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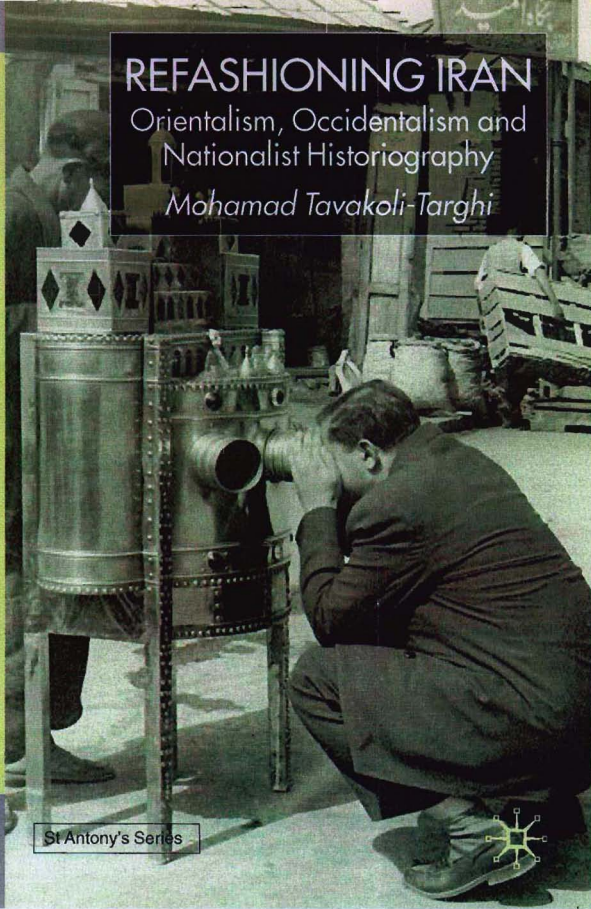
REFASHIONING IRAN

Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi

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Orientalism, Occidentalism and
Nationalist Historiography

Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi



St Antony's Series



Refashioning Iran

Orientalism, Occidentalism and Historiography

Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi

*Associate Professor of Historiography and Middle Eastern History
Illinois State University
Normal, Illinois*

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Contents

<i>Preface and Acknowledgments</i>	ix
<i>Notes on Romanization and Dates</i>	xvi
1 Modernity, Heterotopia, and Homeless Texts	1
Modernity and heterotopia	1
Discursive affinities of nationalism and Orientalism	4
Homeless texts	8
Decolonizing historical imagination	15
2 Orientalism's Genesis Amnesia	18
A genealogy of Orientalism	18
The Columbus of Oriental studies	20
Jones and the affinity of languages	23
Intertextuality and postcolonial historiography	31
3 Persianate Europology	35
Perspectival knowledge	35
Persianate <i>voy(ag)eurs</i>	38
The anthropology of modern Europe	44
4 Imagining European Women	54
<i>Farangi</i> women	54
Comparing women	61
Libertine women	65
Narrative plots and the scapegoating of women	70
Seeing oneself being seen	74
5 Contested Memories	77
Narrative emplotment	77
Islamicating history	78
Recentring Iran	86
6 Crafting National Identity	96
Envisaging history	96
Restyling Persian	104
7 Patriotic and Matriotic Nationalism	113
<i>Vatan</i> -centered discourse	113

Nationalized subjectivity	116
National–public sphere	118
Maternal homeland (<i>madar-i vatan</i>)	122
Matriotic sentiments	127
8 Postscript	135
<i>Notes</i>	144
<i>Select Bibliography</i>	187
<i>Index</i>	211

7

Patriotic and Matriotic Nationalism

Vatan-centered discourse

The emotive content of “homeland” (*vatan*) in Iranian nationalist discourse cannot be appreciated if it is uncritically assumed that the *vatan* was only a confused translation of “the French word *patrie*.”¹ The nineteenth-century nationalist resignification of *vatan* as the familial home was made possible through the fusion of competing prenationalist notions of territorial and aterritorial “originary home” (*vatan-i asli*). The former embodied the nation and the latter endowed it with spirit and subjectivity. This metaphorical figuration of *vatan* involved two distinct, but overlapping, phases. In the official nationalist discourse, *vatan* was imagined as a “home headed by the crowned-father.” This was contested by a counter-official matriotic discourse that imagined *vatan* as a dying 6,000-year-old mother. The engendering of the national body as a mother symbolically eliminated the father-Shah as the guardian of the nation and contributed to the emergence of the public sphere and popular sovereignty – the participation of “the nation’s children” (both male and female) in determining the future of the “motherland” (*madar-i/mam-i vatan*). As for popular sovereignty, this changing gender of national-home was crucial to the resignification of *siyasat* from the infliction of physical pain on transgressive subjects to its modern definition as *politics*. The metaphorical familial relation of male and female citizens as national brothers and sisters also sanctioned the redrawing of the boundaries that separated the filiative home space (*andarun*) from the affiliative public male sphere (*birun*). The hybridization of male and female spaces – which was facilitated with the coming of Persian printing press, the conjoining of authorial voices of men and women, and the formation of a women-inclusive public sphere – made possible the formation of an

imagined national sphere that sanctioned the mixing of “national sisters and brothers.”

The nineteenth-century emergence of Iran as a “geobody” with bounded territory was linked to the global emergence of nation-states and the international demarcation of national boundaries.² Territorial enclosure was in part imposed on Iran via the treaties of Gulistan (1813), Turkmanchay (1828),³ Erzurum (1823 and 1847),⁴ and Paris (1857).⁵ Studies of these treaties have been the focus of much research and lamentation in nationalist historiography.⁶ But these boundary-formalizing treaties shaped the national body politic and prompted its full anthropomorphization.⁷ Territorial enclosure shifted the characterization of Iran from a confederation of territories (*mamalik*) to a cohesive entity (*mamlakat-i Iran* or *kishvar-i Iran*). The displacement of *mamalik-i Iran* with *mamlakat-i Iran* marked the transition from an empire to a modern nation-state. The relative fixity of borders provided the *ground* upon which Iran could be conceived as a unified homeland (*vatan*) with a distinct character, identity, history, and culture.⁸

Like most political and philosophical concepts, *vatan* has a contested and multi-layered history. In prenationalist writings it connoted both territorial and aterritorial meanings. Territorially, *vatan* referred to either a person’s “habitual-place” (*vatan-i ma’luf*)⁹ or originary home (*vatan-i asli*).¹⁰ These territorial definitions can be found in biographical dictionaries, travel accounts, and jurisprudential discussions of discount prayers (*namaz-i shikastah/qasr*) – that is, a reduction of the obligatory units of prayer for individuals traveling beyond the confines of their place of residence. For instance, in a discussion of prayers Hasan Lahiji (1635–1709) used the word *vatan* to mean an individual’s intended settling-place, “even if s/he had been there no more than one day.” Having constituted intentional residence as the primary criterion, he explained that if an individual, like a student or a merchant, does not “intend to settle” (*qasd/iradah-i tavvatun*) in a locality even after ten years of residence, “that place cannot be considered his/her *vatan*” (*anja bara-yi ishan vatan nashavad*). The special status of *vatan* was maintained as long as a traveler possessed property or a dwelling-place back “home.” Failing to fulfill this basic requirement, the special status of a traveler’s *vatan* was “annulled and became equivalent to all other localities.”¹¹ In this operationalized definition, a person’s birth-place was not necessarily the same as his/her *vatan* or place of residence.¹² A number of compound constructs such as “*tarh-i vatan rikhtan*” (planning to settle) and “*tavatun guzini*” (selecting a place of residence) implied the delectability of *vatan*, a choice seriously

curtailed within the nationalist discourse and the modern system of nation-states.¹³

A second use of *vatan* as territory referred to a person's home. This was the implied meaning in Mulla Ahmad Naraqi's (1185–1245/1771–1829) "The Tale of the Mermaid and Her Travel on Earth." According to this tale, a mermaid who visited the earth reported back that the earthlings "are heart-attached to a place called *vatan* and sleep in it with corporal calm."¹⁴ A later nineteenth-century abstraction of *vatan* as home made possible the metaphoric depiction of Iran as the national home and as a site for the cultivation of nationalist sentiments and "heart-attachments" (*dilbastigi*). In a unique way this usage of *vatan* was endowed with a subjectivity, identity, and agency. This was made possible by the intertextual linking of Iran with the "originary home" (*vatan-i asli*) of the human soul and subjectivity, an *aterritorial* "geosophical" conception prevalent among classical Islamic philosophers and mystics.¹⁵

As the originary home of the human soul, the *aterritorial vatan* was viewed as a *no-place* or *a-place* (*lamakan*) to which the soul (*nafs*) was destined to return after death. Explaining the soul's return to its originary home, Yahya Suhrawardi (1153 or 1155–91) compared it to the outside leg of a drawing compass where "the point always returns to the locus of initiation."¹⁶ Writing within the same paradigm, the nineteenth-century Iranian philosopher Mulla Ahmad Naraqi viewed the body as a "vehicle" (*markab*) for the soul. The soul had come to this world from its "originary home" (*mawtan-i asli*) in order "to trade and accumulate benefits, to adorn the self with many virtues and to acquire commendable qualities and laudable dispositions" before returning to its "original home" (*vatan-i asli*).¹⁷ In a related conceptualization, the grave (*qabr*) was viewed as the originary home of human body: made of earth (*khak*), the body was ordained to return to its place of origin.¹⁸

Divergent understandings of *vatan* were authorized by a frequently cited aphorism attributed to Prophet Muhammad (570–632), "the love of *vatan* is of faith" (*Hubb al-watan min al-iman*).¹⁹ In a poetic interpretation of this *hadith*, Baha' al-Din 'Amili (1547–1621) argued that the "adoration of *vatan*" endorsed by the Messenger of Islam was not that of territories like Egypt, Iraq, or Syria (*in vatan, Misr va Iraq va Sham nist*). The *vatan* that deserved love was an *"aterritorial"* (*la makan*) and "a nameless city" (*bi nam shahr*) considered as "the spiritual domain" (*iqlim-i ruh*).²⁰ Viewing the body as the prison house of the soul, Shaykh Baha'i evoked, "Turn away from the body and exult your soul; remember your originary home [*mawtin-i asli*]!" But for travelers, exiles, and

immigrants – that is, those departed from their familial land (*jala'-i vatan kardah*) – the prophetic *hadith* was confirmation of their nostalgic longing for the home left behind.²¹ The architects of Iranian nationalist discourse – many of whom lived in exile – imagined Iran as their original *vatan* and employed this authorizing prophetic adage as a nationalist banner constituting the adoration of national-home as an obligatory religious duty. Didactic commentaries on this prophetic aphorism provided the cultural capital for the articulation of a persuasive and emotive *vatan*-centered discourse.

Nationalized subjectivity

The nationalist rearticulation of *vatan* was not simply a geographical expansion from a local domicile to a national homeland. What made this expansion inventive was the anthropomorphization of *vatan* through a dialogic and intertextual hybridization of territorial *vatan* and aterritorial “spiritual *vatan*.” By condensing the territorial and spiritual *vatan*s into one entity, the Iranian homeland (*vatan-i Iranian*) was endowed with subjectivity and agency. This spiritualization of territorial *vatan* provided the perspectival foundation for the articulation of a cohesive and unified “national” culture, literature, and history – all viewed as the manifestations of the homeland’s soul, spirit, and biography. The historical process of spiritualizing *vatan* is beyond the scope of this study; I will, however, offer an outline of the nationalist discourse that conjoined the national *geobody* and the spiritual *geosophy* and endowed *vatan* with life and soul. Once fully incarnated, *vatan* became a site of matriotic love, possession, and protection.²²

The fusion of the spiritual and physical *vatan*s was illustrated in a series of 1877 *Akhtar* articles – bearing initially as title the prophetic *hadith*, “Love of *vatan* is of faith.” The series sought to explore the interrelationship of the concepts “love” (*hubb*), *vatan*, and “faith” (*iman*).²³ Writing from the Ottoman diaspora, the anonymous author asserted that, like a human body, the *vatan* possessed “nature, life, and reason” (*tabi'at, hayat, va 'aql*) and was endowed with its own “unique and apt spirit and life” (*ruh va jan-i makhsus va munasib*). Analogous to a human individual whose existence depended on both body and soul, he argued that the territorial and spiritual *vatan*s were fused: “the appearance and essence of *vatan* are inseparable. It is like spirit and body. Spirit cannot stand without the body and the body cannot live without the spirit.”²⁴ By converging these two meanings of *vatan*, the author unified the territorial homeland with “the imaginary and spiritual worlds” (*avalim-i*

misaliyah va rawhaniyah), the originary home of universal soul and reason. Possessing life and subjectivity, the fully anthropomorphized nationalist *vatan* was endowed with the exceptional power of shaping a person's life (*zindagani*), growth and thriving (*nashv va nama*), speech (*sukhanguyi*), logic (*mantiq*), ethics (*akhlaq*), knowledge (*ilm*), manners, arts (*humar*), profession (*makasib*), dignity (*sharaf*), honor (*'izzat*), religion (*diyanat*), and spirituality (*rawhaniyat*). The author summarized the overdetermining power of homeland by asserting that "the human self and all his/her possessions belong to *vatan* [*tamaman mal-i vatan ast*]." The constitutive function of *vatan* also comprised all that a person acquired beyond the boundaries of her/his national homeland. "By inference [a person's] existence and acquisitive power, which are products of a particular *vatan*, are like foundations and those which are acquired from abroad are like restorations [*tamirat*]. In reality s/he acquires that which is in the self." Having constituted the national homeland as the foundation of human abilities and potentialities, this anonymous architect of nationalist discourse concluded:

Consequently, *vatan* is no other than the human self [*khud-i insan*]. *Vatan* is your existence [*vujud*]. *Vatan* is your disposition and behavior [*shu'un va atvar*]. *Vatan* is your foundation and origin [*asl va mabda'*]. *Vatan* is your materiality and physicality [*hayula va maddah*]. *Vatan* is your appearance and essence [*surat va ma'ni*]. *Vatan* is the locus of your dignity and glory [*sharaf va iftikhar*]. *Vatan* is the custodian of your existence and the inheritor of your life [*kafil-i hayat va varis-i zindigani*]. Conclusively, *vatan* is your initiation and consummation [*aqaz va anjam*].²⁵

As defined here, the corporality and subjectivity of an individual were derivatives of *vatan*, and an individual's identity and attributes were viewed as identical to her/his national identity and attributes. In other words, the territorial *vatan* embodied a collective soul, personality, and individuality. These collective attributes found their profane expressions in the "national" literature (*adab*), culture (*farhang*), and history (*tarikh*), which were viewed as repositories of the national soul.

The territorializing of the soul's originary home allowed for the displacement of sovereignty over collective subjectivity from the Divine to national pedagogues. Unlike the serene celestial *vatan*, which was unchangeable by human design, the nationalized originary home – the residing place of collective mind and body – became the locus of nationalist pedagogy and developmental designs. To reawaken the collective

soul of the nation, the educators of the nation, such as I'timad al-Saltanah and Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani, sought to recover the history, literature, and language of the homeland. The recovered collective history and literature provided the pedagogical resources for the making of nationalist subjectivity and identity.

National-public sphere

With the coming of the printing press, Nasir al-Din Shah assumed the task of "disciplining/educating [*trabiyat*] the people of Iran and informing them of internal and external events." The official gazette, *Ruznamah-i Vaqayi'-i Ittifaqiyah*, which began publication in 1851, was to carry out the Shah's pedagogical task of fostering "the intelligence and perception of the residents of the Sublime State."²⁶ All governmental officials and "honest subjects" (*ra'aya-yi sadiq*) were encouraged to subscribe to the gazette, each issue of which included "the news of the capital," "the other Iranian territories," and "the affairs of foreign states." These included the publicizing of governmental appointments and policies, the institution of passports, punishment of transgressive soldiers, new industrial ventures, discussions of public health, reports of rape and theft, and the prices of commodities and books. With the publication of news and opinions, *Vaqayi'-i Ittifaqiyah* and other official and non-official newspapers generated public knowledge and information vital to the formation of a critical national-public sphere.²⁷ The publicity of official decisions invited public criticism and this public criticism modified the state policies. As organs of enlightenment, official journals often published critical letters and essays by private individuals. To promote his image as an enlightened monarch, the Shah was advised to increase the number of journals and to allow the publication non-official newspapers.²⁸ The non-official (*ghayr-i rasmi*) newspapers, especially those published in the diaspora, assumed the role of the "people's tongue" (*zaban-i millat*) by evaluating and recommending policies. The dialogue between official and non-official papers was crucial to the familialization of *vatan* as a national home.

The inculcation of *vatan*-centered sentiments was an essential component of official and counter-official national pedagogical strategies. This involved the transference of familial loyalty, honor, and dignity from the family onto *vatan* – the national home. For instance *Mirikh* (Mars, the God of war), the official military journal, attempted to cultivate national honor and dignity amongst soldiers and officers. In a series of articles, Sani' al-Dawlah, the journal's editor who was a recipient of

Akhtar, associated individual dignity (*sharaf*) with the "love of homeland" (*hubb-i vatan*). Paraphrasing a passage from *Akhtar* cited above, Sani' al-Dawlah asserted, "Dignity and *vatan* are codependent [*malzum-i yikdigar*]. There can be no dignity without the love of *vatan* and the love of *vatan* is contingent upon dignity." To discern the value of "fervor" (*ghayrat*) and "nobility" (*sharafat*), he declared that the staffs of a victorious army must first learn the meaning of "the love of homeland." Essential to his official nationalist pedagogy, which emerged in a dialogic relation with the the non-official *Akhtar*, was the equation of "dignity" (*sharaf*) with a respectful relationship of "adherence and obedience" (*taqlid va mutabi'at*) among the lower and upper ranking officers. Dignified officers were to view as "obligatory the unquestioned compliance and pursuance" of their superiors' orders." "Until the last breath," all ranks of the military were obliged to avouch "their dignity [*sharafat*], love of land, fervor [*ghayrat*], and shah-adoration [*shah-parasti*]."²⁹

Shah-adoration and *vatan*-veneration were the nodal points of a patriotic nationalist discourse which imagined the Shah as the father of *vatan*. An instance of this patriotic discourse was articulated by Sani' al-Dawlah in an article explicating the prophetic aphorism, "love of *vatan* is of faith." At the outset of this explication, he offered homage to the esoteric Sufi interpretations of *vatan* and invoked Shaykh Bahai's adage that "this *vatan* is not Egypt, Iraq, or Syria; this *vatan* is a nameless city." Shifting focus on the "exoteric" (*zahiri*) aspect, he then offered a nationalist definition of *vatan* as "a birth-place and the locus of growth and thriving and where one's kin, clan, and friends reside and speak in the main language [*zaban-i asli*] and the accustomed tongue [*lisan-i mu'tad*]." Elaborating the metaphorical equivalence of familial home and affilial homeland, he argued that in reality *vatan* "is the same as a person's family, clan, interior, and kinship [*khanivadah, tayifah, ihtisha', va 'ashirah*]." Condensing family and *vatan*, he concluded that, "A person who lacks the love of *vatan* lacks a kin and a clan."

Having equated homeland with family and clan, Sani' al-Dawlah extended the metaphor by asserting that the Shah's role "is analogous to the familial father [*bimanzilah-i pidar-i khanivadah ast*]."³⁰ But this simile was not without its antecedent. In the late eighteenth century, the historian Rustam al-Hukama represented the Iranian ruler Karim Khan Zand (1750–79) as "the kind father of all residents of Iran [*pidar-i mihraban-i hamah-i ahl-i Iran*]." Eight years before Sani' al-Dawlah, the Chief Minister Mirza Husayn Khan Sipahsalar declared that in reality "soldiers and subjects are the true royal children [*aulad-i vaqi'i-i saltanat qushun ast va ra'yat*]."³¹

As the chief publicist of Mirza Husayn Khan's reformist projects,³² Sanī al-Dawlah was fully aware of the political implications of a metaphoric characterization of the Shah as "familial father" (*pidar-i khaṇivādah*). If the *vatan*, as affilial home, required mutual rights and responsibilities between its residents and its head (*ra'is-i vatan*), then its *familialized* political relations required that the residents of *vatan* remain loyal to the father-shah and that the Shah "guard and protect in a fatherly [fashion] the rights of *vatan*-adoring members of His community [*millat-i khud*]." ³³ Having promoted the Shah to a new status as the father of the nation, Sanī al-Dawlah then *sanctified* the national-familial home by endowing it with "divine effulgence" (*farr-i izadi*):³⁴ "Fortunate is a community [*millat*] and divinely-effulgent is a *vatan* [*izzadi farr vatani*] that its chief [*ra'is*] behaves in a fatherly [manner] towards the descendant of *vatan* [*abna'-i vatan*]." ³⁵ The ascription of "divine effulgence" to *vatan* constituted a radical break with the king-centered Perso-Islamic political discourse which conventionally sanctioned royal power by endowing it with divine effulgence. The displacement of effulgence invested *vatan* with a divinely sanctioned authority. Like the *relocation* of soul's originary home which endowed Iran with subjectivity and agency, the displacement of "divine effulgence" constituted *vatan* as the site of authority. These double displacements provided the foundations for a *vatan*-centered political imagination.

In the king-centered classical political discourse the Shah's authority was viewed as a divinely granted "effulgence" (*farr*).³⁶ As a "distinct" (*khassah*) locus of power, the Shah/Sultan was invested with the right/responsibility to protect and to discipline the residents of his "domain" (*mulk*). The residents were in turn obligated to obey their divinely appointed protector. Conventionally this hierarchic relation of power was imagined metaphorically in Jewish-Christian-Islamic traditions as a shepherd-flock relationship. Grounded on a widely acclaimed prophetic adage, the ruler was characterized as a shepherd (*ra'i*) herding his flock (*ra'i, ra'iyat*).³⁷ For instance, Najm Razi (d. 1256 or 7) stated, "the king is like a shepherd and his subjects are like a flock. It is incumbent on the shepherd to protect his flock from the wolf and strive to repel the wolf's evil."³⁸ This foundational metaphor constituted *sovereignty* as an individuated (*khassah*) authority belonging to a distinct person who differed from the "public" or "commoners" (*ammah*).³⁹ Unlike modern political power, the Shah's authority was not publicly displayed through the pervasive royal *presence*. Royal authority, contrary to diverse narratives of "Asiatic despotism," lacked the institutional resources for a permanent *public* presence throughout the empire. The public display of royal

authority was selective and swift. It was often publicized in the form of mutilated bodies bearing witness to royal wrath. Manifested upon bodies as a "political signature,"⁴⁰ this afflictive royal authority was conceptualized as *siyasat* – the right to punish and to shed the blood of transgressive subjects.⁴¹ The characterization of the Shah as father of the homeland (*pidar-i vatan*) provided a new metaphorical foundation for the nationalist resignification of *siyasat* as politics and the displacement of royal with popular and national sovereignty.

The metonymic configuration of the Shah as familial father was a corollary to the nineteenth-century centralization of state and publicizing of royal authority. The private royal domain (*khassah*) was transposed into a new public sphere with Nasir al-Din Shah's well-orchestrated travels and and well-publicized travelogues, which were serialized in the official gazette.⁴² Royal authority became more public with the utilization of new technologies of print, prisons, police, standing army, borderguards, passports, and public education, hygiene, and welfare. To curtail the rapid growth of prostitution, courtesans were arrested "gently" and sent to a correction house for rehabilitation.⁴³ The rise of homeless people in Tehran – attributed to "draught and inflation" – prompted the formation of the Poor Assistance Council (*Majlis-i l'anaṭ bah Fuqara*) in 1871.⁴⁴ With the help of the Qashqayi Brigade, the Assistance Council gathered 1,155 beggars in the newly built complexes (*mujtami'*) in Darwazah Dulab.⁴⁵ By mid-January 1865, four additional sites were established, housing a total 4,384 beggars. A Healthcare Council (*Majlis-i Hifz al-Sihah*) was also established to encounter the spread of contagious diseases.⁴⁶ To promote public health, the Council issued ordinances for cleaning public paths and waterways, discouraging the consumption of indigestible food, forbidding unnecessary gathering of crowds, and drafting guidelines for public health education.⁴⁷ To promote internal peace, the Public Order and Security Office (*Idarah-i Nazmiyah va Amniyat-i 'Ammah*) was established and supplied with new ammunitions and uniforms.⁴⁸ Additionally, state-sponsored educational institutions, with curriculums noticeably different from seminary schools, enlarged the pedagogical task of the state while curtailing those of the *'ulama*. These new state institutions provided the material foundation for the symbolic characterization of the Shah as the father of *vatan*.

Ironically, the modern pedagogical state institutions, such as *Dar al-Funun* (established in 1851), played a crucial role in training individuals who constituted the core of an emerging critical public organized in secret societies and assemblies. Among such sodalities were *Faramushkhanah*, *Jam'iah-i Adamiyat*, and *Atashkadah*. Founded in the 1850s,

Faramushkhanah (Amnesiac House) recruited many students and faculty of *Dar al-Funun*. After the dissolution of *Faramushkhanah* by a royal decree in 1861, a successor organization, *Jamī'ah-i Adamiyat* (the Society of Humanity), continued to provide a forum for the discussion of national political issues.⁴⁹ *Atashkadah*, another public sodality, met at least once a week and their monthly decisions and teachings were widely distributed.⁵⁰ Women of the court also established a secret organization, discussing the principles of humanity.⁵¹ These sodalities, contrary to the conspiratorial studies,⁵² constituted an expanding public sphere and provided the sites for the later articulation of a counter-official national imagination during the Constitutional Revolution of 1905–9.

Maternal homeland (*madar-i vatan*)

The state-initiated modernization was viewed as a sign of the increased tyranny of the Shah and was challenged by adversely affected social sectors. Awareness of social and political developments beyond Iran, promoted by journals and journeymen, made the state and the royal court targets of moral censure by citizens. The moral authority of the state was effectively challenged on two occasions that led to the repealing of the Reuter Concession of 1872 and the Tobacco Concession of 1890.⁵³ Consciousness of a more glorious past, engendered by a nineteenth-century historical comprehension, translated into an effective discrediting of authorities who were held responsible for the degradation of Iran and the selling of the country to Europeans. The critical public sphere – formed of private reading groups, secret societies, and publicly-aware citizens, each with its own communicative resources – became more vigorous and self-assured of its own judgments of the state officials as corrupt and as obstacles to *vatan*'s progress. Speaking in the name of *vatan* and *millat*, the public challenged the legitimacy and the moral authority of the state. The national–public sphere became a site of intensified struggle between the state and “the people” (*millat*), both of which understood themselves to be representing the interests of *vatan*.

With the polarization of public–political space into the spheres of the state (*dawlat*) and the people (*millat*), the familial trope provided the symbolic resources for the articulation of an effective counter-state discourse. In contradistinction to the characterization of the Shah as the father of the homeland, an increasing number of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century non-official newspapers and journals characterized the homeland as a dying 6,000-year-old mother. Instead of the all-powerful father-Shah who had to be obeyed courteously, the image

of a dying mother-*vatan* created an urgent situation obligating her "children" to rush to save her life. Whereas the earlier characterization of the authorities as shepherds constituted them as superior, they were now held accountable for the motherland's suffering and imminent death. To criticize the ruling elite, the end-of-the-century *milli* and *vatani* newspapers constituted Europe as a rhetorical referent for highlighting the severity of "motherland's illness." In a bi-temporal narrative, Iranian homeland was recounted as an exhausted body lagging behind in the forward march of the caravan of nations. The back-lagging of mother-Iran, formerly a caravan-guard of civilization, was blamed on the ruling elite who were censured for their corruption and negligence. It was this rhetorical utility, and not an inherent superiority, that accounts for the working of Europe as a "referent" in the nationalist political discourse that constituted Iran as a belated nation.

The private moral censuring of the state authority was publicized via the characterization of *vatan* as a mother infected by multiple diseases. Unlike the official *patriotic* discourse that constituted *vatan* as a healthy body symbolically headed by the Shah, the *matriotic* counter-state discourse represented *vatan* as an ailing mother in need of immediate care. Expressing anxiety over the motherland's future, Shayk al-Ra'is (1264–1336/1847–1917) lamented, "If the Angel of Death does not kill me, the trepidation of Iran will kill me . . . This *vatan* is extremely ill and says: if you do not cure me, the high fever will kill me."⁵⁴ *Iblaq*, "a free paper" (*jaridah-i azad*), reported that the "delicate and endeared *vatan*" is confined in bed and the corrupt "Iranian physicians" (a metonym for statesmen), instead of curing her illness are prescribing mortal poison.⁵⁵ Her anxious children sought the assistance of a Russian physician who agreed to cure Iran under the condition of gaining total control over her life and belongings.⁵⁶ In another non-official paper, *Tarraqi*, the Minister of Internal Affairs was warned, "This bedridden sacred body that moves like a slaughtered animal is infected with chronic and immobilizing diseases." *Tarraqi* suggested that the dying body of *vatan* could be saved only by vaccinating her with "knowledge" (*ilm*) against the disease of "ignorance" (*jahl*).⁵⁷ *Habl al-Matin*, a distinguished newspaper that initially began publication in Calcutta (1311/1893), inaugurated its Tehran edition with a series of articles inquiring, "Is Iran Ill?" and "What is Iran's Illness?"⁵⁸ Published between August 1906 and May 1908, *Rahnama*'s serialized "Identification of Illnesses of Vatan or Diagnosis of Iran" was an exemplary historical censure of royal authority and the pedagogy of popular self-care and self-governance. The synecdochic characterization of *vatan* as a dying mother provided a popularly

accessible and incisive moral censure of political authority in Iran. The diagnosis of body politic implicitly and explicitly challenged the royal and state authority and authorized the people to take charge of the ailing motherland.

Rahnama's "Diagnosis of Iran" began with the recognition that the 6,000-year-old mother-*vatan* was infected by an incurable disease endangering her survival. The news of her impending death led to the gathering of her children who conferred about the possible course of action. Having reached the conclusion that they must consult an experienced physician, one suggested hiring a Russian doctor. Another recommended a British physician, arguing that the British are familiar with similar cases in India and Egypt. Another argued that an Ottoman physician would be more familiar with the peculiarities of her nature. Still another recommended a German physician. But others questioned the competence of foreigners in curing an adored Iranian mother. They argued that each homeland has her own unique climate and the body of her residents correspond to her habitat. Since foreign physicians cure patients in accordance with their own customs and habitat, they argued that the remedy prescribed by foreign physicians may hasten the motherland's death. "To diagnose and cure the illness of the dear mother-*vatan*," at last they concurred to form a "health-care commission" (*Majlis-i hafiz al-Silhhah*)⁵⁹ consisting of "skillful physicians and knowledgeable *hakims*."⁶⁰ They all agreed that the commission's decisions were incumbent on all of the motherland's descendants.

Distressed about the motherland's future, one of her sons consulted an independent physician who informed him of her suffering from melancholy, apoplexy, paralysis, dropsy, and rabies – all transmitted to her by foreign invaders. These perennial illnesses of the motherland were metonyms for the social crises of the social body and the body politic. The unpredictability of the conduct of Iranian rulers was attributed to the ancient Greek invasion and its infliction of Iran with melancholy:

She is happy for no reason and turns sad with no cause. In dangerous situations she is brave and in protected sites she is fearful. She perceives nothingness as being, being as nothingness, the probable as improbable, and the impossible as possible. Due to her psychic instability, she turns into a wicked blood-shedder; and because of her mental infirmity she is unable to distinguish the good from the bad. She can not comprehend what she does and she does not know what she wants.

Vatan's enduring melancholy was also a metaphor for the cruelty of Iranian authorities. "As we witness, the shedding of the blood of the sons of *vatan* instead of being shameful and deplorable is the foundation of power and the source of our authorities' glory." This ailment passed to all of motherland's descendants who in extreme poverty are "presumptuous" (*mutakabirand*), in extreme weakness "view themselves capable and empowered over all things," and in extreme ignorance "view themselves as the most knowledgeable."⁶¹

Apoplexy (*siktah*) was diagnosed as the motherland's second illness transmitted with the "Arab invasion" (*hujum-i 'Arab*). After enumerating the symptoms of this political disease, ranging from lack of reaction to the loss of territories, excessive taxation, and the selling of privileges to foreigners, the examination concluded, "If a sensation and movement was left in this people [*millat*] after the apoplexy, they would not have engaged in extreme adulation and flattery and tolerated excessive calamity and ignobility."⁶² The insensitivity reached its peak with the Umayyid rule and domination, "which tore the national nerves" (*a'sab-i milli*) and the people's "human sensibilities" (*'uruq-i insaniyat*). This illness infected the "Iranian existence" (*vujud-i irani*) from the time of 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan's (r. 685–705) conquest of Mazandaran, leading to her "loss of sensation and comprehension resembling a paralyzed person who could not feel the amputation of her joints."

Consequently, foreigners amputated this country from all sides and chopped the endeared *vatan* to pieces. But the people [*millat*] did not feel and sense it; or they were aware but did not rise up to resist it; this means that she lost the abilities of contraction, expansion, attraction, and reaction.⁶³

Like melancholy, the diagnosis revealed that "this ominous illness still prevails in Iran-land and pervades the Iranian character [*dar jins-i irani sarist*]."⁶⁴

The toleration of extreme cruelty and oppression by Iranians was diagnosed as a symptom of the motherland's political paralysis. The physician observed that "in other countries torturers [*mirghazabha*] are unknown and [their names] is kept secret. Our torturers are the most renowned Iranians." He identified the frequent reply by Iranians, "'what is it to me' and 'what is it to you' as the symptom of a national paralysis [*falaj-i milli*]. It pervades the Iranian character to the extent that if a hundred people are beheaded or plundered no one would care to ask 'why?'"⁶⁵

Dropsy (*istisqa'*), a pathological accumulation of diluted lymph in body tissues and cavities, was diagnosed as a disease that developed in the motherland's body since the Abbasid rule (749–1258). Murad Khan, a leading character in the story, conjoining medical diagnosis with political censure, explained that one can ascertain from the tales of *One Thousand and One Nights* and the poetry of Abi Nawwas how the Abbasids' negligence of governmental affairs and their engagement in worldly pleasures led to the mistreatment of the people and the destruction of the country (*kharabi-i mamlikat*). Like dropsy, which hinders the orderly distribution of blood, in the Iranian body politic "the government instead of spending the treasury funds on the welfare of the people [*millat*] and country [*mamlikat*] it spends it entirely on personal desires and pleasure of the king." As a result of this national illness "indolence, unemployment, and bodily comfort prevail in Iranian territories [*mamalik-i Iran*]." ⁶⁶ Here the diagnosis of the motherland was a metonym for the collective diagnosis of Iran's population.

Finally, rabies (*maraz-i har* or *maraz-i kalib*) was diagnosed as "a lethal illness transmitted to the people of Iran [*millat-i Iran*] by Mongolian [*Changiziyan*] conquest." ⁶⁷ The physician ascertained that "the oppression, incivility [*bimuruvvati*], and blood-shedding that endures in Iranian character," ⁶⁸ is a symptom of this infection.

Collectively, these maladies were thought to persist in the Iranian national character. According to the diagnoses, this "repulsive mixture" brought Iran to a state of coma by the time of Nadir Shah's murder (1160/1747), when it was no longer possible "to tell whether she was dead or alive." The coma continued until the eve of the Constitutional Revolution of 1905. According to the prognoses, "the excitements of the past two years made the experienced physicians hopeful of the patient's recovery." ⁶⁹

On this diagnosis, the past served as a sign of Iran's future survival and recovery. The physician prognosticated that "one of the signs of the survival of this patient is that the character of the people of this land is more noble [*asil*] than those of other nations and its people were brought up to rule over the nations of the world." He explained that, according to the Greek and European historians, from the time of Faraydun to Anushirvan for 4,000 years the nation of Iran [*millat-i Iran*] prevailed and ruled over most parts of the world. This history was taken as a sign that "mastery and nobility is ingrained in Iranian blood." Continuing the Iranian body politic's history of noble resistance, the physician concluded: "Like Faraydun who after a thousand-year overthrew the reign of Zakhakians and renewed Iranian royalty, this nation has

never [permanently] lived and will never live under foreign management and rule." As a hopeful sign the "Diagnosis of Iran" concluded by recounting the Sasanian overthrowing of the Greeks, Abu-Mulim's leadership in bringing down the Ummayyids and the Buyid's repelling of the Abassid rule in Iran.⁷⁰ The urgent condition of the motherland provided an opportunity for engaging her descendants in her "curing" and "welfare."

Matriotic sentiments

The display of filial sentiments toward the motherland invoked the training of loyalties and sensibilities toward a relatively alien entity and the publicity of one's "private" views of authorities.⁷¹ The revolutionary crises of 1905–9 transformed the public sphere into a pedagogical institute for the nationalization of familial honor, zealotry, bravery, purity, sacrifice, intimacy, and affections. Iranians learned to hail one another as *vatani*-brothers and *vatani*-sisters and to urge one another to display zealotry (*ghayrat*) and dignity (*sharaf*) toward the dying motherland. The call for the demonstration of zeal and integrity became especially important during the political division of Iran into contesting constitutionalist and anti-constitutionalist forces in 1908–9. In an article explaining the frequent usage of dignity (*sharaf*) by both the elite and the populace, *Musavat* addressed "the newly emerged claimants of dignity [*sharaf*]" and inquired: "Which trace of oppression have we obliterated and whom amongst the oppressors have we punished? Which foundation of justice have we instituted and which pillar [*bunyan*] of exploitation and oppression have we destroyed?" In these and other articles the emotive *sharaf* was linked to individual responsibility for societal welfare. All Iranians were held accountable for the care of "the innocent infant of dignity [*sharaf*] who recently entered the world of Iran."⁷²

In another article, "Khayr al-Umur Awsatuha," *Musavat* reported that "the wretched Iranians are many stations away from true justice and have been denied and dispossessed [*binasib*] of human happiness." In order to "guarantee the existence of our ethnicity and nation" *Musavat* called upon the oppressors to limit their oppression and upon the oppressed to limit the tolerance of oppression: "Oh unmerciful oppressors! Extreme oppression for how long? Oh wretched oppressed! The extremity of insensitivity to what limit?" The article concluded that only in such a reciprocal manner "Iranians will become human and the desolated village of Iran will join the rank of the renowned states of the world."⁷³

Ghayrat was another highly contested familial terminology nationalized during the Constitutional Revolution. Traditionally linked to

manliness, *ghayrat* can be rendered as zealotry, propriety, and jealousy, or more accurately as a condensation of all three terms. The evocation of this emotive concept assumed an immediate threat to familial honor and integrity. Individuals were expected to demonstrate outer zeal for the protection of familial honor. Similarly, at a time when the honor of the motherland was compromised, her national children were expected to take necessary actions to restore her honor and integrity. Lack of such initiatives was viewed as a sign of unmanliness. In a letter to *Musavat* a reader prescribed *ghayrat* as a remedy for the illness of the motherland. Addressing the people of Iran (*ahl-i Iran*), the author remarked, "*ghayrat* is your dignity and salvation [*sharaf va fallah*]; your wealth, your independence, and your nationality [*milliyat*] depends on *ghayrat*; you have no remedy but *ghayrat*. If Plato, Avicenna, and all [other] sages and physicians of the world gather, they will all prescribe the same medicine."⁷⁴

Since the enemies of the motherland were depicted as rapists, the demonstration of zealotry and integrity was viewed as essential to nationalized manhood. Reporting on border clashes with the Ottomans in northeastern Iran (Urumiyah and Savajbulagh), *Musavat* warned that "the purity of motherland is threatened by the desirous adulterers [*zinakaran*] and the authorities are interested [only] in position and promotion." Censuring the Majlis deputies for "*partibazi*" (party-playing), the ministers for "*turktazi*" (plundering), and the Shah for "*ishqbazi*" (love-playing), *Musavat* admonished his countrymen for their unawareness and "women-like" (*misl-i zanan*) idleness: "Oh you slumberers on the bed of unawareness! Oh you subsiders of the path of ignorance! Oh you stragglers of the caravan of civilization! And oh you laggards of the road of world progress!... You are biding idly at home like women expecting others to endeavor for your happiness." Here the illness of the motherland was linked directly to the lack of initiatives and the straggling of her children from the "caravan of civilization." The threat of the raping of the motherland was used metaphorically and rhetorically to agitate and to mobilize men for political action in defense of Iran. With the intensification of anti-constitutionalist efforts and the division of Iran into British and Russian zones of influence, the call for action became ever more urgent:

You descendants of Iran who responded to the cry of the kind motherland in the recent revolution and liberated her from the paws of internal road-plunderers! Today, the cries of this same estranged mother are blaring from the oppressions of foreign plunderers. The descendant of Iran is one who would rise up like a man and perform

his duties of Iranianness on the life-sacrificing field and does not grant to the enemy this historical glory and this gift of freedom and this new life and permanent happiness which was obtained with deep affection [*khum-i jigar* (blood of the liver)].⁷⁵

Having portrayed the foreign intervention as motherland's rape, men were asked to reflect on how dishonorable life would be after the loss of motherland's chastity: "Iranians! Is there a doubt and incertitude that after the removal of the nation's chastity and honor of nationality, for the respectable [people] life would be a taboo and the living time would be ugly and undignified?"⁷⁶

To mobilize for political action, men were often compared to women and stories of women's bravery and self-sacrifice were used rhetorically to put men to shame.⁷⁷ A declaration of intent by the revolutionaries of Azarbayjan, for instance, invited all Iranians to join them in "the holy pursuit of the lost beloved" – the Constitutional Monarchy and the Consultative Assembly.⁷⁸ To arouse national sentiments, it recounted the story of a Georgian woman who volunteered to sacrifice her life for the rescue and freedom of Iranians. Having constituted the Georgian woman as an exemplar, the declaration then compared her deeds to that of the "home-destroying" Shaykh Fazl al-Allah Nuri, the leading Mujtahid of Tehran who was organizing the anti-constitutional camp. Thus, a foreign woman who supported the constitutionalist cause was viewed as more dignified than an arch-mujtahid who led the anti-constitutionalist camp. Reprimanding the people of Shiraz, Yazd, Kirman, Isfahan, Khurasan, and Gilan for their failure to join Azarbayjanis in the struggle against tyranny, the endeavor of the Georgian woman was taken as a *lack* of manliness:

Oh wicked children, oh disobeyers of kind motherland, if this pure-essence woman calls for resistance [*mujahidah*] and defense – in Islam this has always been the special duty of men – then why the residents of these provinces are sitting silently and do not perform their manly duties [*takalif-i mardanah*]? Is it that in these territories men and balls/seeds/testicles of manhood [*mard va tukhm-i mardan-igi*] have been razed? Are men all dead and non-men [*namardan*] have taken their place?

The declaration denounced the people of Shiraz – who were proud of "the chivalry and bravery their forefathers" – as a "disgrace to the descendants of Kayan" and "the windblowers of the honor of Fars" (*bar*

baddahandigan-i namus-i Fars). Viewed as resigned from “the realm of manhood” (*da’irah-i mardanigi*), the Shirazis were commanded to “bury themselves alive” for their lack of “bravery” (*rishadat*), “young-manliness” (*javanmardi*), and “zeal” (*ghayrat*). Likewise the Khurasanis were reminded of the brave history of their forefathers and were asked: “Aren’t you the children of the same renowned fathers? What happened to that courage? Where is that agility?” The admonished people of Iran who had failed to join the revolutionaries of Azarbayjan were asked to recall the exclamations of the angel of fame and happiness:

Oh people of Iran, oh residents of the territories of Khurasan, Kirman, Isfahan and other provinces . . . why are you sitting silently like the dead? Why have you stuffed your ears with the cotton of negligence and do not respond to this divine call? Fie with your courage. Fie with you manners! How dear is this wretched life and this base existence, [an existence] many degrees lower and viler than that the affairs of the women of the earth, that you prefer it to the salvation and liberation of your *vatan*?⁷⁸

Such rhetorical questions prompted men to demonstrate their manhood by going public and taking sides in the revolutionary contestation. In this and many other revolutionary night-letters (*shab-namah*) the lack of concern for the affairs of the motherland was equated with the lack of masculine attributes of honor, integrity, and bravery.

By familializing the affilial national-public space, men were called upon to demonstrate the same compassionate and possessive feelings toward their motherland that they showed toward their mothers, sisters, and daughters.⁷⁹ The “reawakening” of the nation was indeed a pedagogical project for the projection of familial feelings toward the affilial nation-state. “To reawaken the nationalist feelings of the zealots of Iran [*hiss-i vatani-i ghayratmandan-i Irani*],” *Musavat* published two congratulatory letters addressed to Satar Khan, the commander of the revolutionary forces in Tabriz, who was hailed as *Sardar-i Milli* (National Commander). One letter was sent by the students of a school in Moscow and another by the members of the Welfare Society of Iranian Women Residing in Istanbul. The newspaper explained that the letters were not intended for the flattery and the praise of the authorities but for the education of the people. “The demonstration of young students’ zeal [*gharat*]” and “the expression of the manly fervor [*ta’assub*] of the Welfare Society of Iranian Women Residing in Istanbul” was intended to teach the people of Iran “the manners of *vatan*-adoration and the responsibilities of

nationality-cultivation [*a'in-i vatanparasti va takalif-i milliyat parvari*].⁸⁰ To provoke a sense of territorial loyalty and protectiveness, men's manhood was doubted and "manly fervor" (*ta'assub-i mardanah*) was attributed to women who showed revolutionary and nationalist fervor.

The attribution of manliness to women was a conventional trope of Iran's matriotic nationalism. Often men were incited to demonstrate the same feeling toward the homeland that they often demonstrated toward their extended families. The attribution of masculine qualities to the women of the nation was often followed by a pedagogical note of admonition and a call for reawakening.⁸¹ Revealing its pedagogical intent, *Musavat* wrote,

Oh people of the nation, oh reciters of the inauspicious words of 'I do not care, what is it to me' [*biman chah, biman chirah*], now that unfortunately you can not constitute as your national model [*sarmashq-i milli*] the men of history and follow the manly manners [*rasm-i futuvvat va mardanigi*] in accordance with the saying "acquire knowledge from the mouths of men" [*khadau al-'ilm min afwaha al-rijal*]," and can not follow the world-adoring actions of the courageous [men] of the early Islam [*rashidan-i sadr-i Islam*], the heroic [men] of the eighteenth century France, or the brave [men] of contemporary Japan, then at least be just and constitute as your life-guide [*pishnahad-i zindagi*], the saying "acquire knowledge from the mouths of women" [*khazaw al-'ilm min afwah al-nisa*] and do learn from the women of this new age [*asr-i jadid*] the path of propriety [*ghayrat*] and the creed of manliness [*shari'at-i ghayrat va kish-i futuwwat*].

The readers of *Musavat* were asked to reflect and to ponder on the content of these two letters and to ascertain why the young students of Moscow and the women "encampers of purity [*pardah nishinan-i iffat*]" from Istanbul expressed their thanks and their feelings about "our mother nation [*madar-i vatan-i ma*]." This rhetorical question had the clear pedagogical intent of prompting care for the motherland:

For us, the children of Iran, who view ourselves as the worthy inheritors of this patient, it is becoming that jointly today we imitate the zeal [*ta'assub*] and propriety [*ghayrat*] of these school children and women of the Women Society and in cooperation with one another nurse this infirm mother and cure and remedy the perennial illnesses that have taken roots in the national body [*badan-i vatan*].

Mediated through a medicalized political discourse, the call for nursing and curing the motherland was a demand for “public security [*amniyat-i ‘umumi*] and the protection of life, honor [*namus*], speech, and thought.” The recovery of national-body was contingent upon “the implementation of the dictum of justice and equality – that is, a law treating the king and the beggar as equals.” Without the absolute rule of law, Iranians were compelled “to bury [their] ethnicity [*qaumiyat*] and to say good-bye to [their] independence [*istiqlal*].” The preservation of the dying motherland was inextricably linked to the protection of her children’s “personal happiness, honor, and life.” The call for motherland-care was a synonym for civil self-care.⁸²

Constituted as a maternal familial space, *vatan* became the site for redefining and nationalizing masculinity and its attributes. To mobilize men for political action and participatory politics, *Musavat*, like many other constitutionalist papers, constituted women as exemplars of bravery, courage, possessiveness, virtue, vigor, and honor. With women’s public display of courage and devotion to mother-Iran, these masculine characteristics were increasingly identified in counter-examples with the women of the motherland. As national exemplars during the Constitutional Revolution of 1905–9, women demonstrated national *rishadat*, *sharaf*, and *ghayrt*, attributes identified historically with masculinity (*mardanigi*). The examples of women’s devotion to the motherland were used rhetorically to prompt men to protect Iran’s territorial integrity and its new constitutional and representative regime. The nationalizing of the filial traits of masculinity made possible the dissociation of zeal (*ta’assub*), propriety (*ghayrat*), and bravery (*rishadat*) from biological manliness. As exemplars of national honor, dignity, and zeal, women served as the teachers of matriotic nationalism and nationalized masculinity. The care for the territorial mother prompted women’s entry into the public sphere.⁸³ Women initiated their organizational sodalities, political activities, and pedagogical praxis in the name of curing and strengthening the motherland.

The synecdochic characterization of *vatan* as a dying mother provided the imaginary foundation for the reconfiguration of disciplinary systems, a corollary of the changing position of individual subjects within the modern nationalist political discourse. Significant to this change was the eventual displacement of the affliction of physical pain and visible marks of punishment with new “modes of subjection” inculcating a particular type of subjectivity.⁸⁴ Unlike the classical *ta’riz* and *siyasat*, the new regimes of power sought to reform the individual character and rationalize individual conduct. This change involved the resignification

of *siyasat* from the affliction of physical pain to obligatory filial concern with the present and future of the motherland.

The mothering of territorial Iran provided the imaginative space for the scripting and enacting of an innovative vernacular nationalism and political modernity. As a metonym, motherland interiorized the exterior affilial space of Iran-land. It conjoined the affilial *birun* (outer space) with the filial *durum/andarun* (inner space). Interiorization of Iran-land via the familial metaphor familiarized the men and women of the nation as national (*vatani*) brothers and sisters. This gave the question of *mahramiyat* a new connotation. By familializing the national-public sphere, the filiative spatial metaphor provided the discursive terrain for the alteration of gender relations and enabled women to go public. Constituted as "national sisters," women were discursively authorized to shed the veil that segregated them from their national brothers.

The deployment of filial space in the matriotic discourse in Iran differed from its Indian counterpart. Just as the mother Iran was constituted as an interiorized filial space, fusing and condensing *andarun* and *birun*, so the colonized "mother India" was spatially bifurcated into the inner *ghar* (home) and the outer *bahir* (world). In India the public space was constituted as the "material" space of colonial domination and cultural mimesis. Given this colonial context, the inner sphere of *ghar* was established as the autonomous site of "spiritual" autonomy and cultural authenticity. The spatial bifurcation provided the "ideological principle of selection" for Indian nationalism. Whereas men were to "bear the brunt" of material activity in the outer world, women were assigned the "responsibility of protecting and nurturing" the home-based authentic social and spiritual life.⁸⁵ Located within "the inner domain of sovereignty," the women's question abated from the domain of *public* discourse with the intensification of anti-colonial national struggle at the end of the century.

Divergently, the matriotic domicilization of homeland in the formally independent Iran authorized the fusion of the women's question and the welfare of the motherland. As the actual and potential pedagogues of the children of the homeland, women assumed a strategically significant role in the developmentalist national discourse in Iran. "Since women are the foundational pillar of human societal formation [*hay'at-i ijtimad'iyah-i bashariyah*]," explained the essayist Sayyid Husayn, "their education takes precedent and is more urgent than the education of men."⁸⁶ The centrality of women's education to national progress prompted the formation of schools for girls. Initially established in the residences of prominent women, these schools became sites for the

formation of a women-inclusive public sphere.⁸⁷ The ingression of women into the public sphere was facilitated with the synecdochic characterization of *vatan* as a dying 6,000-year-old mother. Partially cured by the Constitutional Revolution, the strengthening of the mother-*vatan* was linked to the education of women, the first pedagogues of the people (*millat*).

The securing of women's position in the matriotic discourse was furthered with the invocation of the mother's body as the "originary *vatan*" (*vatan-i asli*). By constituting the woman's body as the "originary *vatan*," Tayirah Tihrani (1861 or 1865–1911), an outstanding essayist and educator,⁸⁸ supplemented the motherland with non-metaphoric corporeality. Addressing her national "brothers" she asked rhetorically, "Are we not the source of your life, being, and comfort? How have you forgotten this original *vatan* of yours?"⁸⁹ In this significant intervention, the woman's body was constituted as the "originary home" of all Iranians. The care for "future mothers" as the pedagogues of the nation was linked to the task of caring for the motherland.