Refashioning Iran
Orientalism, Occidentalism and Historiography

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## Contents

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Preface and Acknowledgments


Chapter 1 Modernity, Heterotopia, and Homeless Texts

15. Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces”, *Diacritics*, 16: 1 (Spring 1986), 22-7; quotes on 24 and 27.
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).


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.


40. Bayat, Iran's First Revolution, 37.


46. Ibid., 5–24.

47. Bayat, Iran’s First Revolution, 37.


51. See Said, Orientalism, 322.


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.


60. This Persian translation of the Espanishads was rendered into French and Latin by Anquetil-Duperron in 1801–2.


63. On the *Zīj-i Muḥammad Shāhī* see William Hunter, "Some Account of the astronomical labours of Jaha Sinha, Raja of Ambhore, or Jayanagar," *Asiatic Society*; 5 (1799), 177–210. This article includes the Persian preface of the *Zīj* and its English translation.


66. Many copies of *Zīj-i Muhammad Shāhī* are available in Iranian libraries. One of the earliest editions is reported "to be extant" in the library of Madrasah-‘i ‘Alī-i Sipāhsalār, which was renamed after the 1979 Revolution as Madrasah-‘i ‘Alī-i Shahīd Muthahhari. 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.


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 Shushhtari noted that Tafazzul Husayn Khan acquired his knowledge of European philosophy (*hikamiyāt-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.


75. Shushthari, 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, Shushthari mentioned meeting the 90-year-old Mir Masih Allah Shahjahani, 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 Shushthari, Tuhfat al-'Alam, 374.


79. For instance Kamran 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).


88. Ibid., 340-4 and 345-8.


91. Muhammad Qazi b. Kashif al-Din Muhammad Ardaqani, *Tuhfah-i Muham-madiyath,* ( Mashhad: Kitabkhana-i Astan-i Quds-i Razavi, no. 583). The manuscript was copied in 1220/1805.

92. Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey, 484*.


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


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).


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.


24. On the eve of Anquetil’s departure for Europe, Dasturs Darah 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 Darah, 55 and 95.


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


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 i: 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-Ālam, 370).


37. In a letter to Charles Wilkins dated 17 September 1785, Jones wrote, "In the meantime, pray tell Mohhammed 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-mutā'akhkrin, which was published as A Translation of the Siir Mutaghār in; or View of Modem Times (Calcutta, 1799; Calcutta: T. D. Chatterjee, 1902).


43. See Mirza Itesa Modeen, Shigurf Namah, 64-5.

44. The editor of Jones's Works has identified the "foreign nobleman" as Baron Revisk. See Jones, Works, i: f.n. 129.


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 Itisam al-Din.


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 inventives, without insulting a fallen adversary, or attempting, like the Hero in Dryden's Ode, to ... the stain." See Jones, "The History of the Persian Language," in Works, ii: 307.


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 Northern." See Pierre Besnier, A Philosophical Essay for the Reunion of Languages, trans. Henry Rose (Oxford: J. Good, 1675; Menston: The Scholar Press, 1971), 14.


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 [Mumtaz], 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 lisanaayn], 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.


63. The term tavafuq literally means concordance or concurrence.

64. Arzu, Muthmir, 221.


66. For example see Arzu, Chiragh-i Hidayat, 1050, 1061, 1068, 1091, 1119, 1020–21, and 1214.


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 Huzvaresh. 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.


70. Arzu, Muthmir, 13.


Notes

73. Akram, “Pish guftar” in Dad-i Sukhan, xxxiv.
75. Munir, Karmamah, 27.
76. Students and disciples of Arzu included Tik Chand Bahar, Rai Rayan Anand Ram Mukhils (d. 1751), Bindraban Das Kushgu, Mir Taqi Mir (c.1722-1810), Mirza Muhammad Razi Sauda (1713–80), Najm al-Din Shah Mubarak Abru (1692–1747), Sharaf al-Din Mazmun (c.1689–1748), and Mustafa Khan Yakrag.
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, Qudratullah 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.
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.
84. Jones, “The Sixth Discourse,” 90. For a discussion of controversies over the universal deluge before Kayumars see Chapter 5.
86. Jones, “The Sixth Discourse,” 79. The significance of such an assertion had been brought to Jones’s attention by Lord Monboddo (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, fn. 2; p. 818. On Lord Monboddo’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.
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.
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]t is 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 Baksh (Oxford: Bodleian, Caps. Or. C. 2).
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 tibetanischen Lam durch Boutan und einen Theil von Tibet (Hamburg: B. G. Hoffman, 1801).
98. Among other English language texts that are based on Persian works is Captain William Henry Sleeman, Ramaseeana, or a Vocabulary of the Peculiar Language Used by the Thugs (Calcutta, 1836), which is based on Mustafa‘i’s Tuhgan 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.

105. The colophon of the manuscript, *Sural va Javab*, 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 Sallih 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).


Chapter 3 Persianate Eurotopology


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).


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 phallocentric discourse. See Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is Not One* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 76.


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).

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 Signory of Venice, the Queen of England and the King of Scotland” (Don Juan de Persia, 233). For further information see Naja'quill Hisam Mu'izzī, Tarikh-i Ravābī-i Siyarī (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 de Persia*, 130. fn 7.


27. Herbert, *Travels in Persia*, 206–8, 324, quote in 206. Teresa was buried in the Church of Santa Maria della Scala.


29. See Chapter 1.


37. James B. Fraser, Narrative of a Journey into Khurasan in the years 1821–1822 . . . (London, Longman, 1825; Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984), 484. Morier’s Moomed Isphahani appears to be the same person as Mir Muhammad Husayn Isphahani who, according to Shushhti, had traveled to Europe (Tuhfat al-‘Alam, 367–8).

38. Fraser, Narrative of a journey, 484.


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 Taleb Khan in Asia, Afrika 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.


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.


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.


51. Ibid., 299.
53. Fraser, Narrative of a Journey, quotes on 151.
55. Fraser, Narrative of a Journey, 152.
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.
59. For more detail see Chapter 2.
61. Muhammad Riza Tabrizi, Havadis Namah (Kitabkhane-yi 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: Qumun va Qava’al-I Tupkhunah (Mashhad: Astan-i Quds-i Razavi, no. 12154) and Badayi al-Hisab (Tehran: Dar al-Tib‘ah-i Dar al-Khalafah, 1263/1846).
64. Mirza Jafar 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: Kitabkhane-yi Sifar-i Mirza Jafar Khan Mushir al-Dawlah (dated 8 Muharram 1255; Tehran: Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Rikalat-i Tahqiqat-i Sarhadiyeh, ed. Muhammad Mushiri (Tehran: Bunyad-i Farhang-i Iran, 1348 [1969]).
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 Sallih's Guzarish-i Safar was originally published prior to October 1824, a fact unknown to Qajar historians.


70. Mirza Abu Talib, Masir, respectively 263-84, 276, 265, 275 and 275.

71. Ibid., all quotes on 263.

72. Ibid., 263.


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.


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, 276.

Chapter 4 Imagining European Women


4. I'tisan Modeen [I'tisam al-Din], Shigirf Namah-i Velaët, or Excellent Intelligence Concerning Europe, trans. James Edward Alexander (London: Farbury, 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, OR8548.

5. Sir Gore Ouseley was Mirza Abu al-Hasan Khan's melmondar who accompanied him back to Iran.


7. I'tisam al-Din, Shigirf Namah, 66A.

8. Riza Quli Mirza, Safar Namah, 393.


10. Ibid., all quotes on 315.

11. Albinia, Dowager Countess of Buckinghamshire, d. 1816.


13. According to Margaret Cloake, Miss Pole was a daughter of William Wellesley-Pole, the younger brother of the Marquis Wellesley (A Persian, 100).


15. Ibid., 290-291; idem, Hayrat Namah, 354.


17. Riza Quli Mirza, Safar Namah, 360-1.

18. Mirza Abu Talib, Masir, 74 and 163.


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.


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).


Hitsam al-Din, Shigurf Namah, respectively 157–9, 159, 168.


Hitsam al-Din, Shigurf Namah, respectively 157–9, 159, 168.


Hitsam al-Din, Shigurf Namah, respectively 157–9, 159, 168.


43. 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).


47. Garmrudi, *Shab Namah*, respectively on 256, 959, 961, and 962.

48. James B. Fraser (1783–1856) served as melrJllilmlar for this delagation.


55. This individual appears to be either Riza Quill Mirza or his brothers Najaf Quill 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).


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).


Chapter 5 Contested Memories


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 Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1960--), 1: 206; Ch. Pellat, "*al-Furs, *" in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2: 950–1; M. Morony, "*Madjus, *" in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 5: 110–18.


4. See Chapter 2.


6. There is an intertextual link between *dusturi* 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.


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.


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.


In pre-Islamic Persian statecraft, state and religion were viewed as twins. Tansar, an arch-cleric of the court of Ardishir, 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.

Ghazzali, Council for Kings, 53, 54, 46–7; idem, Nasihat al-Muluk, 96, 96, 82–83. In one of the manuscripts mentioned by Jalal al-Din Humā'ī, the list of tyrannical kings also includes the last Sasanid king, "Yazdigird-i bizhizar" (Yazdigird the Sinner).


Bayzavi, Nizam al-Tawarih, 42.

Hamd Allah Mustawfi Qazvini, Tarikh-i Guzdah, ed. 'Abd al-Husayn Nava'i (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1362).

Mir Khwand, Rawzat al-Safa, 806.


Ibid., p. 51. Shea incorrectly translates "mardīlat" as "equality and benevolence." In the above quotation I have altered "the carpet of equality and benevolence" into "the carpet of justice" (basat-i mardīlat). For the Persian original see Mir Khwand, Rawzat al-Safa, 494.


47. In addition Ghaznavi cited Qur’an, 59: 59: “Believers, obey God and obey the Apostle and those in authority amongst you.” See Ghaznavi, 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.


52. Dastur 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 Dastur or Sacred Writings of the Persian Prophets, 2 vols [Bombay: Courier Press, 1818], iii). The publication of Dastur generated intense academic controversies. For the controversy on Dastur see H. Corbin, “Azar (Adar) Kayvan,” in Encyclopaedia Iranica, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London: New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983–7); Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, “A Parsee High Priest,” 1–85; Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, The Dastur, Being a Paper Prepared for the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists in Geneva in 1894 AC (Bombay: s.n., 1907).


57. On the religious policies of Akbar see Makhanlal Roy Choudhury, The Dini-Ilaahi or The Religion of Akbar (Patna, India: Patna University, 1952); Khalil Ahmad Nizami, Akbar and Religion (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delhi, 1989); P. P. Ambasthiyaa, Contributions on Akbar and the Perses (Patna, India: Janaki Prakashan, 1976); Azra Alavi, Socio-Religious Outlook of Ahu Fazl (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delhi, 1983).
58. According to Suhrawardi, "there were among the ancient Persians a community of men who were guided towards the Truth and were guided by Him 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," T85. For a discussion of the Ishraqi (Illuminationist) aspect of this school see Muhammad Mu'in, "Hikmat-i Ishraq va Farhang-i Iran," in Majmu'ah Majallat-i Dukht Muhammad Mu'in, ed. Mahdokht Mu'in (Tehran: Mu'a'sisah-i Intiljtarat-i Mu'in, 1371/1993), 444–6.
60. The author of Dabisran argued that the views of Ishraqis were the same as those of Azaris. See Dabisran, 314.
61. Dastari includes the books of Mahabat, Ji-Afram, Shay-Kali, Yasan, Gal-Shah (Kayumars), Siyamak, Hushang, Tahnuris, Jamshe, Faraydun, Manuchihr, Kay-Khusraw, Zartusht (Zoroaster), Sikandar (Alexander), Sasani Nukhust (Sasan I), and Sasani Panjum (Sasan V).
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 Mawhad (c.1026–81/1617–70), and Kaykhosrow Isfandiyar (c.1026/1618). 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 Mazahib and Diwan-i Mubad," in Indo-Iranian Studies: Presented for the Golden Jubilee of the Pahlavi Dynasty of Iran, ed. Fattah Mujtabah (New Delhi: Indo-Iran Society, 1977), 85–104; Fath Allah Mujtahri, "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 yard; a million yard, one mard; one million mard, one zaf; three thousand zaf, one yard; and two thousand yard, one sad.” 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 sad years (sad sad sal-i kayvani). Jayan, the second dynasty, ruled for one aspar kayvani year (yak aspar sal-i kayvani). The third dynasty, Shayiyan, ruled for one shumar-i kayvani year (yak shumar sal-i kayvani). Yasaiyan, 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 sad.  

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, Shariistan, 4.  
69. Ibid., 2.  
70. “Bihisab-i asl-i falsfi afrad-i insani ra bidayati zamani nist.” See Shariistan, 6 and 10. The same is also argued in Dabistan (Dabistan, 9).  
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, Shariistan, respectively on 13, 13–14, 14, 14.  
77. Bahram ibn Farhad, Shariistan, 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.’”  
79. Mir Khwand, History of the Early Kings of Persia, 118 and 100; idem, Rawzat al-Sofa, 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 back, 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.”
86. According to Bahram b. Farhad, “Siyaamak had a son named Taz who is the forefather of all Arabs who are also called Tazl.” 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.
90. For a differentially constructed identification of Persian and Biblical genealogy see Tabari, *The History*, 1: 326.
92. Bahram ibn Farhad, *Sharistan*, 54, 60–1, 62, 62, and 59. The sexual othering of the Arab 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-Muhak*, 82.
98. See Chapter 6.
100. *A’in-i Hushang*, 2–31. Authorship of *Khishktab* is attributed to Hakim Pithi­tab, 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 Isfandyar.
Chapter 6 Crafting National Identity


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 chapn,” *Hunar va Mardun*, 14: 162 (1354 [1975]), 24.


27. In an appendix to *Durur al-Tijun* (vol. 1, 202-5) ‘Umar al-Saltanah introduced 82 European historians and classicists whose works he had used. Among the authors authorizing his text were: Edward Gibbon, Sylvester de Sacy, Comte de Gobineau, Étienne Flandin, Friedrich Max Müller, John Malcolm, Victor Delacroix, Henry Rawlinson, and George Rawlinson. ‘Umar al-Saltanah had collected the works of these authors during his visits to Europe with Nasir al-Din Shah.


32. The inaugural issue of Mil/'H-i Salatih-i Iran was published on 15th of Muharram, 1283/1866. The logo appeared on the first page of issues 1-34.


36. Kirmani, Ayinah-i Sikanari, respectively 75-6 and 76-7.

37. For a study of Anushirvan's epithet, the Just (dastgar), see Jalal Khaliqi-Mutlaq, "Chira Anushirvan ra Dadgar Namidahand?" Fashamah-i Hasti (Summer 1993), 109-16.

38. For a study of the new secular political strategy. This anti-Arab tendency was to some degree similar to the Sau'abiyah movement which had developed as a reaction to the Muslim conquest of Iran.


40. 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 Sau'abiyah movement which had developed as a reaction to the Muslim conquest of Iran.

41. Akhundzadah, Maktubat, 20-1.


43. Kirmani, Suh Maktub, 166; idem, Aynah-i Sikanari, 523.


46. Kirmani, Suh Maktub, 270-1.


48. Mirza Muhammad Taqi Lisan al-Mulk, Nasikh al-Tawarikh (Tehran: Islamiyeh, 1344/1965), 2: 239-61; itzad 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 Aqa in support of the new uniform.

49. Itzad al-Saltanah, Iksir al-Tawarikh, 290.

52. Itimad al-Saltanah, Durar al-Tijan, i: 106.
55. Kirmani, Sah Maktub, 260 and 266.
58. Among the leading figures of the Indian School were poets such as Kalim Kashani (d. 1650), Abu Tabrizi (d. 1670), Ghani Kashmiri (d. 1667), Shawkat Bakhari (d. 1695), Nasir Ali Sirhindji (d. 1696), Juya Tabrizi (d. 1706).
59. See Chapter 2.
67. Muhammad Mu‘in has shown that words such as akhlīj, abaz, tavanish, kanish, manish, nawa, and inu, which were considered as dasatti inventions, are indeed words that can be found in older Persian texts. See his “Lughat-i Ibn Sina va ta‘ṣrīh-i anha dar adabiyat,” in Majmu‘ah Maqalat-i Dukhtar Muhammad Mu‘in, 529–71.
68. See Chapter 2.


75. Burhan Qatif, written in 1652, became the locus of one of the most interesting and understudied lexicographic controversies in Persian. Asad Allah Ghallib (1797–1869), the celebrated Urdu poet, in 1860 wrote a critical review of Burhan-i Qatif entitled Qatif-i Burhan (1862), and five years later he added a new introduction to it and renamed the work Dirafshi-i Kavyani. Ghallib’s harsh criticisms of the author of Burhan Qatif led to a great literary controversy and publication of many responses and counter-responses.


79. Ibid.


81. Abu al-Fari Gulpaygani, Rasta’i va Raqee’im, ed. Ruhallah Mihrabkhani (Tehran: Mu’assasah-i Milli-i Mathurat-i Amri, 134 [1974?]). In a letter Gulpaygani lists the following individuals as practitioners of parsingari: Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan Suraya, Mirza Hasan Khushnivis Isfahani, Mirza Shaykh ‘Ali Yazdi, who is viewed as the real author of Namah-i Khwararan
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.


85. For instance see Asadallah Ghaliib, Dastanib (Agrah: Mathal-i Mufid-i Khalayiq, 1858).

86. Kirmani, Sah Maktub, 265.


89. Kirmani, Ayina-i Sikanari, 118.

90. Akhundzadah, Maqalat, 187 and 193.


93. See Algar, Mirza Malkum Kirmani, 90.


102. "Vahdat-i Lughat," Mi‘tah 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,” Mi‘tah al-Zafar, 2: 12 (March 22, 1899), 182–3; "Anjuman-i Ma‘arif," Mi‘tah al-Zafar, 2: 13 (April 8, 1899), 201–2.

103. "Ilam," Iran: Rumzahali-i Sultani, 56: 1 (March 31, 1903). 3. Neither Anjuman Ma‘arif nor Majlis-i Akadiri 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 emplotted as ‘asr-i bakhabari (the age of unawareness).
Chapter 7  Patriotic and Matriotic Nationalism


6. 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.


10. For instance see Shahnazv Khan, Ma’asir al-Umara, 1: 363.


13. For instance see Shahnazv Khan, Ma’asir al-Umara, 1: 303 and 3672 respectively.

14. H. Dil ball [Jiltfand 1’ilQAd1fId m1ttt1'111/1d ba 1f(111-i lim. See Mullah Ahmad Jalari, “Hikayat-l Atlam-i Abi va si ‘ahat LI dar ru-yi zamln,” in: vil5I1Clvi·i Taqdi~., ed, Ilasan Araqi (Tehran: Ami! Kabir, 1362), 6-9; 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 xcii: 2 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 15-16 and 36-50.


[Notes]


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).

24. “Haz al-watan ba-ad guft,’ Akhtar, 3: 10 (21 Safar 1294/7 March 1877), 1–2 [41–2]; quotes on 1 and 2.


37. The prophetic adage as cited by Najm al-Rāzī 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 Rāzī, The Path of God’s Bondsmen, 415; idem, Mīrṣad-ī ‘Ibad, 429. Also see ‘Alī ibn Ahmad ibn al-Qāzī ‘Abd al-Rahmān, Ta’rīkh al-Istiqdām al-Shī‘ah, ed. Muhammad Mīnānī (Tehran: Daneshgāh-i Tīrān, 1343/1964), 102–3; Lewis, The Political Language of Islam (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 61–2.
39. This is not to argue that the rū‘ī-nāyūt relations remained unchanged in the premodern period. The changing definitions of rū‘ī and nāyūt signify a sustained changing of relations within the same overarching metaphor.
41. For modernist rearticulation of nāyūt in Egyptian political discourse see Timothy Mitchell, Colonizing Egypt (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1991), 100–4.
42. Writing about Nasīr al-Dīn Shāh’s travels, A. R. Sheikhhojedī observed, “By bringing the government to the people, the Shāh legitimized his government and integrated his realm… . The Shāh, 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 or Central Authority in Qajar Iran, 1871–1896 (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1996), 83.
43. “Vizerat-i Dar al-Khalafah,” Iran, 7 (3 Safar 1288), 1–2 [25–6].
44. “Taṣīl-i vaż-i maqāl-i ‘anāh,” Iran, 56 (25 Ramāzan 1288), 2 [222].
45. For the bylaws, members, and the proceedings of the Poor Assistance Council see “Taṣīl va vz-i maqāl-i ‘anāh,” 2–3 [222–3]; “Majlis-i chaḥarum va panjum-i ‘anāh,” Iran, 62 (20 Shāvat 1288), 2–3 [246–7].
47. “Baqīyah-i dastur al-‘amal-i Ḥafīz al-Sīhāh,” Iran, 63 (25 Shavval 1288/7 January 1871), 2–3 [250–1]; “Baqīyah-i dastur al-‘amal-i Ḥafīz al-Sīhāh,” Iran, 63 (28 Shavval 1288/10 January 1871), 2–3 [254–5].
51. “Yak shahzadah-i ba shu‘ar . . . .” Qonun, 10: 2.


Notes


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 recast as a shame for men.” See her “Zanha-yi Millat,” 63.


84. For Darius Rejali there are four modes of subjection (statutory, disciplinary, tutelary, and carceral), see Torture and Modernity, 146–59.


Chapter 8  Postscript


2. Qumun, 2 (Sha‘ban 1308/22 March 1890), 3.


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 Haci, “Sukhan Ramuni-i Vazhah-i Istibdad dar Adabiyyah-i Mushafayiyah-i Iran,” Iran va Jahani-i Iskan: Pafuhushkhavi Tarikh-i Ramuni-i Chaharzada, Andishadah, va Junbishaha (Mashhad: Intisharat-i Astari-i Quds-i Razavi, 1368), 223–31.


10. For this decree see Kasravi, *Tarikh-i Mashrutah-i Iran*, 120.

11. The inauguration was initially planned for the 15th of Shaban, but since it coincided with the birthday of the "Twelfth Shi'i Imam," and since the constitutionalists wanted it to be an independent day, the Majlis was inaugurated on the 18th of Shaban 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, *Waqf-i tifigiyah dar Tarikh*, 1: 106; [Ibrahim Safa'i], *Nizārat-i Mashrutah bar Payvār-i Asvād-i Vizarat-i Umur-i Khrajār* (Tehran: Daftar-i Mutali'at-i Siyasi va Bayn al-Millāl, 1370), 184.


13. According to the 26th article of the Supplementary Constitutional Law, "All powers of the state are derived from the millat."


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