in *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (IVth section)*. He has mastered the use of a variety of primary sources in his works on economic, social and political history, mainly of the Mongol period (1971); but he has not yet had genuine successors. Since 1969, along with Jean Calmard, Francis Richard and other historians, Aubin has been working, within a CNRS team, on the comparative history on European--especially Portuguese--relations with Persian Gulf states from the 16th to the 19th century. Several issues of two journals, *The Iranian World and Islam (Le Monde Iranien et l'Islam)*, and *The Middle East and Indian Ocean (Moyen Orient et Océan Indien)*, have carried the results of their investigations, which often have to do with Iran. Francis Richard, who is in charge of Persian manuscripts in the National Library in Paris, has studied Christianity in Persia, mainly during the Safavid and Zand periods, through original unpublished texts and travel reports (1981, 1984). Concerning the Qajar period, Calmard (1974, 1977) has dealt with the Ta'zieh and religious theater. On Iran in the end of Qajar period, Homa Nategh-Pakdaman has been conducting research on Christian missionaries in Persia from French sources, following her study on Jamal ed-Din Asadabadi (1969); and Y. Richard has been working on the history of ideologies.

The art and archeology of the Islamic period have received more attention: A. S. Melikian-Shirvani on metal-working (1973, 1982) and on the history of Iranian art during the Seljuk and Mongol periods (1970). After delving into the history of Damghan (1972) during the first centuries of the hijra, Chahryar Adle undertook research on the mausoleum at Bastam near Shahrud where he discovered some very important inscriptions in 1980. His main interest is in the history of Islamic art (1982). Monique Kervran has carried out archeological research on the Islamic levels at Susa (*Cahiers de la DAFI*, 14, 1984) and on the funeral towers of the Mongol period

Jean During has studied Iranian folk and classical music from the standpoint of Corbin's view of Sufism. In his book on Iranian

music (1984), which is one of the first overall accounts of this subject in a European language, he has analyzed musical techniques, practices and trends; their origins; the influences affecting them; and their influence upon Iranian culture.

Despite the work undertaken by such individuals as these and the progress recently made, there is no important tradition in France of historical study of Islamic Iranian civilization. This is one of the major shortcomings of French research, swayed as it has been by a preoccupation with pre-Islamic Iran. Social studies, too, have suffered from this situation.

### *The Social Sciences and the Contemporary Iranian World*

Among social scientists, geographers were the first and most numerous to work in Iran. The CNRS mission led by Jean Dresch in 1958 made the first in-depth study of the natural environment and wrote up its observations concerning the Tehran piedmont, the central Alborz, Damavand and Alam Kuh (Bout *et al.*, 1968). This mission owed its success to the cooperation of Iranian geographers, led by Mostowfi, from the University of Tehran. It was followed by a multi-year program, which ended in 1973, on the Lut Desert. Publications in Persian have come out of this program, as well as Dresch's articles in French. In anthropology, Vincent Monteil surveyed the nomads of Fars (1966) and wrote the best short book on Iran as a whole (1957).

The first to study the human geography of Iran was de Planhol in his work on Azerbaijan (1960). As a member of Dresch's mission in 1958, he prepared his *Research on the Human Geography of Northern Iran* (1964), which concentrates on the rural economy of the central Alborz and the growth of the Tehran area. His ideas about the cultural geography of Turkish and Iranian civilizations have been worked out in several articles as well as in the well-known *Geographical Foundations of the History of Islam* (1968), which emphasized the medieval "Bedouinizations" following the Turkish-Mongolian invasions and highlighted the historical and cultural factors that still affect the geography of this region.

Although their methods and ideas are very different, Dresch and de Planhol have strongly influenced Iranian geographers, many of whom have published in French: Sahami on Gilan (1965), Fesharaki on the oases of Bam (1975), Pour-Fickoui on herding in Gilan (1978), and Papoli-Yazdi on the Kurdish nomads of Khorasan (1983).



Of course, these influences have also been felt by French geographers. De Maurois (1978) has dealt with the Assyro-Chaldean community and its migration to Tehran. Bazin, after studying Erzurum in Turkey and then the development of Qom, both as a place of pilgrimage (1973) and as an agricultural region (1974), devoted his dissertation to a monograph on Talesh (1980) that showed how ethnic identity enters into the definition of a geographical zone. Bernard Hourcade, in his research on the geography of the central Alborz (1979) and of migrations (1983), delved into urban society and economy.

The creation in 1972 of a CNRS research team on contemporary Iran was a landmark event in the application of the social sciences to contemporary Iranian civilization. From the start it included young ethnologists and geographers. Headed by an anthropologist, Jean-Pierre Digard, this team is effectively working as a group, with new themes and original methods based on extensive fieldwork. It is especially strong in discussing the geographical and material bases of social life, offering original approaches to areas hitherto ignored. The first research conducted was an ethnic map program in cooperation with the Center for Ethnology directed by Mahmoud Khalighi in Iran. These maps, along with detailed commentaries, were published simultaneously in Persian and French in the Iranian journal *Mardomshenāsi va Farhang-e 'Amme-ye Irān* and, afterwards, in books. The following regions were covered: the zone of the Lori-speaking nomads (Digard and Karimi, 1974); the central Alborz (Hourcade and Tual, 1978); Gilan and eastern Azerbaijan (Bazin and Bromberger, 1982); and Hamadan and Arak (Desmet and Fontaine, forthcoming, 1988).

As new scholars have been recruited to this team, the subjects of inquiry have gradually diversified to include: the socioeconomic development of rural--nomad or peasant--societies; urban demography and development; and social movements and ideologies. These themes require extensive fieldwork. The team, which since 1985 has borne the name "Social Sciences of the Contemporary Iranian World," groups nearly all researchers in France working on modern Iran and Afghanistan, as the IEI has done for ancient Iran. Digard has studied the social anthropology of the nomadic Zagros tribes (1973 and 1987) and, following Leroi-Gourhan's methods, the relation between the technology and society of the nomadic Bakhtiyari (1981), a subject with which Fontaine has also dealt with respect to carpet-making in the Arak area (forthcoming, 1988). Cultural identity has been at the center of the inquiries undertaken by Nouchine Yavari (1986). Using a

structuralist approach, Bromberger has studied rural constructions (1979a and 1986b) and popular jokes in Gilan (1986a), as well as the Islamic Revolution (1979b and 1980).

In 1985 this team held a colloquium entitled "Ethnic events in Iran and Afghanistan"--the first such event ever organized in France about contemporary Iran--that sought to analyze how ethnic identities are pertinent to understanding these societies. The proceedings are to be published in 1988 by the CNRS.

Yann Richard is directing a research program on the relation between tradition and modernity in Iran. It will treat the army, production techniques, ideologies, and the press, among other subjects. Publications should be forthcoming.

As a consequence of the Islamic Revolution and the Afghan war, much work has been done in political sociology and ideology. Several French journalists (Balta, 1979; Anquetil, 1979; and Kravetz, 1981) have done first-rate reporting on these events. As early as 1979, the economic and political system under the Pahlavi dynasty was critically analyzed in *The Weak Link* edited by Behrang. At first, attention turned toward the way in which religion was forging identities. After Digard's survey, "Anthropological Perspectives on Islam" (1978), Richard published (1980) the first book in French about the relation between Islam and society in Iran. Out of his research on the history of ideas in Iran since the constitutional revolution have come several articles: "Contemporary Shi'ite Thought" (1981) and "Fedaiyān-e Eslām" (in Carré and Dumont, eds., 1985, which also contains an article by Yavari about Ali Shariati). Bromberger (1979b and 1980) has insisted upon the identity-making symbols and myths of Shi'ism whereas Dowlat *et al* (1983) have pointed to the low profile of the peasants. Hourcade, who lived in Iran during the Islamic revolution, turned his attention to the social transformations under way there, especially in big cities (with Khosrokhavar, 1983) and underlined the role that young people from urban areas are now playing (1980), just as in other Third-world countries (1985).

Outside these academic institutions, the journal *Mediterranean Peoples* (*Peuples Méditerranéens*), edited by Paul Vieille, has published several valuable articles on the sociology of the Islamic Revolution (Vieille, 1979). Iranian society has also been analyzed from the inside by Iranian scholars (for instance, Khosrokhavar, 1980, on migrants in Tehran). A special issue entitled "Iran 1984"

ran articles of an ideological stamp that insist upon the continuing dependency of Iran, in spite of the Revolution.

Paul Vieille has left his mark on sociological studies of Iran. Having played an important role from 1955 to 1965 in the Institute of Social Studies and Research created by Ehsan Naraghi at the University of Tehran, Vieille helped train the first generation of Iranian sociologists (among them: Morteza Kotobi, Majid Harcheno and even A. H. Bani Sadr). Attention was first focused upon urban areas (Abadan, Tehran and the bazar, Vieille *et al* 1969 a,b), and on new social structures in Iranian cities (Naraghi, 1957). Vieille's masterpiece has certainly been his investigation of land speculation in Tehran (1970). After returning to France, he elaborated a Marxist dependency theory type of approach in several books containing solid social, economic and political analyses of Iran under the Shah, notably: *Feudality and State in Iran* (1975) and *Oil and Violence* (1975).

In Afghanistan, the permanent scientific mission that the CNRS set up in Kabul in 1974 accorded geographers a privileged status, as had been the case in Iran. Humlum, a Dane, had brought out in French the first *Geography of Afghanistan* in 1959; and in 1972, D. and V. Balland published a new analysis based upon fieldwork. D. Balland (1982) also analyzed the results of the preliminary nomad survey for the 1978 general census.

Regarding social anthropology in Afghanistan, the following should be mentioned: Blanc's (1976) discussion of the country's peoples, Duprée's (1973) survey, and Dupaigne's articles (1974) about crafts. In-depth anthropological studies were undertaken by Rao (1982), concerning the itinerant Jat, and by Dor (1977), concerning the Kirghiz in the Afghan Pamirs.

Moreover, Afghanistan has been the subject of a general presentation in Etienne (1972) and in special issues of *Les Temps Modernes* (1980, just after the Soviet invasion). Concerning the present day situation, M. Barry insists on historical backgrounds (1984); and Olivier Roy, who has spent much time with the *mujāhedīn*, published in 1985 an original analysis of how community and religious factors affect the organization of the resistance against the USSR and how state, Islam, and modernity are linked together.

In Switzerland, research, undertaken by various independent individuals, often in association with programs in France or West

Germany, has turned mainly toward anthropology, and more often Afghanistan than Iran. Pierre Centlivres from the University of Neuchâtel has studied traditional bazar society in Tashkhuran (1972) and published several pieces about ethnic reality in Afghanistan. Marguerite Reut (1979) has examined silk-production in Herat. And Micheline Centlivres-Demont, who is now concentrating on Afghanistan, published in 1971 a renowned book about the community of potters in Meybod, Iran.

Studies of the contemporary Iranian world have considerably progressed in France during the past fifteen years, while research has continued on the classical and pre-Islamic civilizations. Because there is no tradition of research in contemporary history, this progress has mainly come about through intensive fieldwork. The difficulties of working in Iran and Afghanistan, and now the impossibility of doing so, have hindered but not stopped this progress. However, this research still suffers from the lack of permanent teaching positions in the social sciences.

## *VI. Conclusion*

To conclude, four main characteristics of Iranian Studies in France can be distinguished:

1) Diversity. Thanks to the CNRS, a relatively large number of researchers are working in various disciplines--the limited number of teaching positions in the universities would not have permitted this. From the origins of humanity in Zagros to the Islamic Revolution, a variety of questions are under study. This is the basis of the international network of scholars who write for *Abstracta Iranica*, which seeks to summarize all scientific publications about this part of the world.

2) Permanent relations with Iran and Afghanistan. French research has involved fieldwork and close cooperation with Iranian and Afghan scholars, whence the permanent archeological delegations and the French Institute of Research in Iran, institutions that now work out of Paris since they have been closed down in the countries concerned. Since 1986, in spite of political problems, new research has been undertaken on some limited subjects in association with host-country institutions in Iran or the Soviet Union; for instance, the new project with the Institute of Cultural Studies and Research in Tehran to analyse the 1986 Iranian census, or the program with the Academy of Sciences in Tashkent for archeological research in Bactriana.

3) The importance of scholarship on ancient Iran and in literary disciplines. This long, prestigious tradition has devolved upon the Institute of Iranian Studies and the journal *Studia Iranica*, which cooperates with the European Association for Iranian Studies (*Societas Iranologica Europaeae*).

4) The modest but now unquestioned place of the social sciences in research on the Middle East and the Islamic world, domains of which Iran and Afghanistan are now recognized to be parts.

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**APPENDICES :**

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Université de Paris III, 13, rue de Santeuil,  
F.75005 Paris.



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CNRS, Sciences Sociales du Monde Iranien Contemporain  
27, rue Paul Bert, F.94204 Ivry.

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10, rue de Quatrefages, F.75005 Paris.

Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes  
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Institut Français de Recherche en Iran (IFRI)  
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Université de Paris III, 13 rue de Santeuil  
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