

DOI: 10.7596/taksad.v6i4.1128

Citation: Hajianpour, H., & Aidi, A. (2017). Maneckji Limji Hataria and His Iranism Interactions with Elites of the Naaser-al-ddinshah Era (1847-1895). *Journal of History Culture and Art Research*, 6(4), 212-232. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.7596/taksad.v6i4.1128>

Maneckji Limji Hataria and His Iranism Interactions with Elites of the Naaser-al-ddinshah Era (1847-1895)

Hamid Hajianpour¹, Abdalmajid Aidi²

Abstract

Iranism and its genesis in the history of Iran is one of the issues that has still remained in the dispute. One of the reasons contributing to occur is that there are some ambiguities in the history. Meanwhile, the role of Maneckji Limji Hataria is among the factors that are worthy of further reflection. In 1854 (1270 AH) Maneckji Limji Hataria entered as the first envoy, Parsis of India to Iran. He interacted with the intelligent and writers of Iran society, Naaseri era during his long-term inhabitation there. The present study seeks to answer the question that “what is the position of Iranism and Iranian attitude in his interactions with the intelligent Naaseri era?” For this purpose, referring to historical sources, documents, correspondence and providing evidences, the authors show that Iranism is the basic and fundamental issue in Maneckji Limji Hataria interactions to intellectuals of the Naaseri era and these interactions tend to be considered as a secondary factor affecting the Iranism attitudes of the Naaseri era.

Keywords: Maneckji limji hataria, Iranism, Parsis of India, Elites of Naaser-al-ddinshah era, Neo-Zoroastrian texts.

¹ Associate professor History Department, Shiraz University.

² PhD. Student in History, Shiraz University.

1. Introduction

The half-century period of Naaser-al-ddinshah administration (1264-1313 AH/1847-1895AD) is one of the important points in the history of Iran in which Iranism attitudes are reflected by the ideas and debuts. Deliberating these works shows that Iranism attitudes are developed under two categories. At the first, internal factors which included thought, understanding and impression that the elites of Iran and its continuous cultural- historical identity had. This means that Iran was entered into the nationalism era in the nineteenth century with its long-standing historical heritage and cultural awareness to its identity (Ashraf, 2016: 38, 195). Second, external factors which Iran encountered them in the early years of the Qajar administration in the nineteenth century.

The Industrial Revolution in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, followed by intensified competition of colonial powers led Iran to be engaged in the international system relations since the early Qajar era. In the meanwhile, the effects of Iran failure from Russia gradually underlie questions among authorities and then intelligent and elites of society (Amanat, 2014: 55, 58 and Behnam, 2015: 17).

They seek to understand the reasons for the weakness of Iran against colonial powers such as Russia and Great Britain. Answers to these questions were largely influenced by comparison of the Modern Western societies in all its dimensions to Iran over Qajar era (Tabatabai, 2007: 133-134). In addition, factors such as the establishment of diplomatic relations with foreign countries and the movement of political representatives, the process of sending students to the West and the works of travel writers were the familiarities of politicians and elites with the manifestations of modernity and new political and social concepts.

The evolutions caused by the French Revolution and its consequences have caused more familiarity of elites' society with new concepts such as nation and nationality (Tavakoli-Targhi, 2003: 214 See also: Abrahamian, 2012: 83). However, confrontation with Western powers, Iran's failures, especially in the wars between Iran and Russia and its psychological effects, efforts of society's elites to understand the reasons for the weakness of Iran against other countries and resourcefulness in order to get out of the humiliating conditions and the entry of new ideas as well as concepts can be considered as major factors in the formation of the Modern Iranism in the nineteenth century.

2. Statement of the problem

The question of Iran concept and Iranian manifestation in the contemporary history has always been in a debate. During the last two centuries, more intellectuals, politicians and researchers with assumptions and as well as, sociological theories have gone into it although

they have reached some contradictory results depending on their intellectual and ideological origin.

On the other hand, the intertwined concepts in this area such as Iran, Iranian, Iranism, Iranian identity, national identity, nationality, nationalism concepts and etc... have caused that an appropriate answer regarding the historical origin of formation of Iran and Iranism concepts and its external manifestations have not been raised up to date and this issue still remains disputed (For the awareness of these opinions' difference, see Ashraf, 2016: 46-25; Abadian, 2015: 254-233; Vaziri, 1993: 142).

Therefore, in order to approach the appropriate response in this area, the historical approach is one of the methods that lies ahead. This means that by analysis of historical roots of the Iranism development in the contemporary period, the filling of existing gaps in this area takes place. It should be noted that the Iranism concept have many implications regarding to the issues such as the commemoration of ancient Iran, Zoroastrianism, symbols and mythology of Iran, Persian writing as well as hostility to foreign elements during the history of Iran.

Indian Territory (Britain India) is known as one of the triple gates of modernization entry to Iran, in the Qajar era. The presence of minority so-called Parsis has an important role on this cultural transformation. The present study is based on the assumption that the interactions of Maneckji Limji Hataria, the first envoy of Indian Parsies with the intelligent of Naaseri era can be considered as a secondary factor affecting Iranism approaches over that period. In other words, the final goal of this research is to specify one of the minor aspects affecting Iranism approaches development over the period.

3. Review of the related literature

The research in this area was mainly on the role of Maneckji Limji Hataria in association Zoroastrians in Iran and improvement of their situation in Naaseri era. However, his interactions to Iranian elites in Naaseri era have not been focused enough. For example, we can refer to Mary Boyce's article entitled "Maneckji Limji Hataria in Iran"(1986), although it precisely studied the Maneckji's measures in relation to his fellows, it did not address the Iranism's interactions and thoughts.

The book of Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi entitled "Indigenous Modernity and rethink of history" (2003) is also the most valuable work related to modernization in which the modernity discussion, the issue of national historiography have been considered. He also writes a book in English entitled "Refashioning Iran..." (2001) in which he detailed the effects of Dasatiri texts in historiography.

Also, by the recent efforts to the researcher of Zoroastrian history area Mr. Hashem Razi (2015), a set of documents, letters and selection of some works related to the Parsis history as well as, Maneckji measures in relation to the Zoroastrian in Iran have been compiled in a book entitled “History of Zoroastrians in Iran...”.

4. Developments of Indian Parsis society in the nineteenth century

In the nineteenth century, the port of Bombay in India becomes one of the largest commercial cities of Britain India (Razi, 2015: 511; Gha'ravi, 1986: 11). The growth and development of Bombay had a profound relation to economic, social and political activities. They held a large share in the development of Bombay due to their reputation in the business, the ability to learn English as well as communication to different classes of the natives (Hinnells, 1989: 341).

The role of Parsis in the growing economics of Bombay in the nineteenth century turned them into the rich, prestigious and influential group. This is also reflected in the works of travelers and immigrant writers to India. Mirza Abu Talib Khan Isfahani who had lived for a long time in the late 18th century to early 19th century in India, while referring to immigrant backgrounds of Parsis to India and their habitat cities confirms their prosperous life (Isfahani, 1973: 443).

Mohamad Ali Haji Pirzadeh, who visited India's cities in the age of Naaseri states that "Persian dynasty in Bombay is highly respected and credible" (Pirzadeh, 1981: 130-131). Also, Pulak, Naaser-al-ddinshah's doctor, writes Indian Parsis send large sums of money for Zoroastrians in Iran every year in order to pay ransom to the princes (Pulak, 1981: 31-32).

Progresses of the Parsis are not limited to the commercial and the financial area. Monica Ringer comprehensively studied the changes and reforms in India's Zoroastrian faith and concluded that there were changes in the balance of religious power between Zoroastrians in Iran as well as Indian Parsies in terms of religious influence from the early eighteenth century onwards (Ringer, 2011: 143). So that, we see unilateral impacts by the society of Indian Parsis on their rituals in Iran unlike to the past (Bar, 1969: 143-144).

On the other hand, their need to preserve the religious and historical heritage in such circumstances were considered since the mid-nineteenth century onward.

Some of these efforts include the book entitled "The history of Parsis ..." by Dosabhai Framji and also the book entitled “foundation of a research institute to a focus on history and historical heritage of Zoroastrianism” by Khorshedji Kama (Ringer, 2011: 154 and Gha'ravi, 1986: and also see Razi, 2015: 491-492). This relates them to Iran and its ancient past (Ringer, 2011: 154-158).

On the other hand, the existence of the old heritage and Zoroastrian education to Indian Parsies allow the East European experts to re-read the Zoroastrianism and the Pahlavi's text (for more information see Kai barr, 1969: 41-43). In this regard, the East experts also paid attention to the texts attributable to Azarkayvani sect other than Avesta and some texts of Pahlavi. The books and treatises such as Dasatir, Sharestan-e Chaharchaman, Dabestan-e Mazaheb are referred to Neo Zoroastrian or Dasatiri texts. On the other hand, Azarkayvan and his students' teachings are accepted among a group of Indian Parsis as part of Zoroastrian's ideas and principles in nineteenth century (for more information, see: Tavakoli Targhi, 2001: 86-95). One of the reasons for this can be compiling the Golshan-e Farhang book based on the Dasatir teachings in order to teach the principles and ideas of Zoroastrian in Mola Firuz School.

The author of Golshan-e Farhang was one of the India's Parsi elders called Keykhosro ibn-e Kavuse Parsi who wrote in the introduction to his book that "In the present thesis, expression of some Parsis believes and some advices as well as counsels of Authentic Persian elders books were put through briefly to recruit Parsis children to study that includes three section. The first section expresses the emergence of Zoroastrianism... the second section is reporting some ideas and religion of the Persians. Eventually, the third section is citation of some of the preaching and advices of elders of Parsis" (Keykhosro Ibn-e Kavuse Parsi, 1274 A.H.: 4, 51-87).

However, there have been serious doubts about the accuracy of these Dasatiri teachings later. But nevertheless, since the Persian printing office being worked in the India sooner than elsewhere (Behnam, 2015:92), printing these Neo-Zoroastrian texts in India in the nineteenth century (Tavakoli-Targhi, 2001: 17) affect the Indian Parsis society and in the meantime, Maneckji Limji Hataria, their first envoy to Iran was impressed through these texts and teachings.

5. The Maneckji Limji Hataria life in India

According to the Rashid Shahmardans quotation from "The History of Kerman", Maneckji was born in the village of "Mora Somali" near "Surat" in 1813 (1230 AH). Apparently, Maneckji's ancestors had emigrated from Iran to India at the beginning of the reign of Safavid (Shahmardan, 1984: 617 and Ashidry, 1976: 425). Maneckji had an affinity to his native Iran from childhood.

After the abolition of ransom in Tehran in 1881 (1299 AH), he states in his sermon that "I read and heart the history of past kings and the geography of Iran and its symbols several times. Hence, I wanted to see Iran from my childhood..." (Maneckji, 1976: No. 5/22). Shahmardan

quoted from Kerman history writes that, "The Parsis of Bombay sang on the beach whenever there is not Barasaat and it was not raining..." (Shahmardan, 1984: 619).

Despite his age, which didn't require such things, Maneckji had been apparently always interested in "obtaining the history of Parsis kings and elders accurately and revealing them as Gojarati language" (Darvish Fani [Maneckji], 1280 AH, 28-29). Later in his youth that he had gone as the cashier of the Great Britain government to Sindh area, due to his great interest in Iran, he used to ask about Iranians and Iran whenever he faced Afghans and Baluchi tribes (Shahmardan, 1984: 623). Finally, Maneckji's old dream came true in 1854.

6. The Society for the Amelioration of the condition of Zoroastrian in Persia

Two decades before Maneckji's movement toward Iran, one of Parsis elites named Burjori Framji in Bombay had started some actions due to help Zoroastrians of Iran that used to emigrate India because of difficult living conditions. In 1854, his brother Meherwanji that used to be friend with Maneckji and other Parsis elites established "The Society for the Amelioration of the condition of Zoroastrian in Persia". Mentioned community aimed to help Iran Zoroastrians. When the members of the community got aware of Maneckji's intention of traveling to Iran, chose him as the representative of community in March 31st 1854 with a mission of researching about the Zoroastrians (Maneckji, 1976: No5/ 25 and 27-28 and 1976 No: 6/9 and Framji Karaka, 1884: 72).

7. Maneckji Limiji Hataria and Iran Zoroastrians

During near four decades of his journey and accommodation in Iran, the most important action of Maneckji was abolishing Zoroastrians Jizya tax (A traditional tax levied on non-Muslim communities in exchange for protection and religious freedom) in 1882 (Maneckji, 1976:No5/ 22-23 and Sasanian king, n.d.: 9). Creating and repairing religious and public buildings, efforts for the rights of Zoroastrians in jurisdictions of that specific time (Boyce, 1985: 427-430) and establishing a school for Zoroastrian children can be considered as other attempts of him (Darvish Fani [Maneckji], 1280 AH: 25 and Framji Karaka, 1884: 83). Due to achieve his biggest aim which was abolishing Zoroastrians' Jizya tax, Maneckji took advantage of European political supports and especially British ones (Shahmardan, 1984: 622 and Framji Karaka, 1884: 62-63, 74-76 and Boyce, 1985: 426). This was because the Parsis, Indians were considered under British authority, but later in 1910 "Sir George Birdwood" one of English officers in India claimed that Indian-Parsies in 1855 were persuaded by him to try to improve their co-religionists in Iran (Kolkata, 1949: no 16/19), while Indian-Parsis

activities to help Zoroastrian of Iran emigrants had been started long before 1855 and the community of ameliorating the Zoroastrian's situation was also officially established in 1854. Therefore, the claim of an English officer in this case seems to be somehow exaggeration (for more details refer to Razi, 2015: 500-501). As it was mentioned before Indian-Parsis's humanitarian actions were formed about their co-religionists in Iran seeking to improve their economic situation and due to referring common historical past and maintaining and diffusion religious heritage and ultimately personality traits of Maneckji (Razi, 2015: 182 and Boyce, 2015: 426) and his constant attempt to fight against existing problems (Maneckji, 1976: No7/14-15) had the main role in finishing his main mission (ameliorating the situation of Iran's Zoroastrians) (Boyce, 1985: 426).

Maneckji actions were even beyond Zoroastrians of Iran. During almost four decades of the journey and accommodation in Iran, he made wide practical actions and intellectual interactions in the field of publishing various books, investigating the Iran ancient heritage and diffusion Persian writing (using Persian noble Words).

8. Maneckji Limiji Hataria and distribution of Neo Zoroastrian texts

In addition to effort due to improve the situation of his Iranian coreligionists, during his long presence in Iran, Maneckji was very industrious in the field of writing introduction and explanations on Dasatiri texts and Neo Zoroastrians texts as well and he has significantly tried to diffuse it. This activity of him was important because the contents of these texts drew attention of Iranian elites of the nineteenth century who were willing to investigate the new national identity of Iran because what significantly considered in these texts was Iran and Iranian (Tavakoli targhi, 2001: 87). Therefore, in order to better recognition of Maneckji's Iranism actions and interactions, a brief investigation on the features of these texts and his attempts to diffuse them seem necessary.

8.1 Dasatir

Dasatir is one of the most important Neo Zoroastrianism texts. This book was found by Molla Kavous, one of Indian Parsis, in his traveling to Iran in the Zand Era and a little later his child Molla Firouz published in Bombay in 1818 after adding glossary to it. This book consists of fifteen-fold Sahifeh (folder) that had been revealed to fifteen Iranian prophets and kings in ancient area according to its author or authors (Dasatir, 1888: 219). The first one of them was known as Mahabad who had lived long years before Kiomars. The names of mythological characters such as Hushang, Tahmoures, Jamshid, Freydoon and Keykhosro are also seen

among them (refer to Dasatir, 1888: 2-218) and the last one Shat (Hazrat) fifth Sasan that according to the author, he has translated and interpreted the book from Dasatiri language to noble Parsian language (Dasatir, 1888: 220). Therefore, Dasatir talks the length of Iranian presence in history through Sereh Persian language (using Persian noble word). Maneckji's tendency to Dasatir and particular attempt to publish and distribute it can be vividly seen within his remained texts and documents. In such letters that he wrote to Akhundzadeh, he had talked about the feasibility of republishing Dasatir in addition to introducing Dasatir as a divine book and the best book of Parsis (Akhundzadeh, 1978: 405, 430 and 432).

A part of remained letters from his is specified to discuss answers about the content of this book (The National Library and Archives of the Islamic Republic of Iran: 295003169, 295003307, 295003074 and 295003230). Publishing and distributing several versions of this book had been undoubtedly effective on the mentality of the intellectual circles on that time. In 1305 A.H/1888, Dasatir was published in thousands copies in Bombay due to attempts of three Zoroastrians, published by Molla Firouz written by Mirza Mohammad Ali Kashkool and to the name of Nasser-al-ddin shah. In the appendix which exists at the end of this publication of Dasatir, 300 volumes of that have been ordered to be sold and other 700 volumes to be distributed freely among Zoroastrian students in Mumbai and Kerman (Dasatir, 1888: 227-229 and 283). On the other hand, the existence of multiple copies of handwritten Dasatir in various libraries of Iran that are mainly related to Nasser era (refer to Haeri, 1969: 180 and 1995: 78 and 1999: 118) might be considered as result of Maneckji's attempts in diffusion this book in Iran.

8.2 Sharestan-e Chahar Chaman

The author of this book, Farzaneh Bahram Ibn-e Farhad Espandiar Yazdani Isfahani, had been apparently one of Azarkayvan's students who had been living till 1034 A.H/1625 (Elementary schools, 1863: 36-37). This book consists of four sections or Chamans; first section about creation and status of Pishdadian, second section about Kian glory and some of government goals, third section about the reports of Parthian and Sassanian and advice and fourth section that had been apparently Azarkayvan sect isn't available (Frhadbn Ben Aspndyar Yazdani, 1853: 5). The author of Sharestan has tried to prove racial superiority of Iranians in different eras (Ibid: 13-14) and he believes that Parsis (Iranians) are better than other people in terms of various aspects (Ibid: 54 and 68) and on the contrary he refers to Arabs contemptuously (Ibid, 1270 AH: 65). This book is considered as one of Neo Zoroastrian texts that Maneckji interfered in introducing and proposing it to his like-minded in Nasser era (Akhundzadeh, 1985: 406 and Maneckji, 1886: 4 Introduction). In addition to publishing Sharestan in 1270

A.H, the other version of that with an introduction that Maneckji had written on it was published later in 1327 A.H/1909 in Bombay (Edward, 1922: 146).

8.3 Ain-e Hushang

This book consists of four texts of Khishtab, ZardastAfshar, Zanderoud and Zoureh Baastaani (ancient Zoureh). These texts include the teachings of Azarkayvan cult that have been quoted most by the wise of Iran (Maneckji, 1296 AH: 1-177). According to Maneckji these four texts are from ancient letters in the oneness of God and recognizing the beginning and ending that have been translated from Zand language to Pahlavi in Sassanid era and three hundred years before him from Pahlavi to Persian. Maneckji published four texts with one introduction and one epilogue in 1296 AH named “Ain-e Hushang” (Maneckji, 1296 A.H: 4 introduction). He has investigated ancient Iran history and geography in detailed introduction of Ain-e Hushang: (Maneckji, 1296 AH: 5-21): “Because the statements of ancient elites and scholars have been mentioned in this book and this country had been used to be called Minooneshan [Like Heaven] Iran, it seems necessary to mention the ancient geography science of Iran and the new one of Europe to inform the readers that calling Iran as Minooneshan isn’t flattering but it is pure truth” (Maneckji, 1296 A.H: 5 Introduction). He also explained teachings embodied in four letters in detailed epilogue that has written on Ain-e Hushang book (Maneckji, 1886: 178-187).

8.4 Dabestan-e Mazaheb (School of religions)

One of other works of Neo Zoroastrian is Dabestan-e Mazaheb. Writing this book has been attributed to various people such as Keykhosro Esfandiar the successor and child of AzarKayvan, Mohsen Ibn-e Hassan Fani Keshmiri and others. As Maneckji believed Dabestan-e Mazaheb was first found among the books of Akbar Shah Goorakani treasury and was first published in Kolkata by the attempt of Agha Khan Mahallati (Maneckji, 1878: 3 Introduction). Affected by Dasatir, this book has also investigated timing of ancient Iran history and in order to show rich history of Iran, Gelshaeian era which include Pishdadi, Kayani, Parthian and Sassanid dynasties, has last for six thousand and twenty-four years and five months (Elementary schools, 1863: 7).

However, regardless the accuracy of written information in these texts, what from investigating their content can be obtained is the conscious attempt of authors and following that the diffusers of these books in showing the history of Iran, distribution of Persian writing and proving Iranian linguistic and ethnic superiority.

Maneckji has also published *Javidan Kherad of Ibn-e Moskouyeh* (early fifth century) in 1294 AH that is a set of customs and ethics and exhortations and sermons and advice of kings in ancient Iran, India, Arab and Rome and added an epilogue to it about high position of humanity and human dignity (Ibn Miskawayh, 1875: the epilogue of book and Maneckji 1296 AH: 2) and introduced and distributed it among his like-minded people as well (Akhundzadeh, 1996: 405-406).

9. Maneckji and Iran's ancient heritage

Maneckji's interest in Iran and its ancient heritage can be seen in his various texts such as the second section of *Ezhare-e-Siahate-e- Iran* (Description of Travel to Iran) book that he uses the adjective of *Minooneshan* for describing Iran and writes "and the meaning of *Minooneshan* is hidden in Iran that it was called *Minooneshan* from the beginning up to now not because of being well-known or pleasure of someone but it is pure truth. The reasons on its truth are a lot such as the Hindu holy books" (Darvish Fani, 1863: 4-5). In the first period of his presence in Iran, he used to travel to many parts of Iran that were likely to have ancient relics and map. Of historical relics that Maneckji visited and wrote about them, the Bisotun in Kermanshah, Takht-e Soleiman in Azerbaijan and Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rajab and Naqsh-e Rostam in Fars can be mentioned. The noticeable point in this case is his particular attempt in recording, painting or photographing these relics (Darvish Fani, 1863: 26-27 and The National Library and Archives of the Islamic Republic of Iran: 295003254). On the other hand, his relative awareness of Iran's history especially ancient Iran (such as referring to Jalal-al-din Mirza 1868: 22-34 before Foreword and Maneckji, 1878: 5-21 Introduction and Maneckji *Limji Hataria*, 1886: article 59-60) had caused him to be always questioned about this issue by various people in Iran (The National Library and Archives of the Islamic Republic of Iran: 295003284 and Touserkani, 1893: 233 and 299).

Eighteenth section of *Ezhare-e-Siahate-e- Iran* book (Description of a Travel to Iran) is describing old books, coins and signs that he had been collected in the period of excursion all around Iran and finally he gave it to the community of Indian-Parsis that is they should add these books as far as they can and put it in a special place and maintain it all the time that whenever anyone from any religion and tribe and nation that is willing to read it or copy from that can access to it immediately and they shouldn't deny giving it in any case (Darvish Fani, 1863: 30-31). Collected books by him consists of a set of manuscripts and printed works that the main part of them included the books related to the Zoroastrian religion, Iran history, the relationships between Iran and India, the history of emigrating Parsis to India and so on (Gha'ravi, 1986: 13 and 14). It has to be mentioned that these books are today kept in the

library of East Knowledge Institute of Kama in Bombay that the index of a Persian manuscripts copy of them have been published by the attempt of Mahdi Gharavi (Gha'ravi, 1986).

10. Maneckji and Persian writing (using Persian noble words)

Persian writing or using Persian noble words had some fields that referred to the eras before Qajar (refer to Bahare, 1991/3: 282-292). The first dictionary which was developed affected by Desatiri words was apparently Borhan-e-Ghate written by Mohammad Hossein Khalaf Tabrizi. This dictionary led to diffusing Desatiri words among some of poets and writers of Iran and India (Tavakoli targhi, 2001: 88). This approach in writing Persian language in Nasser era turned to the most important literature movement of this time (Abadian, 2015: 225 and Tavakoli targhi, 2001: 106-107). However, Dasatiri beliefs of Maneckji were of his tendency reasons to Persian writing and distribution this method of writing (Razi, 2015: 667-668). He had also close relationship with Persian writers of Nasser era and he was familiar with the works that have been provided through Persian writing (The National Library and Archives of the Islamic Republic of Iran: 295003085 and 295003068 Appendix II and Akhundzadeh, 1978: 423 and 395).

11. The interactions of Maneckji Limiji Hataria with thinkers and writers of Nasser era

In an introduction that he had written on Farhang-e Anjoman Araye Nasser book, Maneckji has mentioned his interactions with the elites of Nasser era “it isn't hidden from the wise and researchers that this passenger...during twenty years of excursion... In most of Iran cities and stay in Tehran... has met all elites and rich people of any religion and nation and he had also interaction with the scholars and philosophers and mystics and researchers...” (Hedayat, 1871: 1).

11.1 Maneckji and Akhundzadeh

Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzadeh (1812-1878/ 1227-1295 A.H) was brought up in a family from Azerbaijan; his father was from Tabriz, his grandfather from Rasht and his mother was from Maraghe. According to himself, his race referred to Parsies, himself from the Iran nation and his homeland was the land of Iran (Akhundzadeh, 1978: 249 and Adamiat, 1960: 9). Of the most important works of Akhoundzadeh, “Maktubat-e-Kamal-al doleh” (Letters from Kamal-al Dowleh) that was later published with other titles such as Maktubat and three Maktub can be mentioned as well as Neo Alphabet that through attaching the letters of Akhundzadeh was later published as “New Alphabet and Letters”.

Akhundzadeh got to know Maneckji by Jalal-e-din Mirza (Akhundzadeh, 1985: 249 and 375). The interactions of Maneckji and Akhundzadeh were in the form of letters and books which were used to be exchanged between those two people. Main part of their letters consisted of some information of the glory of ancient Iran, Zoroastrian religion, Persian writing and hostility with foreign elements in Iran history. Despite that Akhundzadeh had started writing the *Maktubat-e-Kamal-al doleh* before getting to know Maneckji but his awareness about ancient Iran and especially the religion of that time that was Zoroastrian wasn't so noticeable. As it will be mentioned consequently, the review that Maneckji had written about the history of Zoroastrians and Parsis in the beginning of the second volume of *Nameh-ye Khosrovan* (The Book of Sovereigns) was asked by Akhundzadeh. Meanwhile the questions which he asked Maneckji about the handwriting and language of Zoroastrian in Yazd as well as religious titles among Zoroastrians confirm this issue as well, including that in the field of language and handwriting of Zoroastrian, he believed that they write their books in Gojarati language and handwriting similar to Indian-Parsis (Jalal-al-din Mirza, 1868: Vol 2/ 17-18 before Foreword and Akhundzadeh, 1978: 172 and 337). In a letter to Maneckji, Akhundzadeh expressed hope to distance and separation of Iranians and Parsis (Zoroastrians) eliminate and "Iranian should know that we are Parsis children and our homeland is Iran" (Akhundzadeh, 1978: 249). When Maneckji noticed this tendency to Iranism and Zoroastrian religion of Nasseris era's elites such as Akhundzadeh, despite his main mission was ameliorating the situation of Iran Zoroastrian, considered the distribution ancient culture of Iran as an inseparable section of his main mission. He might have seen generalizing the culture before Islam as a potential due to maintaining various rights of Zoroastrians although Maneckji was greatly interested in discovering Iran mystical perspective before Islam from the beginning (Ringer, 2011: 159-160).

Of the other discussed subjects in the interactions of Maneckji and Akhundzadeh was hostility with foreign elements in the history of Iran. When Maneckji returned Bombay after one period of 10 years of excursion in Iran in 1864, made a long speech in public Parsis as the report of Zoroastrian situation and his actions in Iran (Sasani, n.d.: 9). The interesting thing is that the main part of this speech was allocated to the history of Iran in which hostility with foreign elements in the history of Iran is clear. According to him, following the attack of foreigners such as Arabs, Mongol and Tatar which were barbarian and cruel tribes, the paradise of Zoroastrian that was Iran turned to miserable land and suffering from militancy, looting, Ignorance, poverty and oppressive governments (Maneckji Limji Hataria, 1865: 23 and 35). In an epilogue that he wrote on *Ain-e Hushang*, Maneckji also refers the period of Arab domination as "the oppression of Arabs winter in Iran" (Maneckji, 1878: 192). To Akhundzadeh, Maneckji says "Minooneshan (Like Heaven) Iran is the main homeland of

Mazdeans” (Akhundzadeh, 1978: 402 and Maneckji 1976/5; 23) and “Iranvij [Iranian origin] and Iran were full and prosperous from our group was beaten by Arabs and it has suffered a lot” (Maneckji, 1971: No 5/ 24). In a letter which he had written to Akhundzadeh, hopelessly wished for ameliorating the situation of Minooneshan homeland:

“Many years are required and independent kings such as Ardeshir Babak and king Keykhosro are needed to gradually eliminate the habit of confusion and hurting people from these evil people with arrogance and pride, Zakun [rules] make culture and freedom and Hang [knowledge]” (Akhundzadeh, 1978: 396).

In the thought of Akhundzadeh also there are some signs of hostility with foreigners especially Arabs. In describing the heritage remained from foreigners, he believes that Arabs have been the factor of Iran's backwardness and tyranny is their heritage (Akhundzadeh, 1985: 32). Meanwhile, he has mentioned the attack of Arabs to Iran as the beginning of Iranian' misery (Akhundzadeh, 1985: 36) regretfully has written that “Iran I'm hurt emotionally, where is that glory that used to be in the era of Kiomars, Jamshid, Goshtasb, Anoushiravan and Khosro Parviz (Akhundzadeh, 1985: 29).

However, this bipolar attitude that used to alike Iran before Islam to a mystical land and considered Arab and Tatar foreigners as the main element of its destruction and considered the era after the fall of the Sassanid as completely ruined era is regarded as one of the main issues of interactions between Maneckji and Akhoundzadeh. Of course, neither, Maneckji nor Akhundzadeh has not considered the only reason of the fall of the Sassanid as foreigners. Both of them have considered hypocrisy and lack of consensus and unanimity and disunity among the kings of that time as such factors in the destruction and fall of Minooneshan (Like Heaven) homeland (Jalal-al-din Mirza, 1868/2: 22-34 before Foreword and Akhundzadeh, 1978: 336 and 429).

In his correspondence with Akhundzadeh, Maneckji made him familiar with Pashutan Ji and Jamasb Ji, of Zoroastrian religious leaders in India, and due to this he sent the Dinkard book to him (that was of religious books of Zoroastrians) and was translated by Pashutan from Pahalavi to Gojarati and English (Akhundzadeh, 1978: 404-405). Following this familiarizing, meanwhile Jamasb Ji express happiness of Akhundzadeh interest in Parsies, he expressed his readiness to answer his questions about Zoroastrians (Akhundzadeh, 1978: 434). He also says that he is writing a book in an old Parsis language that was Pahlavi, which there is nothing left from it in the present era and its first volume is being published (Akhundzadeh, 1978: 435).

Some letters were also exchanged between Maneckji and Akhundzadeh about the Maktubat-e-

Kamal-al Doleh. During these letters, Maneckji has proposed some suggestions about the necessity of changing book title as well as its publishing possibility (Akhundzadeh, 1978: 251 and 403).

11.2 Maneckji Limiji Hataria and Jalal-al-din Mirza

Jalal-al-din Mirza (1242-1289 AH) was Fath Ali Shah's child. When his father passed away, he was only eight years old. He started his education in the Mohammad Shah kingdom (Hedayat, 1871: 83) and apparently learned French in the era of Nasser-al-ddin shah in Dar-al-fonoun (Polytechnic) (Jalal-al-din Mirza, n.d.: vol 1/3-4 and Khormoj, 1985: 258). His company with people having different beliefs and his role in Faramouskhane Mirza Malkam Khan (Freemason organizations in Nasser era) finally led to his disgraced and banished from court (Refer to Amanat, 2014: 8-13).

Jalal-al-din Mirza started writing Nameh-ye Khosrovan (The Book of Sovereigns) in four sections at the end of his life. The first section from Mahabadian to Sassanid, second section from Taherian to the end of Kharazmshahian, third section from Genghis Khan to Safavid and fourth section that included up to Qajar era, but he didn't have time to finish it and it was written later by Mirza Mohammad Malek-al-Kottaab in Bombay (Jalal- al-din Mirza, 1324 AH /Vol 1-4). What in the initial investigation of this book draws attention is hiding tendency to develop national history of Iran and Persian writing of Neo Iranism two bases.

At the beginning of first letter has written that "the story of kings of Persia to Persian language that is suitable for people, especially kids..." (Jalal- al-din Mirza, n.d./1: 1).

In the first volume of Nameh-ye Khosrovan (The Book of Sovereigns) in timing before Islam, Dabestan-e Mazaheb has been named by him as one of the references that he had used (Jalal-al-din Mirza, n.d./1: 8 and to be informed of timing ancient history refer to Elementary schools, 1834: 5-7). To mention mystical era of Mahabadian documented to the Dasatir book (Jalal- al-din Mirza, n.d./1: 8-9 and for comparison refer to Dasatir, 1888: 2-37). This very timing of ancient history has been also brought in the introduction of Maneckji on Ain-e Hushang book (Maneckji, 1878: 9). Jalal-al-din Mirza has also referred to Sharestan Chahar Chaman in the story of Jamshid (Jalal-al-din Mirza, n.d./1: 70). All these texts are considered as Neo Zoroastrian texts that Maneckji has an important role in introducing and diffusing them among the elites of Nasser era.

As it was mentioned before, there were many intellectual relationships and interactions between Maneckji and Jalal- al-din Mirza and Akhundzadeh. One of results of intellectual interactions between Maneckji and Jalal- al-din Mirza was relative detained description about

Zoroastrian and Parsies that Maneckji wrote to the request of Jalal- al-din Mirza and suggestion of Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzadeh about Zoroastrian religion and the factors of Sassanid falling and the destiny of Zoroastrian after the attack of Arabs and the difficulties which happened for Indian-Parsies and it was inserted at the beginning of second section of Nameh-ye Khosrovan (Jalal-al-din Mirza, 1868: 22-34, before Foreword and Akhundzadeh, 1978: 375-376) like Jalal- al-din Mirza that was regretful for ancient Iran and Sassanid destruction in first section of Nameh-ye Khosrovan (The Book of Sovereigns), Maneckji also discussed this regret in the review that he wrote at the beginning of second letter and of course combined it with explaining the reasons of the collapse of the Sassanian and Zoroastrian and the things which happened for Parsies in later eras after the attack of Arabs (refer to Jalal- al-din Mirza, 1868: Vol 2/22-34 before Foreword) and ignited randy view to the past of Zoroastrians.

Another feature of Nameh-ye Khosrovan is the attempt of its author for Persian writing (using Persian noble words) that was considered as one of Neo Iranism elements. About his motive in writing Nameh-ye Khosrovan, he said that “ones I thought that why we Iranian people have forgotten our ancestors and although Parsies are legends in letter and poetry, we don’t have any letters that have written into Persian language” (Jalal- al-din Mirza, n.d./1: 5-7). As it was mentioned before Neo Zoroastrian texts (Dasatiri) are considered of references of Jalal-al-din Mirza in writing Nameh-ye Khosrovan. In some Neo Zoroastrian texts, apart from Iranians racial superiority that was emphasized (refer to Sharestan Chahar Chaman, 1270 AH: 13-14 and 54) Persian language superiority was also emphasized (Elementary schools, 1834: and Dasatir, 1888: 220). Considering that Maneckji is one of the diffusers of these texts in Nasserri era, it might be claimed that his company and interaction have been effective on the attitude of Jalal- al-din Mirza to write through such this style.

11.3 Maneckji and Mirza Ismaeel Khan Zand Touserkani

Of the writers who turned to Persian writing in Nasserri era, Mirza Ismael Khan Touserkani can be mentioned (refer to Touserkani, 1893). The most important remained text from Touserkani is Farazestan book in which the history of ancient Iran has been developed affected by historical timing of Dasatiri texts (Touserkani, 1893: 60). In his book, her refers to an unknown references named Aine-ye Ain written by Jamasb Poor Lohrasb (Touserkani, 1893: 233) that is also mentioned in the references of Nameh-ye Khosrovan (Jalal- al-din Mirza, n.d., Vol. 1/126) that was high likely one of Neo Zoroastrian texts. One the other hand there was wide interactions between Maneckji and Touserkani (The National Library and Archives of the Islamic Republic of Iran: 295003068). Touserkani had consulted Maneckji in

some sections of Farazestan (Touserkani, 1893: 233 and 299). Moreover, Maneckji has written a detailed introduction on Farazestan that has explained the content of that. This introduction consists of 12 comments and 66 articles. In comment 11 and article 59 and 60, Maneckji has explained the fields of Sassanid collapse and domination of Arabs and its consequences (Maneckji Limji Hataria, 1886, article 59 and 60).

Touserkani has written his book using Dasatiri words. In the report of Anoushiravan kingdom, he writes “historians and seekers of knowledge have the same idea about the report of kings owners of the decorated throne that there was no king just like Anushiravan in the Sassanid era” (Touserkani, 1893: 343). Touserkani has arranged his book in seven cycles. In the first one he has investigated creation and in other ones he has investigated historical and mystical dynasties and personalities and the customs of the kingdom and ruling of them and finish sixth cycle with the collapse of Sassanid. The interesting point is that he has allocated seventh cycle to the beliefs of Azarkayvanian not to the rest of Iran history (Touserkani, 1893: 380-388).

11-4- Maneckji and Mirza Abolfazl Golpayegani

Golpayegani was considered as noble Persian writer of Nasser era. In the years of 1296 to 1300 AH, by invitation of Maneckji, he was working as his special writer and secretary (Mehrabkhani, n.d.: 58) and Persian language teacher of children in Zoroastrian schools of Tehran. To introduce Mohammad Ismael Khan Zand Touserkani, he writes “another artist Persian writer (noble Persian writers) is Mohammad Ismael Khan Zand, the writer of Farazestan and collector of ancient scattered texts, from breed of strong Karim Khan Zand... He called himself Hormozdiar in Persian and reached his race to ancient sovereigns and tried a lot in reviving the customs of Abadian and freshening the method of ancestors” (The National Library and Archives of the Islamic Republic of Iran: 295003086). The used phrases of Golpayegani in this text very well show his attempts to use Persian words and familiarizing with Dasatiri texts and Maneckji was considered as one of its diffusers.

11-5- Maneckji and Mirza Reza Khan Afshar

Mirza Reza Khan Afshar is considered as the translator of Iran embassy in Istanbul and the other noble Persian writers of the Nasser era (The National Library and Archives of the Islamic Republic of Iran: 295003073). He was also one of the writers that had interacted with Maneckji and wanted to write a book in order to separate Persian words from Arab ones named “Name-ye No Ain”. Meanwhile answering one of his letters, Maneckji expressed his delight from his action and gave him some advices as well “and also in doing such valuable

book, open some language rules of Persian that is newly called as Arabic grammar and write in it whatever deserve teaching because the sustainability of language depends on its structure sustainability...” (The National Library and Archives of the Islamic Republic of Iran: 295003084).

11.6 Maneckji and Reza Gholikhan Hedayat

Reza Gholikhan Hedayat is considered as one of the elites and literature scholars of Nasser era. During his interactions with Reza Gholikhan (1215-1288 AH) in 1273-1274 AH Maneckji asked him to allocate a part of his book to the myths and kings before Islam aiming to trace roots of the Persian kings in pre-Islamic dynasties (Marashi, 2008: 61-63).

One of the other books that has been written by Reza Gholikhan is the *Farhang-e-Anjoman Ara-ye Nasser*. This book was published by the attempt of Maneckji in 1288 AH and by an introduction of him. *Farhang-e-Anjoman Ara-ye Nasser* consists of collecting and researching in old Persian language and correcting the mistakes of previous cultures such as Jahangiri, Rashidi, Borhan-e-Ghaate and Sorouri in the field of Persian words (Hedayat 1871: 1). In addition to his attempt in publishing mentioned book, Maneckji has been also diligent in introducing and distributing it among his link-mined people (The National Library and Archives of the Islamic Republic of Iran: 295003084 and Akhundzadeh, 1978: 397). In *Farhang-e-Anjoman Ara-ye Nasser*, Reza Gholikhan considered obsolescence of Persian words derived from “Religious opposition and contrast disposition” and the consequences of Arabs domination (Hedayat, 1871: 2) and therefore reveals his effect from *Dasatiri* texts and Iranism discourse dominant in contemporary elite society.

Due to persuade others to write geographical monograph or historical texts, Maneckji was also active. He also played role due to persuade Abd-al-rahim Zarrabi to write local history of Kashan. Abd-al-rahim Zarrabi that has good relationship with Maneckji wrote the book of *Meraat-al-Qasan* (Kashan Mirror) by the encouragement of him and the ruler of that time, Ehtesham-al-Molk that finished in 1288 AH (Kalantar Zarrabi, 1977: 3). The book of *Kerman History* that was mentioned before has been also written to the request of Maneckji.

12. Conclusion

This paper aimed to investigate one of existing gaps about how Iranism has been evolved in Nasser era. Conducted researches in the paper showed that Maneckji Limji Hataria was the first envoy of Indian Parsis with the history of being interested in Iran and ancient relics of Iran as well as being affected by Neo Zoroastrian or *Dasatiri* text entered Iran. Despite his first mission was ameliorating the situation of Zoroastrian lives in Iran, but because of the

reasons which were mentioned, a little later he was linked to the scholars and writers of Iran in Nasser era. On the other hand, the scholars of Nasser era that were also seeking to reinvestigate Iranian new identity based on national history and Persian language, communicated with Maneckji after being aware of his thoughts as real Parsis believing in the ancient glory of Iran that was also Zoroastrian (refer to Akhundzadeh, 1978: 249 and 375) and called "Minooneshan (Like Heaven) Iran as main homeland of Mazdisnan) (Akhundzadeh, 1978: 402). These common beliefs between Maneckji and the elites of Nasser era turned to be as the beginning point of intellectual interaction among them. Maneckji was always consulted by his Iranian linked-minded, especially in the field of Zoroastrian history. He had also a significant role in introducing, publishing and distributing Neo Zoroastrian texts (such as Dasatir, Sharestan Chahar Chaman, Ain-e Hushang and so on) among Iranian elites. Moreover, Maneckji had also written introduction on Iranism texts such as Farazestan and he also actively encouraged to write books in which Iran ancient history and Persian writing used to be distributed using Dasatiri words, although the contents of these books wasn't empty of fraud and error and exaggeration and they had such a crazy attitude toward Iran past and in hostility with the role of foreigners in the history of Iran, racism could be also seen in them. Anyway, all of the proposed data and historical evidences show that Iranism has been the main core in the interactions between Maneckji and scholars and writers of Nasser era and the result of these interactions can be considered as a sub-factor effective on Iranism approaches in Nasser era.

References

- Abadian, H. (2015). *Destiny for history of thought in Iran during the Qajar period*. Tehran: Science.
- Abrahamian, Ervand (2012) *Modern History of Iran*, translated by Mohammad Ibrahim Fattahi, (7th ed.). Tehran: Ney Publishing.
- Akhundzade, Mirza Fatali (1978). *New Alphabets and writings*, edited by Hamid Zadeh. Tabriz: Nshr Ehya.
- Akhundzade, Mirzafthaly (1985). *Maktoobat [Kamal al-Dawlah]*, edited by M.Sobhdl. Paris: Nshr Mardemrooz.

- Amanat, A. (1998). "Pourkhan and and thought to restore national history: Jalal al-Din Mirza and a Khosravan" *Iran Nameh*, 17(65), 54-5.
- Amanat, A. (2014). *Qeble Alam, the Shah of Qajar king of Persia*, translated by Hassan Kamshad, (5th ed.). Tehran: Karnameh publication.
- Ashraf, A. (2016). *Identity the end of Pahlavi of Iran since antiquity*, translated and edited by Hamid Ahmadi. Tehran: Ney Publishing.
- Ashidry, Jahangir (1976). *History and Zoroastrian Pahlavi*. Tehran: Hukht magazine.
- Bar, Kay (1969). *Zoroastrianism*, translation Fereydoun Vahman. Tehran: Iranian Cultural Foundation.
- Bahare, M. T. (1991). *Stylology*, Vol 3. Tehran: Amir Kabir.
- Behnam. J. (2015) *Ayranyan and modernist*, (5th ed.). Tehran: FarzaneRooz publication.
- Boyce, Mary (1985). *Maneckji Limji Hataria in Iran*, *Chista Magazine*, Issue (26), 424-32.
- Darvish Fani [Maneckji] (1863). *Translation of Azharsyaht Iran*, translated by Baqer Krmanshahy. Mumbai: Tempers Home.
- Dasatir (1888). *Ibn Ardashir's efforts and others*, lithographs. Mumbai: Prshad period.
- Edwards, Edward (1922). *A Catalogue of the Persian printed Books in the British Museum*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Elementary schools (1834). *Handwritten version*, the Library of Parliament, Mdrk10-35515 number IR.
- Framji Karaka, Dosabhai (1884). *History of the Parsis*, Vol. 1. London: Macmillan.
- Frhadbn Ben Aspndyar Yazdani, (1853). *Sharstan four grass, to try Syavkhsh Ben Avrmzdyar* lithography. Mumbai.
- Gha'ravi, M. (1986). *List of comma Treasures Persian Manuscripts Library Mankjy Mumbai*. Islamabad: Iran and Persian Research Center.
- Kolkota, Habl-al-matin (1949). *Report of Assembly "Iran and Zoroastrians of India"*, year XVI, page 19-20.
- Haeri, Abdul (1969). *First National Assembly Library*, Volume XVII, Tehran.
- Hedayat, Reza Qoli Khan (1871). *Mjm Alfsha*, Volume I. Tehran: Amir Kabir.
- Hinnells, John R. (1989). *Bombay, Persian communities of Bombay*. *Iranica*, 4(4), 339-349.
- Ibn Miskawayh, Ahmad bin Muhammad (1875). *Javydan reason, the effort Manekji Limji Hataria*, lithographs. Bija: Binna.
- Isfahani, Mirzaabotalb (1973). *Masire Talibi or itinerary Mirzaabvtalb Khan*, edited by Hossein one by Khadiv Jam. Tehran: Organization -Franklyn pocket book releases.

Jalal al-Din Mirza (1324 AH). Namh Khosravan, Chharjld, Vol. 1, the efforts of Mirza Mohammad Malek al-Kitab, lithographs. Mumbai: Mozaffari Press.

Jalal al-Din Mirza (1868). Namh Khosravan, Volume II, lithographs, Tehran: Plant Professor MT.

Jalal al-Din Mirza, (n.d.). Namh Khosravan, the first letter. Tehran: Publication of the Islamic Revolution.

Kalantar Zarrabi (Sohail Kashani), Bdalrhy (1977). The history of Kashan. Tehran: Amir Kabir.

Khormoj, M. J. (1985). Haghayeghol Akhbar al-Nasseri, two volumes in one volume, edited by H. overlord Jam, Second Edition, Tehran: R Ney Publishing.

Maneckji Limji Hataria (1878). Yyn H., B. Mirza Rustam efforts nasrabadi, lithographs, Bija, Bitā.

Maneckji Limji Hataria (1886). Introduction Frazstan, manuscripts in the Library of Parliament, Document No. 2154-10.

Maneckji Limji Hataria (1971). Sermon on Mankjy after the abolition of the poll tax in 1299 BC. Frohar, eleventh year, number five (27-22 (number six (13-9) VII (17-12), number eight (17-12), number nine (22-25).

Maneckji Limji Hataria (1865). Serialized and reproduced in «A Millenium of Misery: Travels in Iran», in Persiana Journal, Bombay, September 1990.

Maneckji Limji Hataria, (n.d.). New Namche Tehran of giving Community law school Mazdysnan Mumbai, Ardeshir library unity, registration number 1450.

Marashi, Afshin (2008). Nationalizing Iran: culture, power, and the state, 1870-1940. Seattle: University of Washington press.

Mehrabkhani, R. (n.d.). Rsayl and Rqaym Mr. Myrzaabvalfzayl Gulpaigani. Bija: Bitā Press Institute.

Pirzadeh, Haji Ali bin Mohammed Ismail (1981). Travelouge Haji Pirzada, to try to protect Farmanfarmaiyan. Tehran: Babak publication.

Pulak, Jacob Edward (1981). A travelogue or Iran and Iranian caviar, translation Keykā'ūs Jahandar. Tehran: al-Khwarazmi.

Pourdavod, E. (1952). Hormoznameh. Tehran: Iranian Society of France in Iran.

Razi, H. (2015). Tarykh Zoroastrians in Iran political, economic, social and cultural Zoroastrians in the Qajar period. Tehran: Bahjat.

Ringer, Monica M. (2011). Pious citizens: reforming Zoroastrianism in India and Iran. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Sasanian king, (Bitta) Tazkareh Zoroastrian, from the house of Eden sublime from Bombay, India, in the unity of Artaxerxes library for offset, registration number 4601.

Shahmrdan, Rashid (1984). Zoroastrian scholars. Tehran: Organization Forouhar publications.

Tabatabai, J. (2007). Mktb Tabriz and principles of modernism, (2nd ed.). Tehran: Sotoudeh.

Tavakoli, Targhi Mohamad (2001). Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism and Nationalist Historiography. New York: Palgrave.

Tavakoli-Taghi, Mohamad (2003). Tajaddud-i Bumi. Tehran: Nashri Tarikh.

The National Library and Archives of the Islamic Republic of Iran: Document Number: 295003230; 295003074; 295003307; 295003169; 295003086; 295003254; 295003284; 295003084; 295003068; 295003085; 295003073.

Touserkani, Mirzaasmyl Khan (1893). Frazstan, edited by B. Hrmzdyarbn, lithographs. Mumbai: Buckley printing.

Vaziri, Mostafa (1993). Iran as Imagined Nation. New York: Paragon House.