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REFASHIONING IRAN

Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi

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Orientalism, Occidentalism and
Nationalist Historiography

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St Antony's Series



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Orientalism, Occidentalism and Historiography

Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi

*Associate Professor of Historiography and Middle Eastern History
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For Jennifer, Azadeh, and Afsaneh

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Preface and Acknowledgments

1. Dariush Shayegan, *Cultural Schizophrenia: Islamic Societies Confronting the West*, trans. John Howe (London: Saqi Books, 1992), 12.
2. Riza Davari Ardakani, *Shimma'i az Tarikh-i Gharbzadgi-i Ma: Vaz'-i Kununi-i Tafakkur dar Iran* (Tehran: Surush, 1363 [1984]), 88.
3. Juan Cole, "Invisible Occidentalism: Eighteenth-Century Indo-Persian Constructions of the West," *Iranian Studies*, 25: 3–4 (1992), 3–16; Mehrzad Boroujerdi, *Iranian Intellectuals and the West: The Tormented Triumph of Nativism* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996), particularly 10–11. Boroujerdi's characterization of Persianate Europology as "Orientalism in reverse" is informed by Sadik Jalal al-Azm, "Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse," *Khamsin*, 8 (1981), 5–26.
4. On the Hegelian notion of *secondary identification* see Slavoj Žižek, *The Ticklish Subject: The Absent Center of Political Ontology* (London: Verso, 1999), 90.

Chapter 1 Modernity, Heterotopia, and Homeless Texts

1. See Lorraine Daston, "Historical Epistemology," in *Questions of Evidence: Proof, Practice, and Persuasion across the Disciplines*, ed. James Chandler, Arnold Davidson, and Harry Harootyan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 282–9.
2. On the Husserlian concept of "sedimentation" see Ernesto Laclau, *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time* (London: Verso, 1990), 34.
3. For instance see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (New York: Verso, 1991); Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).
4. Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. Keith Tribe (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1985), 276.
5. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, trans. Marianne Cowan (1955; South Bend, Ind.: Gateway, 1967), 210–11, 146–50.
6. Karl Marx, "Speech at the Anniversary of the People's Paper," in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2nd edn, ed. Robert Tucker (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978), 577–8.
7. Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 287.
8. For instance see Enrique Dussel, "Eurocentrism and Modernity," *Boundary*, 2: 20/3 (1993), 65–76; idem., *The Underside of Modernity: Apel, Ricoeur, Rorty, Taylor, and the Philosophy of Liberation*, trans. Eduardo Mendieta (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1996); Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for 'Indian' Pasts?" *Representation*, 37 (Winter 1992), 1–26.

9. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Scribner, 1958), 25; Jürgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures*, trans. Frederick G. Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987), 1.
10. For instance see Bernard Lewis, "The Impact of the West," in *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* 2nd edn, London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 40–73; Leonard Binder, "The Natural History of Development Theory, with a Discordant Note on the Middle East," in *Islamic Liberalism: A Critique of Development Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 24–84; Habermas, *Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, 2.
11. G. E. von Grunebaum, *Modern Islam: The Search for Cultural Identity* (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1962), 248–88.
12. Stuart Hall, "The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power," in *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies*, ed. Stuart Hall, David Held, Don Hubert, and Kenneth Thompson (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1996), 184–227; J. M. Roberts, *The Triumph of the West* (London: BBC Publications, 1985), particularly 194–202.
13. Hall, "The West and the Rest," 187. The dichotomy, the West and the Rest, was originally formulated by Marshall Sahlins in his *Culture and Practical Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).
14. Hall, "The West and the Rest," 221.
15. Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics*, 16: 1 (Spring 1986), 22–7; quotes on 24 and 27.
16. Stephen Toulmin, *Cosmopolis: The Hidden Agenda of Modernity*, 2nd edn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 28.
17. Toulmin, *Cosmopolis*, 28.
18. For instance see Judith Shklar, *Montesquieu* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 30.
19. The first edition of *The Persian Letters* was published in 1721. In Letter 91, documenting this evocative context, Montesquieu noted: "There has appeared a personage got up as a Persian ambassador, who has insolently played a trick on the two greatest kings in the world." See *The Persian Letters*, trans. C. J. Betts (New York: Penguin, 1973), 172–3.
20. Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 2.
21. Ann Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 15. On "laboratory of modernity" see Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge, Mass.: Press, 1989), 289 and 317.
22. For example see Rabinow, *French Modern*; Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power* (New York: Viking, 1985); Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1991); Uday Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: a Study in Nineteenth-century British Liberal Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Nicholas B. Dirks, "Introduction: Colonialism and Culture," in *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992).
23. Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, 16.
24. Rabinow, *French Modern*, 289.
25. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 47–65; quote on 50 (emphasis in original).
26. Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, 195.

27. According to Toulmin, "In four fundamental ways . . . 17th-century philosophers set aside the long-standing preoccupation of Renaissance humanism. In particular, they disclaimed any serious interest in four different kinds of practical knowledge: the oral, the particular, the local, and the timely" (*Cosmopolis*, 30).
28. For an critique of modern Indian historiography see Chakrabarty, "Post-coloniality and the Artifice of History," 1–26.
29. Johannes Fabian defines the denial of coevalness as "a persistent and systematic tendency to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a Time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse [emphasis in original]." See his *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 31.
30. For instance see Ahmad Ashraf, "Historical Obstacles to the Development of a Bourgeoisie in Iran," in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East: From the Rise of Islam to the Present Day*, ed. M. A. Cook (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 308–32; idem, *Mavanī-i Tarīkhī-i Rūshd-i Samāyahdārī dar Iran: Dawrah-i Qajariyāh* (Tehran: Zaminah, 1359).
31. John Malcolm, *The History of Persia from the Most Early Period to the Present Time* (London: John Murray, 1815), 2: 621; For the Persian translation see *Tarīkh-i Iran*, trans. Mirza Isma'il Hayrat (Bombay: Matba'ī Datparsat, 1876).
32. George W. F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1991), 188.
33. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, respectively 2: 622, 2: 623, and 2: 624.
34. Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 35, 38, 39, 40, 47.
35. Homa Katouzian, *The Political Economy of Modern Iran: Despotism and Pseudo-Modernism, 1926–1979* (New York: New York University Press, 1981), 7–26, 298–300; idem, "Arbitrary Rule: a Comparative Theory of State, Politics and Society in Iran," *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, 24: 1 (1977), 49–73; Ervand Abrahamian, "Oriental Despotism: the Case of Qajar Iran," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 5 (1984), 3–31, and also his "European Feudalism and Middle Eastern Despotisms," *Science and Society*, 39 (1975), 135; George Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question* (London: Longman, 1892), 1: 433.
36. Guity Nashat, *The Origins of Modern Reform in Iran, 1870–80* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982).
37. Meagan Morris, "Metamorphoses at Sydney Tower," *New Formations*, 11 (Summer 1990), 10, cited in Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History," 17.
38. Mangol Bayat, *Iran's First Revolution: Shi'ism and the Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1909* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 36.
39. 'Ali Quli Mirza 'Izzat al-Saltanah, *Falak al-Sa'adah* (Tehran: Dar al-Taba'ah-'i Aqa Mir Muhammad Tihani, 1278/1861).
40. Bayat, *Iran's First Revolution*, 37.
41. Elie Kedourie, *Afghani and Abduh: An Essay on Religious Unbelief and Political Activism in Modern Islam* (London: Cass, 1966), 44–5; Nikki Keddie, *Sayyid Jamal al-Din "al-Afghani": A Political Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 197–9; Jamshid Bihnam, *Iraniyan va Andishah-i Tajaddud* (Tehran: Farzan Ruz, 1375/1996), 32–4; Alireza Manafzadeh,

- "Nukhustin Matn-i Falsafah-i Jadid-i Gharbi bah Zaban-i Farsi," *Iran Nameh*, 9: 1 (Winter 1991), 98–108.
42. Faraydun Adamiyat, *Andishah-i Tarraqi va Hukumat-i Qanun: 'Asr-i Sipahsalar* (Tehran: Khwarazmi, 1351/1972), 17 and 18.
 43. On Gobineau's anti-Semitism see Peter Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria* (New York: Wiley, 1964).
 44. Arthur, Comte de de Gobineau, *Les religions et philosophies dans l'Asie centrale* ([Paris: Gallimard, 1957]), 98, 110–4; idem, *Trois ans en Asie, de 1855 à 1858* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1905).
 45. Kamran Arjomand, "The Emergence of Scientific Modernity in Iran: Controversies Surrounding Astrology and Modern Astronomy in Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Iranian Studies*, 30: 1–2 (Winter/Spring 1997), 15.
 46. Ibid., 5–24.
 47. Bayat, *Iran's First Revolution*, 37.
 48. Arjomand, "Emergence of Scientific Modernity," 17.
 49. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 2–3.
 50. A. Bausani, "The Qajar Period: an Epoch of Decadence?" in *Qajar Iran: Political, Social, and Cultural Changes, 1800–1925*, ed. Edmond Bosworth and Carole Hillenbrand (Costa Mesa, Cal.: Mazda, 1992), 255–60.
 51. See Said, *Orientalism*, 322.
 52. Michel Foucault, "What is Enlightenment," in *Ethics, Subjectivity, and Truth*, ed. Paul Rabinow, trans. Robert Hurley and others (New York: New Press, 1994), 303–19; quotes on 312, 309–10, and 309–10.
 53. Mahdi Akhavan Salis, "Akhir-i Shahnamah" in *Akhir-i Shahnamah*, 8th edn (Tehran: Intisharat-i Murvarid, 1363/1984), 79–86, quote on 85.
 54. "Anjuman-i Ma'arif," *Miftah al-Zafar*, 2: 12 (22 March 1899), 182–3.
 55. François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire, AD 1656–1668*, trans. Archibald Constable, rev. by Vincent Smith (London: Oxford University Press, 1914; New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 1989), 324–5. Danishmand Khan, also known as Muhammad Shafi', was born in Iran and went to Surat, India, in 1646. Shah Jahan appointed him as a Bakhshi (military paymaster) and granted him the title of Danishmand Khan. Alamgir appointed him as Governor of Shah Jahan Abad or New Delhi, where he died in 1670. William Harvey was a lecturer at the Royal College of Physicians and discovered the circulation of blood. Jean Pecquet discovered the conversion of chyle into blood.
 56. Raymond Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Discovery of India and the East, 1680–1880*, trans. Gene Patterson-Black and Victor Reinking (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 142–6.
 57. Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, quotes on 324–5 and 352–3.
 58. Samsam al-Dawlah Shahnavaz Khan, *Ma'asir al-Umara*, ed. Maulavi 'Abd al-Rahim and Maulavi Mirza Ashraf 'Ali (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1892) 2: 30–2; quotes on 32.
 59. François Bernier to M. Caron (10 March 1663) in François Martin, *François Martin Mémoires: Travels to Africa, Persia & India*, trans. Aniruddha Ray (Calcutta: Subarnarekha, 1990), 546–66; quote on 548.
 60. This Persian translation of the *Upanishads* was rendered into French and Latin by Anquetil-Duperron in 1801–2.
 61. Martin, *François Martin Mémoires*, 441–2.

62. Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle il pellegrino* (Roma: Appresso Vitale Mascardi, 1650; Brighton, 1843), 326–8; cited in Arjomand, “Emergence of Scientific Modernity,” p. 7; John D. Gurney, “Pietro Della Valle: the Limits of Perception,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1986), 103–16, particularly 112.
63. On the *Zij-i Muhammad Shahi* see William Hunter, “Some Account of the astronomical labours of Jaha Sinha, Raja of Ambhere, or Jayanagar,” *Asiatic Society*, 5 (1799), 177–210. This article includes the Persian preface of the *Zij* and its English translation.
64. Phillipe de La Hire (1640–1718), *Tabulae astronomicae*... (Paris: Apud S. Michallet, 1687; Paris: Apud Joannem Boudot, 1702).
65. Muhammad ‘Ali Mubashshir Khan, *Manahij al-Istikhraj* (Unpublished manuscript: Kitabkhanah-i Astan-i Quds-i Razavi, #12302). On the influence of de La Hire see Virendra Nath Sharma, “*Zij* Muhammad Shahi and the Tables of de La Hire,” *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 25: 1–4 (1990), 36–41.
66. Many copies of *Zij-i Muhammad Shahi* are available in Iranian libraries. One of the earliest editions is reported “to be extant” in the library of Madrasah-i ‘Ali-i Sipahsalar, which was renamed after the 1979 Revolution as Madrasah-i ‘Ali-i Shahid Mutahhari. See S. M. Razaullah Ansari, “Introduction of Modern Western Astronomy in India during 18–19 Centuries,” in *History of Astronomy in India*, ed. S. N. Sen and K. S. Shukla (New Delhi: Indian National Science Academy, 1985), 363–402; quote on 364.
67. ‘Abbas Mazda, “Nufuz-i Sabk-i Urupa’i dar Naqashi-i Iran,” *Payam-i Nau*, 2: 10 (1325 [1946]), 59–72, particularly 61; Husayn Mahbubi Ardakani, *Tarikh-i Muassasat-i Tamadduni-i Jadid Dar Iran* (Tehran: Anjuman-i Danish-juyan-i Danishgah-i Tihiran, 1354–1368 [1975–1989]), 1: 234. The claim of Muhammad Zaman’s travel to Europe is refuted by the Russian Orientalists Igor Akimushkin. See Abolala Soudavar, “European and Indian Influences,” in *Art of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1992), 365–79, particularly f.n. #16, 379. For a critical evaluation of the controversy over Muhammad Zaman’s career see A. A. Ivanov, “Nadira-h-i Dawran Muhammad Zaman,” in *Davazdah Rukh: Yadnigari az Dawzdah Naqash-i Nadirahkar-i Iran*, trans. Ya‘qub Azhand (Tehran: Intisharat-i Mawla, 1377/1998), 313–28.
68. Mir ‘Abd al-Latif Shushtari, *Tuhfat al-‘Alam va Zayl al-Tuhfat*, ed. Samad Muvahhid ([Bombay: s.n., 1847]; Tehran: Tahuri, 1363/1984), 363–7. See also: anonymous, “An Account of the Life and Character of Tofuzel Hussein Khan, the Vakeel, or Ambassador, of the Nabob Vizier Assof-Ud-Dowlah, at Calcutta, During the Government of Marquis Cornwallis,” *The Asiatic Annual Register*, (1803), Characters, 1–8, quote on 1.
69. “An Account of the Life and Character of Tofuzel Hussein Khan,” 1.
70. Ruben Burrows was supposed to write “notes and explanations” to Tafazzul Husayn Khan’s translation of Newton’s *Principia*. According to the *Asiatic Annual Register*, “The translation was finished, but it has not been printed; and we believe Mr. Burrows never added the annotations he mentions.” See “An Account of the Life and Character of Tofuzel Hussein Khan,” Characters, 7. Mir ‘Abd al-Latif Shushtari noted that Tafazzul Husayn Khan acquired his knowledge of European philosophy (*hikamiyat-i farang*) from Mr Burrows (*Tuhfat al-‘Alam*, 371). On Ruben Burrows see *Asiatic Researches*, 2 (1790), 489.

71. Tafazzul Husayn Khan, who "wrote the Persian language with uncommon elegance," had been appointed by Hastings to accompany David Anderson to Mahajee Scindiah. According to David Anderson, Husayn Khan learned English from "my brother, Mr. Blaine" and European mathematics and astronomy "from his communication with the learned Mr. Broome." In 1792, upon a friend's request, Anderson had asked Tafazzul Husayn Khan to inquire about "the ancient astronomy of the Hindus." All quotes are from a letter by David Anderson published in "An Account of the Life and Character of Tofuzel Hussein Khan," 2–3.
72. "An Account of the Life and Character of Tofuzel Hussein Khan," 8. For Husayn Khan's acquaintance with William Jones and Richard Johnson, see p. 4.
73. Juan Cole, "Invisible Occidentalism," 3–16.
74. Shushtari, *Tuhfat al-'Alam*, respectively 252, 255, 36–40, 299–315, 36; 34–40, and 36–40, particularly 38.
75. Shushtari, *Tuhfat al-'Alam*, respectively 303 and 307. For an alternative interpretation of this passage see Cole, "Invisible Occidentalism," 11–12. As it relates to the state of astronomical knowledge, Shushtari mentioned meeting the 90-year-old Mir Masih Allah Shahjahanabadi, who resided in Murshidabad and had spent most of his life mastering astronomy. He reports studying *Zij-i Muhammad Shahi*, the observations of Chayt Singh, and other astronomical texts which were in the possession of Mir Masih. It would be important to locate the works these two scholars. See Shushtari, *Tuhfat al-'Alam*, 374.
76. Mirza Muhammad Sadiq Marvazi Vaqayi' Nigar, *Qava'id al-Muluk* (Tehran: Iranian National Library, MS F/1757).
77. See 'Izzat al-Saltanah's biographical note on Vaqayi' Nigar in his *Iksir al-Tavarikh*, ed. Jamshid Kayanfar (Tehran: Vismān, 1370/1997), 274–7; Yahya Aryanpur, *Az Saba ta Nima: Tarikh-i 150 Sal Adabi Farsi* (Tehran: Kitabba -yi Jibi, 1351/1972), 1: 75–7.
78. Aqa Ahmad Bibbahani Kirmanshahi, *Mir'at al-Ahval-i Jahan Nama*, ed. 'Ali Davani (Tehran: Intisharat-i Markaz-i Asnad-i Inqilab-i Islami, 1375 [1996]), 392. For a different rendering see Cole, "Invisible Occidentalism," 11.
79. For instance Kamaran Arjomand claims that "in the second half of the nineteenth century there were serious efforts to defend traditional Islamic cosmology against modern European astronomy" ("Emergence of Scientific Modernity," 10).
80. Mawlavi Abu al-Khayr, *Majmu'ah-i Shamsi: mushtamil-i bar masa'il-i 'ilm-i hay'at mutabiq-i tahqiqat-i 'ulama-yi muta'akhirin-i Farang* (Calcutta: Hindoostani Press, 1222/1807). In the introduction Mawlavi Abu al-Khayr notes that *Majmu'ah-i Shamsi* is based on English language sources, which he translated with the encouragement and assistance of Dr William Hunter (1718–83). *Majmu'ah-i Shamsi* bears the following note in English: "A Concise View of the Copernican System of Astronomy, by Moulwee Ubool Khuer, under the superintendence of W. Hunter, M. D. Calcutta. Printed by T. Hubbard at the Hindoostanee Press, 1807."
81. Mawlavi Abu al-Khayr, *Majmu'ah-i Shamsi*, 2.
82. William Hunter, "Account of the Astronomical Labours of Jaya Sinha, Rajah of Ambhere, or Jayanagar," *Asiatic Researches Or Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal*, 5 (1799), 177–211.

83. Other texts on modern sciences, particularly astronomy, include Muhammad Isma'il Landani's *Tashih al-adrak fi shurh al-aflak*, available at Dar al-Ulum Nadwat al-Ulama, radif 3, no. 4; Muhammad Ayyub's *Risalah dar 'Ilm-i Nujum* (1801/1216), available at the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, (Acc. 334); Sayyid Ahmad 'Ali's *Muqaddamat-i 'Ilm-i Hay'at* (Calcutta: n.p., n.d.), and Rathan Singh Zakhmi Lakhnavi's *Hadayiq al-Nujum* (1838).
84. Muhammad Rafi' al-Din Khan, *Umdat al-Mulk, Rafi' al-Basar* (Calcutta: C. V. William Press, 1841).
85. For a discussion of Martyn see 'Abd al-Hadi Ha'iri, *Nukhustin Ruyariyih-yi Andishahgaran-i Iran ba Du Ruyah-i Tamaddun-i Burzhuvazi-i Gharb* (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1367), 507–45.
86. For Martyn's Persian translation of the New Testament see *Kitab al-Muqaddas va Huwa Kutub-i al-'Ahd-i al-Jadid-i Khudavand va Rahanandah-i Ma 'Isa-i Masih* [*The New Testament of Our Lord Saviour Jesus Christ*] (London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1876).
87. Afzal-ul-Ulama Muhammad Yousuf Kokan, *Arabic and Persian in Carnatic, 1710–1960* (Madras: Hafiza House, 1974), 340–4.
88. *Ibid.*, 340–4 and 345–8.
89. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, 2: 5536–537.
90. James B. Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan...* (London: Longman, 1825), respectively 152–3, 282, and 484.
91. Muhammad Qazi b. Kashif al-Din Muhammad Ardakani, *Tuhfat-i Muhammadiyah*, (Mashhad: Kitabkhanah-i Astan-i Quds-i Razavi, no. 583). The manuscript was copied in 1220/1805.
92. Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey*, 484.
93. For instance see, Buzurg 'Alavi, "Critical Writings on the Renewal of Iran," in *Qajar Iran: Political, Social, and Cultural Changes, 1800–1925*, ed. Edmond Bosworth and Carole Hillenbrand (Costa Mesa, Cal.: Mazda, 1992), 243–54, quote on 253.
94. Writing on eighteenth-century Bengal, Richard Eaton has also observed, "Two stereotypes – one by students of Indian history, the other held by students of Islam – have conspired greatly to obscure our understanding of Islam in Bengal, and especially of the growth of a Muslim peasant community there. The first of these is the notion of eighteenth-century Mughal India as a period hopelessly mired in decline, disorder, chaos, and collapse." See his "The Growth of Muslim Identity in Eighteenth-Century Bengal," in *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam*, ed. Nehemiah Levtzion and John Voll (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 161–85; quote on 161.

Chapter 2 Orientalism's Genesis Amnesia

1. On "genesis amnesia" see Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 79.
2. Raymond Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Discovery of India and the East, 1680–1880*, trans. Gene Patterson-Black and Victor Reinking (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 8, 7, 5, and 33.

3. Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), 142, 168, and 170. In Lewis's account, "[i]t is not until the 1820s that for the first time we find in Egypt translations of Western books..." (170).
4. Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 123–4.
5. G. E. Von Grunebaum, *Modern Islam: The Search for Cultural Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), 233–4 and 234–5.
6. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), respectively 204, 160, 50, 204.
7. Lewis, *Islam and the West*, 125.
8. Said, *Orientalism*, 2.
9. Max Müller, "Preface to the Sacred Books of the East," in *The Upanishads*, trans. F. Max Müller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879; Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), xvii.
10. Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance*, 158.
11. For an erudite account of Anquetil-Duperron's residence in India see Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, "Anquetil Du Perron of Paris-India as Seen by Him (1755–60)," in *Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab* (Bombay: *Times of India*, 1916), 1–69.
12. In conventional accounts of this relationship Anquetil is often lionized while his educators are demeaned. For instance see Martin Haug, *The Parsis: Essays on Their Sacred Language, Writings and Religion*, rev. K. W. West (Boston, Mass.: Houghton, Osgood, 1878; New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1978), 17–18. For a critical analysis of Anquetil-Duperron's exaggerations and self-glorification see Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, "Anquetil Du Perron of Paris and Dastur Darab of Surat," in *Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab*, 70–141.
13. Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance*, 7.
14. According to Schwab, "An Oriental Renaissance – a second Renaissance, in contrast to the first: the expression and the theme are familiar to the Romantic writers, for whom the term is interchangeable with Indic Renaissance. What the expression refers to is the revival of an atmosphere in the nineteenth century brought about by the arrival of Sanskrit texts in Europe, which produced an effect equal to that produced in the fifteenth century by the arrival of Greek manuscripts and Byzantine commentators after the fall of Constantinople." See Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance*, 11.
15. Abu al-Fazl Allami, *The A-in-i Akbari*, trans. H. Blochman; edited by D. C. Phillott (Calcutta : [Royal] Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1872–7; Delhi: Low Price Publications, 1989), 1: 110–12.
16. For Persian translation of Sanskrit works see Fathullah Mujtabai, "Persian Hindu Writings: Their Scope and Relevance," in *Aspects of Hindu Muslim Cultural Relations* (New Delhi: National Book Bureau, 1978); Shriram Sharm, *A Descriptive Bibliography of Sanskrit Works in Persian* (Hyderabad: Abul Kalam Azad Oriental Research Institute, 1982); N. S. Shukla, "Persian Translations of Sanskrit Works," *Indological Studies*, 3 (1974), 175–91.
17. Cited in Mujtabai, *Aspects of Hindu Muslim Cultural Relations*, 66.
18. Quoted from a statement by Emperor Akbar appearing in Mir Jamal al-Din Husayn Inju Shirazi, *Farhang-i Jahangiri*, ed. Rahim 'Afifi (Mashhad: Danishgah-i Mashhad, 1354/1975), 4. The full text of Akbar's statement appears in

- J. J. Modi, "Notes on Anquetil Du Perron (1755–61) on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana" in *Contributions on Akbar and the Parsees*, ed. B. P. Ambashthya (Patna: Janaki Prakashan, 1976), 1–16, particularly 6.
19. V. S. Ghate, "Persian Grammar in Sanskrit," *The Indian Antiquary* (January 1912), 4–7.
 20. Mirza Khan ibn Fakhr al-Din Muhammad, *Tuhfat al-Hind*, ed. Nur al-Hasan Ansari (Tehran: Bunyad-i Farhang-i Iran, 1975).
 21. Dastur Ardshir Nawshirvan was invited on the recommendation of the Zoroastrian Dastur Meherji Rana. On this point see J. J. Modi, "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," in *Contributions on Akbar and the Parsees*, 1–177, particularly 17; Mary Boyce, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 183. For a list of "Zand and Pazand" terminologies compiled in cooperation with Ardshir Nawshirvan see Inju Shirazi, *Farhang-i Jahangiri*, 3: 553–700.
 22. On "Eighteenth-Century Parsi Religious Disputes" see Boyce, *Zoroastrians*, 188–95.
 23. *Zend-Avesta*, trans. A. H. Anquetil-Duperron and intro. Robert D. Richardson (New York: Garland, 1984), I: 326; Boyce, *Zoroastrians*, 189; Haug, *The Parsis*, 57; Modi, *Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab*, 37.
 24. On the eve of Anquetil's departure for Europe, Dasturs Darab and Kavus sued him for the failure to pay the price for purchased manuscripts and tutorial charges. For details see Modi, *Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab*, 55 and 95.
 25. For the Persian translation see Muhammad Dara Shukuh bin Shahjahan, *Sirr-i Akbar* = *Sirr al-Asrar*, ed. Tara Chand and Muhammad Riza Jalali Na'ini (Tehran: Taban, 1961). For a description of this translation see Mahesh Prasad, "The Unpublished Translation of the Upanishads by Prince Dara Shikoh," in *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume: Papers on Indo-Iranian and other Subjects*, ed. Darab Peshotan Sanjana, Bamanji Nasarwanji et. al. (Bombay: Fort Printing Press, 1930), 622–38.
 26. Halhed's translation remains unpublished. On his contribution see Rosane Rocher, *Orientalism, Poetry, and the Millennium: The Checkered Life of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, 1751–1830* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1983); Wilhelm Halbfass, *India and Europe: An Essay in Understanding* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1988), 64.
 27. *Oupenekhat: id est, Secretum tegendum*, trans. A. H. Anquetil-Duperron (Strasbourg, 1801).
 28. Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance*, 143 and 142.
 29. François Bernier, *Travels in the Moghul Empire, AD 1656–1668*, trans. Archibald Constable, rev. Vincent Smith (London: Oxford University Press, 1914; New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 1989), 323–4.
 30. From the publisher's "Note" appearing in the reprint edition of Jones's *A Grammar of the Persian Language* (London: W. and J. Richardson, 1771; Menston: Scholar Press, 1969), v.
 31. *The Letters of Sir William Jones*, ed. Garland Cannon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 2: 798.
 32. In a letter to William Steuart dated 13 September 1789, Jones wrote: "Give my best compliments to Major Palmer & tell him that his friend Tafazzul Husain Khan is doing wonders in English & Mathematicks. He is reading

- Newton with Borrow, & means to translate the *Principia* into Arabick." See "To William Steuart," in *Letters of Sir William Jones*, no. 520, 838–40. On Tafazzul Husayn Khan see Shushtari, *Tuhfat al-'Alam*, 363–67; Rahman 'Ali, *Tazkarah-i 'Ulama-yi Hind* (Luknow: Matba'-i Munshi Niwal Kishur, 1894), 36–7.
33. See William Jones, "The Sixth Discourse: On the Persians, Delivered 19 February 1789," in *The Works of Sir William Jones in Six Volumes*, ed. Anna Maria Shipley Jones (London: G. G. and J. Robinson, 1799), 73–94, name on 77–78; idem, "A Conversation with Abram, an Abyssinian concerning the City of Gwender and the Source of the Nile," in *Works*, 1: 515–518, name on 517.
 34. For Bahman's cooperation with Jones see Jones, "On the Persians," 80, 81, 82, 84, 89. In a letter to Sir John Macpherson dated 6 May 1786, Jones wrote, "I read with pleasure, while at breakfast, Mr. Forster's lively little tract, and having finished my daily task of Persian reading with a learned Parsi of Yazd, who accompanied me hither" (*Letters of Sir William Jones*, letter no. 433, p. 697). Also see Jones's letter to John Shore, dated 16 August 1787, in *Letters of Sir William Jones*, letter no. 465, p. 763). Bahman's father, Bahram, was "a confidential servant of Carim Khan [Zand]..." (Jones, "Remark by the President," *Works*, supplement 1: 443–4).
 35. For instance Shushtari noted that Jones had written a commentary on Muhammad 'Ali Hazin and asked him "to note the deficiencies and excess" (*Tuhfat al-'Alam*, 370).
 36. See *Letters of Sir William Jones*, f.n. no. 1, 659. 'Ali Ibrahim Khan provided Jones with a copy of *Tuhfat al-Hind*, which he used in writing "On the Musical Modes of the Hindus," in *Works*, 1: 413–43. See Nur al-Hasan Ansari, "Muqaddimah-i musahhah," in *Tuhfat al-Hind*, 41.
 37. In a letter to Charles Wilkins dated 17 September 1785, Jones wrote, "In the meantime, pray tell Mohammed Ghauth, that... I wish him to set about the Inscription from Gaia, which you so wonderfully deciphered..." (*Letters of Sir William Jones*, 682).
 38. He was the author of *Siyar al-muta'akhirin*, which was published as *A Translation of the Sair Mutaqharin; or View of Modern Times* (Calcutta, 1799; Calcutta: T. D. Chatterjee, 1902).
 39. On the last five scholars see Jones's letter to "the first Marquis of Cornwallis, Governor-General of Bengal in Council," dated 13 April 1788, in *Letters of Sir William Jones*, letter no. 487, p. 802.
 40. See *Letters of Sir William Jones*, letter no. 465, p. 762.
 41. Jones to Charles Wilkins, 17 September 1785, in *Letters of Sir William Jones*, 683.
 42. Mirza Itesa Modeen, *Shigurf Namah I Velaët, or Excellent Intelligence Concerning Europe; Being the Travels of Mirza Itesa Modeen, in Great Britain and France*, trans. James Edward Alexander (London: Parbury, Allen, 1827), 65–6.
 43. See Mirza Itesa Modeen, *Shigurf Namah*, 64–5.
 44. The editor of Jones's *Works* has identified the "foreign nobleman" as Baron Reviski. See Jones, *Works*, 1: f.n. 129.
 45. William Jones, *A Grammar of the Persian Language* (London: W. and J. Richardson, 1771), xvi–xvii.

46. According to Arberry, "Early in 1768 Jones made the acquaintance of Count Revczki, at that time resident in London, and was delighted to hail him a fellow-admirer of Persian poetry." See A. J. Arberry, "The Founder: William Jones," in *Oriental Essays: Portraits of Seven Scholars* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960), 48–86, quote on 50. For Jones's correspondences with Revczki, see *Letters of Sir William Jones*, letters no. 2 (1768), 4–5; no. 3 (April 1768), 6–12; no. 4 (1768), 12–13; no. 9 (Nov. 1768), 20; no. 28 (1770), 49–51; no. 30 (May 1770), 52–4; no. 32 (1770), 56–62; no. 46 (1771), 82–7; no. 58 (1771), 105–9; no. 101 (1775), 179–80. Also see Garland Cannon, *Oriental Jones: A Biography of Sir William Jones, 1746–1794* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1964), 14–15.
47. Cannon, *Oriental Jones*, 10–13; S. N. Mukherjee, *Sir William Jones: A Study in Eighteenth-Century British Attitudes to India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 22–3. It is probable that the so called "Syrian teacher" of Jones was no other than Mirza I'tisam al-Din.
48. Jones, *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, xiv.
49. On the limitation of Jones's knowledge of Persian see Garland H. Cannon, "Sir William Jones's Persian Linguistics," *Oriental Society*, 78 (1958), 262–73. Also reprinted in Thomas A. Sebeok, *Portraits of Linguistics: A Biographical Source Book for the History of Western Linguistics, 1746–1963* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1966), 36–57.
50. Jones, *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, xv.
51. William Jones, *Lettre à Monsieur A*** du P***, dans laquelle est compris l'examen de sa traduction des livres attribués à Zoroastre* (London, 1771). For summaries of this controversy see Arthur D. Waley, "Anquetil Duperron and Sir William Jones," *History Today* 2 (January 1952), 23–33; Haug, *The Parsis*, 18–23; Max Müller, "Introduction" in *The Zend-Avesta*, xiv–xxv; Edward G. Brown, *A Literary History of Persia: From the Earliest Times until Firdawsi* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), 44–59; Cannon, *Oriental Jones*, 14–15.
52. Jones, "The History of the Persian Language," in *Works*, II: 303–28, quote on 306.
53. Jones continued, "But let the rosy-cheeked Frenchman, to give him his own Epithet, rest happy in the contemplation of his personal beauty, and the vast extent of his learning: it is sufficient for us to have exposed his follies, detected his imposture, and retold his invectives, without insulting a fallen adversary, or attempting, like the Hero in Dryden's Ode, to slay the slain." See Jones, "The History of the Persian Language," in *Works*, II: 307.
54. John Richardson, "A Dissertation on the Languages, Literature, and Manners of Eastern Nations," in his *A Dictionary: Persian, Arabic, and English*, rev. Charles Wilkins (London: J. L. Cox, 1829), i–lxxxii, quote on p. vb.
55. Richardson, "A Dissertation," ivb–vb.
56. In 1675 Pierre Besnier wrote, "Besides the Latin makes a friendly meeting between the Eastern, and Western languages; as to the first alone it owns birth and rise, so the others do to it... I consider the Latin under three different regards, as the daughter of the languages of the East, as the Mother of those in the West, and as the Sister of the more Northerne." See Pierre Besnier, *A Philosophical Essay for the Reunion of Languages*, trans. Henry Rose (Oxford: J. Good, 1675; Menston: The Scholar Press, 1971), 14.

57. Jones, "On the Persians," 83; cited in Max Müller, *The Sacred Languages of the East*, translated by various Oriental Scholars, ed. F. Max Müller (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), 4: xx.
58. Max Müller, *The Sacred Languages of the East*, 4: xx. Hans Aarsleff also views Jones as the founder of modern philology. See his *The Study of Language in England, 1780–1860* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 124.
59. Müller, *The Sacred Languages of the East*, 4: xx–xxi.
60. The history of linguistics texts often opens with entries on William Jones. For instance see Sebeok, *Portraits of Linguistics*. The first three articles in this volume are devoted to Jones.
61. Siraj al-Din Khan Arzu, *Muthmir* [Musmir], ed. Rehana Khatoon (Karachi: The Institute of Central and West Asian Studies, 1991). According to Rehana Khatoon, "Khan-i Arzu is also the first scholar in both the East and the West who introduced the theory of similarities of two languages [*tavafuq-i lisanayn*], meaning that Sanskrit and Persian are sister languages. His ideas in this regard are contained in his monumental work being discussed here, i.e. the *Muthmir*. The work has not yet been thoroughly studied and made a subject of serious assessment; [a]nd this has prompted me to undertake and prepare a critical edition of the *Muthmir*." See Rehana Khatoon, "Introduction," in *Muthmir*, 43.
62. Müller, "Introduction," in *The Sacred Languages of the East*, iv: xx.
63. The term *tavafuq* literally means concordance or concurrence.
64. Arzu, *Muthmir*, 221.
65. Arzu offered a detailed definition of *tavafuq al-lisanayn* under the concept of *ang*. See his *Chiragh-i Hidayat*, published with Ghiyas al-Din Rampuri's *Ghiyas al-Lughat*, ed. Mansur Sirvat (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1984), pp. 1017–18. The editor of this edition, without any explanation, has eliminated Arzu's introduction to *Chiragh-i Hidayat*.
66. For example see Arzu, *Chiragh-i Hidayat*, 1050, 1061, 1068, 1091, 1119, 1020–21, and 1214.
67. Julia Kristeva, *Language the Unknown and Initiation into Linguistics*, trans. Anne M. Menke (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 196.
68. According to Muhammad Javad Mashkur, "In Pahlavi writing there is a certain number of pure Semitic words. These words which are the most frequent occurrence, are pronouns, particles, numerals, and auxiliary verbs. They are mostly Aramaic, that is of Semitic origin. . . . This Semitic element is called Huzvareh. The Semitic words were used in writing only as representatives of Persian words that were spoken; for example, when the writer of a text wrote the Semitic word 'lahma' (bread) it was read 'nan' which was its Iranian equivalent." See *Farhang-i Huzvarish ha-yi Pahlavi* (Tehran: Bunyad-i Farhang-i Iran, 1346/1967), 303.
69. Jones, "The Sixth Discourse," 81.
70. Arzu, *Muthmir*, 13.
71. Arzu, *Muthmir*, 20.
72. "Iraniyan mara bah Hindi nizhad budan bah miqdari nanahand." Cited in Sayyad Muhammad Akram's "Pish guftar" in Siraj al-Din 'Ali Khan Arzu, *Dad-i Sukhan*, ed. Sayyid Muhammad Akram (Rawalpindi: Iran Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies, 1974), xxxiv.

73. Akram, "Pish guftar" in *Dad-i Sukhan*, xxxiv.
74. Abu al-Barakat Munir Lahuri, *Karnamah*, ed. Sayyid Muhammad Akram (Islamabad: Iran Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies, 1977), 26.
75. Munir, *Karnamah*, 27.
76. Students and disciples of Arzu included Tik Chand Bahar, Rai Rayan Anand Ram Mukhlis (d. 1751), Bindrabān Das Khushgu, Mir Taqi Mir (c.1722–1810), Mirza Muhammad Rafi Sauda (1713–80), Najm al-Din Shah Mubarak Abru (1692–1747), Sharaf al-Din Mazmun (c.1689–1745), and Mustafa Khan Yakrang.
77. Muhammad Husayn Azad, *Ab-i Hayat*, 121; cited in Muhammad Sadiq's *A History of Urdu Literature* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984), 91. Earlier than Azad, Qudartullah Qadiri remarked, "Just as all theologians are the lineal descendants of Abu Hanifa, similarly it would be quite appropriate to consider all Hindi [Urdu] poets as his [Arzu's] descendants." Cited in Sadiq's *A History of Urdu Literature*, 91.
78. In a letter to John Shore dated 24 June 1787, Jones wrote, "the Dabistan also I have read through twice with great attention . . . On the whole, it is the most amusing and instructive book I ever read in Persian." See *Letters of Sir William Jones*, no. 461, 739.
79. See Chapter 5.
80. Jones, "The Sixth Discourse," 77–8.
81. Jones, "The Sixth Discourse," 78.
82. Müller, like Jones, was interested in "the first ancestors of the Indians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Slaves, the Celts and the Germans [one] living together within the same enclosure, nay under the same roof." See Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in April, May, and June 1861* (London, 1862), 213.
83. Jones, "The Sixth Discourse," 88.
84. Jones, "The Sixth Discourse," 90. For a discussion of controversies over the universal deluge before Kayumars see Chapter 5.
85. Jones, "The Sixth Discourse," 92.
86. Jones, "The Sixth Discourse," 79. The significance of such an assertion had been brought to Jones's attention by Lord Monboddoo (James Burnet) who in a letter dated 20 June 1789, wrote, "if you can discover the central country from which all those nations, which you have named, have derived their affinity in language, manners and arts, which you observe, it will be a most wonderful discovery in the history of man." See Jones, *Letters of Sir William Jones*, f.n. 2; p. 818. On Lord Monboddoo's argument concerning the affinity of Sanskrit and Greek see James Burnet, *Of the Origin and Progress of Languages* (1773; Menston: Scholar Press, 1967), 1: 472.
87. Jones, "The Sixth Discourse," respectively 79 and 80.
88. According to Garland Cannon, Bahman "had fled the wrath of Ali Murad (d. 1785), the Persian king, who had killed his family. He became a reader of Jones's law digest and other projects in Nov. [1785?]." See *Letters of Sir William Jones*, no. 433, fn. 3, 697.
89. Müller, "Introduction," in *The Sacred Books of the East* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879), iv: xx.
90. Jones, "The Sixth Discourse," all quotes on 81; also appears in Arzu, *Muth-mir*, 176–7.

91. Arzu, *Muthmir*, 175–9.
92. Discussing the “phenomenon of reification,” Georg Lukacs explained that “[i]ts basis is that a relation between people takes on the character of a thing and thus acquires a ‘phantom objectivity’, an autonomy that seems so strictly rational and all-embracing as to conceal every trace of its fundamental nature: the relation between people” (emphasis added). See his *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971), 83.
93. This analysis is based on a comparison with Shiv Parshad’s *Tarikh-i Fayz Bakhsh* (Oxford: Bodleian, Caps.Or.C. 2).
94. William Francklin, *The History of the Reign of Shah-Aulum, the Present Emperor of Hindostan* (London, 1798). The claim is based on Ghulam ‘Ali Khan’s *Ay’in ‘Alamshahi* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, Elliot 3).
95. My analysis is based on an examination of a collection of documents belonging to Samuel Turner, which are held at the Bodleian Library (shelfmark 2822, Ms. Pers.a.4). A French translation of the *Account* (London: W. Bulmer, 1800) was published in the same year, *Ambassade au Thibet et au Boutan* (Paris: F. Bussion, 1800). In the following year it was also translated into German, *Gesandtschaftsreise an den hof des teshoo lama durch Bootan und einen theil von Tibet* (Hamburg: B. G. Hoffman, 1801).
96. William Moorcroft, *Travels in the Himalayan provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab; in Ladakh and Kashmir; in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz, and Bokhara . . . from 1819 to 1825* (London: John Murray, 1841).
97. See Mir ‘Izzat Allah, *Ahval-i Safar-i Bukhara* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, Bodl. OR. 745).
98. Among other English language texts that are based on Persian works is Captain William Henry Sleeman, *Ramaseena, or a Vacabulary of the Peculiar Language Used by the Thugs* (Calcutta, 1836), which is based on *Mustalahat-i Thugan* of ‘Ali Akbar.
99. On Sir Gore Ouseley’s travel to Iran see Denis Wright, *The English Amongst the Persians During the Qajar Period, 1787–1921* (London: Heinemann, 1977), 12–17.
100. For a fraction of Mirza Salih’s report see Mirza Salih Shirazi, “Safar Namah-i Isfahan, Kashan, Qum, Tihran,” in *Majmu‘ah-i Safar namah-hayi Mirza Salih Shirazi* (Tehran: Nashr-i Tarikh-i Iran, 1364), 5–36. The official *mihmandar* of this delagation was Mirza Zaki Mustawfi-i Divan-i A’la. See ‘Abd al-Razzaq Maftun Dunbuli, *Ma‘asir-i Sultaniyah* (reprint of 1825/1241 edition; Tehran: Ibn Sina, 1351/1972), 247.
101. William Price, *A Grammar of the Three Principal Oriental Languages, Hindoostani, Persian, and Arabic on a Plan Entirely New, and Perfectly Easy; to Which is Added, a Set of Persian Dialogues Composed for the Author, by Mirza Mohammed Saulih, of Shiraz; Accompanied with an English translation* (London: Kingsbury, Parbury, and Allen, 1823).
102. Price, *A Grammar of the Three Principal Oriental Languages*, vi. The text of Mirza Salih’s “Persian Dialogues” appear on p. 142–88, followed by a French translation, “Dialogues Persans et Français,” 190–238.
103. William Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East, more Particularly Persia* (London: Redwell and Martil, 1819–23) i: xvii.

104. The extract in Ouseley's *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, I: xvii, is identical to the opening of Mirza Salih's text as appeared in Price's *A Grammar of the Three Principal Oriental Languages*, 142–3.
105. The colophon of the manuscript, *Su'āl va Javāb*, held at the Bodleian Library, which belongs to the Ouseley Collection, notes that it was written for Sir William Ouseley (Oxford: Bodleian Library, Ouseley 390).
106. Price, *A Grammar of the Three Principal Oriental Languages*, vii. In a note Price remarked: "Since that period Mirza Saulih came to England with Col. Darsy, in order to learn the English Language, returned to Persia in 1819, and lately arrived on a special Mission from the King of Persia to his Majesty George the Fourth. On my presenting him with a copy of his own dialogues, he expressed himself much pleased, and promised to compose a new set" (vi).
107. William Price, *Journal of the British Embassy to Persia; Embellished with Numerous Views Taken in India and Persia; Also, A Dissertation Upon the Antiquities of Persepolis*, 2 vols (London: Thomas Thorpe, 1932).
108. Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, III: 363.
109. *Ibid.*, II: 16.
110. Denis Wright, *The Persians Amongst the English: Episodes in Anglo-Persian History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1985), 73.
111. John Binder and David Wellbery (eds.), *The End of Rhetoric: History, Theory, and Practice* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1990), 16.

Chapter 3 Persianate Europology

1. As Jalal Al-i Ahmad (1923–69) has pointed out, "'East' and 'West' are not geographical concepts." See his *Plagued by the West (Gharbzadegi)*, trans. Paul Sprachman (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1982), 4. Similarly Stuart Hall explains that "Our ideas of 'East' and 'West' have never been free of myth and fantasy, and even today they are not primarily ideas about place and geography." See his "The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power," in *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies*, ed. Stuart Hall, et al. (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 184–227, quote on 185.
2. Munshi 'Itisam al-Din, *Shigirf namah-i vilayat* (unpublished manuscript: British Museum: O.C. 13663), 58a.
3. James Ballie Fraser, *Narrative of the Residence of the Persian Princes in London in 1835 and 1836* . . . (London: Richard Bentley, 1838), 83.
4. Fraser, *Narrative of the Residence*, 83.
5. R. C. Money, *Journal of a Tour in Persia During the Years 1824 & 1825* (London: Teape and Son, 1928), 110–11.
6. *Farang/Farangistan* (Europe/Frank-land) as it emerged in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Persian, Arabic, and Turkish writings is epistemologically different from its classical equivalent, *Rum* (Rome/Byzantine).
7. On "cultural looking" see Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 18–19.
8. Najaf Khoolee Meerza, *Journal of a Residence in England* . . . , 2 vols, trans. Assad Y. Kayat (London: William Taylor, 1839), vol. 1, xiii–xiv.
9. On the ideological construction of otherness see Homi Bhabha, "The Other Question . . .," *Screen*, 24: 6 (1983), 18–36.

10. My analysis of self-fashioning is partly informed by Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), particularly 9.
11. My definition of mimicry parallels that of Luce Irigaray, for whom mimicry is a strategy in which women intentionally perform the feminine posture assigned to them in a phallogocentric discourse. See Luce Irigaray, *This Sex which is not One* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 76.
12. On *mehmandar* during the Safavid period see John Chardin [1643–1713], *Voyages du Chevalier en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient*, ed. Langlès (Paris, 1811), v: 372; Engelbert Kaempfer [1651–1716], *Amonitatum exoticarum politico-physico-mediarum fasciculi V* (Lemgoviate: Typis & impensis Henrici Wilhelmi Meyeri, 1712), 82; Nichola Sanson [1600–1667], *Voyage ou Relation de l'état présent du royaume de Perse: avec une dissertation curieuse sur les mœurs, religion & gouvernement de cet état* (Paris: Chez la veuve M. Cramoisi, 1695), 38.
13. James Justinian Morier, *A Second Journey Through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor...* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818), 46. Morier's reference to Tissaphernes was based on Xenophon's *Anabasis*.
14. See J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys and Wanderings in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan, and Beloochistan*, 2nd edn, trans. William Jesse; ed. H. D. Seymour (London: John Murray, 1857), 47.
15. Sir Thomas Herbert, *Travels in Persia, 1627–1629*, abr. and ed. Sir William Foster (originally published in 1634; New York: R. M. McBride, 1929; New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1972), 62.
16. Sir John Malcolm, *Sketches of Persia from the Journal of a Traveller in the East* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Carey, 1828), 52. Fath'ali Khan Nuri, Nayib-i Ishik Aqasi was the head *mehmandar* for Sir John Malcolm. See 'Abd al-Razzaq Maftun Dunbuli, *Ma'asir-i Sultaniyah* (Tabriz: s.n., 1825/1241; Tehran: Ibn Sina, 1351/1972), 64; Hasan Husayni Fasa'i, *Farsnamah-i Nasiri*, ed. Mansur Rastigar Fasa'i (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1988), 1: 678; Lisan al-Mulk Sipihri, *Nasikh al-Tavarikh: Salatin-i Qajariyah*, ed. M. B. Bihbudi (Tehran: Kitabfurushi Islami, 1353), 198.
17. Malcolm, *Sketches of Persia*, 53.
18. Cited in Malcolm, *Sketches of Persia*, 52.
19. For an example of the responsibilities of a *mehmandar* see "Dastur al-'amal-i 'Ali Jah Muqqarib al-Hazrat al-Khaqaniyah 'Askar Khan Sartip Mihmandar-i Jinab-i Khayr Allah Afandi Vazir-i Mukhtar-i Dawlat-i 'Illiyah-i 'Usmani [4 Zilqad'ah 1296 H. Q.]," in *Guzidah-i Asnad-i Siyasi-i Iran va 'Usmani: Dawrah-i Qajariyah* (Tehran: Daftar-i Mutall'at-i Siyasi va Bayn al-Mijali va bastah bah Vizarat-i Umur-i Kharijah-i Jumhuri-i Islami-i Iran, 1370/1991), 144–56. On the office of *akhbarnawis* see Michael Fisher, "The Office of Akhbar Nawis: the Transition from Mughal to British Forms," *Modern Asian Studies*, 27: 1 (1993), 45–82. On intelligence gathering see C. A. Bayly, "Knowing the Country: Empire and Information in India," *Modern Asian Studies*, 27: 1 (1993), 3–43.
20. It is reported that in 1238, during the reign of Henry III, an envoy was sent to England by 'Ala' al-Din Muhammad "to seek English help against the Mongol hord..." (see Wright, *The Persians Amongst the English*, 1).
21. Uruj Bayk, *Don Juan of Persia: A Shi'ah Catholic, 1560–1604*, trans. Guy Le Strange (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1926). According to Uruj Bayg Bayat,

- Husayn 'Ali Bayg and Antony Sherley were jointly accredited as the Persian ambassadors to the following: "the Roman Pontiff, the Emperor of Germany, the King of Spain, the King of France, the King of Poland, the Signiory of Venice, the Queen of England and the King of Scotland" (*Don Juan of Persia*, 233). For further information see Najafquli Hissam Mu'izzi, *Tarikh-i Ravabit-i Siyasi* (Tehran: Nashr-Ilm, 1366/1987), 181–7; Wright, *The Persians Amongst the English*, 2–3.
22. The delegation led by Robert Sherley, like the earlier one led by his brother, was accompanied by a Persian co-ambassador, Changiz Bayg Shamlu. Changiz Bayg Shamlu returned to Iran in 1613. See Le Strange, "Notes," in *Don Juan of Persia*, 310, fn 7.
 23. E. P. Shirley, *The Sherley Brothers: An Historical Memoir of the Lives of Sir Thomas Sherley, Sir Anthony Sherley, and Sir Robert Sherley, Knights* (Chiswick: Press of Charles Whittingham, 1848). The author of this informative book is identified as "one of the same house."
 24. Shirley, *The Sherley Brothers*, 78–9.
 25. Herbert, *Travels in Persia*, xviii–xix, xxiv, 157, 195; Le Strange, "Introduction," in Uruj Bayg, *Don Juan of Persia*, 1–29; Wright, *The Persians Amongst the English*, 5–8. It is commonly believed that Naqd 'Ali Bayg committed suicide on his way back to Iran. The incident of his death was rather mysterious and needs further investigation.
 26. Nicus Erythræus, *Pinacotheca Tertia*, new edition (S.l.: s.n., 1712), 797–807, cited in "Shirley or Sherley, Robert," in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xviii: 137.
 27. Herbert, *Travels in Persia*, 206–8, 324, quote in 206. Teresia was buried in the Church of Santa Maria della Scala.
 28. On Lady Teresia Sherley see Shirley, *The Sherley Brothers*, 59, 75, 76, 78–79, 85, 85 f.n. 13, 89, 95, 98–9. For the careers of Antony Sherley, the older brother of Robert Sherley, see Antony Sherley, *Relation of his Travels into Persia, the Dangers and Distresses which Befell him in his Passage, both by Sea and Land* (London: Nathaniell Butter, 1613).
 29. See Chapter 1.
 30. Husayn Mahbubi Ardakani, *Tarikh-i Mu'assasat-i Tamadduni-i Jadid dar Iran* (Tehran: Anjuman-i Danishjuyan-i Danishgah-i Tihiran, 1354/1975), 1: 234–5.
 31. For further information on diplomatic relations with Europe see R. W. Ferrier, "The European Diplomacy of Shah Abbas I and the first Persian Embassy to England," *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, 9 (1973); Roger Stevens, "Robert Sherley: the Unanswered Questions," *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, 17 (1979).
 32. 'Abd al-Husayn Nava'i, *Ravabit-i Siyasi-i Iran va Urupa dar 'Asr-i Safavi* (Tehran: Visman, 1372/1993), 275–86, particularly 282–3 on his marriage.
 33. Nava'i, *Ravabit-i Siyasi-i Iran va Urupa*, 286.
 34. Joseph Ēmīn, *The Life and Adventures of Joseph Ēmīn, an Armenian* (London: n. p., 1792). For Sir William Jones's editorial comments see xix–xx.
 35. For a comparison of *Hayrat Namah* and *Shigirf Namah*, see Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, "Nigaran-i Zan-i Farang," *Nimeye Digar*, 2: 3 (Winter 1997), 24–6.
 36. Simon Digby, "An Eighteenth Century Narrative of a Journey from Bengal to England: Munshi Isma'il's *New History*," in *Urdu and Muslim South Asia*:

- Studies in Honour of Ralph Russel*, ed. Christopher Schackle (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1989), 49–65.
37. James B. Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan in the years 1821–1822*... (London, Longman, 1825; Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984), 484. Morier's Moomed Ispahani appears to be the same person as Mir Muhammad Husayn Isfahani who, according to Shushtari, had traveled to Europe (*Tuhfat al-'Alam*, 367–8).
 38. Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey*, 484.
 39. Mirza Abu Talib, *Khulasat al-Afkar* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Oriental Collection, Elliot 181), 340.
 40. Charles Ambrose Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey* (London: Luzac, 1927), vol. 1, no. 1596, p. 1144. Another known work by Mir Muhammad Husayn is *Qava'id-i Husayn-i Landani* (Lucknow: Matba'i Mustafa'i, 1269/1852).
 41. Mirza Abu Talib Isfahani, *Masir-i Talibi Ya Safarnamah-i Mirza Abu Talib Khan*, ed. Husayn Khadivjam (Tehran: Sazman-i Intisharat va Amnizish-i Inqibb-i Islami, 1363), 58–9. On Din Muhammad see Michael Fisher, *The Travels of Dean Mahomet: An Eighteenth-Century Journey Through India* (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1997).
 42. Mirza Abu Talib, *Lubb al-Siyar va Jahan Numa* (Bodleian Library, Oriental Collection), 300–429.
 43. See Mirza Abu Taleb Khan, *The Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in Asia, Africa, and Europe during the years 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802*, 2 vol, trans. Charles Stewart (London: Longman, 1810); idem, *Reizen Van Mirza Abu Talib Khan in Asia, Africa en Europa* (Bijvoegsel, Leeuwarden, 1813); idem, *Voyages du prince persan mirza Aboul Taleb Khan, en Asie, en Afrique, en Europe; écrits par lui-même, et publiés, pour la première fois, en français, par Charles Malo* (Paris, Impr. de P.F. Dupont fils, 1819).
 44. Richard Herber, "Travels of Mirza Abu Talib . . .," *The Quarterly Review* (1810), 80–93; quotes on 82, 80, 82, and 92.
 45. The letter was reproduced in many newspapers and magazines. A copy of it appeared in E. Bronson, *Select Reviews and Spirits of the Foreign Magazines* (Philadelphia: The Lorenzo Press, 1810), 335–6.
 46. "Memoir of His Excellency Mirza Al Aboo Hassan, Envoy Extraordinary from the King of Persia to the Court of Great Britain," *Select Reviews and Spirits of the Foreign Magazines*, 334.
 47. "Ibid.," 334.
 48. Lord Radstock's biography of Mirza Abu al-Hasan was completed on January 10, 1810 and was privately circulated. It was reprinted on the occasion of Mirza Abu al-Hasan Khan's second European tour as "A Slight Sketch of the Character, Person, &c. of Aboul Hassen, Envoy Extraordinary From the King of Persia to the Court of Great Britain, in the Year 1809 and 1810," *The Gentleman's Magazine* (February, 1820), 119–122.
 49. [?]Johnson, "Dinner in Honour of the Persian Ambassador," *The Examiner*, 107 (January 14, 1810), 17–18.
 50. Augustus Andrea de Nerciat, "Memoirs of the Persian Ambassador," *The London Literary Gazette, Journal of Belles Letters, Arts, Sciences, etc.* 120 (May 8, 1819), 299–300, quote in 299.
 51. Ibid., 299.

52. Mirza Abu al-Hasan Ilchi, *Hayrat Namah: Safar Namah-i Mirza Abu al-Hasan Khan Ilchi bah Landan*, ed. Hasan Mursalvand (Tehran: Mu'assisah-i Khadamat-i Farhangi-i Rasa, 1364/1985). For a translation of his travelogue see *A Persian at the Court of King George, 1809-10: The Journal of Mirza Abul Hasan Khan*, trans. by Margaret Morris Cloake (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1988).
53. Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey*, quotes on 151.
54. James Alexander, *Travels from India to England . . .* (London: Parbury, Allen, 1827), 203-4.
55. Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey*, 152.
56. Mujiṭaba Minuvi, "Avvalin Karvan-i Ma'rifat," in *Tarikh va Farhang* (Tehran: Khwarazmi, 1990), 385-9; Wright, *The Persians Amongst the English*, 70-4.
57. Minuvi, "Avvalin Karvan-i Ma'rifat," 386; Wright, *The Persians Amongst the English*, 82. Muhammad Kazim, the other student, died on March 25, 1813.
58. This group included Mirza Salih Shirazi, Mirza Riza Tabrizi, Mirza Ja'far Husayni "Mushir al-Dawlah," Mirza Ja'far Tabib, and Muhammad 'Ali Chakhmaqsaṣ. See: *Safar-i Mirza Salih Shirazi Kaziruni*, ed. Humayun Shahidi (Tehran: Rah-i Naw, 1362/1983), Mirza Salih, *Guzarish-i Safar*, 371; Wright, *The Persians Amongst the English*, 77.
59. For more detail see Chapter 2.
60. Louis Rabinovitch, *Diplumatha va Kunsulha-yi Iran va Inglis va Nukhustvaziran va Vuzara-yi Umur-i Kharijah-i Iran va Inglis va Sufara va Firistadigan-i Iran dar Sayir-i Kishvarha-yi Jahan az Aqaz ta sal-i 1945 Miladi*, ed. Ghulamhusayn Mirza Salih (Tehran: Nashr-i Tarikh-i Iran, 1984), 74.
61. Muhammad Riza Tabrizi, *Havadis Namah* (Kitabkhanah-i Milli-i Iran, no. F1615; F/1714; F/1057).
62. Assuming that these students were unfamiliar with the Persian language, Wright writes that Hartford Jones suggested that "they should spend their holidays at East India College Haileybury, where they could receive instruction in reading and writing their own language" (*The Persians Amongst the English*, 73).
63. Among his scientific writings are: *Qanun va Qava'id-i Tupkhanah* (Mashhad: Astan-i Quds-i Razavi, no. 12154) and *Badayi' al-Hisab* (Tehran: Dar al-Tiba'ah-i Dar al-Khalafah, 1263/1846).
64. Mirza Ja'far Husayni, *Tarz-i Hukumat-i Iran va Muqayisah-i an ba Hukumatha-yi Urupa* (Tehran: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, no. 794). Among his other essays and reports are: *Kitabchah-i Sifarat-i Mirza Ja'far Khan Mushir al-Dawlah* (dated 8 Muharram 1255; Tehran: Ministry of Foreign Affairs), *Risalah-i Tahqiqat-i Sarhadiyah*, ed. Muhammad Mushiri (Tehran: Bunyad-i Farhang-i Iran, 1348 [1969]).
65. For the first issue of *Kaghaz Akhbar* see, "Persian Newspaper and Translation," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 5 (1939), 355-71.
66. A portion of Mirza Salih Shirazi's travelogue appeared in English as "Travels of a Persian," *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and its Dependencies*, 18 (July-December 1824), 365-71. According to this report, Mirza Salih "published an account of his journey, and likewise of his residence in England. The portion of his travels we are about to present to our readers appeared in *Oriental Magazine*, a Calcutta publication, in October last, translated from the original Persian. We hope to receive shortly, through

- the same channel, a continuation of it, for we are anxious to read the observations of so intelligent a Persian upon the arts, sciences, and manners of our countrymen" (365). From this note it appears that Mirza Salih's *Guzarish-i Safar* was originally published prior to October 1824, a fact unknown to Qajar historians.
67. For instance see *Sharh-i Hal-i Iskandar va Napil'un-i Avval* (Tehran: Iranian National Library, no. F/1680; no. F/1714); *Tarikh-i Napil'un-i Avval* (Tehran: Iranian National Library, no. F/1615; F/1714; F/1057).
 68. Mirza Riza Muhandis Tabrizi, *Tarikh-i Tanazul va Kharabi-i Dawlat-i Rum* (Kitabkhanah-i Milli, no. F/77).
 69. Riza Quli Mirza, *Safar Namah-i Riza Quli Mirza nayib al-lyalah Narah-i Fath 'Ali Shah*, ed. Asghar Farmanfarma'i Qajar (Tehran: Asatir, 1982), respectively 524, 524–5, 530.
 70. Mirza Abu Talib, *Masir*, respectively 263–84, 276, 265, 275 and 275.
 71. *Ibid.*, all quotes on 263.
 72. *Ibid.*, 263.
 73. For a valuable study of *nafs* see Peter Heath, *Allegory and Philosophy in Avicenna (Ibn Sina) With a Translation of the Book of the Prophet Muhammad's Ascent to Heaven* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 52–79.
 74. Mirza Abu Talib, *Masir*, 263.
 75. *Ibid.*, respectively 263, 264, 264.
 76. *Ibid.*, 264.
 77. Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 278 and 279.
 78. Mirza Abu Talib, *Masir*, all on 265.
 79. *Ibid.*, quotes on 265.
 80. Immanuel Kant, "The Contest of Faculties," in *Kant: Political Writings*, ed. Hans Reiss; trans. H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 176–90; quote on 181.
 81. For the "age of revolution," see E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789–1848* (New York: Mentor Books, 1962).
 82. Mirza Abu Talib, *Masir*, 266.
 83. *Ibid.*, 366, 266–7, 267.
 84. *Ibid.*, 267–8 and 268.
 85. *Ibid.*, 268.
 86. *Ibid.*, 259 and 269.
 87. *Ibid.*, 270–1.
 88. *Ibid.*, 271.
 89. *Ibid.*, 272.
 90. *Ibid.*, 272–3.
 91. *Ibid.*, 273, 274, 275, and 276.

Chapter 4 Imagining European Women

1. Respectively in Mirza Abu al-Hasan Khan Ilchi, *Hayrat Namah: Safar Namah-i Mirza Abu al-Hasan Khan Ilchi bah Landan*, ed. Hasan Mursavard (Tehran: Mu'assisah-i Khadamat-i Farhangi-i Rasa, 1364/1985); Mirza I'tisam al-Din, *Shigirf Namah* (British Library, London, OR5848), 83b; and Mirza Abu Talib, *Masir*, 166.

2. Respectively in Riza Quli Mirza, *Safar Namah-i Riza Quli Mirza Naqib al-Iyala* *Yavah-i Fath 'Ali Shah*, ed. Asghar Farmanfarma'i Qajar (Tehran: Asatir, 1982), 418; Mirza Abu Talib, *Masir*, 169; Riza Quli Mirza, *Safar Namah*, 322.
3. Qur'an, "The Beneficent," lv: 72-4. Also see, Qur'an: Baqarah 25, Safat, 48-49, Dakhan, 54, Tur 20, Rahman 56-61, 70-6; Vafiah 22-3, 35-8. For a valuable study of paradise in the Qur'an see: Fatma Sabbah, *Women in Muslim Unconscious*, trans. Mary Jo Lakeland (New York: Pergamon Press, 1984), 91-7.
4. Itesa Modeen [Itisam al-Din], *Shigurf Namah-i Vela'et, or Excellent Intelligence Concerning Europe*, trans. James Edward Alexander (London: Parbury, Allen, 1827), 45-6; when necessary, all translated materials have been modified. For my modifications I consulted the Persian manuscripts at National Archives of India's Oriental Collections, Bodleian Library, and the British Library, Oriental Collections, OR5848.
5. Sir Gore Ouseley was Mirza Abu al-Hasan Khan's *mehmandar* who accompanied him back to Iran.
6. Mirza Abu al-Hasan Khan, *A Persian at the Court of King George: the Journal of Mirza Abul Hasan Khan, 1809-10*, trans. Margaret Morris Cloake (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1988), 78. In a recently published Persian text of Abu al-Hasan Khan's travelogue, the editor, Hasan Mursalvand, has edited out this verse and a few other sentences arguing, "A few phrases which offer an anti-moral description of *mahruban-i Landani* [the moon-faces of London] have been taken out." See Mirza Abu al-Hasan Khan Ilchi, *Hayrat Namah*, 144.
7. Itisam al-Din, *Shigurf Namah*, 66A.
8. Riza Quli Mirza, *Safar Namah*, 393.
9. Mirza Abu Talib, *Masir*, respectively 244, 160, 160, 160.
10. *Ibid.*, all quotes on 315.
11. Albinia, Dowager Countess of Buckinghamshire, d. 1816.
12. Mirza Abu al-Hasan, *A Persian*, 98-9.
13. According to Margaret Cloake, Miss Pole was a daughter of William Wellesley-Pole, the younger brother of the Marquis Wellesley (*A Persian*, 100).
14. Mirza Abu al-Hasan, *A Persian*, 136. Mirza Abul Hasan mentioned "Miss Pole" many times throughout his travelogue (*A Persian*, 104, 138, 148, 157, 262v 283, 288).
15. *Ibid.*, 290-291; *idem*, *Hayrat Namah*, 354.
16. Mirza Abu al-Hasan, *Hayrat*, 354. This verse does not appear in *A Persian*.
17. Riza Quli Mirza, *Safar Namah*, 360-1.
18. Mirza Abu Talib, *Masir*, 74 and 163.
19. Mirza Abu al-Hasan, *A Persian*, 76.
20. William Waldegrave Radstock, "A Slight Sketch of the Character, Person, & c. of Aboul Hassen, Envoy Extraordinary from the King of Persia to the Court of Great Britain, in the year 1809 and 1810, 'To the Countess of—'," *The Gentleman's Magazine* (February 1820), 119-22, quotes on 120; quoted in part in *A Persian*, 76-7.
21. Mirza Abu al-Hasan, *A Persian*, respectively on 92, 165, 165, and 263; *idem*, *Hayrat Namah*, 159, 159, 228-9, and 333.
22. Mirza Fattah Garmrudi, *Safar Namah-i Mirza Fattah Khan Garmrudi bi-Urupa, Mawsum Bah Chahar Fasl va du Risalah-i Digar Binam-i Shab Namah va Safar*

- Namah-i Mamasani dar Zaman-i Muhammad Shah Qajar*, ed. Fath al-Din Fattahi (Tehran: Chapkhanah-i Bank-i Bazargani-i Iran, 1347/1968), 970.
23. Mirza Abu Talib, *Masir*, quotes on 189.
 24. Concerning the title of the "Persian Prince," Abu Talib wrote, "When I went to Court, or paid my respects to one of the Princes or ministers of the state, the circumstance was always reported by the newspapers of the following day. In all these advertisements, they did me the honour of naming me the Persian Prince. I declared I never assumed the title; but I was so much better known by it than by my own name, that I found it in vain to contend with godfathers" (*Travels*, 111; *Masir*, 195).
 25. Mirza Abu Talib, *Masir*, 189.
 26. Mirza Abul Hasan, *A Persian*, 274; idem, *Hayrat*, 339.
 27. On the European perception of "harem" see: Leila Ahmad, "Western Ethnocentrism and Perceptions of the Harem," *Feminist Studies*, 8: 3 (1982), 521-34; Suzanne Rodin Pucci, "The Discrete Charms of the Exotic: Fiction of the Harem in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, ed. G. C. Rousseau and Roy Porter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 145-74.
 28. James Justinian Morier, *A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, Between the years 1810 and 1816...* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818), 39-40.
 29. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), 190.
 30. G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter, "Introduction: Approaching Enlightenment Exoticism," in *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, ed. G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 1-22, quote on 10.
 31. 'Itisam al-Din, *Shigirf Namah*, respectively 157-9, 159, 168.
 32. Mirza Abu Talib, *Masir*, all on 226.
 33. Mirza Sallih, *Guzarish*, 333-4.
 34. Mirza Abu al-Hasan, *A Persian*, 98; idem, *Hayrat*, 163.
 35. "Letter from the Persian Envoy, Mirza Abul Hassan to the Lord, or Gentleman, without name, who lately write Letter to him and ask very much to give Answer," *Morning Post* (May 29, 1810); reprinted in *A Persian*, 246-7; Denis Wright, *The Persians amongst the English: Episodes in Anglo-Persian History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1985), 226-7.
 36. Mirza Abu al-Hasan, *A Persian*, 135.
 37. Bibi Khanum Astarabadi, *Ma'ayib al-Rijal [Vices of Men]*, ed. Afsaneh Najmabadi (New York: Nigarish va Nigarish-i Zan, 1992), 57.
 38. 'Itisam al-Din, *Shigirf Namah*, respectively 149-50 E, 131 U; 137 E; INA, ff. 187.
 39. Ibrahim Sahhafbashi Tihrani, *Safar Namah-i Ibrahim Sahhafbashi Tihrani*, ed. Muhammad Mushiri (Tehran: Shirkat-i Mu'allifan va Mutarjiman-i Iran, 1357/1978), 81.
 40. Garmrud, *Shab Namah*, 983.
 41. For a concise account of this mission see Wright, *The Persians amongst the English*, 104-9.
 42. Ibid., 49.
 43. Palmerston to Ajudanbashi, July 11, 1839 (Iranian Foreign Ministry Archive, document no. 500). Also see Wright, *The Persians Amongst the English*, 109.

44. Wright observed that Palmerston's "high handed treatment" of this Iranian delegate "rankled deep in Persian minds and remained a bitter memory for many years to come" (*The Persians Amongst the English*, 109).
45. Iqbal al-Dawlah was the author of a bilingual Persian-English book, *Iqbal-i Farang: Dar Shammah-i Siyar-i Ahl-i Farang-i ba Farhang* (Calcutta: Matba'i Tibbi, 1834). He had gone to England to protest the British policy in Awadh.
46. Garmrudi, *Shah Namah*, respectively on 951, 951, 955-6, and 956.
47. Garmrudi, *Shah Namah*, respectively on 256, 959, 961, and 962.
48. James B. Fraser (1783-1856) served as *mehmandar* for this delagation.
49. Garmrudi, *Shah Namah*, 964 and 982.
50. "Story of Shaykh San'an" is a story within the chain of narratives known as *Mantiq al-Tayr*. For English translations see Farid al-Din 'Attar, *The Conference of the Birds*, *Mantiq ut-Tair: A Philosophical Religious Poem in Prose*, trans. C. S. Nott (1st edn, 1954; New York: Samuel Weiser, 1974), 34-44; idem, *The Conference of the Birds*, trans. Afkham Darbandi and Dick Davis (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 57-75. For the Persian original see *Shaykh-i San'an*, ed. by Sadiq Gawharin (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1345); 'Attar, *Mantiq al-Tayr*, ed. Ahmad Khushnvis (Isfahan: Sana'i, 1978), 66-85. For further information on 'Attar and his mystical poetry see: Margaret Smith, *The Persian Mystics 'Attar* (London: John Murray, 1932).
51. 'Attar, *The Conference of the Birds*, respectively on 34, 34-5, 37, 39, and 39.
52. Sahhafbashi, *Safar Namah*, 62.
53. For a detailed study of Karim Khan's thought see: Mangol Bayat, *Mysticism and Dissent: Socioreligious Thought in Qajar Iran* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1982), 63-86; Abbas Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal: The Making of the Babi Movement in Iran, 1844-1850* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 286-94.
54. Quoted in Bayat, *Mysticism and Dissent*, 85.
55. This individual appears to be either Riza Quli Mirza or his brothers Najaf Quli and Taymur Mirza who settled in Iraq where Hajj Muhammad Karim Khan Kirmani was attending seminars offered by his master Sayyid Kazim Rashti (d. 1844).
56. Muhammad Karim Khan Kirmani, *Risalah-i Nasiriyah Dar Tahqiq-i Mu'ad-i Jismani* (Kirmani Sa'adat, 1375/1955), 388-9. For an alternative rendering see Bayat's *Mysticism and Dissent*, 388-9.
57. Quoted in Bayat, *Mysticism and Dissent*, 85.
58. Kirmani, *Risalah Nasiriyah*, 389.
59. Kirman, *Risalah Nasiriyah*, 389 and 390. It is important to note that Europeanization of education led to a different anxiety among European clerics. For example see "The Rev. A. Duff[s]. . . Address to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland," *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, 18 (1836), Asiatic Intelligence section: 86-8, quotes on 87-8).
60. Kirmani, *Risalah Nasiriyah*, respectively 391 and 389.
61. Mirza Abu Talib, *Masir*, 408-20.
62. Mirza Abu Talib, *The Travels of Mirza Abu Tahib Khan in Asia, Africa, and Europe During the years 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802*, trans. Charles Stewart (London: Longman, 1810), 312.
63. I'tisam al-Din, *Shigirf Namah*, 59a.

64. Mirza Abu Talib, *Masir*, 83; idem, *Travels*, 64.
65. "Sketches of Society," *The London Literary Gazette, and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences etc.* (May 8, 1819), 299: 3.
66. *The Morning Herald* (29 March 1810); Mirza Abu al-Hasan, *A Persian*, 188.
67. Charles de Secondat Montesquieu, *The Persian Letters*, trans. C. J. Betts (New York: Penguin Books, 1973), letter xxx, 83.
68. Mirza Salih Shirazi, *Guzarish*, 201.

Chapter 5 Contested Memories

1. My usage of narrative "emplotment" is informed by Hayden White, *Meta-history: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 7.
2. The terms *Furs*, *'Ajam*, and *Majus* were used interchangeably in Arabic and Persian historical works to refer to the people residing in the Iranian plateau. For general definition of these terms see F. Gabrieli, "Adjam," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1960–), 1: 206; Ch. Pellat, "al-Furs," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2: 950–1; M. Morony, "Madjus," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 5: 110–18.
3. Zoroastrianism and Mazdaism are used interchangeably in this article. Mazdean (Mazdayasnian) and Mazdaism are both derived from the name of the supreme god, Mazda (wise) or Ahura Mazda (wise lord). See Mary Boyce, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 36–7. On the etymology of *Mazdayasna* see H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books: Ratanbai Katrak Lectures* (reprint 1943; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 177–8.
4. See Chapter 2.
5. See James R. Russell, "On Mysticism and Esotericism among the Zoroastrians," *Iranian Studies*, 26: 1–2 (Winter/Spring 1993), 73–94.
6. There is an intertextual link between *dasatiri* and some Baha'i texts. Inquiry into the nature of this linkage is significant for a full understanding of the nineteenth-century Persianate cultural and intellectual history.
7. See Chapter 2.
8. For structural differences of "annals," "chronicle," and "history" see Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1987), 1–25.
9. As Hayden White has explained, "In order to qualify as historical, an event must be susceptible to at least two narrations of its occurrence. Unless at least two versions of the same set of events can be imagined, there is no reason for the historian to take upon himself the authority of giving the true account of what really happened. The authority of the historical narrative is the authority of reality itself; the historical account endows this reality with form and thereby makes it desirable by the imposition upon its processes of the formal coherency that only stories possess." See White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Presentation of Reality," 20.
10. Concerning the practice of synchronizations see Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), 92–3.

11. For a Zoroastrian view of Kayumars see *Avista: Namah-i Minuvi-i Ayin-i Zartusht*, ed. Jalil Dustkhwah (Tehran: Murvarid, 1343 [1964]), 259. On Kayumars, Mashī, and Mashyanah, see Farnbagh Dadagi, *Bundahish* [Creation], ed. by Mihrdad Bahar (Tehran: Tus, 1369 [1990]), 40–1, 52–3, 66, 69–70, 80–3, 139, 146, 155; “Bundahish or the Original Creation,” in *Pahlavi Texts*, ed. E. W. West (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1880), 18–19, 52–7.
12. For differing accounts of Kayumars in Islamicate historical sources see Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, “Tarikh pardazi va Iran arayi: bazsazi-i huviyat-i Irani dar guzarish-i tarikh,” *Iran Nameh*, 12: 4 (Fall 1994), 583–628, especially 593–4, 620–3.
13. Tabari, *The History of al-Tabari* (Tarikh al-rusul wa’l-muluk), vol. 1: *General Introduction and From the Creation to the Flood*, trans. and annotated by Franz Rosenthal (New York: New York University Press, 1989), I: 318.
14. For such characterizations see Ahmad M. H. Shboul, *Al-Mas’udi & His World: A Muslim Humanist and his Interest in Non-Muslims* (London: Ithaca Press, 1979), 108–9; and Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 78–80.
15. Ahmad b. Abi Ya’qub Ya’qubi, *Tarikh al-Ya’qubi* (Beirut: Dar al-Sadir, 1960), I: 158; English translation cited in Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought*, 115; for Persian translation see *Tarikh-i Ya’qubi*, trans. Muhammad Ibrahim Ayati, p. 193; cited also in Tavakoli-Targhi, “Tarikh Pardazi,” 621.
16. Ya’qubi, *Tarikh*, I: 159; idem, *Tarikh-i Ya’qubi*, 194; English translation in Tarif Khalidi’s *Arabic Historical Thought*, 116.
17. Tabari, *The History*, I: 326, I: 319; I: 319. For Tabari’s earlier reference to Kayumars see *The History*, I: 185–6 and 318.
18. On “colligation” see W. H. Walsh, *An Introduction to Philosophy of History* (London: Hutchinson’s University Library, 1951), 59–64; Louis O. Mink, “The Autonomy of Historical Understanding,” *History and Theory*, 1 (1966), 24–47.
19. Tabari, *The History*, I: 318–19.
20. “Bundahish or the Original Creation,” in West (ed.), *Pahlavi Texts*, 53; Mihrdad Bahar (ed.), *Bundahish*, 155.
21. See Abu Rayhan Muhammad ibn Ahmad Biruni, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations: An English Version of the Arabic Text of the Athar-ul-Bakiya of Albiruni or Vestiges of the Past*, trans. C. Edward Sachau (London, 1879; Frankfurt: Minerva GMBH, 1969), 107.
22. Ibid., 108. For Arabic text see *al-Asar al-Baqiyah ‘an-il-Qurun al-Khaliya*, ed. C. Edward Sachau (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1923), 99–100.
23. Tabari, *The History*, I: 325–7.
24. Tabari, *The History*, I: 369. The same opinion was reported by Biruni, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 27–8. For the Arabic original see *al-Asar al-Baqiyah*, 23–4.
25. Qur’an, 37: 75–7.
26. Tabari, *The History*, I: 369.
27. ‘Izz al-Din Ibn Athir, *al-Kamil fi Tarikh* (Beirut: Dar Sader, 1965–7); idem, *Tarikh-i Kamil*, trans. Muhammad Husayn Rawhani (Tehran: Asatir, 1370), respectively 15, 78–9, and 51.
28. Tabari, *The History*, I: 186 and 318.
29. Biruni, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 28; idem, *al-Asar al-Baqiyah*, 24.

30. Explaining al-Mas'udi's synchronization of Persian and biblical history, Shboul wrote: "Persian scholars in the eighth and ninth centuries attempted to link the Furs [Persians] with Isaac, son of Abraham, and thus find a way of attacking the Arabs, especially the Southern (Qahtanis) who could not claim such ties with the Patriarch." See Shboul, *al-Mas'udi & His World*, 109.
31. For examples of Kayumars as a Syriac name see Mir Khwand, *Tarikh-i Rawzat al-Safa*, ed. 'Abbas Parviz (Tehran: Markazi, 1338/1959), 1: 493; Khwand Mir, *Habib al-Siyar fi Akhbar Afrad al-Bashar*, ed. Jalal al-Din Huma'i (Tehran: Khayyam, 1333/1954), 175.
32. For the political life in Islamdom in "the Earlier Middle period" see Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 2: 12–61, quote on 12.
33. Abu Hamid Muhammad Ghazzali, *Ghazali's Book of Council for Kings (Nasihat al-Muluk)*, trans. F. R. C. Bagley (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 45, 45, 48; idem, *Nasihat al-Muluk*, ed. Jalal al-Din Huma'i (Tehran: Babak, 1361), 81, 81, 89.
34. In pre-Islamic Persian statecraft, state and religion were viewed as twins. Tansar, an arch-cleric of the court of Ardashir, wrote: "Religion and state were born of one womb, joined together and never to be sundered. Virtue and corruption, health and sickness are of the same nature for both." See *The Letter of Tansar*, trans. M. Boyce (Rome: Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1968), 33–4.
35. Ghazzali, *Council for Kings*, 53, 53, 46–7; idem, *Nasihat al-Muluk*, 96, 96, 82–83. In one of the manuscripts mentioned by Jalal al-Din Huma'i, the list of tyrannical kings also includes the last Sasanid king, "Yazdigird-i bizihkar" (Yazdigird the Sinner).
36. Ghazzali, *Council for Kings*, 56; idem, *Nasihat al-Muluk*, 100–1.
37. For an illustration of the "circle of justice" see Rashid al-Din Fazl Allah Tabib, *Savanih al-Afkar-i Rashidi*, ed. Muhammad Taqi Danishpazhuh (Tehran: Intisharat-i Danishgah-i Tihiran, 1358/1979), 113.
38. R. Stephen Humphreys, "Qur'anic Myth and Narrative Structure in Early Islamic Historiography," in *Tradition and Innovation in Late Antiquity*, ed. F. M. Clover and R. S. Humphreys (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 271–90, quote on 278.
39. 'Abd Allah Bayzavi, *Nizam al-Tawarikh*, ed. Bahman Mira Karimi (Tehran: Ilmi, 1313), 9.
40. Bayzavi, *Nizam al-Tawarikh*, 42.
41. Hamd Allah Mustawfi Qazvini, *Tarikh-i Guzidah*, ed. 'Abd al-Husayn Nava'i (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1362).
42. Mir Khwand, *Rawzat al-Safa*, 806.
43. Mir Khwand, *History of the Early Kings of Persia from Kaiomars the First of the Peshdadian Dynasty, to the Conquest of Iran by Alexander the Great Translated from the Original Persian of Mirkhond Entitled the Rauzat-us-Safa*, trans. David Shea (London: John Murray and Parbury, Allen, 1882), 51.
44. Ibid., p. 51. Shea incorrectly translates "ma'dilat" as "equality and benevolence." In the above quotation I have altered "the carpet of equality and benevolence" into "the carpet of justice" (*basat-i ma'dilat*). For the Persian original see Mir Khwand, *Rawzat al-Safa*, 494.

45. For a valuable study of the concept of justice (*ʿadl*) see A. K. Lambton, "Justice in the Medieval Persian Theory of Kingship," *Studia Islamica*, 17 (1962), 91–119. See also Majid Khadduri, *The Islamic Conception of Justice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).
46. Qurʾān, 3: 26.
47. In addition Ghazzali cited Qurʾān, 59: 59: "Believers, obey God and obey the Apostle and those in authority amongst you." See Ghazzali, *Council for Kings*, 45–6; idem, *Nasihat al-Muluk*, 82.
48. Discussing administrative theories and mirrors for princes, Ann Lambton wrote, "Although the concept of the Sultan [ruler] in the mirrors owes much to the Sasanian theory, the purpose of the Sultan's government is still the formal establishment of the religion of Islam and conditions in which his subjects can fulfil their destiny." See A. K. S. Lambton, *Theory and Practice in Medieval Persian Government* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980), 417.
49. On Azar Kayvan and his disciples see Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, "A Parsee High Priest (Dastur Azar Kaiwan, 1529–1614 AD) with his Zoroastrian Disciples in Patna, in the 16th and 17th Centuries AC," *The Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, 16 (1930), 1–85; Muhammad Muʾin, "Azar Kayvan va payravan-i au," *Majallah-i Danishkadeh-i Adabiyat-i Tihān*, 4: 3 (Farvardin 1336 [March 1957]), 25–42.
50. See M. A. Alvi and A. Rahman, *Fathullah Shirazi: A Sixteenth-Century Indian Scientist* (New Delhi: National Institute of Sciences of India, 1968), 2, 29–30.
51. Kaykhusraw Isfandiyar, *Dabistan-i Mazahib*, ed. Rahim Rizazadah Malik (Tehran: Tahuri, 1983), 300–1.
52. *Dasatir* was claimed to be a "collection of the writings of the different Persian Prophets, who flourished from the time of Mahabad to the time of the fifth Sasan, being fifteen in number, of whom Zerdusht or Zoroaster was the thirteenth and the fifth Sasan the last" (*The Dasatir or Sacred Writings of the Persian Prophets*, 2 vols [Bombay: Courier Press, 1818], iii). The publication of *Dasatir* generated intense academic controversies. For the controversy on *Dasatir* see H. Corbin, "Azar (Adar) Kayvan," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London: New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983–), 183–7; Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, "A Parsee High Priest," 1–85; Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, *The Dasatir, Being a Paper Prepared for the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists in Geneva in 1894 AC* (Bombay: s.n., 1907).
53. For a "scholarly edition" see Kaykhusraw Isfandiyar, *Dabistan-i Mazahib*, ed. Rahim Rizazadah Malik, vol. 2 (Tehran: Tahuri, 1983). For an English translation see *The Dabistan or School of Manners, Translated from the Original Persian with Notes and Illustrations*, trans. David Shea and Anthony Troye, vol. 3 (Paris: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1843); also reprinted as *Oriental Literature or the Dabistan* (Lahore: Khalil, 1973). On *Dabistan* see S. H. Askari, "Dabistan-i Mazahib and Diwan-i Mubad," in *Indo-Iranian Studies: Presented for the Golden Jubilee of the Pahlavi Dynasty of Iran*, ed. Fathullah Mujtabai (New Delhi: Indo-Iran Society, 1977), 85–110; Fath Allah Mojtabaʾi, "Dabistan-i Madaheb," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vi, 1: 532–534.
54. Bahram ibn Farhad, *Sharistan-i Chahar Chaman: Chaman-i Avval va Duvvum va Chaman-i Sivvum, Naqis al-akhir*, ed. Manikji Suhrabji and Siyavakhsh Hurmuzdyan Irani (Bombay, 1223/1854).

55. *A'in-i Hushang*, ed. Manikji Limji Hushang Hatarya Darvish Fani (Tehran: Mirza Bahram Nasrabadi, 1296/1878).
56. See S. H. Nasr, "The Spread of the Illuminationist School of Suhrawardi," *The Islamic Quarterly*, 14: 3, 111–21, quote on 116.
57. On the religious policies of Akbar see Makhanlal Roy Choudhury, *The Din-i Ilahi or, The Religion of Akbar* (Patna, India: Patna University, 1952); Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Akbar and Religion* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delhi, 1989); B. P. Ambashthya, *Contributions on Akbar and the Parsees* (Patna, India: Janaki Prakashan, 1976); Azra Alavi, *Socio-Religious Outlook of Abul Fazl* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delhi, 1983).
58. According to Suhrawardi, "there were among the ancient Persians a community of men who were guides towards the Truth and were guided by Hjm in the Right Path, ancient sages unlike those who are called the Magi. It is their high and illuminated wisdom, to which the spiritual experience of Plato and his predecessors are also witness, and which we have brought to life in our book called Hikmat al-Ishraq." Cited in Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi Maqtul," in *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, ed. M. M. Sharif (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963), 372–98, quote on 375–8, note 11. For a systematic study of Suhrawardi's Illuminationist philosophy see Hossein Ziai, *Knowledge and Illumination: A Study of Suhrawardi's Hikmat al-Ishraq* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990).
59. For a definition of "Zoroastrian Ishraqi" see Corbin, "Azar (Adar) Kayvan," 183. For a discussion of the *Ishraqi* (Illuminationist) aspect of this school see Muhammad Mu'in, "Hikmat-i Ishraq va Farhang-i Iran," in *Majma'ah Magalat-i Duktur Muhammad Mu'in*, ed. Mahdikh Mu'in (Tehran: Mu'assasah-i Intisharat-i Mu'in, 1371/1983), 444–6.
60. The author of *Dabistan* argued that the views of Ishraqis were the same as those of Azaris. See *Dabistan*, 314.
61. *Dasatir* includes the books of Mahabad, Ji-Afram, Shay-Kaliv, Yasan, Gal-Shah (Kayumars), Siyamak, Hushang, Tahmuris, Jamshid, Faraydun, Manuchihr, Kay-Khusraw, Zartusht (Zoroaster), Sikandar (Alexander), Sasan-i Nukhust (Sasan I), and Sasan-i Panjum (Sasan V).
62. On *dasatir* terms see Mulla Firuz, "Farhang-i Lughat-i Kitab-i Mustatab-i Dasatir," in *The Dasatir*, II: 1–81; Nazir Ahmad, *Naqd-i Burhan-i Qati* (New Delhi: Ghalib Institute, 1985), 211–44.
63. See Mir Khwand, *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, 47–8; idem, *Rawzat al-Safa*, 493.
64. There is no scholarly consensus over the authorship of *Dabistan-i Mazahib*. Three individuals have been named as the author of this book: Muhsin Fani Kashmiri (d. 1081/1670), Mir Zulfiqar 'Ali, known as Mulla Mawbad (c.1026–81/1617–70), and Kaykhusraw Isfandiyar (c.b. 1028/1618). On this issue see Siraj al-Din Khan Arzu, *Muthmir*, 18; Jalal al-Din Mirza Qajar, *Namah-i Bastan*, 3; S. H. Askari, "Dabistan-i Mazhib and Diwan-i Mubad," in *Indo-Iranian Studies: Presented for the Golden Jubilee of the Pahlavi Dynasty of Iran*, ed. Fatullah Mujtabai (New Delhi: Indo-Iran Society, 1977), 85–104; Fath Allah Mojtabai, "Dabestan-e Madaheb" in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 6: 532–4; Rahim Rizazadah Malik, *Dabistan-i Mazahib*, 2: 9–76.
65. *Dabistan*, 8 and 12. "The followers of the ancient faith call one revolution of the regent Saturn [Kayvan], a day; thirty such days, one month; twelve

such months, one year; a million of such years, one *fard*; a million *fard*, one *vard*; a million *vard*, one *mard*; one million *mard*, one *jad*; three thousand *jad*, one *vad*; and two thousand *vad*, one *zad*." See *Dabistan*, 8; *The Dabistan*, 19. One Saturn year is equal to 30 solar years. It was argued that the Abadiyan, the original kings and prophets of Iran, ruled for 100 *zad* years (*sad zad sal-i kayvani*). Jayan, the second dynasty, ruled for one *aspar kayvani* year (*yak aspar sal-i kayvani*). The third dynasty, Sha'ayan, ruled for one *shumar-i kayvani* year (*yak shumār sal-i kayvani*). Yasa'ayan, the fourth dynasty, ruled for nine *salam* years. According to this reckoning, *salam*=100,000 years; 100 *salam*=1 *shumar*; 100 *shumar*=1 *aspar*; 100 *aspar*=1 *zad*.

66. Charles Lyell, *Principles of Geology* (London: John Murray, 1830).
67. *Dabistan*, 13. For Tabari's reckoning of time from the creation of Adam to the *hijra* of Muhammad, see Tabari, *The History*, 1: 184–5.
68. Bahram ibn Farhad, *Sharistan*, 4.
69. *Ibid.*, 2.
70. "Bihiṣab-i asl-i falsafī afrād-i īnsānī ra bidayati zamāni nist." See *Sharistan*, 6 and 10. The same is also argued in *Dabistan* (*Dabistan*, 9).
71. For Hegel's discussion of this significant concept see, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1991), 178–9. Hegel had become familiar with this significant Mazdean concept of time via Anquetil-Duperron's *Zend-Avesta*.
72. Bahram ibn Farhad, *Sharistan*, 4–22.
73. *Ibid.*, respectively on 22, 6, 11–12, 22.
74. Mahabad's "achievements," according to *Dabistan*, were numerous: "He ordered persons to descend into deep waters and bring forth the shells, pearls, corals, etc. People were commanded to shear the fleece of sheep and other animals; by him also were invented the arts of spinning, weaving, cutting up, sewing, and clothing. He next organized cities, villages, and streets; erected palaces and colonnades; introduced trade and commerce; and divided mankind into four classes." See *The Dabistan*, 21; for the Persian text see *Dabistan*, 9.
75. Bahram ibn Farhad, *Sharistan*, respectively on 13, 13–14, 14, 14.
76. Tabari, *The History*, 348, 350. Transliterations altered.
77. Bahram ibn Farhad, *Sharistan*, 15 and 89; *Qur'an*, 7: 59. The Qur'anic verse continues, "He said: 'Serve God, my people, for you have no god but Him. Beware the torment of a fateful day'."
78. Abu Hanifa ad-Dinawari, *Kitab al-Akbar at-Tiwal*, ed. Vladimir Guirgass (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1888), 9; idem, *Tarjumah-i Akhbar al-Tiwal*, trans. Sadiq Nash'at (Tehran: Intisharat-i Bunyad-i Farhang-i Iran, 1346 [1967]), 6; cited in Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia from the Earliest Times until Firdawsi* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), I: 113.
79. Mir Khwand, *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, 118 and 100; idem, *Rawzat al-Safa*, 526 and 517.
80. See *Qur'an*, 2: 101–2: "And now that an apostle has come to them from God confirming their own Scripture, some of those to whom the Scriptures were given cast off the Book of God behind their backs, as though they know nothing, and accept what the devils tell of Solomon's kingdom. Not that Solomon was an unbeliever: it is the devils who are unbelievers."

81. Mir Khwand, *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, 100; idem, *Rawzat al-Safa*, 517.
82. See *The Epic of Kings: Shah-Nama the National Epic of Persia* by Ferdawsi, trans. by Reuben Levy (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), 9–11; for the Persian text see Ferdawsi, *Shahnamah*, ed. Sa'id Hamidiyan (Tehran: Qatrah, 1374 [1995]), 1: 42–50.
83. *Avesta*, ed. Jalil Dustkhwah (Tehran: Murvarid, 1343), "Zamyad yasht," 30–6, pp. 294–5. For Tabari's recounting see *The History*, 1: 350.
84. *Avesta*, 294–5; Ferdawsi, *Shahnamah*, 1: 42–50.
85. Bahram ibn Farhad, *Sharistan*, 72–9, quote on 77.
86. According to Bahram b. Farhad, "Siyamak had a son named Taz who is the forefather of all Arabs who are also called Tazi." See *Sharistan*, 77. In a similar fashion he also Persianized Alexander by depicting him as a son of Nahid and the First Darab ibn Bahman and constituted him as a Persian sage-king whose epistle appeared in the *Dasatir*. The *dasatiri* account of Alexander differs from the Zoroastrian view of him as destroyer of their religious texts. See *Sharistan*, 564 and 572.
87. Ghiyas al-Din Khwand Mir, *Tarikh-i Habib al-Siyar fi Akhbar-i Afrad-i Bashari*, ed. Jalal al-Din Huma'i (Tehran: Khayyam, 1333 [1954]), 44.
88. See Mir Khwand, *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, 151; idem, *Rawzat al-safa*, 542. For textual traces of *Rawzat al-safa* in *Sharistan*, see Bahram b. Farhad, *Sharistan*, 83.
89. Bahram b. Farhad, *Sharistan*, respectively on 27, 232; 29, 232, 59, 232, 73, 233, 88, 196, 200, and 130.
90. For a differentially constructed identification of Persian and Biblical genealogy see Tabari, *The History*, 1: 326.
91. Bahram ibn Farhad, *Sharistan*, 54. For the original reference see Mir Jamal al-Din Husayn Inju Shirazi, *Farhang-i Jahangiri*, ed. Rahim 'Afifi (Mashhad: Intisharat-i Danishgah-i Mashhad, 1359/1980), 1: 22.
92. Bahram ibn Farhad, *Sharistan*, 54, 60–1, 62, 62, and 59. The sexual othering of the Arabs is an important component of Iranian oral culture and is in need of serious study.
93. Ibid., respectively on 65, 63, 65–66; 66.
94. For instances see Ghazzali, *Nasihat al-Muluk*, 82.
95. Bahram ibn Farhad, *Sharistan*, 66–7, 68.
96. Kaykhusraw Isfandiyar, *Dabistan*, 19–20, 20.
97. Ibid., 19–20, 20; 20, *The Dabistan*, 32 (translation altered).
98. See Chapter 6.
99. *A'in-i Hushang*, compiled by Darvish Fani, ed. Mirza Bahram Rustam Nasrabadi (Tehran: Mirza Bahram Nasrabadi, 1296/1879). According to Mirza Bahram, the first edition of *A'in* was edited by 'Abd al-'Ali Khan Shushtari and published in 1849 (p. 4).
100. *A'in-i Hushang*, 2–31. Authorship of *Khishtab* is attributed to Hakim Pish-tab, who is identified as a student of the Fifth Sasan. It was "translated" into Persian by Mubad Hush, the tutor of Azar Kayvan's son Kaykhusraw Isfandiyar.
101. *A'in-i Hushang*, 32–76. *Zar-i Dastafshar* was "translated" into Persian by Mubad Surush Dadpuyah ibn Hush. See *A'in-i Hushang*, 32; *Dabistan*, 27, 38.

102. *A'in-i Hushang*, 77–148. *Zayandah Rud* is attributed to Zindah Azarm and was “translated” into Persian by Farzanah Khushi. On a closer examination it appears that at least a section of *Zayandah Rud* parallels Shahab al-Din Suhrawardi’s *Hikmat al-Ishaq*.
103. *A'in-i Hushang*, 149–77. *Zawrah-i Bastani* is attributed to Ibrahim Zardusht (Abraham-Zoroaster), “a prophet of Iran.” It was “translated” into Persian by Azar Pazhuh (149).
104. *A'in-i Hushang*, respectively on 192 and 191–2.
105. Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani, *Sah Maktub: Maktub-i Shahzadah Kamal al-Dawlah bah Shahzadah Jalal al-Dawlah*, ed. Bahram Chubinah ([Paris]: Mardé Emrouz, 1370/1991), 166; idem, *Ayina-i Sikandari* ([Tehran]: n.p., 1324/1906), 523.
106. By “schizophrenic” I have in mind not the clinical definition but a person’s simultaneous identification with cultural discourses that are independent of one another. By schizochronia I intend a fractured view of historical time, which is elaborated in my forthcoming article “Modernity and Schizochronia.”

Chapter 6 Crafting National Identity

1. Muhammad Hashim Rustam al-Hukama, *Rustam al-Tawarikh*, ed. Muhammad Mushiri (Tehran: n.p., 1969), 423; 309, 378, 391, 418, 459; 309; 61; 383, 392, 395, 458; 69, 396; 81, 82; 130; 466.
2. Muhammad Hasan Khan I'timad al-Saltanah, *Mir'at al-Buldan*, ed. 'Abd al-Husayn Nava'i (Tehran: Intisharat-i Danishgah-i Tihiran, 1367 [1988]), 3.
3. See Henry Corbin, *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth: From Mazdean Iran to Shi'ite Iran*, trans. Nancy Pearson, Bollingen Series xci: 2 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 17–24.
4. For lists of *Shahnamahs* printed in the nineteenth century see Iraj Afshar, *Kitabshinasi-i Shahnamah* (Tehran: Anjuman-i Asar-i Milli, 1347 [1968]), 191–9; Javad Safinzhad, “Shahnamah ha-yi Chap Sangi,” *Mirs-i Farhangi*, 14 (Zimistan 1374 [Winter 1996]), 21–4.
5. For studies of recitation traditions see Muhammad Ja'far Mahjub, “Sukhanvar,” *Sukhan*, 9: 6 (Shahrivar 1337/1958), 530–5; idem, “Sukhanvari,” *Sukhan*, 9: 7 (1337/1958), 631–7; idem, “Sukhanvari,” *Sukhan*, 9: 8, (1337 [1958]), 779–86; idem, “Tahavvul-i naqqali va qissah khwani, tarbiyat-i qissah khwani va tumarha-yi naqqali,” *Iran Nameh*, 9: 2 (Spring 1991), 186–211; Bahram Bayza'i, “Namayish dar Iran: Naqqali,” *Majallah-i Musiqi*, 3: 66 (1341 [1962]), 15–33; Mary Ellen Page, “Professional Storytelling in Iran: Transmission and Practice,” *Iranian Studies*, 12 (Summer 1979), 195–215; 'Ali Al-e Dawud, “Coffeehouse,” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vi: 1, 1–4; Husayn Lisan, “Shahnamah khwani,” *Hunar va Mardum*, 14: 159/160 (Day/Bahman 1354 [1975]), 2–16.
6. Ahmad Divan Baygi, *Hadiqat al-Shu'ara* (Tehran: Intisharat-i Zarrin, 1364 [1985]), 425–7.
7. Muhammad Ibrahim Bastani Parizi, “Shahnamah akhirash khush ast,” *Nay-i Haft Band* (Tehran: 'Ata'i, 1353 [1974]), 259–373.
8. Cited in Lisan, “Shahnamah khwani,” 15; Fath al-Din Fattahi, *Safar Namah-i Mirza Fattah Khan Garmudi bi-Urupa*, ed. Fath al-Din Fattahi (Tehran: Bank-i Bazargani-i Iran, 1347/1968), 919.

9. Muhammad Ali Tusi, *Shahanshah Namah-i Nadiri*, ed. Ahmad Suhayli Khwansari (Tehran: Anjuman-i Asar-i Milli, 1339/1970), 22 and 224.
10. Mirza Fath'ali Khan Saba, *Shahanshahnamah* (Bombay: Malik al-Kuttab, 1867), 41.
11. According to Iraj Afshar, Davari's copy was in the possession of Farah Pahlavi and was held in her personal library. See his "Shahnamah, az khatti ta chapi," *Hunar va Mardum*, 14: 162 (1354 [1975]), 24.
12. For Davari's introduction see Mahdi Hamidi, *Shi'r dar 'Asr-i Qajar* (Tehran: Ganj-i Kitab, 1364/1985), 210–15.
13. Hamidi, *Shi'r dar 'Asr-i Qajar*, 175.
14. On this point see Malik al-Shu'ara Bahar, *Sabk Shinasi: Tarikh-i Tatavvur-i Nasr-i Farsi* (Tehran: Khudkar, 1337 [1958]), 3: 348.
15. Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani, *Ayinah-i Sikandari* (Tehran: [n. p.], 1324 [1906]), 14.
16. *Namah-i Bastan*, which was completed by Shaykh Ahmad Adib Kirmani after the execution of Mirza Aqa Khan, was also known as *Salar Namah* (Shiraz: Matba'-i Muhammadi, 1316/1898). The alternative title bore the name of 'Abd al-Husayn Mirza Farmanfarma Salar Lashkar, who sponsored the publication of *Namah-i Bastan* in Shiraz. On this point see Nazim al-Islam Kirmani, *Tarikh-i Bidari-i Iraniyan: Muqaddamah*, ed. 'Ali Akbar Sa'idi Sirjani (Tehran: Intisharat-i Bunyad-i Farhang-i Iran, 1346 [1967]), 175–88.
17. Nazim al-Islam Kirmani, *Tarikh-i Bidari-i Iraniyan* (Tehran: Intisharat-i Agah, 1362/1983), 1: 222–3.
18. Mirza Fath 'Ali Akhundzadah, *Maktubat-i Mirza Fath 'Ali Akhundzadah*, ed. M[uhammad Ja'far Mahjub] Subhdam ([Paris]: Mardé Imruz, 1364 [1985]), 33–5.
19. Riza Quli Khan Hidayat, *Majma' al-Fusaha* (Tehran: Karkhanah-i Aqa Mir Muhammad Baqir, 1295/1878).
20. For a theoretical formulation of transference in the field of historical research see Dominick LaCapra, "History and Psychoanalysis," *Soundings in Critical Theory* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 30–66.
21. Mahmud Mirza Qajar, "Tazkirah at-Salatin," in *Majma' al-Mahmud* (Tehran: Iranian National Library, MS F/2349).
22. *Khulasat al-Tawarikh* (Tehran: Iranian National Library, MS F/266).
23. 'Aliquli Mirza 'Itizad al-Saltanah, *Iksir al-Tawarikh*, ed. Jamshid Kayanfar (Tehran: Visman, 1370/1991). This edition only includes the Qajar period.
24. Henry Rawlinson, *Tarjumah-i Kuh-i Bistun*, intr. Lisan al-Mulk (Kitabkhanah-i Milli-i Iran, manuscript MS F/291); Henry Rawlinson, *Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun Deciphered and Translated* (London: J. W. Parker, 1847).
25. Kirmani, *Ayinah-i Sikandari*, 637.
26. 'Itimad al-Saltanah, *Durrar al-Tijan*, 4.
27. In an appendix to *Durrar al-Tijan* (vol. 1, 202–5) 'Itimad al-Saltanah introduced 82 European historians and classicists whose works he had used. Among the authors authorizing his text were: Edward Gibbon, Sivester de Sacy, Comte de Gobineau, Étienne Flandin, Friedrich Max Müller, John Malcolm, Victor Delacroix, Henry Rawlinson, and George Rawlinson. 'Itimad al-Saltanah had collected the works of these authors during his visits to Europe with Nasir al-Din Shah.

28. Nasir al-Din Shah's letter to I'timad al-Saltanah, dated 1309/1891, was added to the first volume of *Durrar al-Tijan*. For I'timad al-Saltanah's speculation see *Durrar al-Tijan*, 3: 154–7.
29. Akhundzadah to Jalal al-Din Mirza, 15 June 1870, in *Alifba-yi Jadid va Maktubat* (Baku: Farhangistan-i 'Ulum-i Jumhuri-i Shuravi-i Susiyalisti-i Azarbayjan, 1963) 172; quoted in Hamid Algar, *Mirza Malkum Khan: A Study in the History of Iranian Modernism* (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1973), 92.
30. Dust 'Ali Khan Mu'ayyir al-Mamalik, *Rijal-i 'Asr-i Nasiri* (Tehran: Nashr-i Tarikh-i Iran, 1361/1982), 54.
31. Furughi, *Tarikh-i Salatin-i Sasani*, 1: 194, 2: 196.
32. The inaugural issue of *Millat-i Saniyah-i Iran* was published on 15th of Muharram, 1283/1866. The logo appeared on the first page of issues 1–34.
33. Mirza Fath 'Ali Akhundzadah, *Maqalat*, ed. Baqir Mu'mini (Tehran: Intisharat-i Ava, 1351 [1972]), 44–5.
34. Ibid., 45. On Kavah-i Ahangar see Jalil Dustkhwa, "Kavah-i Ahangar bih rivayat-i naqqalan," *Iran Nameh*, 10: 1 (Winter 1992), 122–44; Turaj Darya'i, "Sahm-i manabi-i Hind va Urupay dar shinakht-i Shahnamah: Huviyat-i Kavah-i Ahangar," *Iran Shenasi*, 11: 2 (Summer 1997), 279–84.
35. Furughi, *Tarikh-i Salatin-i Sasani*, 2: 194.
36. Kirmani, *Ayinah-i Sikandari*, respectively 75–6 and 76–7.
37. For a study of Anushirvan's epithet, the Just (*dadgar*), see Jalal Khaliqi-Mutlaq, "Chira Anushirvan ra Dadgar Namidahand?" *Fasnamah-i Hasti* (Summer 1993), 109–16.
38. Furughi, *Tarikh-i Salatin-i Sasani*, 2: 195–6; Kirmani, *Sah Maktub: Maktub-i Shahzadah Kamal al-Dawlah bah Shahzadah Jalal al-Dawlah*, ed. Bahram Chubinah (J.S.I.: Mardé Emruz, 1370/1991), 80–7.
39. Kirmani, *Ayinah-i Sikandari*, 9.
40. Akhundzadah, *Maktubat*, 32–3.
41. It should be pointed out that Persian chauvinism became a component of the new secular political strategy. This anti-Arab tendency was to some degree similar to the *Shu'ubiyah* movement which had developed as a reaction to the Muslim conquest of Iran.
42. Akhundzadah, *Maktubat*, 20–1.
43. Kirmani, *Sah Maktub*, 68–9.
44. Kirmani, *Sah Maktub*, 166; idem, *Ayinah-i Sikandari*, 523.
45. Letter to Mirza Malkum Khan dated 15 Jumada I, 1311; cited in Faraydun Adamiyat, *Andishah-ha-yi Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani* (Tehran: Payam, 1357/1978), 55.
46. Kirmani, *Ayinah-i Sikandari*, 17 and 14.
47. Kirmani, *Sah Maktub*, 270–1.
48. Mirza Muhammad Taqi Lisan al-Mulk, *Nasikh al-Tawarikh* (Tehran: Islamiyah, 1344/1965), 2: 2, 359–61; I'tizad al-Saltanah, *Iksir al-Tawarikh*, 499–501, particularly 500. It is important to note that the proclamation was followed by three Qur'anic verses, which had been identified by Hajji Mirza Aqasi in support of the new uniform.
49. I'tizad al-Saltanah, *Iksir al-Tawarikh*, 290.
50. Mir 'Abd al-Latif Shushtari, *Tuhfat al-'Alam va Zayl al-Tuhfat*, ed. Samad Muvahhid (Tehran: Tahuri, 1363/1984) 268.

51. Kirmani, *Ayinal-i Sikandari*, 522–3.
52. Iʿtimad al-Saltanah, *Durrar al-Tijan*, I: 106.
53. Jamal al-Din Afghani, "Tarikh-i Ijmal-i Iran," appearing in Fursat Shirazi, *Divan Fursat*, ed. 'Ali Zart'in Qalam (Tehran: Kitabfurushi-i Sirus, 1337/1958), 28–73.
54. Kirmani, *Ayinal-i Sikandari*, 106–110.
55. Kirmani, *Sah Maktub*, 260 and 266.
56. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (London: Verso, 1991), particularly 37–46 and 67–82.
57. On the Indian School see Aziz Ahmad, "The Formation of *Sabk-i Hindi*," in *Iran and Islam: In Memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C. E. Bosworth (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), 1–9.
58. Among the leading figures of the Indian School were poets such as Kalim Kashani (d. 1650), Sa'ib Tabrizi (d. 1670), Ghani Kashmiri (d. 1667), Shawkat Bukhari (d. 1695), Nasir 'Ali Sirhindi (d. 1696), Juyā Tabrizi (d. 1706).
59. See Chapter 2.
60. Siraj al-Din 'Ali Khan Arzu, *Dad-i Sukhan*, ed. Muhammad Akram (Rawalpindi: Iran-Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies, 1974), respectively, x, xxx–xxxii, xxxiv, and xxxiv.
61. 'Abd al-Razzaq Maftun Dunbuli, *Tajribat al-Ahrar va Tasliyat al-Abrar*, ed. Hasan Qazi Tabataba'i (Tehran: Mu'assisah-i Tarikh va Farhang-i Iran, 1349/1970), 213–6.
62. Nostalgia for classical literature was also an important component of both Arab and Turkish nationalism. In this regard see S. Moreh, "The Neoclassical Qasida: Modern Poets and Critics," in *Arabic Poetry: Theory and Development*, ed. G. E. von Gruenbaum (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973), 156.
63. Cited in Mawlawi Muhammad Muzzafar Husayn Saba, *Tazkirah-i Ruz-i Rawshan*, ed. Muhammad Husayn Ruknzadah Adamiyat (Tehran: Kitabkhanah-i Razi, 1343/1964), 737.
64. Shams Langarudi, *Maktab-i Bazgasht: Barrasi-i Shi'r-i Dawrah'ha-yi Afshariyah, Zandiyah, Qajariyah* (Tehran: Chap va Intisharat-i Vizarat-i Umur-i Kharijah, 1375/1996), 129.
65. Mahdi Akhavan Salis, *Bi'd'at va Badayi'-i Nima Yushij* (Tehran: Intisharart-i Tuka, 1357/1978), 22.
66. For an insightful reevaluation of the "Return Movement" see Ghulam 'Ali Ra'di Azarakhshi, "Darbarah-i sabkha-yi shi'r-i Farsi va nahzat-i bazgasht," in *Namvarah-i Duktur Mahmud Afshar*, ed. Iraj Afshar and Karim Isfahaniyan (Tehran: Majmu'ah-i Intisharat-i Adabi va Tarikhi, 1364/1985), 73–112.
67. Muhammad Mu'in has shown that words such as *akhshij*, *anbaz*, *tavanish*, *kunish*, *manish*, *nava*, and *niru*, which were considered as *dasatiri* inventions, are indeed words that can be found in older Persian texts. See his "Lughat-i Ibn Sina va ta'sir-i anha dar adabiyat," in *Majmu'ah Maqalat-i Duktur Muhammad Mu'in*, 529–71.
68. See Chapter 2.
69. See Fath'ali Khan Saba, *Divan-i Ash'ar*, ed. Muhammad 'Ali Nijati (Tehran: Iqbal, 1962), 676.
70. For a collection of Yaghma's writings see Abu al-Hasan Yaghma Jandaqi, *Majmu'ah-i Asar-i Yaghma Jandaqi: Makatib va Munsha'at*, 2 vols, ed. 'Ali Al-i Davud (Tehran: Intisharat-i Tus, 1362/1983).

71. Abu al-Hasan Yaghma Jandaqi, *Kulliyat-i Yaghma Jandaqi* (Tehran: Ibn Sina, 1339/1960), 49; Yahya Aryanpur, *Az Saba ta Nima: Tarikh-i 150 Sal Adab-i Farsi* (Tehran: Kitabha-yi Jibi, 1351/1972), 114.
72. Yaghma Jandaqi, *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, 2: 85; idem, *Kulliyat* (Tehran: Ufsit, 1339/1960), 56.
73. "The Rev. A. Duff[s]... address to the General Assembly of the church of Scotland," *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, 18 (1836), "Asiatic Intelligence" section, 86–8.
74. Among dictionaries edited and published in numerous editions in India were *Bahr-i 'Ajam*, *Bahar-i 'Ajam*, *Bahr al-Javahir fi Lughat al-Tibb*, *Burhan-i Qatf*, *Chiragh-i Hidayat*, *Dari Gusha*, *Durr al-Fakhir Litaj al-Masadir*, *Farhang-i Anandraj*, *Farhang-i Farrukhi*, *Farhang-i Jahangiri*, *Farhang-i Rashidi*, *Ghiyas al-Lughat*, *Haft Qulzum*, *Kashf al-Lughat va al-Istilahat*, *Khazinat al-Amsal*, *Khiyaban-i Gulshan*, *Lughat Dari va Pahlavi*, *Lughat-i Firuzi*, *Madar al-Afziz*, *Majma' al-Furs-i Sururi*, *Mu'ayyad al-Fuzala*, *Mustalahat al-Shu'ara*, *Nafayis al-Lughat*, *Navadir al-Masadir*, *Nasir al-Lughat*, *Shams al-Lughat*, *Siraj al-Lughat*, *Tahqiq al-Istilahat*, *Surah*, and *Zubdat al-Lughat Ma'ruf bih Lughat-i Sururi*.
75. *Burhan Qatf*, written in 1652, became the locus of one of the most interesting and under-studied lexicographic controversies in Persian. Asad Allah Ghalib (1797–1869), the celebrated Urdu poet, in 1860 wrote a critical review of *Burhan-i Qatf* entitled *Qatf-i Burhan* (1862), and five years later he added a new introduction to it and renamed the work *Dirafsh-i Kavyani*. Ghalib's harsh criticisms of the author of *Burhan Qatf* led to a great literary controversy and publication of many responses and counter-responses.
76. Hafiz Farmanfarma'yan, "Introduction," in 'Ali Khan Amin al-Dawlah, *Khatirat-i Siyasi Mirza 'Ali Khan Amin al-Dawlah*, ed. Hafiz Farmanfarma'yan (Tehran: Kitabha-yi Iran, 1341/1962), 5.
77. On the simplification of Persian prose see Bahar, *Sabk Shinas*, 3: 361; Shakoor Ahsan, *Modern Trends in the Persian Language* (Islamabad: Iran-Pakistan Institute for Persian Studies, 1976), 34; 'Abbas Zaryab Khu'i, "Sukhani dar-barah-i munsha'at-i Qa'im Maqam," in *Namvarah-i Duktur Mahmud-i Afshar*, ed. Iraj Afshar (Tehran: Intisharat-i Adabi va Tarikhi, 1366 [1987]), 3: 1433–55.
78. "Sharh-i Manshuri kah Shahanshah-i Ghazi Muhammad Shah bikhatt-i Khwish Nigast," in *Lisan al-Mulk*, *Nasikh al-Tawarikh*, 2: 326–8.
79. Ibid.
80. For studies of language reform and purism see John R. Perry, "Language Reform in Turkey and Iran," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 17 (1985), 295–330; M. A. Jazayeri, "The Modernization of the Persian Vocabulary and Language Reform in Iran," in *Language Reform: History and Future*, ed. I. Fodor and C. Hagège (Hamburg: Buske, 1983), 2: 241–68; Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, "Language reform movement and its language: the case of Persian," in *The Politics of Language Purism*, ed. Björn Jernudd and Michael Shapiro (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1989), 81–104.
81. Abu al-Fazl Gulpaygani, *Rasa'il va Raqa'im*, ed. Ruhallah Mihrabkhani (Tehran: Mu'assasah-i Milli-i Matbu'at-i Amri, 134 [1974?]). In a letter Gulpaygani lists the following individuals as practitioners of *parsinigari*: Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan Suraya, Mirza Hasan Khushnivi Isfahani, Mirza Shaykh 'Ali Yazdi, who is viewed as the real author of *Namah-i Khuwrayan*.

- that is attributed to Jalal al-Din Mirza, Mirza Lutf 'Ali Danish (pp. 480–2). I thank Sholeh Quinn for making this collection available to me.
82. Baha'ullah, "Tablet to Manackji Sahib," *Star of the West*, 1: 1 (March 21, 1910), 5–9. I am grateful to Juan Cole for making a copy of the "Tablet" accessible to me.
 83. Kaykhusraw Shahrukh Kirmani, *Furugh-i Mizdisni* (Tehran: n.p., 1909).
 84. Amin al-Dawlah, *Khatirat-i Siyasi*, 5.
 85. For instance see Asadallah Ghalib, *Dastanbu* (Aghah: Matba'i Mufid-i Khalayiq, 1858).
 86. Kirmani, *Sah Maktub*, 265.
 87. Riza Quli Khan Hidayat, *Farhang-i Anjuman Ara-yi Nasiri* (Tehran: Kargah-i 'Ali'quli Khan, 1288/1871), [2].
 88. Adamiyat, *Andishah'iha-yi Mirza Aqa Khan-i Kirmani*, 162 and 274.
 89. Kirmani, *Ayina-i Sikandari*, 118.
 90. Akhundzadah, *Maqalat*, 187 and 193.
 91. Letter to Mirza Muhammad Rafi' Sadr al-'Ulama, dated 18 Muharram 1129, appearing in *Maqalat*, 205.
 92. Letter to Haji Shaykh Muhsin Khan, dated 4 February 1869, in Akhundzadah, *Alifba-yi Jadid va Maktubat*, 1137–40; quote on 1140.
 93. See Algar, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, 90.
 94. Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 2nd edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 428.
 95. "To the President, Vice Presidents, and Committee of the Calcutta School Book Society," in *The Application of the Roman Alphabet to All the Oriental Languages Contained in a Series of Papers, Written by Messrs. Tryvelyan, J. Prinsep, and Tytler, Rev. A. Duff, and Mr. H. T. Prinsep* (Calcutta: Serampore Press, 1834), 1–30; quote on 13.
 96. Mirza Isma'il Dardi Isfahani, "Tahrir-i Alifba-yi Musalmanan," in *Tarikh-i Jahan* (Qum: Kitabkhanah-i 'Umumi-i Hazrat-i Ayat Allah al-Uzma Mar'ashi, no. 2439), 550–643.
 97. I'timad al-Saltanah, *Tatbiq-i Lughat-i Jughrafiya'i* (Tehran: Dar al-Intiba'at, 1311/1893), 68; Faraydun Adamiyat, *Andishah'iha-yi Talibuf-i Tabrizi*, 2nd edn (Tehran: Damavand, 1363 [1984]), 85.
 98. "Falsafah-i Qawmiyat va Lughat," *Miftah al-Zafar*, 4 (1897), 56.
 99. "Falsafah-i Tabi'i," *Miftah al-Zafar*, 2: 2 (September 15, 1898), 1–2; quote on 2.
 100. Mirza Mahdi Khan, "Geology 'Ilm al-Arz," *Miftah al-Zafar*, 2: 5 (1898), 5–6.
 101. "Arz-i Tashakkur," *Miftah al-Zafar*, 2: 8 (November 22, 1898), 125, 127, 128.
 102. "Vahdat-i Lughat," *Miftah al-Zafar*, 2: 11 (March 8, 1899), 16–17. In a following issue it was announced that Anjuman-i Ma'arif was modeled after the Royal Society of London and over 100 individuals had been accepted to join the Society. See "Anjuman-i Ma'arif," *Miftah al-Zafar*, 2: 12 (March 22, 1899), 182–3; "Anjuman-i Ma'arif," *Miftah al-Zafar*, 2: 13 (April 8, 1899), 201–2.
 103. "Ilam," *Iran: Ruznamah-i Sultani*, 56: 1 (March 31, 1903), 3. Neither Anjuman Ma'arif nor Majlis-i Akadimi is mentioned in any contemporary accounts of language reforms in Iran. Such a selective amnesia recurs in much of the literary history of modern Iran, in which the Qajar period is enlotted as 'asr-i bikhbari (the age of unawareness).

104. Furughi Zuka' al-Mulk, "Maqam-i Firdawsi va Ahmamiyat-i U," in *Hizarah-i Firdawsi: Shamil-i Sukhanraniha-yi Jam'i az Fuzala-yi Iran va Mustashriqin-i Dunya dar Kungirah-i Hizarah-i Firdawsi* (reprint; Tehran: Dunya-yi Kitab, 1362/1983), 27–41, quote on 28.
105. For studies of the constitutionalist literature, see Aryanpur, *Az Saba ta Nima*; Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, *Recasting Persian Poetry: Scenarios of Poetic Modernity in Iran* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1995), 23–99.

Chapter 7 Patriotic and Matriotic Nationalism

1. Bernard Lewis, "Patriotism and Nationalism," in *The Shaping of the Modern Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 71–98, quote on 76; Idem, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 334–5.
2. "Geo-body" is a concept coined by Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1994).
3. "This treaty permanently severed the Caucasian provinces from Iran and settled the Russo-Persian northwestern boundary along the Aras River." See Abbas Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe: Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar and the Iranian Monarchy, 1831–1896* (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1997), 16. See also Fatmah Qaziha, *Asnadi Az Ravand-i Mu'ahidah-i Turkmanchay, 1245–1250* (Tehran: Sazman-i Asnad-i Milli-i Iran, 1374/1995; Jamil Quzanlu, *Tarikh-i Nizami-i Iran: Jild-i Duvmum* (Tehran: Chapkhanah Firdawsi, 1315/1936).
4. See Richard Schofield, "Interpreting a Vague River Boundary Delimitation: The 1847 Erzerum Treaty and the Shatt al-Arab before 1913," in *The Boundaries of Modern Iran*, ed. Keith McLachlan (New York: St Martin's Press, 1994), 72–92.
5. The Treaty of Paris provided "the ground for the emergence of Iran's eastern boundaries." See Pirouz Mojtahed-Zadeh, "The Eastern Boundaries of Iran," in Schofield, *The Boundaries of Modern Iran*, 128–39, quote on 131.
6. Firuz Kazemzadeh, *Russia and Britain in Persia, 1864–1914: A Study in Imperialism* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1968); Abbas Amanat, "Russian Intrusion into the Guarded Domain: Reflections of a Qajar Statesman on European Expansion," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 113.1 (1993), 35–6; idem, *Pivot of the Universe*, 13–18.
7. Reflecting on these treaties, Vanessa Martin aptly writes, "the growth of the modern state in Iran owed much to the influence of the foreign powers, a point which has been overlooked in discussions of their role in the politics of the period. By such measures as delineation of the borders and the ensuring of a peaceful succession, they contributed to security and stability. . . . Therefore it may be said that, in the period under question, the growth of the Iranian state, slow though it was, owed much to the strategic and commercial interests of Britain and Russia." See her "An Evaluation of Reform and Development of the State in the Early Qajar Period," *Die Welt des Islam*, 36: 1 (1996), 1–24, quote on 24.
8. For a discussion of land-based rhetoric of Iranian nationalism see Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, "Fragile Frontiers: The Diminishing Domains of Qajar Iran," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 29 (1997), 205–34.

9. For instance see Mahmud ibn Muhammad Isfahani [d. 1215], *Dastur al-Vizarah*, ed. Riza Inzabi Nizhad (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1364), 91. In this instance Isfahani linked "vatan-i ma'luf" to "mansha' va mawlid" (origin and birthplace). See *Dastur al-Vizarah*, 92. *Vatan Ma'luf* was used frequently in biographical dictionaries. For instance see Samsam al-Dawlah Shahnavaz Khan [1700–1757], *Ma'asir al-Umara*, ed. Mawlavi 'Abd al-Rahim and Mawlavi Mirza Ashraf 'Ali (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1891), 2: 659; 3: 663.
10. For instance see Shahnavaz Khan, *Ma'asir al-Umara*, 1: 363.
11. Hasan Lahiji, "Hadiyyat al-Musafir" in *Ras'il-i Farsi*, ed. 'Ali Sadra'i Khu'i (Tehran: Nashr-i Qiblah, 1357), 304–20, quotes on 311.
12. In his biographical dictionary Shaykh 'Ali Hazin (b. 1103/1691) clearly distinguished *mawlid* (birthplace) from the place of residence (*mawtin/vatan*). See his *Tazkirah-i Hazin*, ed. Muhammad Baqir Ulfat (Isfahan: Kitabfurush-i Ta'yid, 1334/1955), particularly 38, 42, 44, 46, 72, 87, 100, 101, 110, 119.
13. For instance see Shahnavaz Khan, *Ma'asir al-Umara*, 1: 303 and 1: 672 respectively.
14. *Dil bah an bandand va khvanandash vatan vandaran khusband ba aram-i tan*. See Mullah Ahmad Naraqī, "Hikayat-i Adam-i Abi va siyahat u dar ru-yi zamin," in *Masnavi-i Taqdis*, ed. Hasan Naraqī (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1362), 64–9; quote on 65.
15. Henry Corbin coined the term "geosophy" in an attempt to explain the imaginary geography that rendered sensible the Mazdean profession of faith, "My mother is Spendarmat, Archangel of the Earth, and my father is Ohrmazd, the Lord of Wisdom." For details see Henry Corbin, *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth: From Mazdean Iran to Shi'ite Iran*, trans. Nancy Pearson, Bollingen Series xci: 2 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 15–16 and 36–50.
16. Shahab al-Din Yahya Suhrawardi, "Aql-i Surkh," in *Majmu'ah-i Asar-i Farsi-i Shaykh-i Ishraq = Oeuvres Philosophiques Et Mystiques*, ed. Husayn Nasr (Tehran: Department D'Iranologie de l'Institut Français de Recherche, 1970), 3: 226–39, quote on 229. Suhrawardi identified the "return to originary vatan" as "linkage with the celestial world [*al-'alam al-'alawi*]." He explained this "return" and "linkage" as the meaning of the Prophetic saying, "Love of vatan is of faith." See his "Kalimat Zawqiyah," in *Majmu'ah-i Asar-i Farsi*, 3: 463.
17. Mulla Ahmad Naraqī, *Mifraj al-Sa'adah* (Tehran: Intisharat-i Rashidi, 1983), 9.
18. Abu al-Qasim ibn Adb al-Husayn, "Maktub-i yiki az faqihzadigan," *Hadid* 2: 10 (6 Rajab 1324), 3–4. When Shaykh Abu al-Qasim reminded the readers of *Hadid* of this definition of vatan, he was mocked as a "knowledge-deprived" cleric. See Muhammad Riza, "Hubb al-vatan min al-iman," *Hadid* 2: 11 (13 Rajab 1324), 3–4; quote on 3.
19. Ruzbihan Baqli Shirazi, *Sharh-i Shathiyat*, ed. Henry Corbin (Tehran: Tahuri, 1981), 622.
20. Baha' al-Din 'Amili, *Kulliyat-i Ash'ar va Asar-i Shaykh Baha'i*, ed. 'Ali Katibi (Tehran: Nashr-i Chigamah, 1372 [1993]), 160–2; idem, *Kulliyat-i Ash'ar-i Farsi va Mush va Gurbah-i Shaykh Baha'i*, ed. Mahdi Tawhidipur (Tehran: Mahmudi, 1336/1157), 23; cited in Afsaneh Najmabadi, "The Erotic Vatan

- [Homeland] as Beloved and Mother: to Love, to Possess, and to Protect," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, (July 1997), 442–67, quote on 448.
21. For instance see Husayn Va'iz Kashifi, *Anvar-i Suhayli ya Kalilah va Dimnah* (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1362), 551. In this reference Va'iz Kashifi equated "vatan" with "mawlid" (birth-place). See also Mirza Muhammad Husayn Fazil Jam [1840–1901], *Munsha'at-i Fazil Jami*, ed. Haybat Allah Maliki (Tehran: Intisharat-i Kavir, 1371/1992), 19.
 22. Afsaneh Najmabadi views the "erotic mapping" of Iran, "as a body to love and possess, to protect and defend, to fight and to die for," as essential for the understanding of Iranian nationalism ("The Erotic Vatan," 450).
 23. "Hubb al-watan min al-iman," *Akhtar*, 3: 8 (14 Safar 1294/28 February 1877), 1–2 [25–6].
 24. "Baz az vatan bayad guft," *Akhtar*, 3: 10 (21 Safar 1294/7 March 1877), 1–2 [41–2]; quotes on 1 and 2.
 25. "Hubb al-watan min al-iman," *Akhtar*, 3: 9 (17 Safar 1294/3 March 1877), 33–4 [1–2], quotes on 1 and 2.
 26. "Ruznamchah-i Akhbar-i Dar al-Khalafah-i Tihrah," *Ruznamah-i Vaqay'i-i Ittifaqiyah*, 1 (5 Rabi' al-Sani 1267), 1.
 27. On "public sphere" see Jürgen Habermas, "The Public Sphere," *New German Critique*, 3 (1974), 49; Reinhart Koselleck, *Critique and Crisis: Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988), particularly 70–5.
 28. Mirza Husayn Khan Sipahsalar to Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar, Shavval 1292; document no. 12–128 in *Hukumat-i Sayah'ha: Asnad-i Mahramanah va Siyasi-i Mirza Husayn Khan Sipahsalar*, ed. Muhammad Riza 'Abbasi (Tehran: Sazman-i Asnad-i Milli-i Iran, 1372/1993), nos 153, 152–1147; reference on 146.
 29. Sani' al-Dawlah, "Sharaf," *Mirikh*, 3 (18 Safar 1296/10 February 1879), 2–3; quotes on 2, 2, 2–3.
 30. Sani' al-Dawlah, "Vatan," *Mirikh*, 5 (25 Rabi' I 1296/19 March 1879), 2–4; quotes on 2, 2, and 3. For additional references to the shah as "the head and father of vatan" (*ra'is va pidar-i ahl-i vatan*) see: Sani' al-Dawlah, "Sharaf: baqiyah," *Mirikh*, 6 (20 Rabi' II 1296/13 April 1879), 1–3; quote on 1.
 31. "Savad-i Taliqiyah . . .," *Iran*, 67 (10 Zilqa'dah 1288), 1–2 [265–66], quote on 1. This was not a novel idea. For instance Najm Razi (b. 1177), discussing kings and their conducts, argued, "As for generosity to kinsfolk, this consists of respecting the rights of all subjects, for subjects stand in a relation of kinship to the king; indeed, they take the place of his family and kinsfolk." See Najm Razi, *The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return*, trans. Hamid Algar (Delamr, NY: Persian Heritage Series, Caravan Books, 1982), 415; idem, *Mirsad al-'Ibad*, ed. Muhammad Amin Riyahi (Tehran: Bungah-i Tarjumah va Nashr-i Kitab, 1352/1973), 436.
 32. For an alternative characterization of Sani' al-Dawlah see Juan Cole, "Marking Boundaries, Marking Time: The Iranian Past and the Construction of the Self by Qajar Thinkers," *Iranian Studies*, 29: 1–2 (Winter/Spring 1996), 35–56; quotes on 46–7.
 33. Sani' al-Dawlah, "Vatan," 3.
 34. On "divine effulgence" see Said Amir Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam: Religion, Political Order, and Societal Change in Shi'ite Iran from the Beginning to 1890* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 94–5.

35. San'i al-Dawlah, "Vatan," 4.
36. For a twelfth-century definition of *farr-i izadi* (divine effulgence) see Ghazali, *Nasihat al-Muluk*, ed. Jalal al-Din Huma'i (Tehran: Intisharat-i Anjuman-i Asar-i Milli, 1972) 81, 89, 127–8; idem, *Ghazali's Book of Council for Kings (Nasihat al-Muluk)*, trans. F. R. C. Bagley (London: Oxford University Press, 1964) 45, 48.
37. The prophetic adage as cited by Najm Razi reads, "Each of you is a shepherd, and each will be called to account for his flock. Thus the prince is a shepherd for his subjects, and will be called to account for them." See Razi, *The Path of God's Bondsmen*, 415; idem, *Mirsad al-Ibad*, 429. Also see 'Ali ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Qaza'i, *Tark al-Atnab Fi Sharh al-Shihab*, ed. Muhammad Shirvani (Tehran: Danishgah-i Tihiran, 1343/1964), 102–3; Lewis, *The Political Language of Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 61–2.
38. Razi, *The Path of God's Bondsmen*, 415; idem, *Mirsad al-Ibad*, 438.
39. This is not to argue that the *ra'i-ra'ayat* relations remained unchanged in the premodern period. The changing definitions of *ra'i* and *ra'ayat* signify a sustained changing of relations within the same overarching metaphor.
40. Darius Rejali, *Torture and Modernity: Self, Society, and State in Modern Iran* (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1994), 136 and 146.
41. For modernist rearticulation of *siyasat* in Egyptian political discourse see Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1991), 100–4.
42. Writing about Nasir al-Din Shah's travels, A. R. Sheikhholeslami observed, "By bringing the government to the people, the Shah legitimized his government and integrated his realm. . . . The Shah, during his trips, enhanced his authority not only by positive rewards, such as exemption from taxes or ordering a governor to repair a certain irrigation system, but also by exposing his subjects to his royal pomp and power." See his *The Structure of Central Authority in Qajar Iran, 1871–1896* (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1996), 83.
43. "Vizarat-i Dar al-Khalafah," *Iran*, 7 (3 Safar 1288), 1–2 [25–6].
44. "Tafsil-i vaz'-i majlis-i 'anah," *Iran*, 56 (25 Ramazan 1288), 2 [222].
45. For the bylaws, members, and the proceedings of the Poor Assistance Council see "Tafsil va vaz'-i majlis-i 'anah," 2–3 [222–3]; "Majlis-i chaharum va panjum-i 'anat," *Iran*, 62 (20 shavval 1288), 2–3 [246–7].
46. "Baqiyah-i dastur al-'amal-i hafiz al-sihhah," *Iran*, 61 (15 Shavval 1288), 3 [243]; "Akhbar-i ghayr-i rasmi," *Iran*, 86 (7 Safar 1289), 2–4 [342–4]; "Tlan-i Digar," *Iran*, 7 Sha'ban 1288, 1 [189].
47. "Baqiyah-i dastur al-'amal-i Hafiz al-Sihhah," *Iran*, 63 (25 Shavval 1288/7 January 1871), 2–3 [250–1]; "Baqiyah-i dastur al-'amal-i Hafiz al-Sihhah," *Iran*, 63 (28 Shavval 1288/10 January 1871), 2–3 [254–5].
48. "Idarah-i jallilah-i nazmiyah . . .," *Iran*, 387 (15 Jamadi II 1296/2 June 1879), 4 [1552]; "Idarah-i jallilah-i nazmiyah . . .," *Iran*, 388 (21 Jamadi II 1296/22 June 1879), 4 [1556].
49. Hamid Algar, *Mirza Malkum Khan: A Study in Iranian Modernism* (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1973), 36–55.
50. "Muzakirat-i Javami-i Iran . . .," *Qanun*, 11: 1.
51. "Yak shahzadah-i ba shu'ur . . .," *Qanun*, 10: 2.
52. For instance see Isma'il Ra'in, *Anjumanha-yi Sirri dar Inqilab-i Mashrutiyat*, 2nd edn (Tehran: Javidan, 1976).

53. Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 73. See also Nikki Keddie, *Religion and Rebellion in Iran: The Iranian Tobacco Protest of 1891–1892* (London: Frank Cass, 1996); Faray-dun Adamiyat, *Shurish bar Imtiyaz Namah-i Rizhi* (Tehran: Payam, 1981).
54. Cited in "Tashkhis-i amraz-i vatan," *Rahnama*, 5 (3 September 1907), 8.
55. "Mariz-i Irani va tibabat-i dakhilah va kharijah," *Ibraq*, 2 ([Zulqad'ah]1324 [December 1906]), 1; "Baqiyah-i Mariz-i Irani," *Ibraq*, 2 (23 Zulhajjah 1324 [January 1907]), 2–3.
56. "Baqiyah-i mariz-i Irani," *Ibraq*, 3 (Muharam 1325 [February/March 1907]), 1–2.
57. "Qabil-i tavvajuh-i vizarat-i jalilah-i dakhilah," *Tarraqi*, 11 (3 Rabi' al-Awwal 1325), 1–2.
58. See "Aya Iran mariz ast?" *Habl al-Matin*, 2 (30 April 1907), 1–3; "Nakhushi-i Iran Chist?" *Habl al-Matin*, 3 (1 May 1907), 1–2.
59. "Tashkhis-i amraz-i vatan ya diagnosis-i Iran," *Rahnama*, 1 (26 Jamadi II 1325/6 August 1906), 5–7.
60. "Tashkhis-i amraz-i vatan," *Rahnama*, 2 (August 13 1907), 7.
61. "Tashkhis-i amraz," *Rahnama*, 7 (7 Sha'ban 1325/17 September 1907), 5–7; quotes on 6 and 7.
62. "Tashkhis-i amraz," *Rahnama*, 8 (15 Sha'ban 1325/24 September 1907), 6 and 7.
63. "Tashkhis-i amraz," *Rahnama*, 10 (15 Ramazan 1325/23 October 1907), 10–11.
64. "Tashkhis-i amraz," *Rahnama*, 11 (9 Shavval 1325/16 November 1907), 5.
65. "Tashkhis-i amraz," *Rahnama*, 12 (16 Shavval 1325/23 November 1907), 3 and 4.
66. "Tashkhis-i amraz," *Rahnama*, 13 (26 Shavval 1325/3 December 1907), quotes on 4, 4, 5.
67. "Tashkhis-i amraz," *Rahnama*, 18 (8 Muharram 1326/11 February 1908).
68. "Tashkhis-i amraz," *Rahnama*, 19 (22 February 1908), 6.
69. "Tashkhis-i amraz," *Rahnama*, 23 (23 April 1908), 4.
70. "Tashkhis-i amraz," *Rahnama*, 24 (12 May 1908), 5 and 6.
71. Najmabadi, "The Erotic Vatan," 456.
72. "Sharaf bah tazigi vird-i zabani [khass?] va 'ami shudah, chira?" *Musavat*, 15 (27 Muharam 1326 [1 March 1908]), 2.
73. "Khayr al-Umur Awsatuha," *Musavat*, 15 (1 March 1908/27 Muharram 1326), 3–4, quotes on 3.
74. "Maktub-i Shahri," *Musavat*, 6 (17 Shavval 1325 [24 November 1907]), 6.
75. "Musavat," *Musavat*, 12 (6 Muharram 1326 [9 February 1908]), 3–4; quotes on 3.
76. "Subh-i sa'adat-i vatan ra sham-i nuhsat rasid," *Musavat*, 25 (31 May 1908), 1–4, quote on 1.
77. Afsaneh Najmabadi, "Is Our Name Remembered?" *Iranian Studies*, 29: 1–2 (Winter/Spring 1996), 85–109, particularly 91; idem, "The Erotic Vatan," 455–6.
78. "Maqasid-i Azarbayjan: Nida-yi Azarbayjan bi'umum-i vilayat-i mahrusah-i Iran," *Musavat*, 27 (7 Muharram 1327 [30 January 1909]), 2, 3–4, 5, and 6.
79. For a thoughtful study of this issue see Afsaneh Najmabadi, "Zan-ha-yi Millat: Women or Wives of the Nation," *Iranian Studies*, 26: 1–2 (Winter/Spring 1993), 51–71; particularly 61–5.

80. Respectively see "Maktub-i Anjuman-i Khayriyah-i Nisvan-i Iranian-i Muqim-i Islambul kah bah Jinab-i Sardar-i Milli Tabrik Numudahand," *Musavat*, 28 (7 February 1909/14 Muharram 1327), 7; "Tarjumah-i Layihah-i Muta'alimin-i Dar al-Funun-i Muscaw . . .," *Musavat*, 28, 7–8.
81. According to Najmabadi, "The women's presence in the battlefield in a space presumably belonging to men or male lions, though initially admired, became immediately rescribed as a shame for men." See her "Zanah-yi Millat," 63.
82. "Musavat," *Musavat*, 28 (14 Muharram 1327 [7 February 1909]), 8–9.
83. Najmabadi, "The Erotic Vatan," 459–60.
84. For Darius Rejali there are four modes of subjection (statutory, disciplinary, tutelary, and carceral), see *Torture and Modernity*, 146–59.
85. Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 120–1, 121, 126.
86. "Dar farayiz-i murabiyan-i haqiqi-yi mardan ya'ni nisvan," *Hadid*, 13 (25 Rajab 1323), 4–6; quote on p. 4, col. 2.
87. Najmabadi, Afsaneh, "Crafting an Educated Housewife in Iran," in *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, ed. Lila Abu-Lughod (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 26.
88. On Tayirah Tihrani see Afsaneh Najmabadi, "Tayirah: Namah'ha, Nivish-tah'ha, va Ash'ar Hamrah ba Barghayi az Zindigani-i U," *Nimah-i Digar*, 2: 3 (Winter 1997), 146–95.
89. Tayirah Tihrani, "Maktub-i khamum-i danishmand," *Iran-i Naw*, 78 (16 Ziga'dah 1327/30 November 1909), 2–3; cited in Najmabadi, "The Erotic Vatan," 461.

Chapter 8 Postscript

1. Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, "Constitutionalist Imaginary in Iran and the Ideals of the French Revolution," *Iran Nameh*, 8: 3 (Summer 1990), 421–2.
2. *Qanun*, 2 ([Sha'ban 1308/22 March 1890]), 3.
3. See Mirza Malkum Khan, "Ishtihar Namah-i Awliya-yi Adamiyat," in *Majma'ah-i Asar*, ed. Muhi Tabataba'i (Tehran: Intisharat-i Ilmi, n.d.), 182–7; idem, "Risalah-i Ghaybiyah," in *Majma'ah-i Asar*, 219–37 [1–19].
4. *Istibdad* is usually translated as "despotism" and/or "tyranny." What was viewed as *istibdad* from the late nineteenth century onward was not "oppression" but increased governmentalization of everyday life. Additionally "despotism" has a highly charged connotation within the Orientalist discourse. Therefore, I find "authoritarianism" as a more appropriate translation of *istibdad*. For a historical study of this concept see 'Abd al-Hadi Ha'iri, "Sukhani Piramun-i Vazhah-i Istibdad dar Adabiyat-i Inqilab-i Mashrutiyat-i Iran," *Iran va Jahan-i Islam: Pazhuhi-hay-i Tarikhi Piramun-i Chihrah'ha, Andishah'ha, va Junbish'ha* (Mashhad: Intisharat-i Astan-i Quds-i Razavi, 1368), 223–31.
5. For a more elaborate study of the changing connotation of the "millat" and the polarization of the political space, see Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, *The Formation of Two Revolutionary Discourses in Modern Iran: The Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1909 and the Islamic Revolution of 1978–1979*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1988.

6. Nazim al-Islam Kirmani, *Tarikh-i Bidari-yi Iraniyan: Muqaddamah*, ed. 'Ali Akbar Sa'idi Sirjani (Tehran: Intisharat-i Bunyad-i Farhang-i Iran, 1346/1967), 1: 561.
7. On the class belonging of the elected deputies to the First Majlis, see Man-surah Ittihadiah, *Paydayish va Tahavvul-i Ahzab-i Siyasi-i Mashrutiyyat: Dawrah-i Avval va Duvvum-i Majlis-i Shura-yi Milli* (Tehran: Nashr-i Gust-arah, 1361 [1982]), 101–18.
8. On the concept of *mashrutah* see 'Abd al-Hadi Ha'iri, "Sukhani Piramun-i Vazhab-i Mashrutah," in *Iran va Jahan-i Islam*, 212–22; Hasan Taqizadah, "Mashrutiyyat," *Iran Nameh*, 1: 4 (Summer 1983), 511–12. For one of the earliest usage of the Persian usage of *shurut* in relation to a parliamentary form of government see Mirza Salih Shirazi, *Guzarish-i Safar*, 310.
9. Kasravi, *Tarikh-i Mashrutah-i Iran*, 120; Malikzadah, *Tarikh-i Inqilab-i Mashrutiyyat-i Iran* (Tehran: Ilmi, 1363), 2: 176; Bastani-Parizi, *Talash-i Azadi*, 89.
10. For this decree see Kasravi, *Tarikh-i Mashrutah-i Iran*, 120.
11. The inauguration was initially planned for the 15th of Sha'ban, but since it coincided with the birthday of the "Twelfth Sh'i Imam," and since the constitutionalists wanted it to be an independent day, the Majlis was inaugurated on the 18th of Sha'ban of 1324. In a message by the Shah, the inauguration of the Majlis was regarded as "the strengthening of the unity between the representatives of *dawlat* and *millat*." See Kashani, *Vaq'at-i ttifaqiyah dar Tarikh*, 1: 106; [Ibrahim Safa'i], *Nihzat-i Mashrutah bar Payah-i Asnad-i Vizarat-i Umur-i Kharijah* (Tehran: Daftar-i Mutali'at-i Siyasi va Bayn al-Milali, 1370), 184.
12. See Ahmad Ashraf, "Maratib-i ijtimai dar dawran-i Qajariyah," *Kitab-i Agah*, 1 (Zimistan 1360/Winter 1981): 72–3.
13. According to the 26th article of the Supplementary Constitutional Law, "All powers of the state are derived from the *millat*."
14. *Iran-i Naw*, 134 (16 February 1910).
15. Concerning the circumstances leading to the drafting of the Fundamental Laws, see 'Abd al-Husayn Nava'i, "Qanun-i Asasi va mutammam-i an chigunah tadvin shud?" *Yadgar*, 4: 5 (Bahman 1326 [Jan. 1947]), 34–47.
16. Shaykh Fazl'allah Nuri, *Majmu'ah-i az Rasayil, Flamiyah-i ha, Maktubat, . . . va 'Ruznamah-i Shaykh-i Shahid Fazl'allah Nuri*, ed. Muhammad Turkuman (Tehran: Khadamat-i Farhangi-i Rasa, 1962 [1983]), 1: 108. For an analysis of Nuri's political positions during this period see Firaydun Adamiyat, "Aqayid va ara-yi Shaykh Fazl'allah Nuri," *Kitab-i Jum'ah*, 31 (28 Farvardin 1359 [April 17, 1980]), 52–61.
17. "Surat majlis va nutqha-yi ahali-i Yazd barayi intikhab-i vakil, shah-i 6 Ramazan 1325," *Sur-i Israfil*, 17 (14 Shavval 1325), 4.
18. Nuri, *Majmu'ah*, 320.
19. Shaykh Fazl'allah Nuri, *Lavayih-i Aqa Shaykh Fazl'allah Nuri*, ed. Huma Rizvani (Tehran: Nashr-i Tarikh-i Iran, 1362), 29, 62, and 62.
20. Nuri, *Rasa'il*, 107.
21. Said Amir Arjomand, "The Ulama's Traditionalist Opposition to Parliamentarianism: 1907–1909," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 17 (1981), 179.

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